DRAFT DUBOCE TRIANGLE HISTORIC CONTEXT STATEMENT

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VerPlanck
HISTORIC PRESERVATION CONSULTING

Cover: 15th Street, near Sanchez, 1960. Source: OpenSFHistory / wnp14.3354

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I. INTRODUCTION

VerPlanck Historic Preservation Consulting prepared the *Duboce Triangle Historic Context Statement* on behalf of the Duboce Triangle Neighborhood Association. First subdivided in 1855, the triangle bounded by Market Street, Duboce Avenue, and Castro Street, did not initially have a distinctive identity. Indeed, for most of its recorded history, Duboce Triangle was widely considered to be part of Eureka Valley, and the two adjoining neighborhoods share a similar history, including their concurrent evolution into two of San Francisco's earliest streetcar suburbs following the opening of the Castro Street cable car line in 1883. After 1900, Eureka Valley and Duboce Triangle evolved into the hub of San Francisco's growing Scandinavian community. Indeed, Scandinavian builders constructed much of the neighborhoods' building stock and community leaders established several cultural institutions and businesses that catered to the city's small but influential Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, and Finnish communities.

Duboce Triangle gradually began to assume its own identify after the 1906 Earthquake. In contrast to the more suburban Eureka Valley, Duboce Triangle evolved into an urban district of flats and apartment buildings during the first two decades of the twentieth century. Duboce Triangle's urban character intensified during World War II as speculators carved up houses and flats into small apartments for defense workers. Overcrowding and absentee ownership led to substandard living conditions during the war, resulting in disinvestment and deterioration after the war. Entering a feedback loop of decline during the 1950s and early 1960s, by the late 1960s the San Francisco Redevelopment Agency had begun exploring the possibility of demolishing the neighborhood in the name of urban renewal. Fortunately, alternatives to "slum" clearance emerged, including the Federally Assisted Code Enforcement (FACE) program. FACE emerged as an effective tool in combating blight. This program coincided with an influx of "urban pioneers" – including many Gay men – in the early 1970s. The newcomers restored the long-neglected Victorians and Edwardians and new businesses catering to the area's newly thriving LGBTQ communities gave Duboce Triangle a new lease on life.

As real estate prices surged ever upward during the 1980s and 1990s, causing "gentrification" to accelerate, development pressures in Duboce Triangle began to grow. Nonetheless, as an already dense urban neighborhood where many buildings were as large (or larger) than what zoning would allow, demolition and redevelopment of existing properties has been kept to a minimum. The only exception is Market Street, where several low-slung, mid-century commercial buildings have been replaced in recent years by mid-rise, mixed-use buildings. As an intact nineteenth-century streetcar suburb, Duboce Triangle contains one of the largest and most cohesive collections of pre-1906 residential building stock in the city. The neighborhood's attractive and increasingly restored streetscapes are enhanced by a rare 1970s-era tree-planting program that has endowed Duboce Triangle with one of the most extensive and mature tree canopies in the city. However, current legislation geared toward eliminating and/or modifying local land use controls poses a danger to this fragile resource. The purpose of this study is to outline the history of Duboce Triangle, describes its architectural resources, and propose strategies for safeguarding this distinctive urban neighborhood for future generations.

A. Project Background and Purpose

Recognizing the unique qualities of Duboce Triangle, the Duboce Triangle Neighborhood Association (DTNA) hired Christopher VerPlanck of VerPlanck Historic Preservation Consulting to prepare the *Duboce Triangle Historic Context Statement*. The primary purpose of the project is to create an intellectual and logistical framework for understanding and assessing historical resources in the Duboce Triangle neighborhood. Designed to be used by local government officials, community members, and other stakeholders, this historic context statement provides an extensive narrative history of the neighborhood, identifying important themes, geographical patterns of development, and periods of growth and change in Duboce Triangle. This document was prepared in conjunction with a hybrid reconnaissance/intensive-level survey of the neighborhood, and it therefore identifies typical property types, as well as building forms, architectural styles, and character-defining features. In addition to identifying 38 individually significant properties, this historic context statement describes five potential historic districts.

B. Definition of Geographical Area

The *Duboce Triangle Historic Context Statement* and Survey encompasses the entirety of Duboce Triangle, which is bounded by Market Street to the southeast, Duboce Avenue to the north, and Castro Street to the west **(Figure 1)**. The boundaries also include the first tier of properties along the west side of Castro Street because the boundary of the 1855 Mission Survey, which for a time also served as San Francisco's western municipal boundary, followed an imaginary line just west of Castro Street (See Figure 7).[1] Although the historic context statement covers the entire neighborhood, it provides only general information on the commercial and mixed-use properties along Market Street because these properties were already surveyed in the 2008 Market and Octavia Survey. For the same reason the accompanying survey does not inventory any of the properties touching Market Street. Furthermore, most of these properties already have some sort of protection as contributors to the California Register-listed Upper Market Street Commercial Historic District.

C. Period of Study

The period of study for the *Duboce Triangle Historic Context Statement* covers a broad period of time, spanning the years 1776 to 1976. It begins with the Spanish colonization of the San Francisco Peninsula and ends 45 years before the present. Although it may seem arbitrary, the 45-year threshold is standard practice for preparing historic context statements in California.[2] In addition, concluding the historic context statement in 1976 captures the most important events and trends of the late 1960s and early 1970s that put Duboce Triangle on the trajectory that it has been on ever since. However, the core of this study spans the years 1870 to 1930, which is when the overwhelming majority of buildings in the neighborhood were constructed.

[1] West of this line was the Flint Tract, a privately sponsored Victorian-era subdivision.

[2] The reason for this gap between the end of the period of study and the present is in order to provide an adequate period of time in which to properly understand the events that occurred in the past with a proper sense of historical perspective.

Figure 1. Aerial photograph showing the boundaries of the Study Area.
Source: Google Maps; annotated by Christopher VerPlanck

D. Nomenclature

"Duboce Triangle" is a fairly recent name for the neighborhood, dating back only to the late 1960s when local neighborhood activists began seeking federal funds to fix up the neighborhood's deteriorating housing stock. The name, of course, comes from the area's proximity to Duboce Park and it refers to the neighborhood's triangular boundaries defined by Duboce Avenue, Market Street, and Castro Street. Following the lead of neighborhood activists, the San Francisco Planning Department adopted the name for local planning purposes in 1970. Prior to 1970, Duboce Triangle was considered by most to comprise the northern half of Eureka Valley. At various times in the past the area has been known as "North Eureka Valley" or the "Duboce Park district," although the latter term is no longer used because it could be confused with the Duboce Park neighborhood. In addition, between 1900 and 1930, the term "Little Scandinavia" was often used to describe Duboce Triangle and the greater Upper Market district due to the presence of several dozen highly visible businesses, churches, and social halls catering to the city's Swedish, Danish, and Norwegian communities. Similarly, "Finn Town" was used by some to describe the intersection of Market and Noe streets, which at one time featured a node of Finnish businesses.

E. Regulatory Basis for Historic Preservation

It has long been recognized that the preservation of architecturally and/or historically significant properties enhances our collective quality of life by providing continuity with our past. Since the late 1960s, the preservation of historically and architecturally significant properties has been codified in local, state, and national codes throughout the United States. Historic properties can provide many tangible benefits to a community, including attracting investment and tourism and fostering civic pride. The National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) of 1966 provides the legislative framework for the National Register of Historic Places (National Register), the nation's comprehensive inventory of historic properties. Properties can be listed in the National Register through a formal application process in which the applicant demonstrates that a property meets at least one of the four eligibility criteria and retains "integrity" from the "period of significance."

In 1997, the California State Legislature established the California Register of Historical Resources (California Register). Closely based on the National Register, the California Register is administered by the California Office of Historic Preservation. Similar to the National Register, anyone can nominate a property to the California Register provided that it meets at least one of the four eligibility criteria *and* it retains integrity. The California Register also includes properties previously designated under the California Historic Landmark and California Points of Historical Interest programs, as well as properties formally determined eligible for the National Register by the State Historical Resources Commission (SHRC). The California Register differs from the National Register in several points, including that it routinely includes properties that have been relocated. In addition, it is slightly less stringent in regard to certain integrity standards and the "Fifty Year Rule."[3]

San Francisco has one of the oldest municipal historic preservation programs in the United States. Adopted in 1967 as Articles 10 and 11 of the San Francisco Planning Code, these two ordinances allow, with certain restrictions, people to nominate individual properties and/or concentrations of properties for designation as city landmarks or local historic districts. Article 10 originally used the Kalman Methodology but in 2000 it was amended to use National Register criteria. As of 2022, there were 300 individual city landmarks and 15 local historic districts.

Protections afforded by these registers vary, but at a minimum, any property listed in the National Register, the California Register, or designated under Articles 10 or 11 of the Planning Code, is considered to be a "historical resource" for the purposes of the California Environmental Quality Act (CEQA).[4] Such classification affords a property some protection in local land use decisions, but buildings with this designation are not entirely safeguarded because even the program with the most robust safeguards – Articles 10 and 11 –only delays demolition. Nonetheless, in practice it is very difficult to demolish or significantly alter a locally designated landmark or historic district contributor, and most developers will steer clear of historic properties due to the added headache and expense.

[3] The National Register requires that a nominated property be at least 50 years old unless it can be demonstrated that it is of exceptional significance and that enough time has passed to ensure proper historical perspective.

[4] CEQA is California's landmark environmental law. It helps to safeguard the natural environment, as well as historical resources. Simply put, CEQA requires government agencies to study potential projects that could have a significant impact on the environment and, if necessary, propose alternative approaches that minimize these impacts.

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II. METHODOLOGY

A. Author

The author of the *Duboce Triangle Historic Context Statement* is Christopher VerPlanck, an independent architectural historian based in San Francisco. A Bay Area native, Mr. VerPlanck earned his Master's Degree in Architectural History, as well as a Certificate in Historic Preservation, from the Graduate School of Architecture at the University of Virginia. Mr. VerPlanck wrote his graduate thesis on John Cotter Pelton, Jr., a now-obscure San Francisco architect who published free pattern books of inexpensive cottages for working-class San Franciscans in the 1880s and early 1890s. In 1997, Mr. VerPlanck won the Sally Kress Tompkins Fellowship, leading to a summer of documenting textile mill villages in the Chattahoochee River Valley of Georgia and Alabama with the Historic American Engineering Record (HAER). Later that year, VerPlanck returned to San Francisco to become the Preservation Fellow at the Foundation for San Francisco's Architectural Heritage, where he completed the *Dogpatch Survey and Historic Context Statement*. From 1999 until 2007, he was the lead architectural historian at Page & Turnbull, San Francisco's oldest preservation architecture firm. Since 2007, Mr. VerPlanck has worked as an independent historic preservation consultant. In this capacity he has written a dozen or so historic context statements for various surveys, including the Central Waterfront, the South of Market area, Showplace Square, India Basin/Bayview-Hunters Point, and the Outer Sunset district. He also authored the *San Francisco New Deal Historic Context Statement* and the *San Francisco Citywide African American Historic Context Statement*.

B. Fieldwork

Reconnaissance-level fieldwork for the project began in the fall of 2019 and was completed by the end of the year. For this part of the project, VerPlanck teamed with an independent preservation consultant named Barrett Reiter. Reiter developed a GIS-based field survey application, which VerPlanck and Reiter used to inventory every property within the survey area. Upon completion of the fieldwork, the data from the application was migrated to an Excel spreadsheet containing various fields, including estimated date of construction, method of construction, use, architectural style, alterations, etc. Once the spreadsheet was completed and checked for accuracy, Reiter created maps illustrating various aspects, including periods of construction, architectural styles, and building types.

C. Research

VerPlanck performed extensive research for the *Duboce Triangle Historic Context Statement*. Due to the fact that this part of the project occurred during the Covid 19 outbreak in 2020, much of the research was done on-line because all local libraries and research repositories were closed to the public. Consulting various on-line archives, including the Internet Archive, the San Francisco Public Library, the David Rumsey Map Collection, the Online Archive of California, etcetera, VerPlanck collected hundreds of maps, including San Francisco Block Books, U.S. Geological Survey Maps, Sanborn Maps, and official maps of San Francisco. These maps formed the foundation of VerPlanck's research, with Sanborn Maps constituting the most important source because they depict building footprints at various intervals, including 1886-93, 1899-1900, 1913-15, and 1948-50. Aerial photograph series taken in 1938 and 1948 in the David Rumsey Map Collection were also quite helpful.

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VerPlanck then consulted his own library for secondary sources, including books, magazine articles, and ephemera. The most important secondary source VerPlanck consulted was Alexander S. Bodi's graduate thesis, *The Duboce Triangle of San Francisco: A Study of a Community.* Submitted to the Anthropology Department at San Francisco State University in 1983, this thesis explores the history of Duboce Triangle in some depth, concentrating on the evolution of the Scandinavian immigrant community during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, government-sponsored revitalization efforts in the late 1960s and early 1970s, and the growth of the LGBTQ community in the 1970s and early 1980s.

Very little is written about Duboce Triangle in most local histories of San Francisco, although the neighborhood is featured in several architectural guidebooks, including *Victoria's Legacy* by Judith Lynch Waldhorn and Sally Woodbridge (1978). Several studies of adjoining neighborhoods contain some useful anecdotal information on Duboce Triangle, including H. Arlo Nimmo's 2007 book, *Good and Bad Times in a San Francisco Neighborhood*, which is an account of the adjoining Duboce Park neighborhood.

Several surveys and historic context statements prepared by government agencies and various environmental consultants contain information about Duboce Triangle and its vicinity, including the *Market & Octavia Area Plan Historic Context Statement* (2007), the *Corbett Heights Historic Context Statement* (2017), and the *Eureka Valley Historic Context Statement* (2017). At least one thematic historic context statement, the *Citywide Historic Context Statement for LGBTQ History in San Francisco* (2015), provides some information on the development of LGBTQ communities and businesses in Duboce Triangle from the early 1970s onward.

Newspaper databases were also a very useful source, including the San Francisco *Chronicle* and *Examiner* databases available through the San Francisco Public Library website. In addition, VerPlanck consulted the *San Francisco Call and Post* and *Morning Call* databases available through the Library of Congress website, as well as the *Bay Area Reporter, Daily Alta California,* and the Swedish-language newspaper *Vestkusten*, which is available through the California Digital Newspaper Collection.

Finally, historic photographs provided a good deal of useful information on the development of Duboce Triangle from the 1870s to the 1970s. VerPlanck consulted several on-line historic photo repositories, including the San Francisco Public Library's Historical Photograph Collection, the San Francisco Municipal Transportation Agency's (SFMTA) Historic Photo Collections, and the Western Neighborhood Project's OpenSFHistory Historical Images Online database.

D. Previously Surveyed and Registered Properties in Duboce Triangle

In comparison with many San Francisco neighborhoods, Duboce Triangle has actually been fairly well-represented in cultural resource surveys. This is in large part due to the inclusion of the easternmost two-thirds of the neighborhood in the Market and Octavia Plan Area Survey, which was completed by Page & Turnbull in 2006-09. Page & Turnbull surveyed every property developed before 1962 within the area bounded by Market Street, Noe Street, and Duboce Avenue. Page & Turnbull then documented every age-eligible property within this area on Department of Parks & Recreation (DPR) 523 A (Primary) forms. In consultation with Planning Department staff, Page & Turnbull selected ten percent of these properties for further study, documenting them on DPR 523 B (Building, Structure & Object) forms. In 2009, the Planning Department hired Kelley & VerPlanck Historical Resource Consulting to complete 523 B forms for several dozen additional properties. However, the western third of the neighborhood – an area bounded by Market Street, Noe Street, Castro Street, and Duboce Avenue – has never been surveyed.

Because Duboce Triangle has many intact Victorian and Edwardian-era properties, several dozen properties in the neighborhood have been identified in several older citywide surveys preceding the Market and Octavia Area Plan Survey. Chief among them was the Planning Department's 1976 Architectural Quality Survey (1976 Survey), which resulted in survey forms being prepared for 54 properties in Duboce Triangle – approximately 10 percent of the neighborhood's building stock. The 1976 Survey was a reconnaissance survey, meaning that surveyors were looking for buildings with obvious architectural significance. Very little, if any, historical research was completed. Surveyors assigned featured buildings ratings ranging from "0" (contextual significance) to "5" (highest importance). A few buildings in the neighborhood were also included in the 1968 Here Today Survey prepared by the San Francisco Junior League.

There are two existing California Register-listed historic districts in Duboce Triangle. The Duboce Triangle Historic District comprises approximately 300 residential and mixed-use properties surveyed by Page & Turnbull in the 2006-09 Market and Octavia Area Plan Survey. In addition, the Upper Market Street Commercial Historic District and the adjoining Upper Market Street Commercial Historic District Extension comprise approximately 50 commercial and mixed-use properties within Duboce Triangle along Market Street. Duboce Triangle also borders the locally listed Duboce Park Historic District to the north, an intact Victorian and Edwardian-era historic district that encompasses Duboce Park.

There are four locally listed city landmarks in Duboce Triangle, including Saint Francis Lutheran Church at 152 Church Street (Landmark No. 39), the Jose Theater/Names Project Building at 2362 Market Street (Landmark No. 241), Swedish American Hall at 2168-74 Market Street (Landmark No. 267), and the Benedict-Gieling House at 22 Beaver Street (Landmark No. 284). There are no National Register or National Historic Landmark properties in Duboce Triangle. All existing historic districts and local landmarks in Duboce Triangle and vicinity are shown in **Figure 2**.

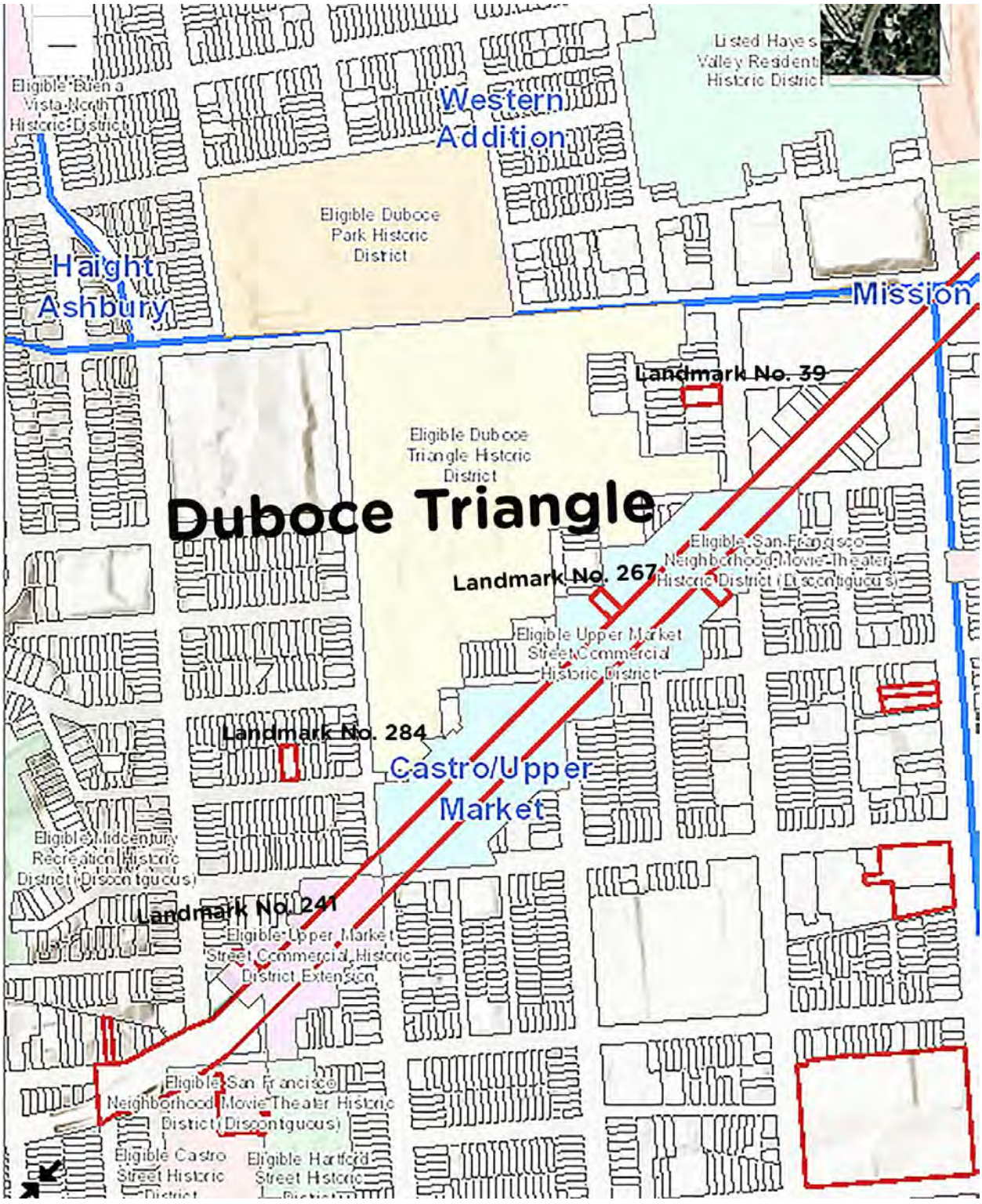

Figure 2. Map showing historic districts and local landmarks in Duboce Triangle and vicinity.
Source: San Francisco Property Information Map (PIM); annotated by Christopher VerPlanck

E. How to Use this Document

The *Duboce Triangle Historic Context Statement* is organized both chronologically and thematically. The narrative history of Duboce Triangle is presented in a chronological format from the Native American period to the mid-1970s. At the conclusion of each section there is a discussion of common property types associated with each period, as well as other themes that have impacted the physical development of Duboce Triangle. Toward the end of this document, Chapter IV – Recommendations, provides information on eligibility and integrity thresholds, as well as a list of 38 potential city landmark candidates and five potential historic districts that correspond to the themes identified throughout the document.

The primary purpose of this document is to provide an intellectual framework for understanding the development patterns that have led to the evolution of Duboce Triangle as we know it today. Although this document identifies many individual properties by name and/or address, it does not discuss every individual property in the neighborhood. However, the representative building type discussion at the conclusion of each section provides general information on common building types and styles built during each period of the neighborhood's history to help readers understand what they are looking at in the field.

There are very few high-style, custom-designed buildings in Duboce Triangle. Indeed, most of the residential building stock in Duboce Triangle was built on speculation by contractors and merchant builders using standardized designs and mass-produced building materials and ornament. Although architectural tastes changed over time, the building types and forms remained largely consistent between 1870 and 1930. As a result, types and forms are given equal footing to architectural styling in this document. Another reason for this is that a good number of buildings in Duboce Triangle have been stripped of their original ornamental detailing, and in some cases remodeled in a different style. Nonetheless, their original building forms are almost always recognizable. The *Duboce Triangle Historic Context Statement* discusses the interplay between these building types and forms and architectural styling throughout the document. In addition, the author has included a freestanding discussion of architectural styles commonly seen in Duboce Triangle in Chapter IV.

The *Duboce Triangle Historic Context Statement* also provides sections on two important demographic groups that have called the neighborhood home: Scandinavian immigrants and the LGBTQ community. Much of the information on the Scandinavian community is derived from Alexander Bodi's 1983 thesis on Duboce Triangle, as well as *Vestkusten,* San Francisco's long-running Swedish-language newspaper. Historic themes related to the neighborhood's LGBTQ community are drawn primarily from the *Citywide Historic Context Statement for LGBTQ History in San Francisco* by Shayne Watson and Donna Graves. Although the physical impact of these two communities on Duboce Triangle is not always readily apparent to the untrained eye, this document discusses how these groups inhabited the community and identifies individual buildings associated with them whenever possible.

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III. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT AND THEMES

A. Native American Settlement: to 1776

The first humans to settle the Bay Area were nomadic hunter-gatherers who spoke a language of the Hokan group. They arrived at least 6,000 years ago. Meanwhile, the ancestors of the present-day Ohlone people arrived from the Central Valley around the beginning of the Common Era, with shell middens containing Ohlone burials and various physical artifacts dating to at least 2,500 years ago.[5] The Ohlone who lived in what is now San Francisco belonged to the Yelamu tribelet. They spoke a dialect called Ramaytush, which was probably intelligible to people living as far away as the Santa Clara Valley.[6]

Chutchui, the largest permanent Ohlone village, was located not far from present-day Duboce Triangle, on the banks of Mission Creek, near Mission Bay. This village supported between 100 and 150 people, most of whom lived in conical houses made of willow saplings and tules (a type of reed). Their main sources of food included acorns, shellfish, and small birds and game. Residents of Chutchui would periodically relocate to a seasonal camp on Mission Bay called Sitlintac, where they would fish, gather shellfish, and hunt seabirds.[7] Another Ohlone village called Amutac was located several miles south of Chutchui, in what is now Visitacion Valley. Altogether, there were probably no more than 200 to 250 Ohlone living in what is now San Francisco, with each village operating as an autonomous entity. Nevertheless, San Francisco's Yelamu tribelet was part of a larger Ohlone "tribe" numbering some 10,000 people living within the area between the Golden Gate and Big Sur. Although each of approximately 55 tribelets living within this area were politically independent, they shared a similar language and culture and frequently cooperated with each other **(Figure 3)**.[8]

Figure 3. Artist's depiction of Puristac village in San Pedro, Pacifica.
Source: San Mateo County Historical Association

[5]National Park Service, Southeast Archaeological Center, "An Unvanished Story: 5,500 Years of History in the Vicinity of Seventh & Mission Streets, San Francisco," Website: http://www.cr.nps.gov/seac/sfprehis.htm

[6] 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.

[7] Randall Milliken, *An Ethnohistory of the Indian People of the San Francisco Bay Area: 1770-1810* (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1991), 111.

[8] Malcolm Margolin, *The Ohlone Way* (Berkeley: Heyday Books, 1978).

In San Francisco, the Yelamu preferred to live along year-round creeks emptying into San Francisco Bay, including Mission, Precita, Islais, and Yosemite creeks, so they had easy access to fresh water. Their villages were also located near the tidal marshes that once lined most of San Francisco's bay side, because much of their favorite foods, including fish, shellfish, and sea birds were in plentiful supply. What is now Duboce Triangle was historically bisected by a tributary to Mission Creek. This watercourse, later called Sans Souci Creek, cut across the northeastern corner of the study area from Duboce Park to the intersection of 14th and Market streets. It was likely a year-round creek whose source was either an artesian spring or a small pond. But since it is nearly a mile from Duboce Triangle to the original shoreline of San Francisco Bay, it is unlikely that the Yelamu would ever have built a permanent village in the area. Nonetheless, it is almost certain that they passed through the area on hunting and foraging expeditions, so it is possible that there are scattered archaeological deposits below the surface of the ground in Duboce Triangle, especially along the bed of Sans Souci Creek.[9]

Associated Property Types

There are no surviving structures or other above-ground resources surviving from the Native American period in Duboce Triangle. Although this historic context statement does not specifically address archaeological resources, the presence of Native American artifacts in Duboce Park and vicinity cannot be ruled out, especially due to the historical presence of several fresh water creeks in the area – including Sans Souci Creek (now underground) – as well as a large grove of coast live oaks in the western part of the area that appears to have survived into the 1860s. Given these factors, it would be possible to find Ohlone tools or hunting equipment, such as arrowheads or spear points, below-ground.

National and California Register and City Landmark Eligibility

Due to the fact that there are no above-ground structures associated with the Native American period in Duboce Triangle, any surviving resource would be archaeological in nature. If any significant Native American archaeological site were to be found in Duboce Triangle, it is almost certain that it would be eligible for registration at the local, state, or national level under National Register Criterion D (Information Potential) or the corresponding California Register Criterion 4 (Information Potential).

Integrity Considerations

As mentioned, the *Duboce Triangle Historic Context Statement* does not specifically address archaeological or traditional cultural properties associated with Native American settlement within the study area. Nonetheless, if any Native American site or artifact is encountered during subsurface excavation, a qualified archaeologist and/or trial historian should be consulted to assess its significance and to suggest measures for recovery or preservation in place.

[9] Carey & Company, *Revised Mission Dolores Neighborhood Survey* (San Francisco: 2009), 15.

B. Spanish and Mexican Settlement and Development: 1776 to 1846

Although Spanish authorities had claimed the region known as "Alta," or Upper, California since the late sixteenth century, they did not actively occupy it until the late eighteenth century, when increasing pressure from Russian, French, and English rivals forced the Spanish crown to assert its tenuous claim over the remote territory. Starting in what is now San Diego, Spanish Imperial agents, in cooperation with the Franciscan priest Junípero Serra, established a series of missions and military outposts called *presidios* along the coast and inland valleys of California. Several exploratory expeditions, including one led by Gaspar de Portolá in 1769, set the stage for the occupation of the San Francisco peninsula by Spanish forces. On June 29, 1776, Spanish settlers led by Lieutenant José Joaquín Moraga and two priests – Francisco Palou and Pedro Cambón – celebrated mass near the present-day intersection of 14th and Mission streets. Misión San Francisco de Asís (Mission Dolores), the formal name of the San Francisco mission, was constructed in the fall of 1776. In 1783, the mission was moved to its present site at 16th and Dolores streets, and the present building was dedicated in 1791 **(Figure 4)**.[10] El Presídio de San Francisco – the San Francisco Presidio – was also established in September 1776, several miles away on a bluff overlooking the strategic Golden Gate.

Figure 4. Mission Dolores, 1876.
Source: San Francisco Public Library, Image No. AAB-0676

What is now Duboce Triangle was not initially settled by Spanish colonists. Although documentation from this period is slim, it seems that the area was used as pastureland to feed the extensive herds of cattle maintained by both Mission Dolores and local colonists. With ample fresh water and a mild climate due to its location in a gentle valley east of Corona Heights and Buena Vista Hill, what is now Duboce Triangle would have been a good area for agriculture. However, it is not known whether the authorities at Mission Dolores ever planted any orchards or row crops in the area. The only sign of human presence in the survey area was a trail connecting Mission Dolores to the Presidio. Later known by American settlers as the "Old Spanish Trail," this footpath/bridle trail began at Mission Dolores. From there it headed northwest, crossing Duboce Triangle at an angle, toward what is now Duboce Avenue. The trail then zig-zagged along Sans Souci Creek toward the Presidio. The well-known "Wiggle" bike route roughly follows the Old Spanish Trail.[11] Until the establishment of Mission San Rafael in 1817, Duboce Triangle was located near the northernmost terminus of El Camino Real, the Spanish wagon road linking all of the missions from San Diego to San Francisco.

[10] Maynard Geiger, "New Data on the Building of Mission San Francisco," *California Historical Society Quarterly,* vol. 46, no. 3 (September 1967), 196-8.
[11] Joel Pomerantz, "Do the Wiggle!" *Tubular Times*, newsletter of the San Francisco Bicycle Coalition (February 1994).

After a long and drawn-out revolution against Spanish rule, México won its independence in 1821. The newly independent nation inherited most of what had been the Viceroyalty of New Spain, including Alta California. México, which faced its own problems as a newly independent nation with a shattered economy, initially neglected Alta California, leaving the territory to its own devices. However, by the early 1830s, Mexican authorities had become increasingly alarmed by U.S. expansionism in the Pacific. France and England were also clearly interested in California. Seeking to better-secure the remote territory, the Mexican government secularized the California missions in 1833 and granted the ex-mission lands to well-connected individuals, including to several veterans of the Mexican War of Independence.

In 1845, José de Jesús Noe, *alcalde* of the newly established Pueblo of Yerba Buena, petitioned Governor Pío Pico for 4,444 acres of ex-mission lands on the northern part of the San Francisco Peninsula. Rancho San Miguel, as it was called, encompassed much of the rugged central spine of San Francisco, including the present-day neighborhoods of Castro/Eureka Valley, Noe Valley, Glen Park, Diamond Heights, Miraloma Park, Sunnyside, St. Francis Wood, Forest Hill, etc. Present-day San Francisco contained several other ranchos, including José Antonio Galindo's Rancho Laguna de la Merced (1835), José Bernal's Rancho Rincón de Salinas y Potrero Viejo (1839), and Francisco and Ramón de Haro's Rancho Potrero Nuevo (1841). Duboce Triangle was not part of any major Mexican-era ranchos, although it touches the northeastern corner of Rancho San Miguel near the present-day intersection of 17th and Market streets.

Duboce Triangle was originally part of the "Pueblo Lands" granted by the Mexican government to the Pueblo of Yerba Buena in the charter of 1835. Under Mexican law, pueblos were incorporated civil settlements administered by an elected *alcalde* or mayor. By this time there were four other pueblos in Alta California: San José (1777), Los Angeles (1781), San Diego (1834), and Sonoma (1835).[12] The Pueblo Lands granted to each of these communities were reserved for collective use by the community at large, as well as for future expansion. Most of Yerba Buena's Pueblo Lands, as well as land immediately surrounding Mission Dolores, were used by local residents for farming and grazing, although small grants were occasionally given to various individuals if they could make a case that it was necessary for his or her livelihood.

The Mexican government seems to have granted only one landholding in what is now Duboce Triangle prior to the American conquest of 1846-48. In 1836, during a period of political turmoil in Alta California, Francisco Guerrero obtained the Suerte Grant, a tract bounded by Duboce Avenue to the north, Buchanan and Dolores streets to the east, 15th Street to the south, and Sanchez Street to the west. The section of Duboce Triangle bounded by Duboce Avenue, Market Street, and Sanchez Street was all part of the Suerte Grant. Francisco Guerrero, who was very well-connected, was also appointed *alcalde* of Yerba Buena in 1836 (he served again in 1839).[13] What Guerrero did – if anything – with the Suerte Grant is not known, although it is possible that he farmed it. Sans Souci Creek flowed through the land, so it is quite possible that he acquired the land for irrigated agriculture and/or horticulture.

[12] Clare B. Crane, "The Pueblo Lands," *The Journal of San Diego History,* Vol. 37, No. 2 (Spring 1991).
[13] California Mortuary and Cemetery Records, 1801-1932, for Francisco Guerrero.

Associated Property Types

Although it is likely that Francisco Guerrero farmed the easternmost section of Duboce Triangle during the last decade of Mexican rule, no permanent Hispanic-era structures are known to have been erected anywhere in Duboce Triangle during this period. It is possible that Guerrero built one or more sheds or temporary domestic structures on the Suerte Grant, but they probably would have been ephemeral structures without substantial foundations. Therefore, any resources remaining from the Spanish and Mexican period in Duboce Triangle would be archaeological in nature, including postholes, stone post footings, irrigation canals known as *acequias,* or middens.

National and California Register and City Landmark Eligibility

Due to the fact that there are no above-ground structures associated with the period of Spanish and Mexican settlement and development in Duboce Triangle, any surviving resource would be archaeological in nature. If any significant Spanish or Mexican archaeological site were to be found in Duboce Triangle, it would almost certainly be eligible for registration at the local, state, or national level under National Register Criterion D (Information Potential) or corresponding California Register Criterion 4 (Information Potential).

Integrity Considerations

The *Duboce Triangle Historic Context Statement* does not specifically address archaeological or traditional cultural properties associated with the Spanish and Mexican period. Nonetheless, if any Spanish or Mexican archaeological site or artifact is encountered during subsurface excavation, a qualified archaeologist and/or trial historian should be consulted to assess its significance and to suggest measures for recovery or preservation in place.

C. Early American Period: 1847-1865

In spite of México's efforts to secure its northern frontier, pressures from foreign powers – especially the United States – were rapidly becoming more intense. Seeking to head off France and Great Britain, the U.S. made overtures to México to purchase San Francisco Bay and the land surrounding it in 1835. México declined the offer and continued trying to colonize Alta California. In 1835, pro-slavery American settlers in the Mexican territory of Tejas (Texas) rebelled, declaring independence in March 1836. A decade later the U.S. annexed Texas. Widely viewed in México as a serious provocation, more serious incidents would soon follow as President James K. Polk, an avowed expansionist, sent U.S. troops across the Nueces River from Texas into Mexican territory in January 1846. This led to skirmishes along the Rio Grande. With this *casus belli*, the U.S. Congress declared war against México on May 13, 1846.[14]

U.S. military forces and American settlers living in Mexican territories simultaneously attacked Mexican military installations and seats of government. In Alta California, American settlers launched the Bear Flag Revolt in June 1846. One month later, Commodore John D. Sloat, commander of the U.S. Navy's Pacific Squadron, occupied several ports along the California coast, including the capital of Monterey on July 7, and Yerba Buena on July 9, 1846. Over the next few months, Sloat's successor, Commodore Robert F. Stockton, with help from John C. Fremont's volunteers, occupied all of Northern California with virtually no

[14] Robert W. Merry, *A Country of Vast Designs: James K. Polk, the Mexican War, and the Conquest of the American Continent* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2009), 146-7.

bloodshed. Southern California, which had many more Mexican and native *Californio* residents, was more difficult to pacify. After much hard fighting in and around Los Angeles and San Diego, Californio volunteers, who fought bravely in the Battles of San Pasqual and Rio San Gabriel, surrendered to U.S. forces on January 12, 1847.[15] A year later, on February 2, 1848, México ceded Alta California, as well as Nevada and parts of Utah, Colorado, Wyoming, Arizona, and New Mexico, to the United States under the terms of the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo.

The Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo guaranteed all Mexican citizens living in newly annexed U.S. territory the right to retain their property. However, none of the treaty signers knew that gold had been discovered on the American River in the western foothills of the Sierra Nevada by a carpenter named James Marshall on January 24, 1848. News spread like wildfire – first to ports along the west coast of México, Central America, and South America, and then to the East Coast of the United States, Europe, and Asia. Tens of thousands of people set sail for San Francisco in the spring and summer of 1848, increasing the Mexican pueblo's population from less than 1,000 to 26,000.[16] Although most new arrivals headed straight for the gold fields in the Sierra Nevada, many spent time in San Francisco on their way back home, with some settling in the city permanently. The new residents, who were overwhelmingly young and male, lived where they could – often in canvas tents or crude huts made of cast-off wood. Gradually, more permanent houses, shops, and other buildings were constructed, although without surveyed streets and lots, the city was a chaotic mess.

Lieutenant Washington A. Bartlett, alcalde of Yerba Buena during the U.S. military occupation, sought to regularize development. In addition to renaming the settlement San Francisco on January 30, 1847, Bartlett hired an Irish immigrant surveyor named Jasper O'Farrell to survey the town. Building on an earlier survey completed in 1839, O'Farrell surveyed two additions. To the north, near Portsmouth Square, O'Farrell added the area bounded by Hyde Street to the west, Bay Street to the north, Yerba Buena Cove to the east, and Geary Street to the south. This section was called the 50 Vara Survey.[17] South of Market Street, which O'Farrell laid out as a 120-foot-wide boulevard, O'Farrell laid out the 100 Vara Survey from scratch. This area, bounded by 5th Street to the southwest, Market Street to the northwest, Yerba Buena Cove to the northeast, and Townsend Street to the southeast, had blocks that were four times larger than the 50 Vara Survey.[18] The 1847 O'Farrell Survey set the stage for all further municipal survey work in San Francisco, including the 1851 Survey by William Eddy. Eddy enlarged the 50 Vara Survey one block to the west – to Larkin Street – and then extended it south to Market Street. Eddy also set aside several public reservations, including Washington Square, Union Square, and the Yerba Buena Cemetery **(Figure 5)**.

[15] Dale L. Walker, *Bear Flag Rising: The Conquest of California* (New York: MacMillan, 1999).
[16] "San Francisco Population," San Francisco History: www.sfgenealogy.org/sf/history/hgpop.htm, accessed September 10, 2020.
[17] A *vara* is a Spanish unit of measurement roughly equivalent to an English yard.
[18] Oscar Lewis, *San Francisco: Mission to Metropolis* (San Diego: Howell-North Books, rev. ed. 1980), 43.

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Figure 5. 1851 Official Map of San Francisco by William Eddy.
Source: David Rumsey Map Collection

According to San Francisco's original 1850 charter, the city's northern and eastern boundaries were formed by San Francisco Bay. Meanwhile, the western boundary was an imaginary line one and a half miles distant from the center of Portsmouth Square, running parallel to Kearny Street. Similarly, the southern boundary was an imaginary line two miles distant south from the center of Portsmouth Square, running parallel to Clay Street. According to early maps, the meeting point of these two lines was the present-day intersection of 17th and Dolores streets.[19] Two years later, following the re-incorporation of San Francisco in 1852, the city limits were expanded half a mile west to just beyond Castro Street and half a mile south to an imaginary line between 21st and 22nd streets.[20] Four years later, San Francisco's city and county governments were merged and the city's southern boundary was moved to where it is today with San Mateo County and the western boundary extended to the Pacific Ocean.[21]

The 1850 and 1852 Charter Lines bracket the present-day neighborhood of Duboce Triangle, which was not platted at the time. As described in the previous section, the Mexican government had granted much of the present-day to several individuals as large ranchos. However, the Mission Valley, which included the present-day Mission district as well as parts of Noe Valley, Eureka Valley, and Duboce Triangle, remained common land for the use of all residents. In addition to the Suerte Grant, the only major private landholding in the valley was Rancho Camaritas, an 18.5-acre landholding bounded by 14th, Shotwell, 16th, and Mission streets, which was granted to José de Jesús Noe in 1840. Noe sold this property to Francisco Guerrero in 1846 after he moved to his much larger Rancho San Miguel.[22]

In addition to Rancho Camaritas, the Mission Valley was home to a small village that had grown up around Mission Dolores in the years following the Mexican government's secularization of the mission in 1833. The village, which consisted of about 40 adobe and wood-frame structures, fanned out from the mission along what are now Dolores, Guerrero, and Valencia streets, as well as the intersecting numbered streets between 15th and 17th streets. The village was home to about 150 people – mainly Spanish-speaking Californios, Mexicans, and Spaniards. Residents of the village deliberately kept themselves apart from the bustling port of Yerba Buena after the American conquest, as they sought to preserve their Hispanic culture from being swamped by the incoming tide of Anglo-American settlers.[23]

What is now Duboce Triangle, which was located less than a quarter mile from the village surrounding Mission Dolores, was, apart from the Suerte Grant, held in common by local Spanish-speaking residents. When San Francisco incorporated under U.S. rule in 1850, Spanish-speaking residents initially tried to incorporate as a separate municipality. Feeling under siege by the American conquerors, local Spanish-speaking San Franciscans also feared that their land would be taken away by the newcomers. Although the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo had guaranteed the rights of Spanish and Mexican landowners, they had to prove title to their land at the U.S. Land Commission, an incredibly arduous, expensive, and time-consuming process that. Forced to hire English-speaking lawyers to help them navigate the process, all of

[19] 1850 San Francisco Charter.
[20] 1852 San Francisco City Charter.
[21] The corporate boundaries of San Francisco also include the Farallon Islands, distant 30 miles from the Golden Gate.
[22] San Francisco Planning Department, *City within a City: Historic Context Statement for San Francisco's Mission District* (San Francisco: 2007), 19.
[23] Ibid., 20.

San Francisco's old ranching families were eventually forced to sell off most of their land to pay their legal fees.[24]

One of the first to sell was José de Jesús Noe. In 1853, he sold off the northeastern corner of Rancho San Miguel – the section closest to the built-up portion of the city – to two Mormon pioneers from New Jersey: John and Robert Horner. The Horners platted the land into blocks and lots and put it up for sale. Unfortunately for the Horners, the tract, which they called Horner's Addition (now Noe Valley and the southern part of Eureka Valley), was too remote to attract many buyers, and they were forced to sell the land at a loss.[25]

By the mid-1850s, San Francisco was bumping up against the boundaries of the 1851 Eddy Survey. The city's expansion into the un-surveyed territory beyond was stymied by several factors, including uncertainty regarding who owned the land, a question exacerbated by the presence of hundreds of squatters who had begun occupying the ranchos and the common land used by the Spanish-speaking residents of Mission Dolores. Further complicating matters was that the owners of the ranchos had begun had selling off chunks of their land before their patents had been approved by the U.S. Land Commission.[26]

Seeking a way to sever the "Gordian knot" of clouded land titles, the newly organized City and County of San Francisco passed the first Van Ness Ordinance in 1855. Two related ordinances of the same name were passed in 1856 and 1858. In addition to granting titles to those in actual physical possession of the land – effectively rewarding the squatters – these acts provided for the surveying and platting all of the remaining un-surveyed Pueblo Lands within the 1851 Charter Line. The Van Ness Ordinances also set aside several dozen plots for public use, including land for future parks, hospitals, and schools. The Van Ness Survey, which took place between 1855 and 1858, doubled the size of the city. North of Ridley Street (now Duboce Avenue) the newly surveyed land was called the Western Addition. Bounded by San Francisco Bay to the north, Larkin Street to the east, Ridley Street to the south, and Divisadero Street to the west, the Western Addition effectively extended the 50 Vara survey westward to Divisadero Street. South of Ridley Street, the Mission Survey extended the 100 Vara Survey westward to Castro Street and southward to 22nd Street.[27]

Duboce Triangle was platted in 1855 as part of the Mission Survey, which as mentioned, was an extension of the 100 Vara Survey **(Figure 6)**. Before 1855, the 100 Vara Survey ended at 9th Street. However, municipal authorities did not wish to extend the 100 Vara Survey indefinitely along a diagonal alignment, which would bring it into conflict with the rest of the city's growing orthogonal street plan. In order to reorient the 100 Vara Survey in accordance with the cardinal points of the compass, several smaller, wedge-shaped blocks had to be created between 11th and 14th streets. As laid out by O'Farrell in 1847, each 100 Vara block contained six 100 vara lots. Each 100-vara lot measured 275' x 275', so each 100 Vara block measured 550' x 825'. By removing two lots at one end, each of the new blocks now contained four lots, measuring 550' x 550'. The reduction in size of each new block, combined with their new wedge

[24] San Francisco Planning Department, *City within a City: Historic Context Statement for San Francisco's Mission District* (San Francisco: 2007), 22.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Christopher VerPlanck, *Market and Octavia Area Plan Historic Resource Survey* (San Francisco: 2007), 31.

shape, allowed the 100 Vara Survey to transition from its diagonal alignment in the South of Market area to its orthogonal alignment in the Mission district.[28]

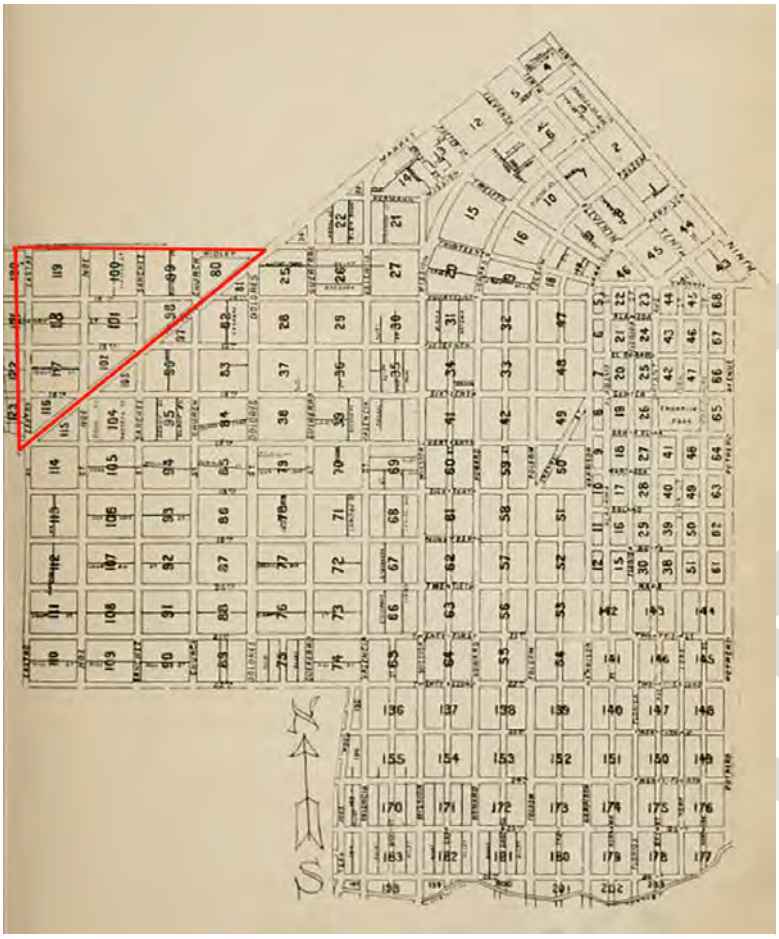

Figure 6. Mission Survey, with Duboce Triangle shown in red.
Source: 1894 San Francisco Block Book

What is now Duboce Triangle was divided into 14 blocks in the 1855 Mission Survey.[29] Although several blocks originally measured the full 550' x 550', including Blocks 99, 100, and 101, the rest of Duboce Triangle consisted of irregular "fractional" blocks. The fractional category included four blocks west of Castro Street that bumped up against the 1851 Charter Line, including Blocks 120, 121, 122, and 123. There were four triangular blocks bordering Market Street, including Blocks 80, 98, 102, and 116.[30] Although not technically fractional because their outside dimensions measure 550 feet along each side, Blocks 117 and 118 were divided into two sections by mid-block streets, including Beaver Street, which bisects Block 117, and Henry Street, which bisects Block 118.[31]

As shown on an 1858 map, the essential geography of Duboce Triangle had been created by the Van Ness Ordinances **(Figure 7)**. Ridley Street, now Duboce Avenue, defined the future neighborhood's northern boundary, as well as forming the boundary between the Western Addition and Mission surveys. Ridley Street began just west of Castro Street and extended to Church Street, where it dead-ended at a Spring Valley Water Works facility built to tap Sans Souci Creek. The 1858 map shows Tracy (14th) Street extending from just west of Castro to Market Street. The same was true for Sparks (15th) and Center (16th) streets. Other east-west streets included Beaver and Henry Streets, which as discussed, bisect two blocks between Castro and Noe streets. North-south streets included, from east to west, Church, Sanchez, Noe, and Castro. All four streets began at Ridley Street and extended southward into Eureka Valley. Neither Belcher nor Walter Street appear on the 1858 map.

[28] Ibid., 27.
[29] The Mission Survey block numbers are: 80, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, and 123.
[30] Christopher VerPlanck, *Market and Octavia Area Plan Historic Resource Survey* (San Francisco: 2007), 31.
[31] Eventually, Beaver Street was extended west of Castro Street and Henry Street extended east of Noe Street to Sanchez Street. Belcher and Walter Streets were added later.

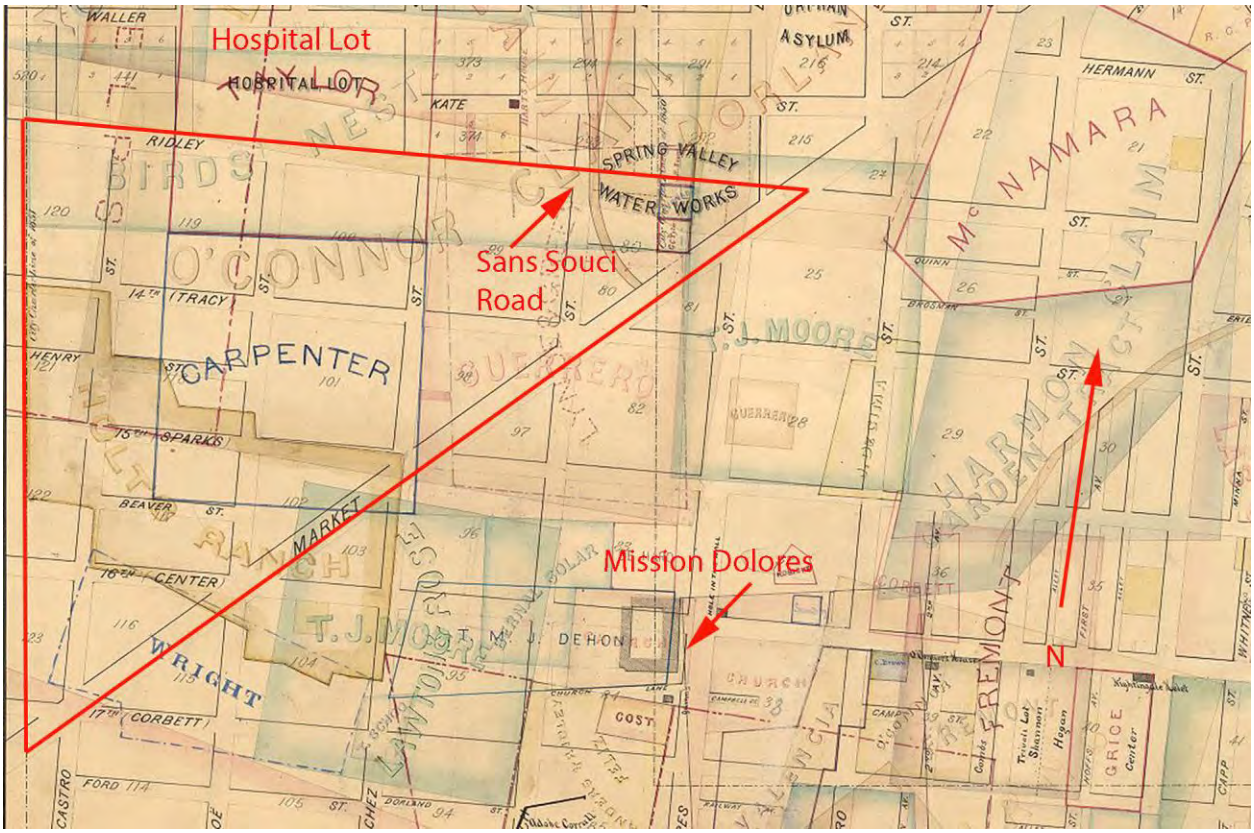

Figure 7. Ca. 1860 Van Ness Ordinance Map showing the boundaries of Duboce Triangle in red.
Source: David Rumsey Map Collection; annotated by Christopher VerPlanck

In addition to illustrating the original street plan of Duboce Triangle, the 1858 map indicates that nearly all of what is now Duboce Triangle had been claimed by squatters. Their claims are shown to overlap, suggesting that authorities had not finished adjudicating the final property lines. As indicated by the map, Duboce Triangle squatter claims included the Wright Claim (Block 116 and part of Block 117), the "Bird's Nest" (parts of Blocks 80, 99, 110, 119, and 120), the Carpenter Claim (all of Block 101 and parts of Blocks 100, 102, 118, and 119), Holt's Ranch (all of Blocks 102 and 103 and parts of Blocks 104, 116, 117, 118, 120, 121, and 122), and the O'Connor Claim, which spanned much of today's Duboce Triangle and Lower Haight neighborhoods. Francisco Guerrero's Suerte Grant is also depicted on the 1858 map. Guerrero was murdered by an American migrant in 1851. Following his death, squatters descended upon his property.[32] According to the 1858 map, the Suerte Grant was claimed by two squatters named Lynde and Greely.

Several notable physical features are shown on the 1858 map. The first is the Spring Valley Water Works reservoir facility, which occupied what are now the U.S. Mint and Safeway properties. The Spring Valley Water Company – San Francisco's largest private water utility –built the waterworks in the late 1850s to harness Sans Souci Creek. The facility consisted of a pump house adjoining Sans Souci Creek and a reservoir atop Mint Hill. Reservoir Street, which bisects the Safeway parking lot, memorializes this historical use. Another feature shown on the map is Sans Souci Road. The name "Sans Souci," which means "carefree" in French, became applied to the Old Spanish Trail. The third feature is the Hospital Lot.

[32] California Mortuary and Cemetery Records, 1801-1932, for Francisco Guerrero.

Bounded by Waller, Steiner, Ridley, and Scott streets, the Hospital Lot was set aside in the Western Addition Survey for a future public hospital.

Published around the same time, the 1857 U.S. Coast Survey map shows 13 buildings in what is now Duboce Triangle **(Figure 8)**. The buildings are arranged in five clusters. The largest cluster consists of six buildings on the Spring Valley Water Company property. There was another cluster of four buildings near the intersection of Sanchez, Market, and 15th streets. They were all part of a property known as Holt's Ranch, including a large house, a barn, and several outbuildings. There were also three barns in the area presently bounded by Duboce Avenue, Belcher Street, 14th Street, and Walter Street. The 1857 U.S. Coast Survey Map provides an impressive amount of information on early land uses in Duboce Triangle. At this time most of Duboce Triangle was pasture, including all of Holt's Ranch. There was also a coast live oak grove following a seasonal watercourse along Henry Street. Row crops covered approximately one-third of Duboce Triangle, including most of the Suerte Grant. The 1857 U.S. Coast Survey Map shows only a few roads in what is now Duboce Triangle. None of the existing street network had been built, with only a few unnamed ranch roads and Sans Souci Road extending across the rural landscape.

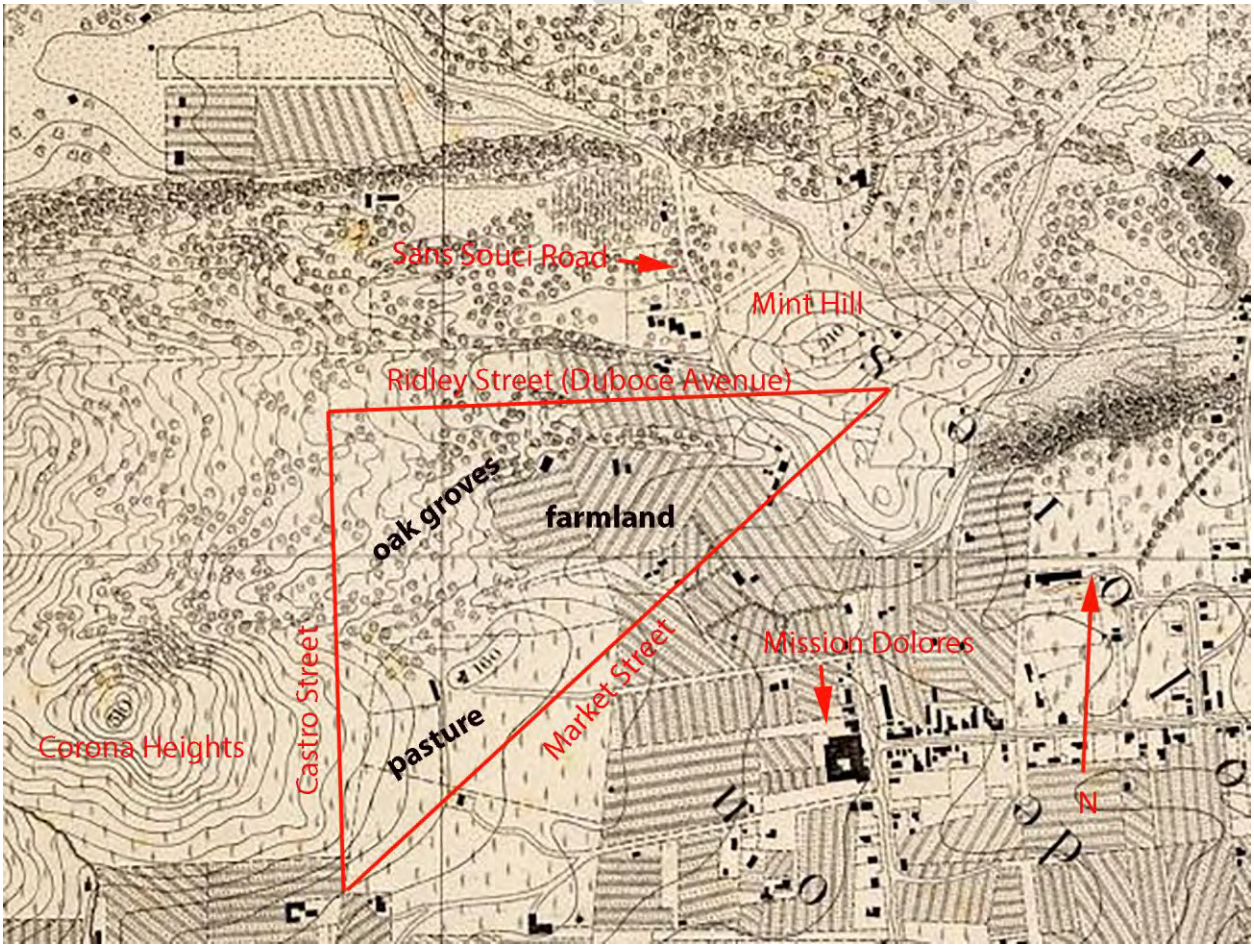

Figure 8. 1857 U.S. Coast Survey Map showing present-day boundaries of Duboce Triangle.
Source: David Rumsey Map Collection; annotated by Christopher VerPlanck

The 1859 U.S. Coast Survey Map shows virtually identical conditions, suggesting that San Franciscans were in no rush to take up residence in what is now Duboce Triangle. In addition to being well beyond the limits of the then built-up portion of the city, Duboce Triangle consisted of large landholdings used for agriculture. Although the Van Ness Ordinances were supposed to have quieted land titles, they were only partially successful. It took another decade or so for lawsuits to work their way through the court system, discouraging residential development in the area.

Lack of transit was another stumbling block. Duboce Triangle is only about two and a half miles from Downtown as the crow flies, but transit lines to the area remained non-existent during the Early American period. In the early 1850s, businessmen built two "plank" roads from the center of town to Mission Dolores, including the Mission and Folsom plank roads. Local farmers and ranchers used them to transport their goods to market, and on weekends, day trippers used them to ride out into the "country."[33] Beginning in 1853, the Yellow Omnibus Line – San Francisco's earliest transit line – began operating from 3rd and Mission streets to Mission Dolores, which is six blocks from Duboce Triangle. Attractions served by this horse-drawn railway included The Willows picnic ground at 18th and Mission, Woodward's Gardens at 14th and Mission, and the Odeum Gardens at 15th and Dolores. Beginning in 1860, a steam "dummy" engine began operation between Downtown and Colonel Thomas Hayes' Hayes Park Pavilion, a bar and restaurant located near the present-day intersection of Hayes and Laguna streets.[34] Nevertheless, Hayes Street was six blocks north of what is now Duboce Triangle, reducing its value as a commuter line.

Street conditions were also poor. Market Street, although depicted on early maps as going all the way from Yerba Buena Cove to the intersection of 17th, Market, and Castro streets, was not graded beyond Dolores Street until the 1870s due to the presence of a large rock outcropping. This obstacle hampered access and stymied residential development in what is now Duboce Triangle until after the Civil War.

Associated Property Types

As early maps indicate, it does not appear that any of the 15 or so buildings built in Duboce Triangle between 1846 and 1865 still stand. Likely constructed by squatters and/or agricultural tenants, these buildings included a handful of houses, several barns, and various other agricultural outbuildings. There is a remote possibility that one or more of these buildings was moved to the back of a lot and converted into a shed or ancillary dwelling, but there is no proof of this having taken place. There is a high probability that scattered archaeological resources from the Early American period survive below-ground in Duboce Triangle, although subsurface disturbance of the area since the development of the neighborhood would have likely destroyed or dislocated some of these resources. Nevertheless, a qualified archaeologist should be consulted should any early Anglo-American archaeological remains be discovered in the course of excavation.

[33] San Francisco Planning Department, *City within a City: Historic Context Statement for San Francisco's Mission District* (San Francisco: 2007), 25.

[34] A steam dummy is a small steam engine enclosed within a wooden body resembling a streetcar for transporting passengers. Christopher VerPlanck, *Market and Octavia Area Plan Historic Resource Survey* (San Francisco: 2007), 31.

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National and California Register and City Landmark Eligibility

Due to the extreme rarity of resources from this period in San Francisco, any building, structure, or site association with the theme of Early American Settlement would likely be significant and therefore eligible for registration at the local, state, or national level under National Register Criteria A, B, or C or the corresponding California Register Criteria 1, 2, or 3.

Integrity Considerations

Properties associated with the theme of Early American Settlement, should they exist, ought to retain integrity of materials, design, and workmanship to convey their significance and association with this context. Integrity considerations include the following:

- Properties should retain some semblance of their original form, in particular height and massing, as well as at least some of its original fenestration pattern, including location of doors and windows, and some exterior cladding materials.
- It is to be expected that properties of this age will likely have undergone many alterations, including additions, window and door replacements, porch alterations, and removal and or replacement of ornament. As long as the property is basically recognizable as dating to this period, these changes ought not to preclude historical designation.
- Very highly altered properties should be evaluated based on the degree of historic material and/or design integrity remaining, as well as the information that such properties may yield about the settlement of the area.
- It is very likely that any surviving property associated with this context would have been moved from its original location, including to the back of its lot or some other lot in the neighborhood. Due to the rarity of such properties in San Francisco, this factor should not preclude historical designation.

D. Suburban Villas and Streetcar Suburbs: 1866 to 1893

The mid-1860s witnessed the beginning of residential development in Duboce Triangle.[35] Three factors made this possible: resolution of land titles, the completion of the Transcontinental Railroad, and improved access. The first factor was an 1864 Congressional act that "quieted" land titles in San Francisco, making long-term investments in the Pueblo Lands feasible.[36] The second factor was the anticipated opening of the Transcontinental Railroad, which would finally link California to the rest of the nation by rail in 1869. Local boosters predicted that the railroad would result in an influx of new residents from the eastern states. In response, real estate speculators bought up large tracts of land on the outskirts of the city and subdivided them into house lots. The third factor was improved access to the Upper Market Street area. This began in the early 1870s with the extension of Market Street southwestward from Dolores to

[35] It must be kept in mind that Duboce Triangle is a recent name for the area bounded by Duboce Avenue, Market Street, and Castro Street. During the late nineteenth century, it was lumped in with Eureka Valley south of Market Street.

[36] San Francisco Planning Department, *City within a City: Historic Context Statement for San Francisco's Mission District* (San Francisco: 2007), 30.

Castro Street. Finally, toward the end of the decade, a steam "dummy" train began operating between the terminus of the Market Street cable car lines at Valencia Street to 17th and Market streets.[37]

As interest in land in Duboce Triangle and Eureka Valley grew in the mid-1860s, owners of several large landholdings began looking to sell. The March 27, 1867 *Chronicle* includes an advertisement for Holt's Ranch, the largest landholding in Duboce Triangle. The advertisement describes the land as "beautiful and desirably located" and mentions that Market Street was "graded and macadamized and sidewalked (sic) within four blocks of the property." Terms included one-third down, with the rest due over the following two years at one percent interest per month.[38]

Hillside Homestead Association

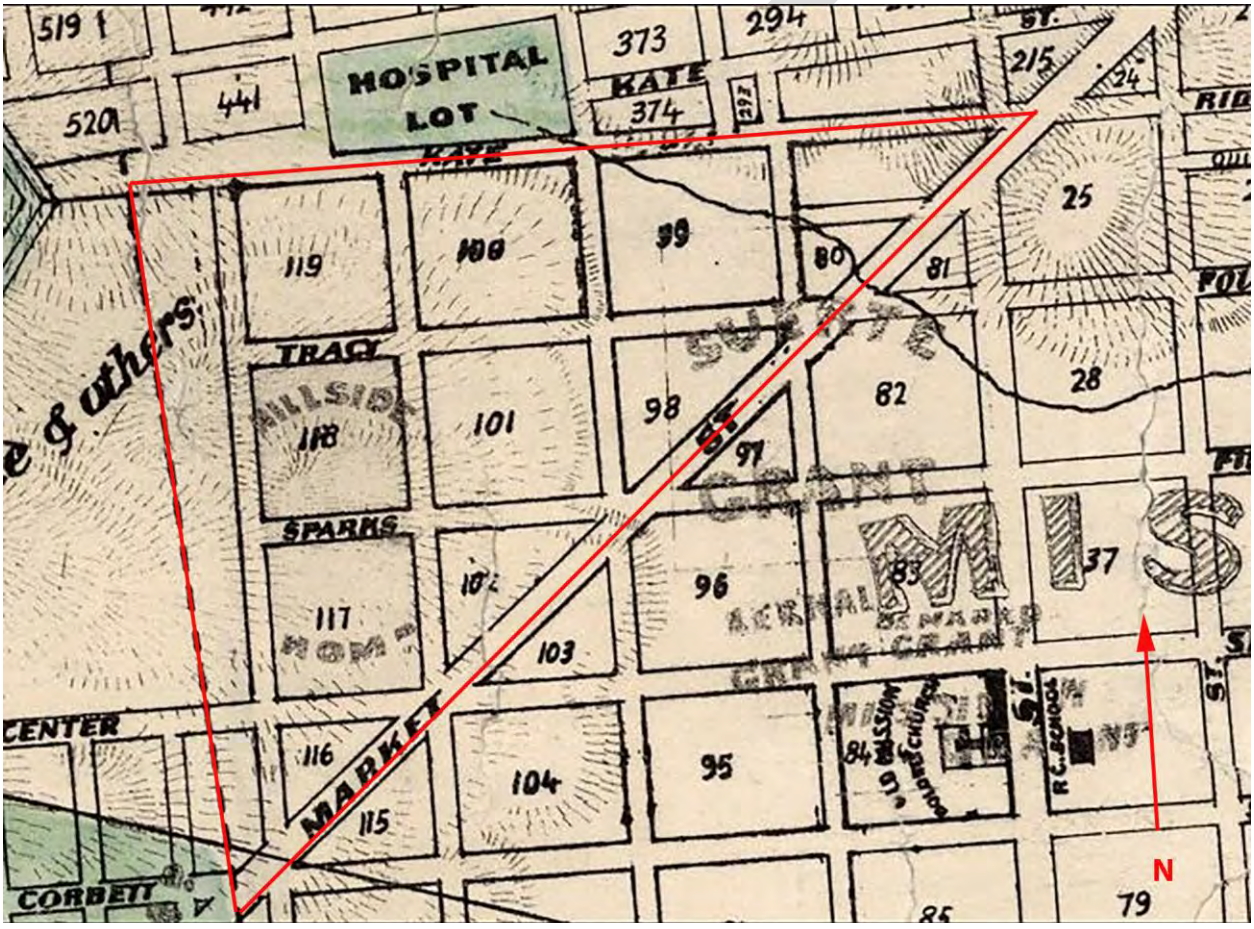

Figure 9. 1869 Official Map of the City and County of San Francisco by George Goddard showing Duboce Triangle in red. Source: David Rumsey Map Collection; annotated by Christopher VerPlanck

In 1868, William Hollis, director of The Real Estate Associates (TREA), San Francisco's pioneer merchant builder, purchased Holt's Ranch. According to the 1869 Official Map of the City and County of San Francisco, Hollis owned Mission Blocks 117 and 118 in their entirety **(Figure 9)**.[39] However, Hollis did not

[37] Christopher VerPlanck, *Market and Octavia Area Plan Historic Resource Survey* (San Francisco: 2007), 31.
[38] "Classifieds," *San Francisco Chronicle* (March 27, 1867), 1.
[39] It is likely that Hollis bought more of Holt's Ranch than what is shown on the 1869 map but the scale of the map was not sufficient to show exactly which blocks and lots were part of his holdings.

develop this land with rows of identical Italianate dwellings that his company was known for – probably due to lack of demand for this type housing on what were then the outskirts of the city. Instead, he organized the Hillside Homestead Association, subdivided the land into house lots measuring 25' wide by 115' deep, and began selling shares in October 1868.[40]

Homestead associations, a San Francisco invention, functioned similarly to joint stock corporations. An investor would purchase shares, and once fully vested, that individual could select one or more lots based on his or her total investment. Homestead associations were most often used to market land in outlying or otherwise marginal locations. As a result, the land was often cheaper and relatively easy to acquire than through other means. Shareholders were often savvy working-class San Franciscans looking for inexpensive land on which to build a house, but more often than not investors were other real estate speculators looking for a long-term investment.

Not much is known about Hollis' Hillside Homestead Association, including who he marketed the land to. According to advertisements in local newspapers, monthly payments ranged from $12 and $15 a month. Hollis would hold regular meetings to distribute shares and parcel out lots.[41] After a number of lots had changed hands, Hollis petitioned city authorities to improve several streets in the tract, beginning in February 1870 with a petition to grade and install curbs along 15th Street from Noe to Castro Street.[42] According to an advertisement in the June 5, 1873 *Chronicle,* the final two shares changed hands in exchange for of $500, entitling the investor to select two adjoining lots each measuring 25' x 115'.[43]

Unlike other homestead associations in San Francisco, the Hillside Homestead Association seems to have attracted a relatively affluent clientele, probably due to the tract's relatively close-in location, balmy climate (by San Francisco standards), and views of Downtown. Some of the early shareholders assembled one or more lots into large "villa" sites and built expensive houses on them. Unlike most San Francisco houses of the period, which were mainly built on narrow 25-foot-wide lots with side walls touching, the suburban "villas" of the Hillside Homestead Association were entirely freestanding and usually sited in the midst of a garden. A half-dozen or so of these suburban villas were constructed in Duboce Triangle during the 1870s and early 1880s, but the only one that remains with any of its original setting intact is the Benedict-Gieling House at 22 Beaver Street. Built Ca. 1870 by Jacob Benedict, a prosperous silversmith and assayer, the lushly landscaped property comprises a pair of adjoining (originally three) lots on the north side of Beaver Street, between Castro and Noe streets. In addition to the remarkably preserved Italianate villa, the property has an intact carriage house and a mature Victorian garden **(Figure 10)**.

[40] City and County of San Francisco, *San Francisco Municipal Reports: Fiscal Year 1881-82.* (San Francisco: 1882), 117.
[41] "New Advertisement," *San Francisco Chronicle* (November 20, 1869), 2.
[42] "Board of Supervisors," *San Francisco Chronicle* (February 15, 1870), 3.
[43] "Real Estate Sales," *San Francisco Chronicle* (June 5, 1873), 3.

Figure 10. Benedict-Gieling House, 22 Beaver Street; 2018.
Source: Christopher VerPlanck

Although the property has been reduced in size by one-third, the Benedict-Gieling House escaped the fate of most of its counterparts – nearly all of which were demolished and replaced by flats in the early twentieth century. Red-tagged by the City in the late 1960s, the house and grounds were carefully restored by John and Imogene "Tex" Gieling in the 1970s and 1980s.[44] The property was designated San Francisco Landmark No. 284 in 2018.

Duboce Triangle has several other early Victorian-era dwellings dating to the 1870s, although none as grand as 22 Beaver Street. Comparable properties include 198 Castro Street, a Ca. 1880 San Francisco Stick-Eastlake house at the northwest corner of 15th and Castro streets, and 245 Castro Street, a Ca. 1870 flat-fronted Italianate d at the northeast corner of Beaver and Castro streets **(Figure 11)**. Duboce Triangle also contains several early vernacular dwellings dating back to the early days of the neighborhood, including a pair of 1870s-era houses on the south side of 15th Street between Noe and Sanchez streets: 2173-75 and 2177 15th Street. Another one, which is located inside the boundaries of the Hillside Homestead Association, is 9 Beaver Street, a Ca. 1875 vernacular house with a gable roof and Italianate detailing **(Figure 12)**.

[44] Christopher VerPlanck, *Landmark Designation Report for the Benedict-Gieling House, 22 Beaver Street* (San Francisco: 2018).

Figure 11. 245 Castro Street, 2019.
Source: Christopher VerPlanck

Figure 12. 9 Beaver Street, 2019.
Source: Christopher VerPlanck

There were approximately 200 buildings within what is now Duboce Triangle according to the Benjamin Corbett Trumbull Map, an insurance map made in 1874 and updated to Ca. 1880 **(Figure 13)**.[45] Several buildings were clearly barns and other agricultural buildings that probably dated back to the 1850s. Several others were carriage houses and outbuildings associated with several of the new suburban villas. The vast majority of the new houses were located within the Hillside Homestead Association tract bounded by 14th, Noe, Market, and Castro streets. For the most part, the buildings were widely spaced apart, suggesting that many were sited on large landscaped lots. In contrast, the streets of the nearby Western Addition feature a denser pattern of rowhouse development. The 1874 map also indicates that all five of the major mid-block streets had been laid out and named, including Beaver, Henry, Belcher, Walter, and Reservoir streets.

[45] Due to the absence of building records pre-dating the 1906 Earthquake, dating houses from the Victorian and early Edwardian eras can be challenging. According to the field survey completed as part of this project, there are only about 10 extant buildings in Duboce Triangle that were built between 1870 and 1880. This attribution is based in part on their architectural features, but many buildings in the neighborhood have been altered over time, and some older buildings are located at the rear of their lots behind newer buildings. Because of this, we will likely never know how many buildings from this decade still exist in Duboce Triangle.

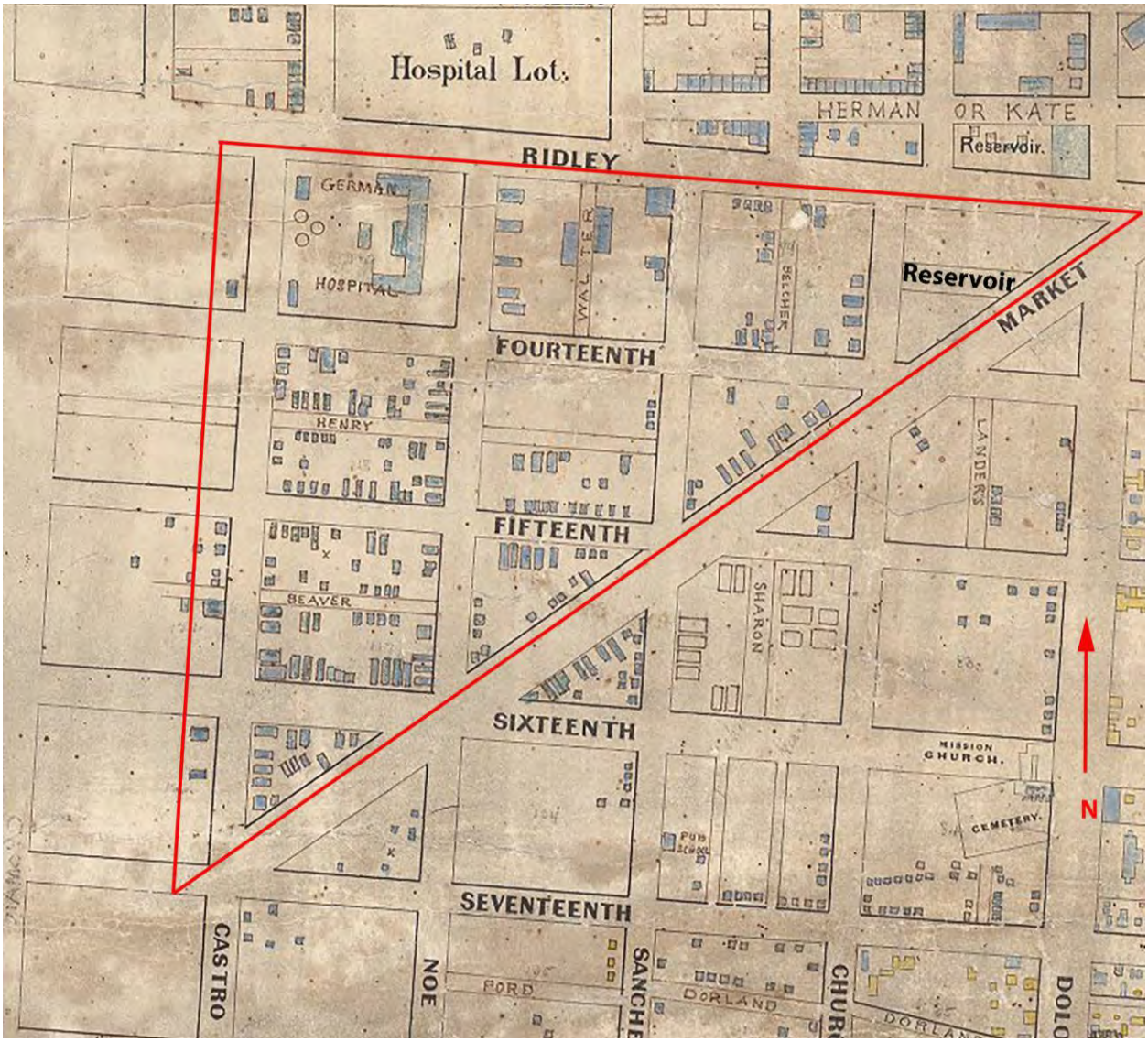

Figure 13. 1874 Trumbull Map showing the boundaries of Duboce Triangle in red.
Source: David Rumsey Map Collection

Apart from Ridley Street (Duboce Avenue), all streets in Duboce Triangle had assumed their current names on the 1874 Trumbull Map. The numbered streets obviously took their names from the Mission Survey, of which Duboce Triangle is a part, whereas Castro, Noe, Sanchez, and Church streets took their names from the adjoining Eureka Valley/Horner's Addition surveys. Church Street was presumably named for nearby Mission Dolores, whereas Castro, Noe, and Sanchez streets were named for three prominent Californio families. As mentioned, Reservoir Street got its name from the Spring Valley Water Company facility. In contrast, the origins of the names of the other four mid-block streets: Beaver, Henry, Belcher, and Walter, are lost to history. All appear to have come into use in the early 1870s, which is also when they were graded and put into service. Beaver and Henry Street are both located within the Hillside Homestead Association tract, and were both probably named for streets in lower Manhattan. The origins of Belcher and Walter Street are entirely unknown.

The Trumbull Map shows scattered development along Market Street between Castro and Sanchez streets. Prior to the arrival of mass transit in the 1880s, there was little commercial development on this stretch of Market Street, which was still an unpaved expanse of dirt (and dust) in the summer and mud in the winter. Early photographs indicate that Market Street was characterized by the same large lot development pattern observed elsewhere in the neighborhood. According to a Ca. 1872 photograph of Market Street between Noe and Sanchez streets, there was a two-story Italianate villa occupying a fence-lined lot that was intensively planted with rows of trees – possibly an orchard **(Figure 14)**. Neither this property, nor any of the other villas or outbuildings visible in the background, appear to remain today.

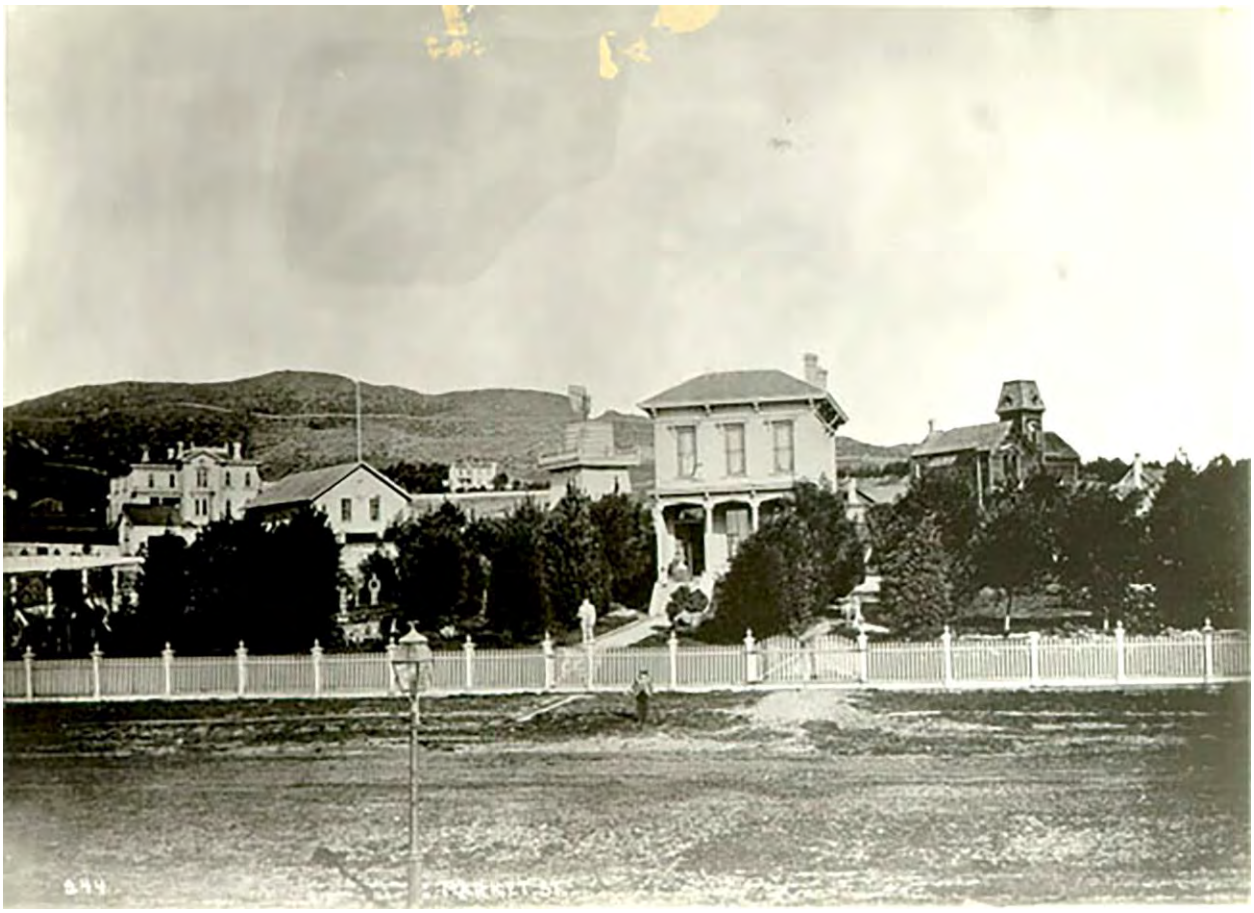

Figure 14. North side of Market Street between Noe and Sanchez streets, Ca. 1872.
Source: San Francisco Historical Photograph Collection, San Francisco Public Library

German Hospital

The only non-residential property in Duboce Triangle depicted on the 1874 Trumbull Map is the German Hospital. This institution dates back to 1858, when German immigrants established a medical facility for their countrymen on Brannan Street, between 3rd and 4th streets, in the South of Market area. San Francisco's German Hospital pioneered one of the nation's first pre-paid health insurance plans. For a dollar a month, subscribers qualified for a hospital bed and medical treatment should they ever need it. In 1876, the original hospital was destroyed by a fire that started in an adjoining factory.[46] The board of directors began searching for a safer location on the outskirts of town, settling on a full block bounded by

46 "German Hospital Destroyed," *San Francisco Chronicle* (August 29, 1876), 3.

Ridley, Noe, 14th, and Castro streets. The German General Benevolent Society began fundraising, and only two years later, in December 1878, a new state-of-the-art hospital was open and ready for patients.[47] The original wood-frame hospital was designed in the German Rundbogenstil, or "round arch style," and it occupied a lush campus planted with grass, palm trees and shrubs **(Figure 15)**. Interestingly, the 200-bed hospital appears on Trumbull's 1874 map four years before it was built, suggesting that the Trumbull Map was updated after its initial publication. In 1888, a new women's wing was built next to the original building. This facility stood until 1908 when it was replaced by a much larger brick complex that was later renamed Franklin Hospital during World War I.[48]

Figure 15. German Hospital, 1878; view from Noe Street.
Source: OpenSFHistory wnp130.00016

Arrival of Residential Builders

Duboce Triangle was firmly "in the country" during the 1870s. But transit improvements completed during this decade brought the neighborhood within commuting range of Downtown San Francisco. Additional improvements in the 1880s continued to improve access to the urban fringe. In the planning and construction phase for three years, the extension of the Market Street Railway's cable rail line from Valencia Street to 17th and Castro in 1886 made it possible to travel between Duboce Triangle and Downtown on one seat with only one ticket. During the first half of the 1880s, individual "mom and pop" builders began building speculative houses in anticipation of the cable rail line.[49] Much of the new construction consisted of a narrow range of housing types, including one-story cottages, two-story

47 "German Hospital," *San Francisco Chronicle* (December 8, 1878), 8.
48 Christopher VerPlanck, *Market and Octavia Neighborhood Plan Area Historic Context Statement* (San Francisco: San Francisco Planning Department, 2007), 45-6.
49 "Affairs in the Growing Suburbs: Eureka Valley March of Progress," *San Francisco Chronicle* (January 19, 1896).

rowhouses, and a handful of larger flats and apartment buildings.[50] Many of the builders were German immigrants, although there were also a few Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish carpenters involved in this first wave of residential development. Although their numbers were small at the time, the tentative influx of Scandinavian immigrants portended more radical changes during the early twentieth century.

Scandinavian Community

Since its earliest days as a remote Mexican pueblo, San Francisco has remained an ethnically diverse place. During the Gold Rush, San Francisco's streets presented a bewildering assortment of people from all around the globe. Most of these newcomers eventually went home, although many stayed to become San Franciscans. Nonetheless, apart from a sizable Chinese community, San Francisco's population remained of largely European origin throughout the nineteenth century, including large contingents of Irish, Germans, French, British (including people from the British dominions of Australia and Canada), and Americans of various origins. Not heavily represented during Gold Rush days, Scandinavian immigrants only began to arrive in large numbers during the 1870s.

Figure 16. William Leidesdorff. Source: San Francisco Museum and

Pushed from their homes by crippling rural poverty and a prolonged economic downturn, tens of thousands of Scandinavians tried their luck in the United States during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Unlike earlier immigrant groups who mostly settled in New York and other East Coast port cities, Chicago and Minneapolis-St. Paul were the primary destinations of Scandinavian immigrants. Following the opening of the Northern Pacific Railway in 1883, which linked Chicago to Seattle, Scandinavians began to fan out across the Northern Plains and into the Pacific Northwest. Seattle became the primary bastion of Scandinavian settlement on the Pacific Coast. From there, they trickled southward into rural Washington, Oregon, and Northern California, with many Norwegians and Swedes taking seasonal jobs in lumber camps or on fishing boats. In contrast, Danes mainly took jobs on dairy farms. However, Scandinavians of all backgrounds took jobs in building construction and shipbuilding in large cities such as Seattle, Tacoma, Portland, San Francisco, and Oakland.[51]

A handful of Scandinavians had been present in San Francisco since before the Gold Rush. Indeed, one of the most prominent was William Leidesdorff. Born in Christiansted on St. Croix, in the Danish Virgin Islands, Leidesdorff was the son of a Danish planter and a native mother of mixed African and Carib ancestry. As a young man, Leidesdorff became a sea captain and a successful merchant with assistance from his father **(Figure 16)**. In 1841, he decided to sail his vessel to San Francisco, where he set up a series

[50] In this document we use the term "rowhouse" to refer to a single-family house that physically touches its neighbors to either side. This term encompasses both dwellings with common or "party" walls or, more commonly seen in San Francisco, freestanding structures with independent side walls.

[51] Alexander S. Bodi, *The Duboce Triangle of San Francisco: A Study of a Community* (San Francisco: Thesis submitted to San Francisco State University Anthropology Department, 1983), 9.

of businesses that allowed him to amass a vast fortune in gold and real estate. He also sat on the *Ayuntamiento*, or town council. Following the U.S. conquest, Leidesdorff was elected to the San Francisco School Board and appointed as City Treasurer. When he died of typhoid fever on May 18, 1848, William Leidesdorff was one of San Francisco's most prominent citizens, and schools were closed and flags flown at half-staff during the day of his burial.[52]

There were enough Scandinavians like Leidesdorff in San Francisco during the post-Gold Rush days to support a Scandinavian Society. Organized in 1859 and headquartered at 320 Sansome Street, members of the Scandinavian Society were mostly wealthy merchants and prominent businesspeople.

As the nineteenth century wore on, new arrivals from Scandinavia increasingly began to represent the lower echelons of the socio-economic spectrum, many having left failing farms in the old country to make a new life in the U.S. Although some had arrived in San Francisco by sea, most had previously lived in another city with a large Scandinavian community, such as Minneapolis or Seattle. Similar to most working-class immigrants in San Francisco, Scandinavians settled in the South of Market area. As a result, most of the city's early Scandinavian institutions were located in the neighborhood, including the Scandinavian Evangelical Lutheran Church. Founded in 1871, this church was originally located on Mission Street between 5th and 6th streets. Other important institutions included the Scandinavian Hall Association (founded 1871), which was located on Mission Street between 3rd and 4th streets, and the Scandinavian Benevolent Association (founded 1872), a charitable organization that provided unemployment, sickness, and death benefits to Scandinavian immigrants. Another important early institution founded around the same time was the Swedish-language newspaper *Vestkusten, or* "West Coast," established in July 1873.[53]

One of the most important early Scandinavian cultural organizations was the Scandinavian Singing Club. Founded in 1872 as a choral group, in 1874 it changed its name to Svea, a traditional name for Sweden.[54] Svea put on a variety of choral and musical events for members of the city's Scandinavian community, which numbered between three and four thousand in the mid-1870s.[55]

On April 12, 1875, the members of Svea decided to create an auxiliary benevolent society for its membership. Two months later, a seven-person committee drew up the organization's by-laws. Translated from the original Swedish the mission statement read: "To assist the sick and bury its deceased members; to work for the maintenance of a choir, and give literary and social engagements." The new organization was called the *Svenska Sällskapet*, or the Swedish Society.[56] The organization's first building, Skandia Hall, was located on City Hall Avenue opposite the old San Francisco City Hall. Scandia Hall was destroyed in the 1906 Earthquake and Fire, but the Swedish Society of San Francisco continues to exist today, headquartered at the Swedish American Hall at 2168-74 Market Street in Duboce Triangle.

Due to their numbers, ethnic Swedes dominated the membership of these early cultural and benevolent societies, but they were also open to Danes, Norwegians, and Swedish-speaking Finns. Indeed, the

[52] Sue Bailey Thurman, *Pioneers of Negro Origin in California* (San Francisco: Acme Publishing Co., 1952).
[53] "Jottings about Town," *San Francisco Chronicle* (July 23, 1873), 3.
[54] Svea is an old Swedish word meaning "of the Swedes."
[55] "The Scandinavian Church," *San Francisco Chronicle* (April 6, 1873), 8.
[56] Alexander S. Bodi, *The Duboce Triangle of San Francisco: A Study of a Community* (San Francisco: Thesis submitted to San Francisco State University Anthropology Department, 1983), 10.

standard spoken dialects of Swedish, Norwegian, and Danish were, and remain, mutually intelligible, and in spite of several longstanding rivalries, immigrants from all three countries recognize their shared history and cultural affinities. Over time, as more Scandinavian immigrants arrived in San Francisco, cultural institutions serving each of the specific ethnic groups were founded, yet the bonds linking these three groups were preserved in the remaining pan-ethnic organizations.

Scandinavians Contractors

San Francisco's growing Scandinavian community remained concentrated in the South of Market area until around 1900. As mentioned, many male Scandinavian immigrants came to the U.S. with useful skills in carpentry, masonry, painting, etc. As they gained a foothold in San Francisco's expanding building trades industry during the 1870s and 1880s, some Scandinavians became successful building contractors. Seeking opportunities on the outskirts of the city, Scandinavian contractors began purchasing "sand lots" in Eureka Valley and Duboce Triangle to build houses. Scandinavian contractors preferred building flats, sometimes reserving one unit for themselves and their families and renting the other unit(s) to family members or fellow countrymen.[57]

Speculative Building during the Victorian Era

Scandinavian contractors were well-positioned in Victorian San Francisco. Between 1870 and 1880, the population of the city surged upward from 149,473 to 233,959. By 1890, the city's population had reached almost 300,000, an increase of 100 percent in 20 years.[58] As San Francisco's population grew, urban development likewise expanded, fanning outward in an arc surrounding the "old" city, including the Western Addition, Eureka Valley and Duboce Triangle, Noe Valley, and the southernmost part of the Mission district. Largely spared by the 1906 San Francisco Earthquake and Fire, these neighborhoods today comprise San Francisco's "Victorian belt."

By the 1880s, Duboce Triangle and Eureka Valley were well-positioned for urbanization. The area had been subdivided and most of the streets within the neighborhood had been graded, if not paved. Sewers had also been installed along most streets, and the privately owned Spring Valley Water Company provided water hookups to customers throughout most of the neighborhood.

Victorian-era contractors in San Francisco adhered to standard practices that were gradually developed and refined over time in response to local conditions, including the prevalence of 25-foot-wide lots, mass-produced redwood construction materials, lack of good brick or building stone, and a cool climate with scarce sunlight for much of the year. Within these constraints, local contractors, regardless of their origins, developed a standard prototype that dominated residential construction in San Francisco for 50 years. This led to a certain uniformity of the basic underlying building that changed very little between the 1870s and the 1920s, even though the styles changed roughly every decade. In addition, certain contractors developed signature architectural flourishes which they used to distinguish their product from their competitors.

[57] Alexander S. Bodi, *The Duboce Triangle of San Francisco: A Study of a Community* (San Francisco: Thesis submitted to San Francisco State University Anthropology Department, 1983), 11.
[58] U.S. Census decennial population figures for San Francisco.

One important factor in how a neighborhood developed was whether most of the houses were built by individual mom and pop carpenter/contractors or large merchant builders. For example, in neighborhoods where large plots of vacant land were available, such as parts of Noe Valley and the Western Addition, merchant builders such as The Real Estate Associates (TREA) and Fernando Nelson erected entire blocks of largely identical houses. In contrast, in neighborhoods where most of the land had already been subdivided and sold off to individuals such as Duboce Triangle, development remained much more varied. This accounts for the tremendous variety that characterizes most blocks of the neighborhood. When groups of matching houses do appear in Duboce Triangle, it is apparent that they were the result of infill construction that replaced a remnant agricultural operation or a suburban villa. A good example of this is a row of three matching San Francisco Stick-Eastlake rowhouses on the 3600 block of 16th Street. built Ca. 1885, this row took the place of an early suburban villa **(Figure 17)**.[59]

Figure 17. 3650 (right) to 3656 (left) 16th Street.
Source: Christopher VerPlanck

Local architects also contributed to the standardization of the San Francisco building practices during the late nineteenth century. During the Victorian era, there was no formal accreditation process for architects in the U.S. Although some of San Francisco's more successful architects were educated in Europe, most learned on the job or through night school or correspondence courses. With few municipal building

[59] Michael C. Corbett, *Revised Draft: Corbett Heights Historic Context Statement* (San Francisco: San Francisco Planning Department, 2017), 36.

regulations in place, local architects and builders primarily responded to the desires of their clients, as well as the local constraints discussed above. Architects also paid close attention to their competitors' work, as well as to drawings published in architectural pattern books and trade journals.

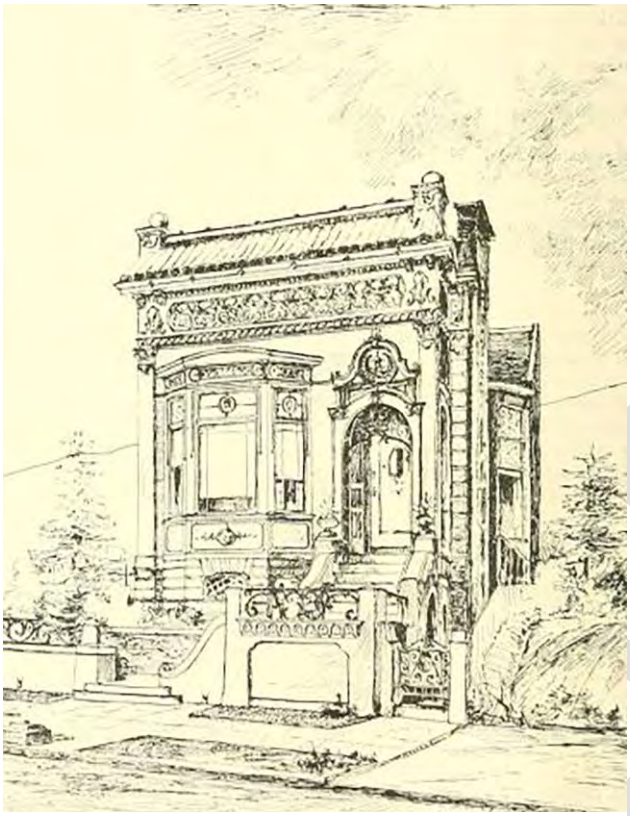

Figure 18. Perspective rendering of a cottage in the January 1895 edition of *California Architect & Building News.*
Source: Bancroft Library

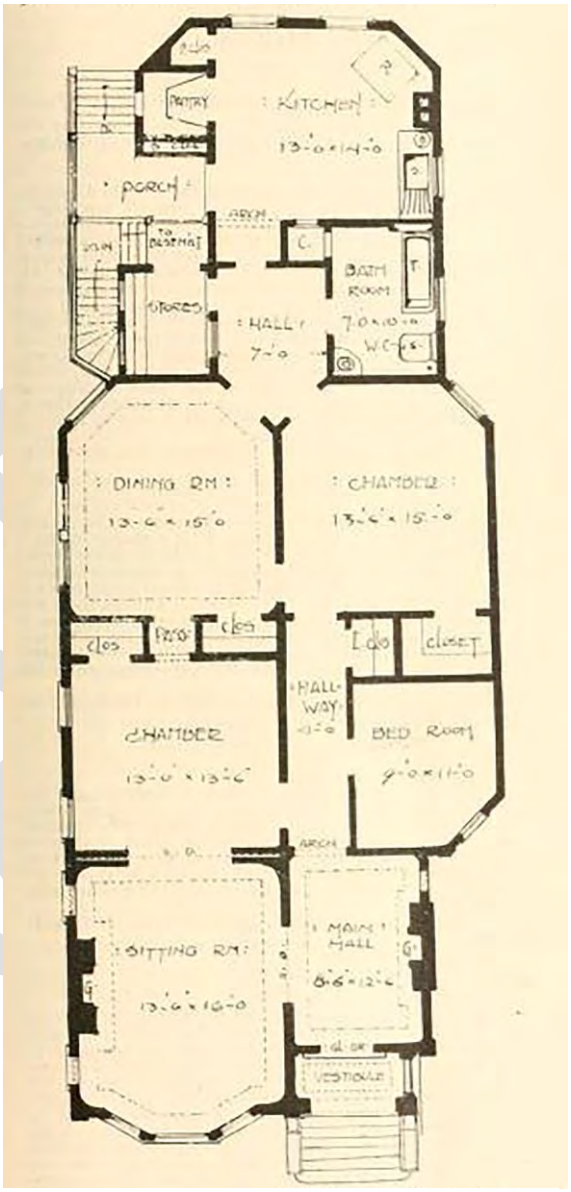

Figure 19. Floorplan of a cottage in the January 1895 edition of *California Architect & Building News.*
Source: Bancroft Library

The most influential local trade journal was *California Architect & Building News*, the official mouthpiece of the San Francisco Chapter of the American Institute of Architects (AIA). This journal, which ran from 1879 until 1899, regularly published architectural drawings showcasing the work of local architects **(Figures 18-19)**. Other architects (and builders) would use these drawings to try out new ideas or otherwise improve upon their designs, including space planning within the constraints of narrow 25-foot lots and maximizing

the infusion of natural light throughout an interior through the use of light wells, notch-outs, and rear step backs.[60]

San Francisco's building industry depended upon the availability of vast quantities of California redwood and Douglas fir (known then as Oregon pine). Compared with the East Coast and Midwest, brick and stone masonry were not commonly used for domestic building, in part due to the lack of good lime, as well as the risks posed to masonry buildings by earthquakes. Milled in local planing mills and sold in lumber yards, mass-produced redwood siding and scroll-sawn and machine-lathed ornament were relatively cheap, durable, and nearly rot and termite-resistant. Redwood also performs quite well in earthquakes. Assembled using conventional balloon framing techniques and fitted with off-the-shelf doors and windows, mantels, and staircases– as well as plumbing and gas light fixtures – Victorian houses were hardly the handcrafted artifacts that many people think them to be. Built quickly and cheaply, but with fancy façades, Victorian houses created a sense of "instant urbanity" in the fast-growing neighborhoods of San Francisco's Victorian belt. Built to suit the tastes of upwardly mobile San Franciscans anxious to shake the frontier dust from their boots, the exuberant Victorian rowhouse, rendered variously in the Italianate, San Francisco Stick-Eastlake, and Queen Anne styles, created fantastic streetscapes.[61]

Local builders, including Charles Hinkel, Fernando Nelson, John Anderson, John Swenson, Louis Landler, and F. Klatt (who often collaborated with architect Henry Geilfuss), used the previously discussed influences to develop designs that would be economical to build, efficient in regard to interior layout, resistant to weather and earthquakes, and appealing to a wide cross-section of San Francisco society. Although often small and modestly appointed, the output of residential builders in Duboce Triangle, as well as other neighborhoods in the Victorian belt, turned out product with abundant curb appeal and individuality such as the small but elegant Italianate cottage at 963 14th Street **(Figure 20)**, built Ca. 1885, or the similarly proportioned San Francisco Stick-Eastlake cottage at 3673-75 16th Street **(Figure 21)**, built Ca. 1890.

Figure 20. 963 14th Street.
Source: Christopher VerPlanck

[60] Ann Vernez Moudon, *Built for Change: Neighborhood Architecture in San Francisco* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1986), 41. During the Victorian era, municipal regulations were very minor, but one requirement was that every room had to have direct access to light and air, sometimes leading to ingenious solutions.
[61] Richard Walker, "Classy City: Residential Realms of the Bay Region," online version: http://geog.berkeley.edu/PeopleHistory/faculty/R_Walker/ClassyCity.html, accessed December 15, 2020.

Figure 21 3673-75 16th Street.
Source: Christopher VerPlanck

Although what is now Duboce Triangle was almost exclusively residential during this period, there were a few commercial and mixed-use buildings built throughout the neighborhood, especially along Noe Street. These early mixed-use buildings were fairly small, typically consisting of one or two commercial units at the first-floor level and one residential unit – often for the business owner – on the second floor. Corner lots were preferred because they were highly visible and one could also build a carriage house with street access at the rear. One of the best surviving examples in Duboce Triangle is 200 Noe Street. Built Ca. 1885, this two-story, mixed-use building is designed in the San Francisco Stick-Eastlake style **(Figure 22)**. Indicating the importance of the intersection of 15th and Noe streets, there are mixed-use buildings on three of the four corners, including 2200 15th Street, which has an intact carriage house at the rear.

Figure 22. Mixed-use building at 200 Noe Street.
Source: Christopher VerPlanck

The 1893 Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps (Sanborn Maps) illustrate Duboce Triangle as it appeared while undergoing its transition into a Victorian-era streetcar suburb. At the time, the neighborhood was almost exclusively residential, consisting primarily of one-story cottages, two-story rowhouses, and a handful of two and three-story flats and apartment buildings. More "urban" land uses – mostly flats and a few mixed-use buildings – were concentrated along the first block of 15th Street between Sanchez and Noe, and the first block of 16th Street between Noe and Castro **(Figure 23)**. On the other hand, most lots along Market Street were still vacant, suggesting that population densities were not high enough in the Upper Market area to justify intensive commercial development. Henry and Beaver streets, mid-block lanes that received little traffic, were evidently the most desirable blocks due to the presence of several large suburban villas with landscaped gardens around them. Unsurprisingly, the blocks with the sparsest development were the ones located farthest from Market Street, especially the two blocks bounded by Ridley Street (now Duboce Avenue), Church Street, 14th Street, and Noe Street. These blocks, which had remained in agricultural use until the early 1880s, remained undeveloped until the mid-1890s **(Figure 24)**. Because these blocks had remained under single ownership, builders were able to buy the land in bulk and construct several tracts of identical cottages. In 1893 the only notable non-residential properties included the German Hospital at Ridley and Noe streets and a contractors' storage yard at the southeast corner of 14th and Sanchez streets.

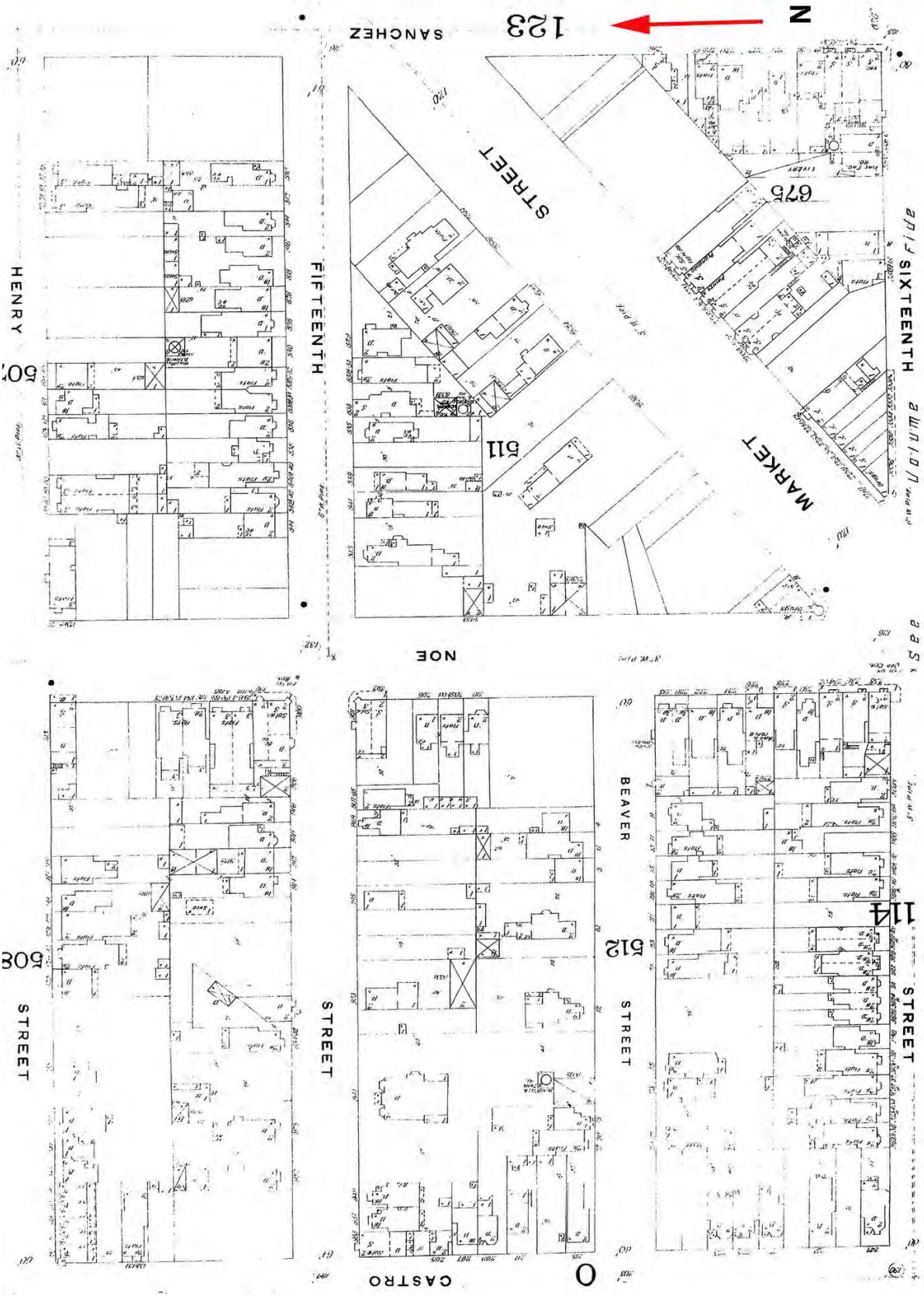

Figure 23. 1893 Sanborn Map showing part of Duboce Triangle bounded by Henry, Market, 16th, and Castro streets. Source: San Francisco Public Library

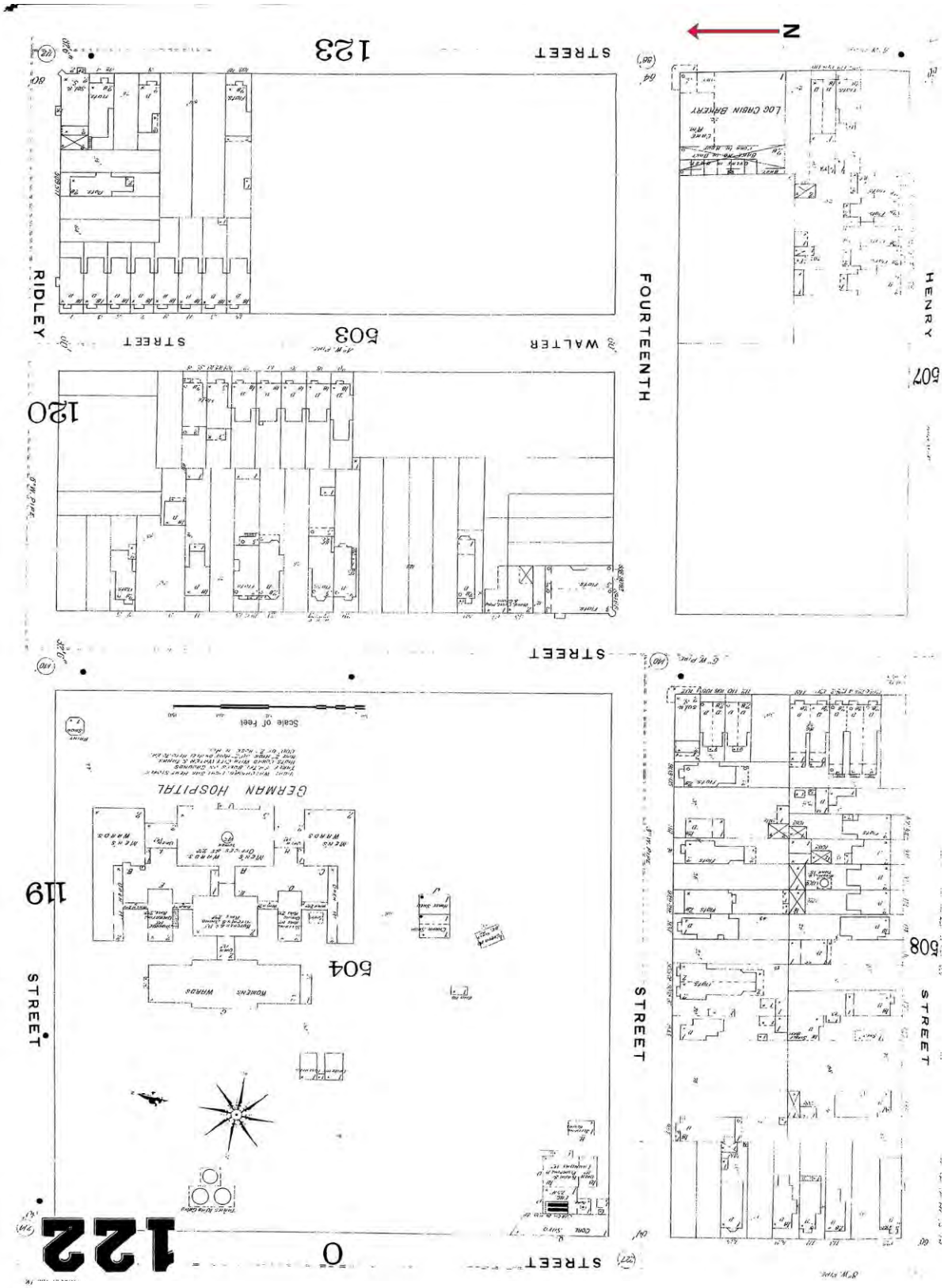

Figure 24. 1893 Sanborn Map showing part of Duboce Triangle bounded by Henry, Market, 16th, and Castro streets. Source: San Francisco Public Library

Associated Property Types

The earliest period of residential development in Duboce Triangle, which spans from the early 1870s to the early 1890s, includes approximately 200 out of the 552 individual properties inventoried in the Duboce Triangle Survey. Nearly all are residential properties, including single-family cottages, larger single-family rowhouses, flats, as well as a handful of apartment buildings, mixed-use buildings, and suburban villas. The bulk of the earliest development is located within the Hillside Homestead Association tract, which encompasses the blocks bounded by 15th Street to the north, Noe Street to the east, 16th Street to the south, and Castro Street to the west. Mixed-use buildings dating to this era are concentrated at street corners throughout the survey area, especially along 14th and 15th streets, as well as a handful of older buildings on Market Street. In regard to architectural styling, buildings constructed during this phase of Duboce Triangle's history include the Folk Victorian, Italianate, and San Francisco Stick-Eastlake styles. For the most part, development during this era occurred on a small-scale, ad hoc basis, with builders constructing one or two buildings at a time. However, there is a small amount of speculative housing in the northern part of the neighborhood, where several larger agricultural parcels were sold off and developed all at once.

National and California Register and City Landmark Eligibility

Properties associated with the evolution of Duboce Triangle from a rural area into a Victorian streetcar suburb between the end of the Civil War and the Panic of 1893 represent the earliest period of documented development in the neighborhood. Beginning with the development of a dozen or so Victorian villas on large lots, denser single-family rowhouses and flats had become the norm by the early 1890s. Under National Register Criterion A/California Register Criterion 1 (Events), surviving properties of this type, which all precede the 1906 Earthquake, constitute a relatively rare resource type in San Francisco. They also represent the earliest period of Anglo-American settlement in Duboce Park. Under National Register Criterion B/California Register Criterion 2 (Persons), some properties may also be significant for associations with important early residents. Finally, under National Register Criterion C/California Register Criterion 3 (Design/Construction), there are several early and fine examples of buildings in Duboce Park designed in the Folk Victorian, Italianate, and San Francisco Stick-Eastlake styles.

Integrity Considerations

Properties associated with the theme of Victorian-era settlement of Duboce Park comprise some of the oldest surviving properties in the city, but nevertheless, they ought to retain at least integrity of materials, design, and workmanship to convey their significance and association under this context. Integrity considerations include the following:

- Properties ought to embody distinctive examples of the types, forms, and styles of architecture popular during the period of 1866 to 1893, including retention of discernable form, massing, and roofline.
- Properties should retain the majority of their original exterior cladding materials, architectural detailing, and most of their original fenestration pattern.
- Window and door replacement is very common in properties of this vintage and should be acceptable as long as the replacement features conform to the original openings and sash lite patterns.

- Replacement of original porches and entry stairs is also very common in properties built during this period due to deterioration and insertion of garages into basements. However, it is important that replacement features of this kind match the original feature as closely as possible. Enclosed porches are acceptable on properties that otherwise retain high integrity.
- It is also common for properties of this age to have acquired an addition. Additions built during the historic period should be considered part of the property's historical development and should not impede historical designation. Contemporary additions – particularly rear additions – are generally acceptable as long as they do not visually overwhelm the resource. As long as they are set back, vertical additions of no more than one story can be acceptable as long as the original building's form, massing, and scale are respected.
- Properties that have been substantially rehabilitated, restored, or even reconstructed after the historic may be eligible for registration as long as the work was done using proper historical documentation and/or in compliance with the Secretary of the Interior's Standards. Reconstructions using conjectural decorative elements do not qualify.
- Properties that have been converted all or in part to another use, such as residential to commercial or commercial to residential, may still qualify for registration as long as the property retains sufficient integrity to convey its original use and retains the majority of its character-defining features, including form, massing, materials, and architectural detailing.
- In circumstances where a property is the oldest or best example of a particular property type or architectural style, or if it is a property most closely associated with a particular context, a higher degree of alteration may be acceptable.

E. Urbanization of Duboce Triangle: 1894 to 1906

By the early 1890s, Duboce Triangle had lost most vestiges of its rural origins. Subdivision and development activity throughout the hinterlands of the city meant that Duboce Triangle was no longer at the fringes. Furthermore, as transit lines grew in number and service increased in frequency, access to job centers improved. As described earlier, the completion of the Market Street Railway's Castro Street cable car line in 1886 led to increased residential and commercial development throughout the Upper Market Street area. Rand McNally's 1897 Map of San Francisco shows the city's transit lines as they were configured toward the end of the nineteenth century **(Figure 25)**. Although no lines actually passed through Duboce Triangle, the Castro Street cable car line bordered the neighborhood to the southeast. Riders could easily transfer from the cable line to any number of lines serving Downtown and the South of Market area, including the Market Street Railway's Haight Street cable car line, as well as Behrend Joost's San Mateo Electric Street Railroad extension, which ran along 18th Street from Guerrero Street to the Corbett Road. A photograph taken in 1888 shows the Market Street Railway cable car tracks on Market Street, shortly before the point where the line turned south along Castro Street **(Figure 26)**.

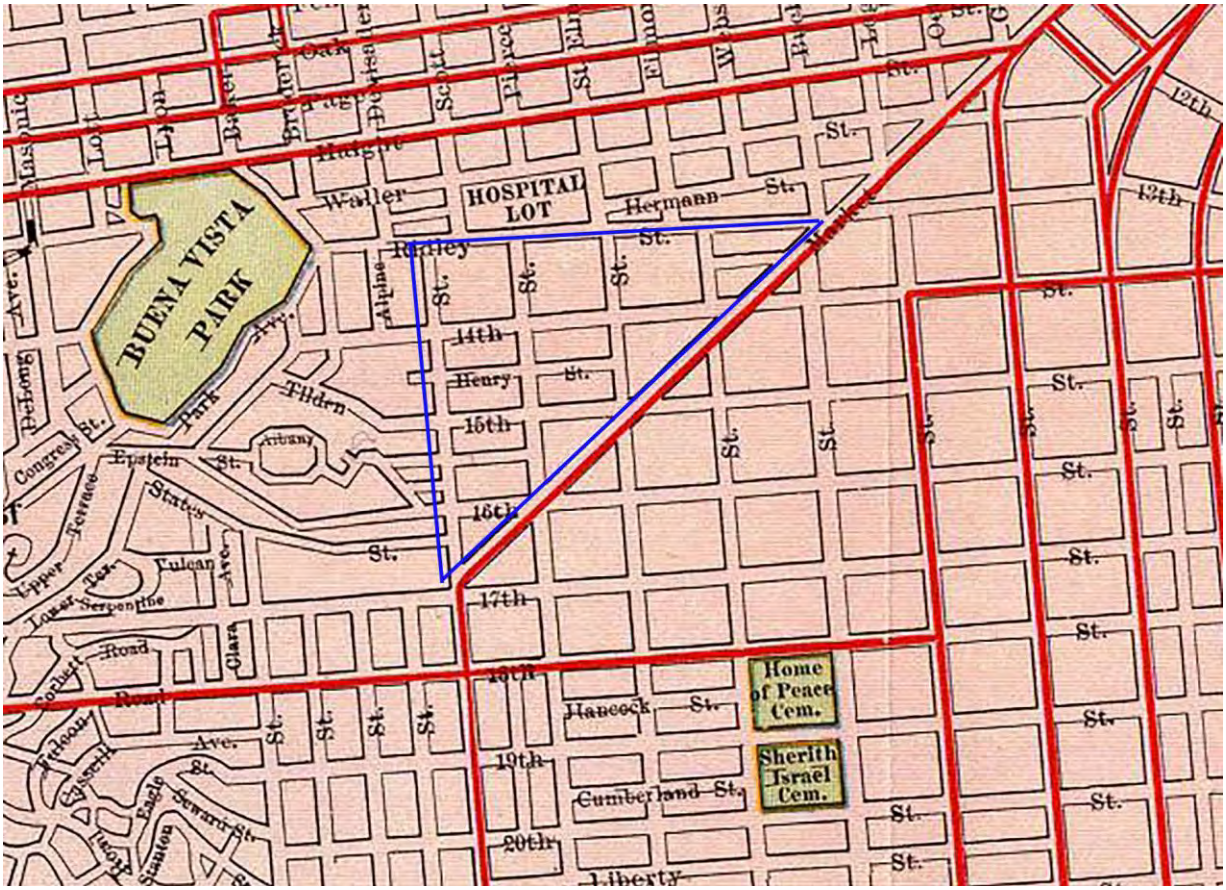

Figure 25. 1897 Rand McNally Map of San Francisco showing transit lines (in red) near Duboce Triangle (at center).
Source: David Rumsey Map Collection

Figure 26. View looking southwest along Market Street toward Castro, 1888.
Source: OpenSFHistory/wnp71.1925

The combination of its central location and good transit access increasingly made Duboce Triangle a desirable place to live. But in contrast to its early years, the people moving into the neighborhood in the 1890s were increasingly of working-class and middle-class origins. Although a plurality were native-born, the majority were immigrants. Widely represented were Irish, German, British (including Scottish and Welsh), Canadians, as well as a growing contingent of Swedish, Danish and Norwegian immigrants. Common occupations included teamsters, carpenters, plumbers, machinists, and general laborers.[62] Although newcomers continued building single-family dwellings similar to the late Italianate cottage at 457 Duboce Avenue **(Figure 27)**, multi-family dwellings increasingly became the norm during the 1890s, especially two-and-a-half-story, Queen Anne flats resembling 229-30 Noe Street **(Figure 28)**. The raised basement was typically used for storage, but it could easily be converted into an additional unit in the need arose.

Figure 27. 457 Duboce Avenue.

Indeed, multi-family dwellings became popular in Duboce Triangle during the 1890s as the population densities began to climb. Individuals who built them typically did so on a speculative basis, or as owner-occupants who would live in one unit and rent the other unit(s) to others. In addition to helping the owner pay his or her mortgage, multi-family housing provided more housing options for San Franciscans seeking to live in a walkable neighborhood with good transit.

Similar to all other American cities during the Victorian era, San Francisco did not have any zoning, meaning that people could essentially build whatever they wanted wherever they liked. This freewheeling approach allowed neighborhoods like Duboce Triangle to develop in an organic fashion in response to market forces. The only potential brake on development was

Figure 28. 228-30 Noe Street.

[62] 1890 U.S. Census Schedules for Duboce Triangle.

opposition from existing residents to "undesirable" uses. Residents found voice through neighborhood "improvement" associations that became increasingly common in San Francisco during the 1890s. In addition to advocating for necessary infrastructure such as paved streets, streetlights, schools, sewers, police and fire stations, etc., neighborhood associations such as the Eureka Valley Protective Improvement Club – founded in 1890 with 75 dues-paying members –fought noxious projects that could negatively impact the local quality of life. But unlike today, residents typically rarely fought housing, instead limiting their actions toward noisy and/or polluting industries.[63]

Architecturally speaking, the flats built in the 1890s in what is now Duboce Park were mostly designed in the Queen Anne or the Classical Revival styles, or a combination of the two. Nearly all flats were of wood-frame construction and clad in a combination of materials, including flush wood and/or rustic channel siding, shingles, and a variety of mass-produced ornament, including elaborate entry porticos, molded door and window trim, pierced brackets and modillions, and broad projecting cornices and entablatures. The interiors of these buildings typically contained from two to four residential units, aka "flats." These were usually stacked atop one another, with each unit occupying the greater part of the building footprint. Each flat typically had its own entrance and a private interior stair leading up from the street. Unfortunately, this was not the most efficient use of space, because multiple interior stairs used up a lot of interior square footage and led to oddly configured interior spaces in all but the uppermost flat.

In addition to the far more numerous flats, Duboce Triangle has several apartment buildings dating to the 1890s. Although apartment buildings often superficially resemble flats from the exterior, their single entrance usually gives them away. Apartment buildings are usually larger too, frequently occupying prominent corner lots with minimal or no side yard or rear yard setbacks. Noe Street has several notable early apartment buildings including a pair of superb examples located opposite CPMC's Davies Medical Center. Undoubtedly the most architecturally significant apartment building in the neighborhood is 101-11 Noe Street, an eight-unit apartment building at the southeast corner of 14th and Noe streets. Built Ca. 1890, this ornate, Classical Revival-style building features a corner turret and unusual triangular oriels **(Figure 29)**. Also unusual for an apartment building, 101-11 Noe Street has multiple entrances accessed from its front porch. However, it is an apartment building because it has more than one unit on each floor level and the units are not stacked. The separate entrances probably indicate that the building was constructed for women – likely nurses employed at the German Hospital across the street. During the Victorian era it was considered to be scandalous for single women to live in an apartment house with a common entrance. Having individual entrances visible from the street provided a level of propriety because it ensured that a man could not enter a woman's apartment without being seen by the neighbors.

[63] "Eureka Valley Club," *San Francisco Chronicle* (February 27, 1890), 3.

Figure 29. 101-11 Noe Street.

Neighborhood Improvement Clubs

As mentioned, during the Victorian and Edwardian eras, Duboce Triangle was widely considered to be part of Eureka Valley, and its residents were therefore represented by neighborhood groups representing Eureka Valley, including the Eureka Valley Promotion Association (founded 1881), the Eureka Valley Improvement Club (founded 1889), the Market Street and Eureka Valley Improvement Club (founded Ca. 1890), and the West of Castro Street Improvement Club (founded Ca. 1890). The focus of each of these clubs differed slightly, and over time most came and went, sometimes re-emerging using the same name as an earlier organization.[64]

Infrastructure Improvements

During the 1890s, residents of the Upper Market area, including what are now Duboce Triangle, Eureka Valley, Corbett Heights, and the Flint Tract, were busy lobbying for infrastructure for their fast-growing neighborhoods. Priorities included grading 17th Street from Market Street to Stanyan Street, acquiring better water service from the Spring Valley Water Company, as well as getting the City to build new sewer lines, schools, and street lighting; pave streets and sidewalks; and provide better fire and police protection.

[64] "In Eureka Valley: Protests Against Closing Corbett Road; An Improvement Club Formed by the Property Owners and Residents," *San Francisco Chronicle* (June 1, 1891).

Water Service

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, many residents of what is now Duboce Triangle relied on well water. The area had a high water table fed by several springs, as well as water from Sans Souci Creek. Many people built elevated water tanks in their rear yards to store the water, which was then delivered under-pressure to their homes. These structures, called "tank houses," sometimes featured a spare bedroom at the first-floor level beneath the enclosed redwood water tank. However, the growth of residential development in Eureka Valley and its environs overdrew the local aquifer. In response, some residents began buying water from Alfred S. "Nobby" Clarke's Eureka Valley Water Company, although some complained that Clarke's water supply was unreliable and impure.[65] With encouragement from city authorities, the privately owned Spring Valley Water Company built a pipeline from the new Clarendon Heights Reservoir on Twin Peaks to Eureka Valley in 1894.[66] The company then installed water mains along Castro Street, 17th Street, and several other intersecting streets to provide water to customers in "North Eureka," a term then used to describe Duboce Triangle.[67]

Street Work

Streets were of major concern to local residents. Although most streets within what is now Duboce Triangle were graded by the 1890s, Market Street was still not properly graded west of Valencia Street, compelling the various neighborhood improvement clubs to lobby for eliminating the "hump" in the roadway between Valencia and Sanchez streets in 1902. They also called for street lights to be installed along Market from Valencia to 17th Street.[68] Of particular interest for the future was the possibility of extending Market Street to the West of Twin Peaks district via the Corbett Road, a project that was not completed until the 1920s.[69]

Schools

Schools were another priority for neighborhood residents. Prior to the establishment of McKinley Elementary School at 14th and Castro streets in 1910, there were no public schools within the boundaries of what is now Duboce Triangle. The first school in Eureka Valley was the eight-room Everett School on Sanchez Street, which opened in 1878.[70] Outgrown within a decade, the San Francisco Board of Education built the new Douglass School at 19th and Collingwood streets in 1895, which could accommodate 400 students.[71] Local children in what is now Duboce Triangle who did not attend parochial or other private schools attended this school (no longer extant) until 1910.

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[65] "March of Progress," *San Francisco Chronicle* (July 11, 1891), 5.
[66] "Gold in the Hills," *San Francisco Chronicle* (November 18, 1894), 11.
[67] Michael C. Corbett, *Revised Draft Corbett Heights Historic Context Statement* (San Francisco: 2017), 68.
[68] "Market Street Grade Changes to be Debated," *San Francisco Call* (July 18, 1902).
[69] "Market Street Out to Ocean: A Mass Meeting Tells Mayor the Proposed Extension is a Great Public Necessity," *San Francisco Chronicle* (January 26, 1904).
[70] Anita Day Hubbard, *Cities within the City* (San Francisco: 1924), 90.
[71] "Eureka Valley School," *San Francisco Call* (July 19, 1895).

Fire and Police Service

Dedicated police and fire services arrived in the Upper Market area in 1891, when the San Francisco Board of Supervisors voted to establish a police station in Eureka Valley.[72] In 1894, the San Francisco Fire Department built a firehouse at 449 (now 473) Douglass Street in Eureka Valley to serve Eureka Valley, Duboce Triangle, and Noe Valley. In 1914, this station, Engine Co. No. 24, was relocated to Hoffman Street.[73] Not until 1948 did Duboce Triangle get its own dedicated fire station when SFFD built Engine Co. No. 27 at 135 Sanchez Street.[74]

Libraries

Duboce Triangle has never had its own branch library. Eureka Valley got its first permanent branch library in 1903, when a new branch library was built at 16th and Pond streets. Named the Andrew B. McCreery/Eureka Valley Branch Library, the Classical Revival-style library stood until 1957 when it was demolished after being heavily damaged in an earthquake. The current Eureka Valley/Harvey Milk Branch Library was constructed in 1961 on the site of the old library at 3555 16th Street (now 1 Jose Sarria Court).[75]

Industrial Development

Although Duboce Triangle did not have any major industries located within its boundaries during this period, it was located only a few blocks east of the Gray Brothers' quarry and brick-making facility on Corona Heights. Local residents complained of the near-constant blasting and dust, as well as smoke from the crude oil the company used to fuel its brick kilns.[76] In contrast, Eureka Valley proper had several significant industries, including the New York Soap Company, the Phoenix and California breweries, and the Eggers & Co. bottled water plant.

Commercial Development

Commercial development was rare in Duboce Triangle until the 1906 Earthquake. The north side of Market Street between Church and Castro streets was only about 50 percent developed during this period, with most of the buildings facing Market exclusively residential. Aside from a handful of corner stores with flats above, nearly all of the commercial development in Duboce Triangle consisted of workshops used by contractors and other building tradesmen, including paint shops, carpenters' shops, blacksmiths' shops, and upholsterers' shops. One of the largest was Union Paving and Contracting Co.'s yard on the south side of 14th Street, between Church and Sanchez streets. As illustrated on the 1899 Sanborn Maps, the facility consisted of an open staging area, a wagon barn, a wagon repair shop, a buggy shed, an office, and several stables. In addition, the property included a corral on Market Street where the company's horses could rest and eat between jobs **(Figure 30)**. None of these structures remain today.

[72] "Better Protection," *San Francisco Call* (June 13, 1891).
[73] San Francisco Fire Department Museum, "Engine Company No. 24, San Francisco Fire Department" http://guardiansofthecity.org/sffd/companies/engines/engine24.html , accessed February 26, 2021.
[74] Kelley & VerPlanck Historical Resources Consulting, *DPR 523 Forms for 135 Sanchez Street* (San Francisco: 2010).
[75] "Eureka Valley Has Its Library," *San Francisco Call* (April 30, 1902).
[76] "Protest Against Making of Brick: People of Eureka Valley Tell of Noxious Gases – Board of Works Must Explain," *San Francisco Chronicle* (June 26, 1903).

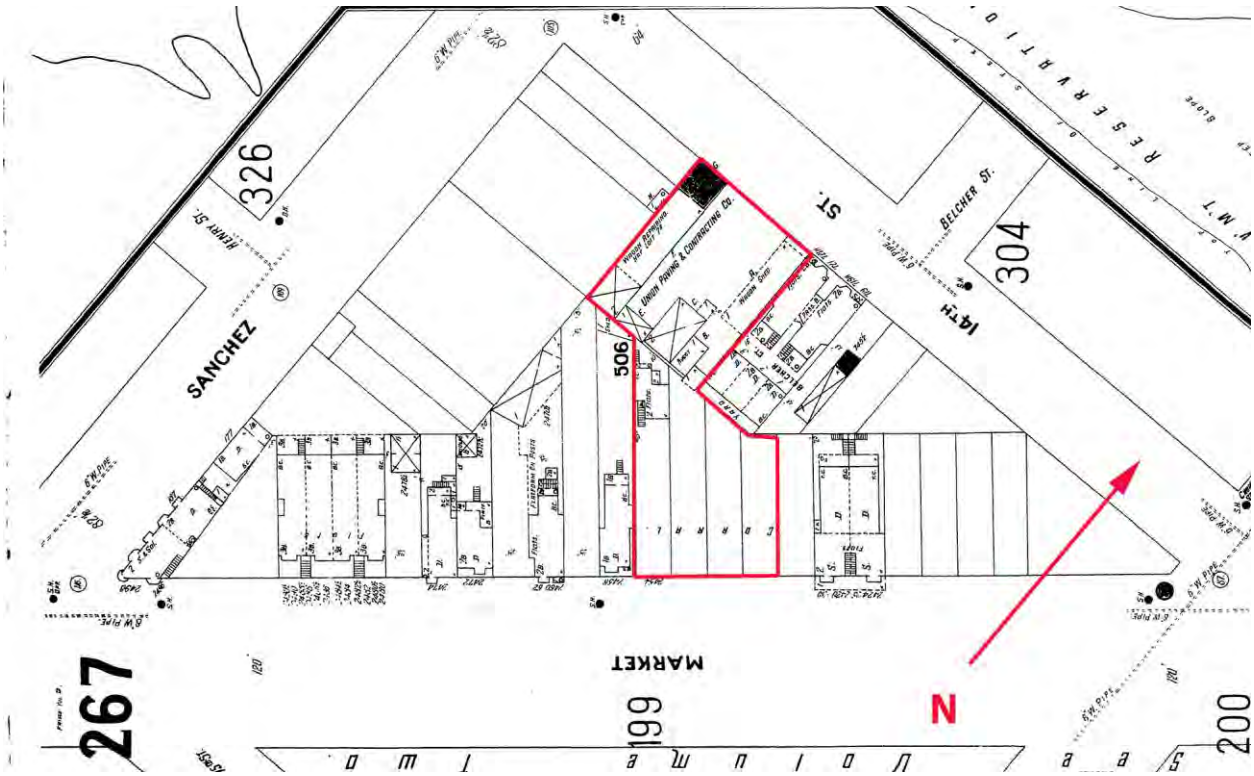

Figure 30. 1899 Sanborn Maps showing the block bounded by 14th, Church, Market, and Sanchez streets. Properties marked in red were part of the Union Paving and Contracting Co.
Source: San Francisco Public Library; annotated by Christopher VerPlanck

Religious Institutions

There were no churches or other religious buildings in Duboce Triangle until 1905, when San Francisco's Danish immigrant community began building a church near the intersection of Church and Market streets. In the early years of the twentieth century, members of San Francisco's Danish community had written to Queen Louise of Denmark asking for financial assistance to build a national church in the city. Until this point, Danish churchgoers had attended the Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Church in the South of Market area. Queen Louise agreed to the request and sent San Francisco's Danish community 500 Kroner, which became the kernel of the congregation's building fund.[77]

The congregation decided to build the church on a vacant 60' x 120' lot on the west side of Church Street. As mentioned, during the late nineteenth century, most Nordic immigrants in San Francisco had lived in the South of Market area. However, during the first few years of the twentieth century, Scandinavian immigrants began moving westward into the Mission district and Eureka Valley, including what is now Duboce Triangle. Neither the original architect nor the builder are known, but construction of St. Ansgar Lutheran Church began in 1905. It was nearly completed when the 1906 Earthquake and Fire occurred. The church survived the temblor without much damage and the sanctuary was immediately put into use by the Red Cross as a field hospital and a shelter for the injured.[78] The building, which remained essentially

[77] San Francisco Landmarks Preservation Advisory Board, *Case Report for Saint Francis Lutheran Church (formerly Saint Ansgar Danish Lutheran Church* (San Francisco: August 19, 1970), 1.
[78] Ibid.

unchanged on its exterior, is designed in the Danish Gothic style and it is built of brick with Gothic arch windows, corbelled brickwork, and a Danish-style conical steeple **(Figure 31)**. Known since 1965 as Saint Francis Lutheran Church, following the congregation's merger with the nearby First Finnish (Gethsemene) Lutheran Church, the church continues to fulfill its original use. It is City Landmark No. 39.

The opening of St. Ansgar on a prominent lot near Church and Market streets planted a flag in Duboce Triangle and announced to the wider community that this was becoming a Scandinavian community. Within a few years, several other Scandinavian churches and cultural institutions popped up nearby, including Ebenezer Swedish Lutheran Evangelical Church, which opened at the southwest corner of 15th and Dolores streets in February 1906; Swedish American Hall, which opened at 2168-74 Market Street in 1907; and the First Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church, which was built at 50 Belcher Street in 1935.[79] The Norwegian Lutheran Church remained in the South of Market area until the 1930s, when it moved to 19th and Dolores streets in the nearby Mission district.

Figure 31. St. Ansgar (St. Francis) Lutheran Church, 1934.
Source: OpenSFHistory / wnp14.2406

Catering to area's Irish, German, and Italian Catholics, the Church of the Most Holy Redeemer at 100 Diamond Street in Eureka Valley included Duboce Triangle within its parish boundaries. Founded in 1900 by the Archdiocese of San Francisco, the Church of the Most Holy Redeemer still ministers to a robust Catholic congregation in the Castro district.[80]

[79] "New Incorporations," *San Francisco Chronicle* (October 5, 1899), 10.
[80] "First Mass Held in a New Church," *San Francisco Chronicle* (January 13, 1902), 9.

1899 Sanborn Maps

The 1899 Sanborn Maps show a moderate amount of growth since the 1893 series was published seven – approximately 45 buildings. Although the decade had gotten off to a good start, the Panic of 1893, precipitated by the bankruptcy of the Philadelphia & Reading Railroad, launched a severe nationwide depression. This depression slowed construction activity across the nation, including in San Francisco. Construction activity in Duboce Triangle began to rebound after the introduction of water service to Eureka Valley by the Spring Valley Water Company in 1895, as well as an influx of capital from the Klondike Gold Rush in 1897.[81] Between 1893 and 1899, development consisted mostly of two and three-family flats, although there were still quite a few single-family dwellings going up within the boundaries of the old Hillside Homestead Association tract bounded by 14th, Sanchez, 16th, and Castro streets.

1905 Sanborn Maps

The 1905 Sanborn Maps, published a mere six years after the 1899 series, depict a significant uptick in urbanization in Duboce Triangle. Whereas the 1899 Sanborn Maps showed only about 50 to 60 percent of the lots developed, the 1905 series shows upwards of 80 percent. Development was even denser within the old Hillside Homestead Association tract, where approximately 90 percent of the lots were developed. The only significant areas of vacant land remained along Market Street, where only about half of the lots had been developed, as well as along the west side of Castro Street, where the land began to get quite rugged along the neighborhood's boundary with the Flint Tract (now Corona Heights). Within the core of the neighborhood – an area bounded by 14th, Noe, 16th, and Castro streets – the only undeveloped, or underdeveloped, land comprised the older suburban villas dating to the 1870s **(Figure 32)**. Indeed, the half-block bounded by 15th, Noe, Beaver, and Castro streets contained four such properties in 1905. Similar to the Benedict-Gieling House at 22 Beaver Street, these properties consisted of a large Victorian house set within a large garden and/or lawn. Most of the suburban villas also had one or more outbuildings, including stables, a carriage house, servants' quarters, a water tank house, and/or multiple sheds. However, the days of these comfortable suburban villas were numbered, as Duboce Triangle continued along the trajectory of becoming a dense, inner city neighborhood.

[81] Michael C. Corbett, *Revised Draft Corbett Heights Historic Context Statement* (San Francisco: 2017), 65.

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Figure 32. 1905 Sanborn Maps showing block bounded by 15th, Noe, 16th, and Castro streets, with suburban villas outlined in red.
Source: David Rumsey Map Collection

The 1905 Sanborn Maps provide more evidence of the urbanization Duboce Triangle around the turn of the last century. As mentioned, nearly all of the buildings erected in the neighborhood between 1893 and 1905 were flats and apartment buildings **(Figure 33)**. Most of the flats contained at least three or four units – if a conventional "stacked" flat – and six or eight units if an even denser Romeo flat. These newer buildings were quite a bit larger than their predecessors and they gave the neighborhood a more "urban" appearance. With no front yard or side yard setbacks to speak of, their towering box-like massing and nearly identical façade treatment gave newer parts of the neighborhood a more cohesive (and utilitarian) look somewhat reminiscent of an eastern industrial city, including Walter and Belcher streets. Several large

apartment buildings built on corner lots, especially at 14th and Walter, 14th and Sanchez, and 14th and Belcher, further reinforced the denser development pattern in this part of Duboce Triangle. Good examples of this new type include 736-40 14th Street, and its twin 742-48 14th Street **(Figure 34)**.

Figure 33. 1905 Sanborn Maps showing intersection of 14th and Walter streets with its heavy concentration of flats and apartment buildings constructed between 1893 and 1905.
Source: David Rumsey Map Collection

Figure 34. 736-40 (right) and 742-48 14th Street (left).

The 1905 Sanborn Maps also indicate that developers were finally beginning to pay attention to Market Street. During this time, speculators built several flats and apartment buildings along the north side of Market Street between Church and Castro streets, as indicated on the 1905 Sanborn Maps showing the triangular block bounded by 15th, Market, and Noe streets **(Figure 35)**. However, as the maps show, almost half of the Market Street frontage remained vacant. Most of the flats shown on the 1905 Sanborn Maps on Market Street have since been demolished and replaced, but a row of four almost identical flats survives at 229-31 to 247-51 Noe Street. Built in 1905, this row of three-family flats are designed, like most of its kind, in the Classical Revival style with bay windows, entry porticos, and a flat roofs **(Figure 36)**. These flats, as well as the dozens of comparable examples constructed in Duboce Triangle between 1893 and 1905, were no-frills housing built for blue collar and lower-level white collar workers working Downtown or in the South of Market area. A step up from the overcrowded and flimsy tenements of the pre-quake South of Market, this housing type is comparable with similar buildings going up around the same time in the Mission district and parts of the South of Market area.

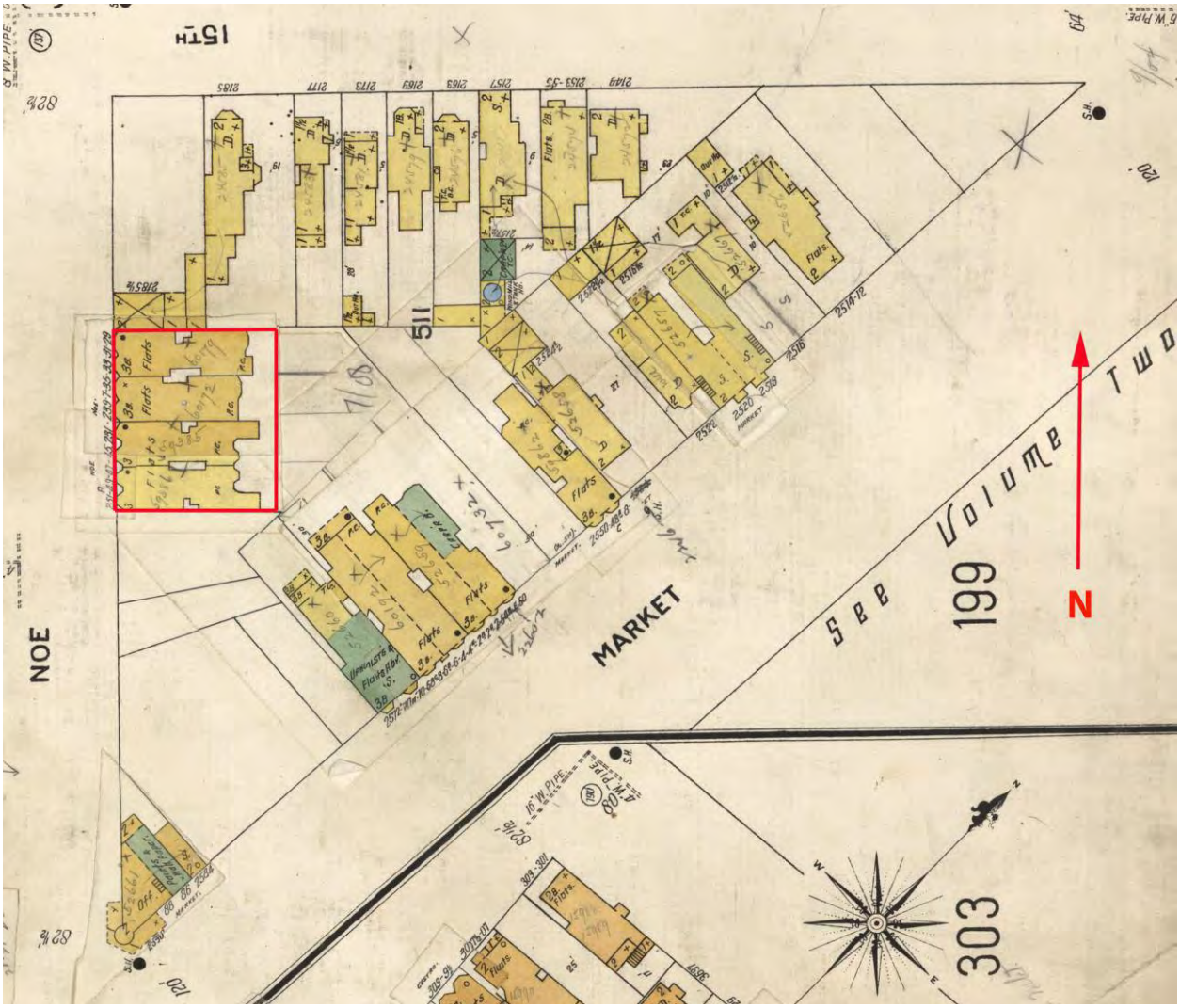

Figure 35. 1905 Sanborn Maps showing the block bounded by 15th, Market, and Noe streets, illustrating the row of four nearly identical flats at 229-31 to 247-51 Noe Street
Source: David Rumsey Map Collection

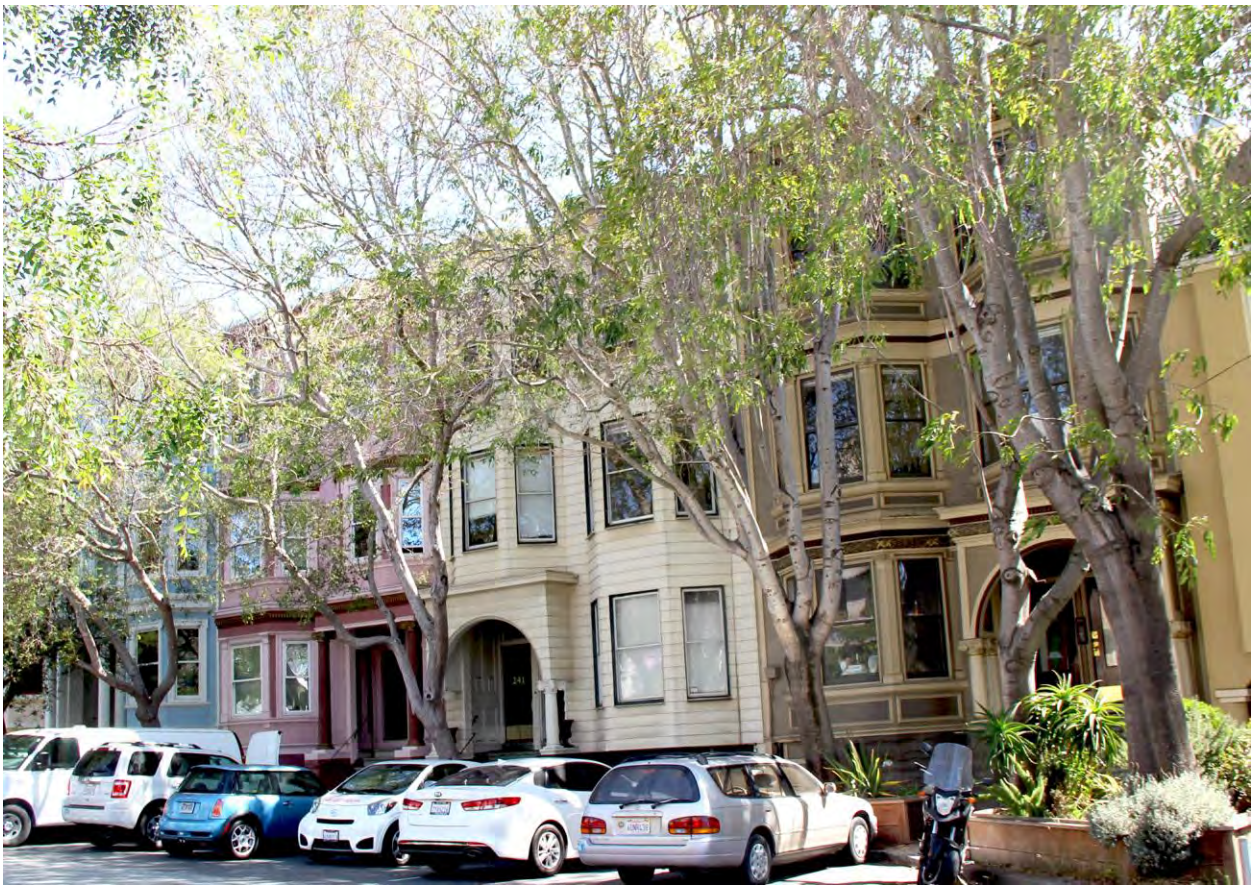

Figure 36. 229-31 (left) to 247-51 Noe Street (right).

Not all of the housing constructed in Duboce Triangle during the first few years of the twentieth century was built for working-class San Franciscans. The properties along the west side of Castro Street, although surveyed in 1855 along with the rest of the neighborhood, share more in common with the adjoining Buena Vista neighborhood – a much more affluent area. Indeed, the first block of Castro Street was developed by builder Stephen A. Born as a high-end residential enclave – possibly for physicians employed at the German Hospital across the street. Born bought the property from the Realty Improvement Company for $17,500 in April 1905.[82] Between 1905 and 1907, Born built 12 two-story-over-basement, Craftsman and Classical Revival-style rowhouses with impressive clinker brick-clad basements and stairs **(Figure 37)**. Although today concealed behind a lush canopy of street trees, this row remains one of the most cohesive blockfaces in Duboce Triangle **(Figure 38)**. The apartment building at the northwest corner of 14th and Castro, built in 1911, also appears to be Born's work. In contrast to some of his competitors, Born usually worked with an architect, including the pioneering female architect Ida F. McCain.

[82] "General Notes," *San Francisco Chronicle* (April 22, 1905), 7.

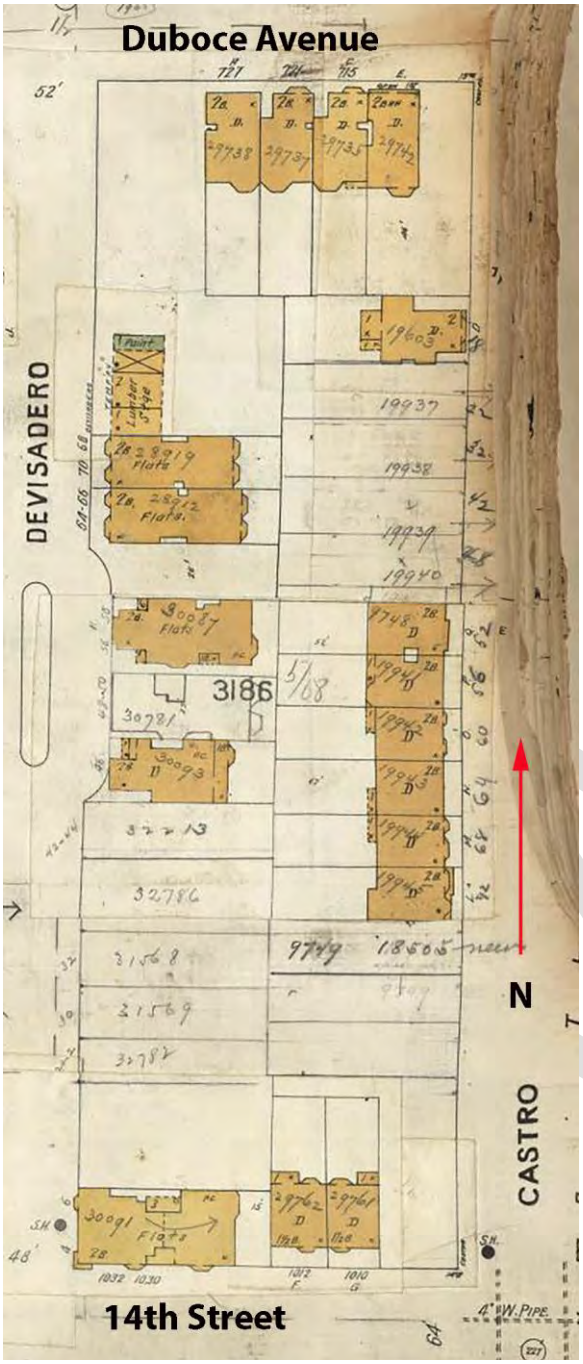

Figure 37. 1905 Sanborn Maps showing the first members of the S.A. Born tract at 52 to 80 Castro Street.
Source: David Rumsey Map Collection

Figure 38. S.A. Born houses on the west side of Castro Street.

Occupying what had at one time been valuable agricultural land, Duboce Triangle still contained one active horticultural operation in 1905. This facility, which appears on the 1905 Sanborn Maps on the block bounded by Duboce Avenue, Buchanan Street, Reservoir Street, and Church Street – the present-day site of Safeway – was labeled as a "Japanese Nursery." It consisted of a pair of greenhouses, several bunkhouses, a tankhouse, stables, and a large shed **(Figure 39)**. This nursery, which operated on land

rented from the Spring Valley Water Company, was run by a Mr. Y. Fujioka, proprietor of The Fuji Florist Shop at 725 O'Farrell Street – the largest Japanese florist operating in San Francisco at the time.[83] The nursery was evidently irrigated with water from Sans Souci Creek, which may still have flowed aboveground in this location. The Spring Valley Water Company had tapped the creek for decades, but by 1905 the company appears to have ceased using it as a domestic water source, perhaps due to pollution. The triangular block partially occupied by the nursery also contained a portion of Clinton Mound, a steep serpentine outcropping. Now known as Mint Hill, the outcropping occupied the eastern third of the block as late as the 1930s, until it was taken down.

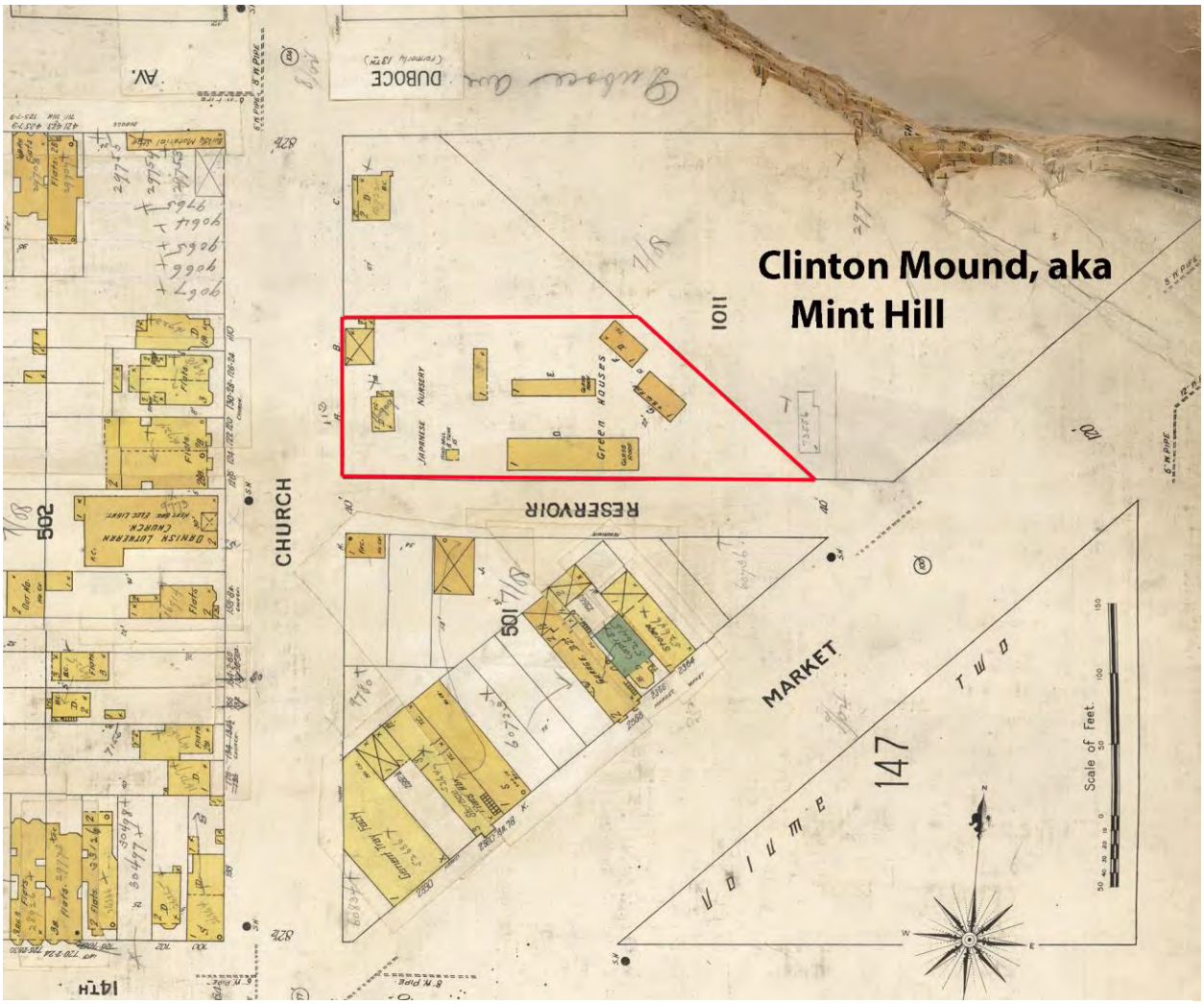

Figure 39. 1905 Sanborn Maps showing Japanese Nursery at Church and Reservoir streets.
Source: David Rumsey Map Collection

[83] 1905 San Francisco City Directory.

Duboce Park

Apart from the Noe and Beaver Mini Park, Duboce Triangle has no public parks within its boundaries. However, it is bordered by Duboce Park to the north. Duboce Park was set aside a "public reservation" in 1855 as part of the Western Addition Survey. The reservation's boundaries were originally Waller Street to the north, Steiner Street to the east, Kate or Ridley Street (now Duboce Avenue) to the south, and Scott Street to the west. Its unusual shape –in the form of a squashed parallelogram – resulted from the fact that the reservation was a leftover strip at the far southwestern corner of the Western Addition, where it buts up imperfectly against the Mission Survey. From 1855 onward, civic authorities battled squatters who commandeered the site to build shanties and other structures. Seeking an alternative vision for the land, in 1861 the San Francisco Board of Supervisors reallocated it for a future public hospital, renaming it the "Hospital Lot."[84]

In 1872, the City and County of San Francisco began building what is now San Francisco General Hospital on Potrero Avenue. No longer needing the Hospital Lot, the Board of Supervisors leased it to a street contractor, who used it as a storage yard and a place to dump road base and other debris.[85] By this time, the Hillside Homestead Association was being developed one block to the south, and the new residents began complaining about the dusty and disheveled site. In response, the Board of Supervisors evicted the contractor in 1888 and leased it to the German Hospital, which initially planned to build a separate women's wing across the street from its main hospital. The German Hospital eventually built the women's wing on its own campus and the Hospital Lot continued to be a trash-filled eyesore.

In 1896, following a period of protracted litigation, the Board of Supervisors was compelled to cede the northern half of the Hospital Lot (except for a narrow strip along Scott Street) to descendants of several squatters who had claimed the land under the Van Ness Ordinances. The claimants promptly resold the land to the German Savings & Loan Association, which subdivided the land into house lots. In addition, the association lobbied the city authorities to extend Pierce Street one block south of Waller Street into the new development and accept two new one-block streets: Primrose and Daisy (now Carmelita and Potomac) streets.[86] The German Savings & Loan Association then sold the house lots to several German and Scandinavian building contractors. Between 1898 and 1900, these contractors developed the residential enclave of Duboce Park with several dozen Queen Anne, First Bay Region Tradition, and Classical Revival-style cottages, flats, and apartment buildings. This remarkably cohesive enclave was designated the Duboce Park Historic District in 2013.

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[84] Neighborhood Parks Council, *Duboce Park and Harvey Milk Playground,* http://www.sfneighborhoodparks.org/parkhistories/dubocepark.html (accessed November 21, 2006).
[85] The Victorian Alliance, *Duboce Park House Tour: October 15, 1995* (Unpublished brochure on file at San Francisco Architectural Heritage), 1.
[86] Jonathan Lammers, *Department of Parks and Recreation District Record: "Duboce Park Historic District"* (San Francisco: San Francisco Planning Department), 7.

In 1900, residents of Eureka Valley elected Colonel Victor D. Duboce, a veteran of the Spanish-American War, to the San Francisco Board of Supervisors. Duboce tirelessly advocated for the conversion of the remaining portion of the Hospital Lot into a public park. Duboce died before he could realize his vision. But following Duboce's untimely death, the Board of Supervisors voted to establish a public park named for their departed colleague. At the same time, the board voted to rename Ridley Street Duboce Avenue. On September 9, 1900, Mayor James Phelan announced the establishment of Duboce Park as a "fitting tribute to the hero's memory," accompanied by a cannon salute. Mayor Phelan funded its construction with an initial appropriation of $5,000.[87] Construction got underway in 1901, and within a year the park was complete. As originally designed, Duboce Park was a simple greensward sloping gently downhill from Scott to Steiner Street. It was punctuated by gently curving footpaths and planting beds made of boulders presumably salvaged from what the street contractor had dumped there in the 1870s **(Figure 40)**.

Figure 40. Duboce Park, 1904; view toward southeast with Duboce Avenue in the background.
Source: San Francisco Historical Photograph Collection, San Francisco Public Library, Image No. AAA-6838

[87] "Dedication of Duboce Park," *San Francisco Chronicle* (September 10, 1900), 9.

Burnham Plan

Chicago architect and urban planner Daniel Burnham's Plan for San Francisco (the Burnham Plan) was the most ambitious attempt to remake the city in its history. Beginning in the late nineteenth century, local business and civic leaders launched an effort to improve and beautify San Francisco. San Francisco was famously an "instant city," born out of the Gold Rush. The scrappy frontier settlement continued to grow by leaps and bounds between 1850 and 1900. Unfortunately, almost the entire Victorian city was laid out as a monotonous gridiron overlaid indiscriminately atop the city's rugged natural terrain. Laid out expeditiously and unimaginatively, very little thought had been given to things like circulation, open space, or public amenities such as public art, museums, or other gathering places. Guided almost solely by the private sector real estate development, San Francisco was widely regarded as lacking the civic beauty of many better-planned European or eastern U.S. cities.

Mayor James C. Phelan, an ambitious reformer, led the movement to remake San Francisco. Already nicknamed the "Paris of the Pacific" due to its cosmopolitan flair and epicurean delights, Phelan wanted San Francisco to physically resemble its regal European cousin with better streets and boulevards, statues, museums, grand government buildings, and more parks and public squares. In 1902, Phelan called for a new city plan to guide these efforts, and in 1904, Phelan and 26 other prominent San Franciscans organized the Association for the Improvement and Adornment of San Francisco. Among its immediate goals were to build a civic opera house, extend the (Golden Gate Park) Panhandle to Market Street, and design a new civic center. To lead this effort, they hired the nation's leading proponent of the City Beautiful movement, Daniel Burnham.[88]

Daniel Burnham's associate, Edward H. Bennett, was placed in charge of the project. With assistance from local architect Willis Polk, Bennett devised the plan from a bungalow specially built for the project atop Twin Peaks, from where he could see nearly the entire city. The Burnham Plan proposed a radical revision of the city's street plan, breaking up the relentless gridiron with diagonal boulevards terminating at new public buildings, monuments, and scenic overlooks. The Burnham Plan also called for expanding and/or creating several new public parks and open spaces, especially the city's still undeveloped hilltops, which would be preserved as open spaces and/or the sites of public monuments. The San Francisco Board of Supervisors adopted the Burnham Plan in early 1906, with plans to begin construction later that year. However, the 1906 Earthquake and Fire derailed the plan; most people just wanted to rebuild as quickly as possible keeping the same street pattern. Although several features of the plan were eventually realized in some form or other, including Pioneer Park, McLaren Park, and Sunset Boulevard, the Burnham Plan was otherwise entirely scrapped.[89]

The Burnham Plan did not propose many changes to Duboce Triangle, although it did propose one major alteration. According to the Burnham Plan, a grand landscaped boulevard was to have been built from the extended Panhandle in a southeasterly direction to 14th and Market streets. The boulevard would have cut through the northeast corner of Duboce Triangle, terminating at a large plaza and monument at 14th and Dolores streets **(Figure 41)**. Another recommendation of the plan was to build a roundabout at 15th and Castro to serve as the endpoint of a short boulevard connecting Market Street to the Corbett Road (now

[88] Mel Scott, *The San Francisco Bay Area: A Metropolis in Perspective* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959).
[89] Ibid.

Upper Market Street). Several other notable features within the vicinity of Duboce Triangle included a monumental acropolis atop Corona Heights, a grand stair/promenade leading down from Corona Heights to Market Street, and a small bluff-top park atop Clinton Mound (now Mint Hill).

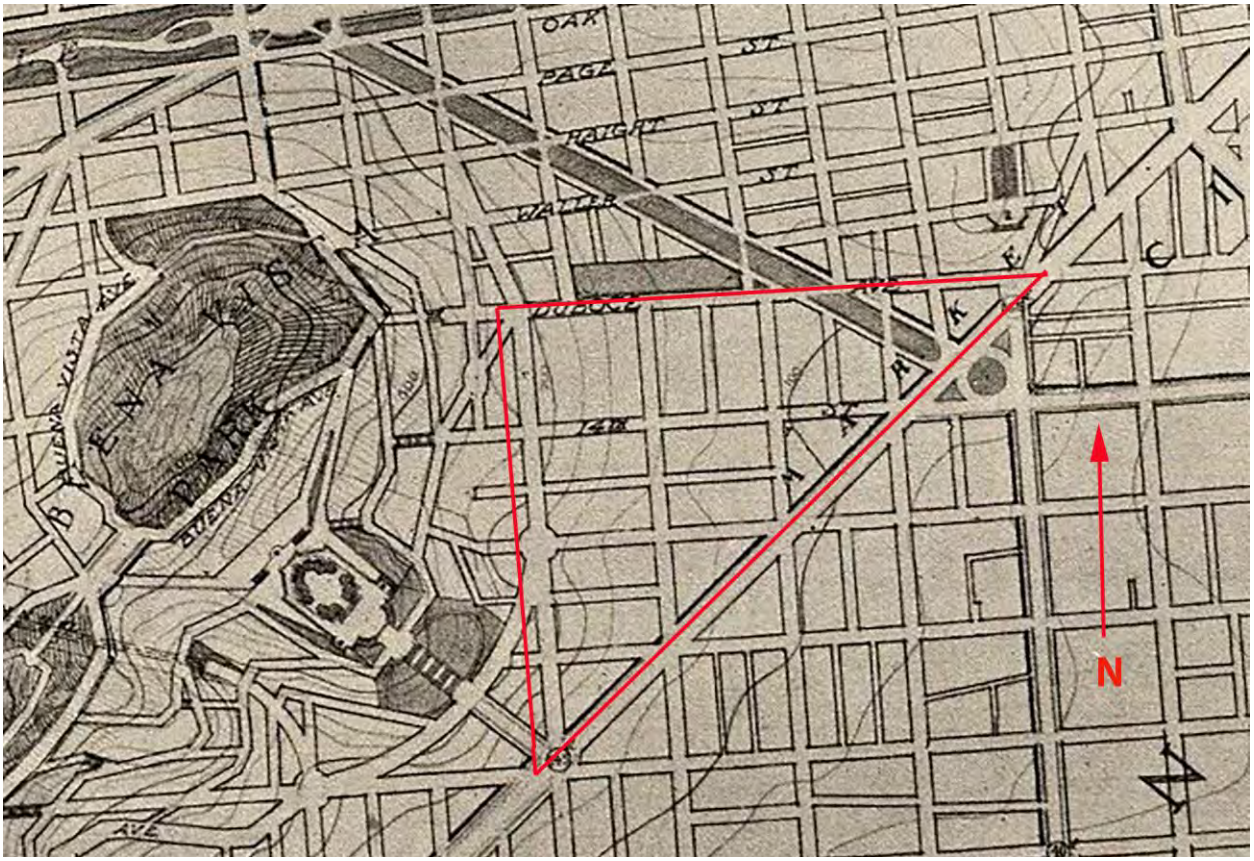

Figure 41. Map accompanying the 1905 Burnham Plan with boundaries of Duboce Triangle indicated in red.
Source: David Rumsey Map Collection

A series of photographs taken from the summit of Clinton Mound in 1905 illustrate what Duboce Triangle actually looked while the Burnham Plan was being prepared **(Figure 42)**. Confirming information from the 1905 Sanborn Maps, these images depict Duboce Triangle as a fully urbanized neighborhood. Visible in the foreground is St. Ansgar Lutheran Church, which was then under construction. The unfinished church faces Clinton Mound, the sole remaining open space within the neighborhood. Visible on the opposite side of Church Street is the Japanese nursery on Reservoir Street, and in the distance, Corona Heights is visible, with its quarry and brick factory. The German Hospital is also visible in the photograph. Although vacant lots and cottages are still evident throughout the neighborhood, most of the newer buildings being constructed were larger flats and apartment buildings.

Figure 42. Duboce Triangle, 1905; view toward southwest from Clinton Mount (Mint Hill).
Source: OpenSFHistory / wnp70.0460.jpg

1906 Earthquake and Fire

At 5:12 AM on April 18, 1906, a broad swath of California from San Juan Bautista to Cape Mendocino was torn asunder by a tremendous earthquake along the San Andreas Fault. The temblor, which lasted between 45 and 60 seconds, caused tremendous destruction in San Francisco, as well as many other communities along the fault line. According to modern estimates, the quake measured 7.9 on the Richter scale. In San Francisco, earthquake damage was much worse in areas that rested on sand or fill, including the South of Market area and parts of the Mission district and Downtown. Areas built atop bedrock, like most of Duboce Triangle, fared comparatively well. As San Franciscans pulled themselves from their broken buildings to survey the damage, several dozen fires were sparked by broken gas mains. These fires quickly ignited the city's wooden building stock, and with water mains broken and fire hydrants not working, the fires quickly consumed the entire South of Market area, the northern half of the Mission district, and the most of Downtown and the rest of the northeastern quadrant of the city. After destroying three-quarters of the city – 25,000 buildings – the fires were finally halted at Van Ness Avenue by a series of fire breaks, as well as a change in the wind direction.

Broken gas lines were not the only cause of the fires that incinerated San Francisco. The infamous "Ham and Eggs Fire" was sparked by a woman attempting to cook breakfast in her home at 395 Hayes Street. She did not realize that the chimney was blocked with debris, and gas flames from her stove ignited the

wall and then quickly spread to adjoining buildings. The fire went on to destroy a large part of Hayes Valley, and the fire burned right up to the eastern edge of Duboce Triangle before it was extinguished.[90]

Having been built on bedrock, Duboce Triangle was not heavily damaged by the 1906 Earthquake apart from some cracked foundations and toppled chimneys. Refugees soon began streaming up Market Street – the lucky ones with wagons – but most on foot with whatever they could carry. Some stopped to rest at the top of the hill near Clinton Mound (now Mint Hill). Soon, some of these newly homeless San Franciscans erected tents and wooden shanties on the vacant parcel that is now Safeway **(Figure 43)**. Refugees also set up an informal camp in Duboce Park. In July 1906, the San Francisco Red Cross Relief Corporation assumed control of the Duboce Park camp and re-established it as Relief Camp No. 19. One of the smallest earthquake refugee camps, Camp No. 19 only housed 300 residents. Unlike most other Red Cross Relief Corporation camps, Camp No. 19 never had any wooden "refugee cottages." Instead, tents were used. Surviving the better part of a year, Camp No. 19 closed on February 8, 1907.[91]

Figure 43. Informal refugee camp at the base of Clinton Mound (Mint Hill); view toward west from Market and Buchanan streets.
Source: OpenSFHistory / wnp27.2589

[90] Carl Nolte, "The Great Fire," *San Francisco Chronicle* (April 12, 2006).
[91] San Francisco Relief Corporation, *Department Reports of the San Francisco Relief and Red Cross Funds* (San Francisco: annual report of the San Francisco Relief Corporation, March 19, 1907), 18.

Associated Property Types

The period between 1893 and the 1906 Earthquake accounts for approximately 175 out of the 552 individual properties inventoried in the reconnaissance survey, or roughly 30 percent. Nearly all are residential properties, including single-family cottages, larger single-family houses, flats, as well as a handful of apartments and mixed-use buildings. Most of the earliest development is located within the Hillside Homestead Association: the blocks bounded by 15th Street to the north, Noe Street to the east, 16th Street to the south, and Castro Street to the west. Mixed-use buildings from this era are concentrated at street corners, especially along 14th and 15th streets, as well on Market Street. In regard to architectural styling, most buildings constructed during this phase of Duboce Triangle's development were designed in the Queen Anne and Classical Revival styles, or a mixture of the two. For the most part, development during this era occurred on an incremental basis, with builders constructing one or two buildings at a time. However, there is a small amount of speculative housing in the northeastern corner of the neighborhood.

National and California Register and City Landmark Eligibility

Properties associated with the urbanization of Duboce Triangle between the Panic of 1893 and the 1906 Earthquake represent the high water mark of residential development in the neighborhood. This period is when Duboce Triangle transitioned from a largely middle-class neighborhood of single-family dwellings into a more intensively urbanized district increasingly dominated by flats and apartment buildings. Under National Register Criterion A/California Register Criterion 1 (Events), surviving properties of this type, which all precede the 1906 Earthquake, constitute a relatively rare resource type in San Francisco. They also represent the most important period of development in Duboce Park. Under National Register Criterion B/California Register Criterion 2 (Persons), some properties may also be significant for associations with important residents. Finally, under National Register Criterion C/California Register Criterion 3 (Design/Construction), Duboce Triangle has a number of fine buildings constructed during this period that are designed the Queen Anne and Classical Revival styles. In regard to building type, this period witnessed the beginning of the construction of large flats and apartment buildings designed in the Classical Revival style (sometimes with Queen Anne features). Properties may also be eligible under this criterion if they were built by prominent contractors of the era active in Duboce Triangle, such as Fernando Nelson.

Integrity Considerations

Properties associated with the theme of late Victorian and early Edwardian-era urbanization of Duboce Park comprise a significant portion of all buildings in the neighborhood. Although not especially rare, because they predate the 1906 Earthquake, they are generally considered to have more importance than post-quake properties. Therefore, a slightly lower degree of integrity may be acceptable. At the very least, properties from this era ought to retain the aspects of design, materials, workmanship, and feeling to convey their significance and associations under this context. Integrity considerations include the following:

- Properties ought to embody distinctive examples of the types, forms, and styles of architecture popular during the period of 1893 to 1906, including retention of discernable form, footprint, massing, and roofline.
- Properties should retain the majority of their original exterior cladding materials, architectural detailing, and most of their original fenestration pattern.

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- Window and door replacement is very common in properties of this vintage and should be acceptable as long as the replacement features conform to the original openings and sash lite patterns.
- Replacement of original porches and entry stairs is also very common in properties built during this period due to deterioration and insertion of garages into basements. However, it is important that replacement features of this kind match the original feature as closely as possible. Enclosed porches are acceptable on properties that otherwise retain high integrity.
- It is also common for properties of this age to have acquired an addition. Additions built during the historic period should be considered part of the property's historical development and should not impede historical designation. Contemporary additions – particularly rear additions – are generally acceptable as long as they do not visually overwhelm the resource. As long as they are set back, vertical additions of no more than one story can be acceptable as long as the original building's form, massing, and scale are respected.
- Properties that have been substantially rehabilitated, restored, or even reconstructed after the historic may be eligible for registration as long as the work was done using proper historical documentation and/or in compliance with the Secretary of the Interior's Standards. Reconstructions using conjectural decorative elements do not qualify.
- Properties that have been converted all or in part to another use, such as residential to commercial or commercial to residential, may still qualify for registration as long as the property retains sufficient integrity to convey its original use and retains the majority of its character-defining features, including form, massing, materials, and architectural detailing.
- In circumstances where a property is the oldest or best example of a particular property type or architectural style, or if it is a property most closely associated with a particular context, a higher degree of alteration may be acceptable.

F. Post-quake Recovery and Reconstruction: 1907 to 1919

The 1906 Earthquake and Fire accelerated changes in what is now Duboce Triangle that were already underway. The disaster destroyed almost three-quarters of San Francisco's housing units, resulting in a desperate housing crisis. With the fires halted on the eastern edge of the neighborhood, Duboce Triangle sat on the front lines of a city in ruins **(Figure 44)**. Largely spared destruction, Duboce Triangle went from being a peripheral neighborhood to one of the closest-in surviving residential neighborhoods. From April 1906 onward, many Downtown business owners reopened temporary locations along Van Ness Avenue, lower Fillmore Street, and upper Market Street. Sandwiched between these newly invigorated commercial districts, Duboce Triangle became more attractive to people who wanted to be within walking distance of retail jobs and shopping. Also, after the Market Street Railway repaired its streetcar lines, residents of Duboce Triangle could easily commute to reconstructed commercial and industrial areas Downtown and south of Market Street.

After the quake, city authorities began studying the possibility of restricting new construction in the central parts of the city to masonry and outlawing all wood-frame construction throughout Downtown,

Chinatown, Jackson Square, the Tenderloin, and the entire South of Market area. Although the proposal was eventually dropped apart from the Mission Street corridor and the old wholesale district in the South of Market area, many small-time residential property owners decided to sell out to deep-pocketed real estate interests and move out of the area. As a result, most of the South of Market area's former residents did not rebuild, instead moving into the adjoining Mission district, as well as Eureka Valley and Duboce Triangle, further driving up real estate values in the neighborhoods.[92] During this time, the South of Market area's Scandinavian and Finnish communities almost entirely relocated to Duboce Triangle and Eureka Valley, further solidifying the neighborhood's Scandinavian identity.

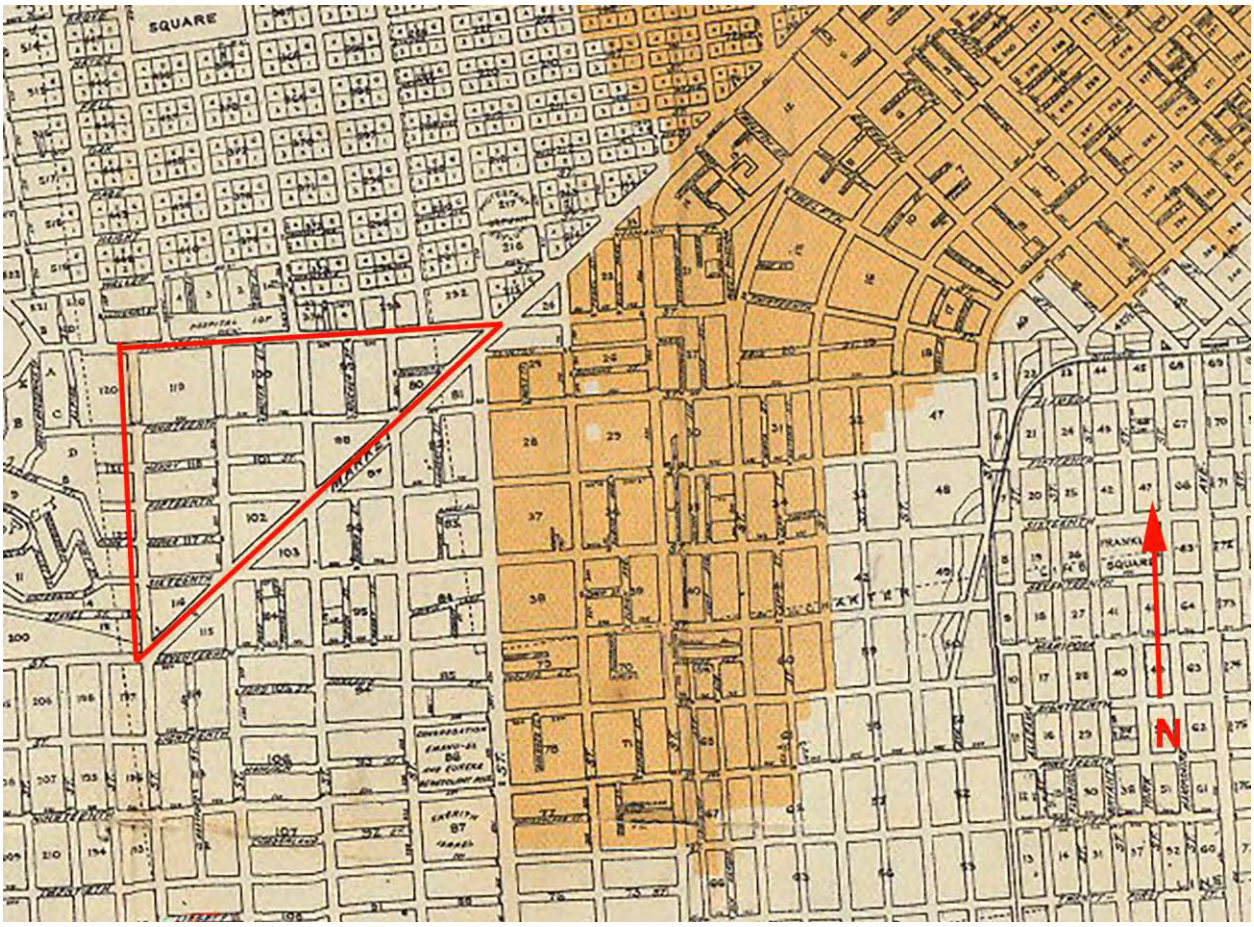

Figure 44. 1906 Britton & Rey map showing the proximity of Duboce Triangle (outlined in red) to destroyed parts of the city (in orange).
Source: David Rumsey Map Collection; annotated by Christopher VerPlanck

[92] Michael C. Corbett, *Revised Draft: Corbett Heights Historic Context Statement* (San Francisco: San Francisco Planning Department, 2017), 116.

This influx of new residents after the 1906 Earthquake put an end to any remaining vestiges of Duboce Triangle's rural heritage. It also led to the demolition of some of the older Folk Victorian cottages and their redevelopment with larger flats and apartment buildings. In addition, some property owners decided to take advantage of the increasing demand for housing in the neighborhood by building accessory dwelling units in their basements and attics and by converting single-family dwellings into flats or apartments. Gradually, nearly all of the remaining suburban villas dating to the immediate post-Civil War era were torn down and redeveloped during the post-quake era – their formerly generous gardens subdivided into house lots and developed with flats or apartment buildings.

New Residential Construction

The most common type of building constructed in Duboce Triangle during the immediate post-quake period was the flat. Virtually indistinguishable from those built between 1893 and 1906, flats were erected either singly, such as 113-15 Noe Street, which was built in 1906 **(Figure 45)**; or in rows, such as the east side of Walter Street between Duboce Avenue and 14th Street. A particularly well-preserved member of this row is 58-60 Walter Street, an imposing three-unit building constructed in 1906 **(Figure 46)**. Most contain three units with one flat per floor, although some contained four units (one to a floor), six (two to a floor), or eight (two to a floor). Similar to their pre-quake counterparts, nearly all are designed in the Classical Revival style, the Late Queen Anne style, or a blend of the two styles. All are of wood-frame construction although some have brick or stone at the basement and/or the first-floor level. Almost all have bay windows on the primary façade – typically a pair extending from the second floor to the roof parapet. Access is typically provided through a recessed porch that contains as many entrances as there are units in the building. As opposed to older buildings in Duboce Triangle, most of the post-quake

Figure 45. 113-15 Noe Street.

Figure 46. 58-60 Walter Street.

flats have flat roofs. Ornament typically consists of pilasters bracketing the doors and windows, intermediate cornices demarcating the floor levels, and a large box cornice embellished with plaster swags and corbeled brackets or modillions. Indeed, the post-quake flat is one of the most widespread and distinctive building types in Duboce Triangle and they help to give the neighborhood its distinctive character.

Unlike many East Coast or Midwestern cities, apartment buildings took a long time to catch on in San Francisco. Reasons for this varied, including the fact that unionized laborers in the city were generally paid better than their counterparts "Back East." This allowed many working-class San Franciscans to buy a cottage in one of the outlying neighborhoods instead of renting. Before 1906, San Francisco had roughly 1,500 apartment buildings, most of which were clustered in the poor and working-class South of Market area and the Tenderloin.[93] Many were inexpensively built "firetraps," and nearly all perished in the 1906 Earthquake and Fire. Despite the poor reputation of apartment buildings in San Francisco, their construction took off after the disaster, largely in response to rising land values and the need to accommodate large numbers of people within the undamaged parts of the city that had access to public transit. As a result, apartment construction took off in neighborhoods that survived the earthquake, including Eureka Valley/Duboce Triangle, the Western Addition, and the Mission district.

Figure 47. 211 Noe Street.

Unlike the Tenderloin, Chinatown, and several parts of the South of Market area where masonry construction was required, nearly all of the apartment buildings built in Duboce Triangle were of wood-frame construction, even though many were detailed with brick cladding and/or a molded concrete water table designed to resemble stone construction. As mentioned, apartment buildings are scattered throughout Duboce Triangle, although they tend to be located closer to Market Street and public transit. Although many occupy large corner lots, some were erected on mid-block sites created by assembling several house lots. One of the best examples of a post-quake apartment building in Duboce Triangle is the recently restored 12-unit building at 221 Noe Street **(Figure 47)**. Built in 1908 on a mid-block site, the three-story-over-basement, wood-frame, building has a rusticated concrete water table, a central entrance, and a relatively simple façade comprising four bay windows. The bay windows are capped by a flat cornice supported by acanthus leaf modillions.

[93] Ann Vernez Moudon, *Built for Change: Neighborhood Architecture in San Francisco* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1986), 97.

In addition, builders erected several "Romeo" flats in Duboce Triangle. A compromise between a conventional apartment building and a traditional San Francisco flat, Romeo flats usually contain a pair of units at each floor level. The flats are divided by a central stair that leads up from the main entrance, with entrances to each of the units provided at each stair landing. The stair, which is often unenclosed, creates a distinctive balcony-like appearance that gives this building type its name. Typically consisting of six or more units, Romeo flats make better use of land than traditional flats because they have only two stairs serving the entire building (one at either end of the building) and they do not have common hallways. The units are also usually smaller. Because the floors are divided longitudinally, the flats are usually long and narrow, with an internal hallway on one side and a row of rooms arranged in a line on the other side like a railroad car. Often the only windows face the street and the back yard, although there is usually also a light well located midway along the outside wall. Romeo flats were widely built after the 1906 Earthquake in Duboce Triangle and other close-in residential neighborhoods, including Eureka Valley, the Mission district, and the Western Addition. The 10-unit Romeo flat at 161 Henry Street (built) is one of the best examples of a Romeo Flat in Duboce Triangle **(Figure 48)**.

Figure 48. 161 Henry Street.

Although most of the approximately 110 buildings constructed in Duboce Triangle between 1906 and 1910 were multi-family properties, there were still some single-family dwellings being built, especially in the more affluent western part of the neighborhood. However, in contrast to Victorian-era residential development, most of which occurred on an incremental basis – single-family dwellings built after 1906 tended to be speculative tracts. One of the most distinctive of these is a row of seven largely identical, Late Queen Anne-style cottages at 851 to 879 14th Street. Built in 1906 by well-known merchant builder Fernando Nelson, the cottages feature flush siding at the first-floor level and shingled gables at the second-floor level. Two of them: 859-61 and 865 14th Street, were raised at an early date to insert commercial units beneath them **(Figure 49)**. For many years, the two commercial units housed a dry cleaning and dyeing business called G.F. Thomas.

Figure 49. 859-61 (left) and 865 (right) 14th Street.

In regard to single-family construction, the most solid concentration of post-1906 development was the small tract on the west side of Castro Street opposite the German Hospital. As discussed above in the previous chapter, this tract was developed by builder William S. Born beginning in 1906. Development of the tract continued after the earthquake, including 56 Castro Street, a monumental Renaissance Revival palazzo embellished with a pair of Composite pilasters and a rusticated water table **(Figure 50)**. The row includes several Craftsman, Renaissance Revival, and First Bay Region Tradition houses. All were originally single-family.

Figure 50. 56 Castro Street.

Commercial and Mixed-use Buildings

Duboce Triangle still did not really have its own dedicated commercial district during the immediate post-quake period. The four-block-long stretch of Market Street that forms the neighborhood's southeastern boundary has always served the entire Upper Market area. However, in the aftermath of the 1906 Earthquake, the residential population of Duboce Triangle and Eureka Valley swelled, inspiring entrepreneurs and real estate speculators to build out the Upper Market Street commercial district.[94]

Within the neighborhood proper, the most desirable corner lots had already been developed with mixed-use (commercial and residential) buildings during the Victorian era. As a result, the handful of new commercial and mixed-use buildings constructed after 1906 were built on mid-block sites. Some of the new commercial units were inserted into existing buildings. The closest thing resembling a neighborhood commercial district began to evolve around the intersection of 14th and Church streets after 1906, with several Victorians jacked up to accommodate new commercial units at the ground floor level. This also happened along the first block of Noe Street and at several heavily trafficked intersections, including 14th and Sanchez streets, where a storefront was inserted into the ground floor of a new apartment building at 94-96 Sanchez Street built in 1909 **(Figure 51)**. Only a handful of single-use commercial buildings were constructed in Duboce Triangle between 1906 and 1919, including 719 14th Street, a very well-preserved, one-story commercial block designed in the Classical Revival style. This building, which is a good example of a so-called "taxpayer block," was built in 1911 as a placeholder until land values justified its replacement with a larger mixed-use building. It resembles several comparable one-story commercial blocks built on Market Street around the same time but it survived, probably due to its relatively inconspicuous location **(Figure 52)**.

Figure 51. 94-98 Sanchez Street.

[94] Upper Market Street is not part of this survey. Please see the DPR 523 District form prepared for the Upper Market Street Commercial District by Page & Turnbull in 2008: https://sfplanninggis.org/docs/CalRegDistricts/Upper%20Market%20Commercial%20DPR%20D%20Form%20and%20Update.pdf

Figure 52. 719 14th Street.

One reason why Duboce Triangle never got its own dedicated commercial district was that it was still considered to be part of Eureka Valley, which already had its own commercial district along Castro Street. Another factor was that Duboce Triangle did not have any mass transit lines passing directly through the neighborhood, limiting foot traffic. In addition, most of its east-west streets did not go any farther beyond Castro Street. As a result, there was never much vehicular traffic passing through the neighborhood until much later in the twentieth century. As a relatively insular residential island in an otherwise heavily commercialized area, local businesses in Duboce Triangle, such as corner groceries, bars, or restaurants, were small-scale in nature and mostly catered to local residents.

Twin Peaks Tunnel

The speedy recovery of San Francisco from the 1906 Earthquake and Fire stunned the world. Written off by many as a lost cause, San Francisco was essentially rebuilt within four years. Many refugees who had fled returned to the city. According to the 1910 Census, San Francisco's population had actually grown to 416,912, representing a substantial increase from the 342,782 people recorded in 1900.[95] Much of this growth was due to the far-sighted efforts of the city's civic and business leaders to facilitate the rapid reconstruction of the burned-out areas, but this growth also stemmed from the opening of the still largely uninhabited West of Twin Peaks district to development. The West of Twin Peaks region had historically been cut off from the rest of the city by the San Miguel Hills, a steep ridge extending from Mt. Davidson at the south, through Twin Peaks, to Mt. Sutro on the north. Although one could travel to the other side of Twin Peaks via the Corbett Road (now Corbett Avenue), it was a narrow, dangerous, and twisting road that could never accommodate much commuter traffic – much less streetcars of any type.

[95] U.S. Census population totals for San Francisco.

Access to the West of Twin Peaks was becoming a bit of a conundrum, in part because the older neighborhoods east of Twin Peaks were running out of room to build. Many worried that this situation would force suburban growth across the bay to Oakland, Berkeley, and Alameda. Nevertheless, the Board of Supervisors could not force the privately owned Market Street Railway to take on such an expensive infrastructure project.[96]

At the same time, Duboce Triangle's semi-landlocked situation at the foot of the San Miguel Hills at the southwestern end of Market Street rankled some local residents and improvement clubs. Seeking better access to the West of Twin Peaks district, in 1909 the Eureka Valley Improvement Association petitioned the San Francisco Board of Supervisors to build a streetcar tunnel from 16th and Noe streets in Duboce Triangle, beneath Corona Heights, westward to the fast-growing Inner Sunset district.

Seeking a solution to the impasse, in 1912, the Board of Supervisors commissioned Bion Arnold, a nationally known public transportation expert, to develop a plan for a municipally owned and operated street railway system. The centerpiece of Arnold's plan was a streetcar tunnel beneath Twin Peaks to connect the city's east and west sides. From the tunnel's western portal, a network of new streetcar lines would then fan out across the still-rural Sunset and Parkside districts. Arnold recommended that the tunnel's eastern portal should be in Eureka Valley, where it would ideally connect with a future subway tunnel running beneath Market Street all the way to the Ferry Building.[97] The Board of Supervisors approved Arnold's plan and established the San Francisco Municipal Railway in 1913. During the first four years of its operation, "Muni," as it was popularly known, concentrated on building several new streetcar lines from Downtown to the Richmond district, where no tunnels were required. But soon it began working on the Twin Peaks Tunnel too. The 2.27-mile tunnel was completed in four years in 1917. Mayor James Rolph, a big booster of the project, operated the first streetcar through the Twin Peaks Tunnel and spoke at the dedication ceremony at Castro and Market streets **(Figure 53)**:

Figure 53. Dedication ceremony for the Twin Peaks Tunnel, 1917. View north toward intersection of 17th and Castro.
Source: OpenSFHistory / wnp15.1492

[96] "Eureka Valley Wants Street Railway Extended to the Park," *San Francisco Chronicle* (November 14, 1909), 25.
[97] Bion Arnold, *Report on the Improvement and Development of the Transportation Facilities of San Francisco* (San Francisco, 1913), 225.

> With the coming of the rails and the operation of streetcars through the Twin Peaks Tunnel, it will no longer be necessary to move down on the peninsula or across the Bay to Marin or Alameda Counties to find suitable home sites. Enough will be provided west of Twin Peaks.[98]

The benefits of the project for San Francisco were huge. Following the opening of the Twin Peaks Tunnel in 1918, much of the western half of the city was brought within a 30-minute ride of Downtown. The completion of the Sunset Tunnel in 1926 further improved the situation, opening virtually the entire western half of the city to residential development. Duboce Triangle stood to benefit from its proximity to both the Twin Peaks and Sunset Tunnels, as well as the proposed Market Street subway. With more people passing through the area, commerce was bound to increase. On the other hand, the proximity of an "escape valve" to the suburban West Side meant that better-off neighborhood residents might be tempted by the prospect of a modern bungalow in a new subdivision West of Twin Peaks.

The Twin Peaks Tunnel project included the construction of three subway stations: Castro Street, Forest Hill, and West Portal. Castro Street Station was originally entirely underground, with a pair of red tile-roofed headhouses on either side of Market Street, just west of Castro. The head houses enclosed stairs that lead down to the tiled platforms below-ground. Although the platforms still exist they are no longer in use. The head houses were demolished to build the Muni Metro tunnel beneath Market Street in the 1970s.[99]

Market Street Extension

Another major infrastructure project that took place near Duboce Triangle during the 1910s was the design and construction of Market Street Extension. Until 1914, Market Street abruptly ended at 17th and Castro streets. The construction of Twin Peaks Tunnel served as an impetus to also improve access for private vehicles over the San Miguel Hills to the West of Twin Peaks district. After the 1906 Earthquake and Fire, a growing number of San Franciscans had purchased automobiles and the number of motorists was expected to grow indefinitely. Market Street Extension was designed to follow the natural contours of the east slope of Twin Peaks from 17th and Castro to the top of the pass where Portola Drive begins today. The route largely follows the alignment of the old Corbett Road (now Corbett Avenue), albeit a block downhill. Construction began in 1914 and Market Street extension opened to vehicular traffic in 1922. It was later widened to four lanes in the 1950s.[100]

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[98] Robert W. Cherny and William Issel, *San Francisco: Presidio, Port and Pacific Metropolis* (Sparks, NV: Materials for Today's Learning, Inc., 1988), 48-49.

[99] Joe Mendoza, *Muni Metro, Bay Area Rail Transit Album Vol. 2: San Francisco's Light Rail Lines and Streetcar and Cable Car Lines* (San Francisco: Metro City Books, 2010), 26.

[100] Michael C. Corbett, *Revised Draft: Corbett Heights Historic Context Statement* (San Francisco: San Francisco Planning Department, 2017), 137.

McKinley Elementary School

Figure 54. McKinley Elementary School, 1940.
Source: OpenSFHistory / wnp26.1931

Long served by Eureka Valley schools, Duboce Triangle did not get its own dedicated elementary school until 1910. McKinley Elementary School, named for President William McKinley who was assassinated in 1901, was built at the southwest corner of 14th and Castro streets, catty corner from the German Hospital. Dedicated on November 6, 1910, the $100,000 school was designed by San Francisco City Architect Newton Tharp in the Renaissance Revival style **(Figure 54)**.[101] After standing for nearly 70 years, the building, which did not comply with modern seismic codes, was demolished and replaced by the current school in the 1980s.

Religious and Fraternal Organizations

As previously mentioned, the destruction of the South of Market area in the 1906 Earthquake resulted in the relocation of that neighborhood's Scandinavian community Duboce Triangle and adjoining sections of Eureka Valley, Mission Dolores, and Duboce Park in the 1910s. Prior to the disaster, Duboce Triangle had already begun to take on an increasingly Nordic ethnic character, especially after the construction of St. Ansgar Lutheran Church in 1906. Located a couple of blocks away, Ebenezer Lutheran Church at 15th and Dolores was the center of the city's Swedish community.[102]

[101] "McKinley School is Dedicated," *San Francisco Chronicle* (November 7, 1910), 4.
[102] Alexander S. Bodi, *The Duboce Triangle of San Francisco: A Study of a Community* (San Francisco: Thesis submitted to San Francisco State University Anthropology Department, 1983), 14.

Swedish American Hall

After the disaster, local Swedish residents wanted to build a new social hall to replace Scandia Hall, which had been located near City Hall. Buoyed by a $40,000 loan from Eric O. Lindholm, a Swedish immigrant gold miner and banker, local Swedes raised the rest of the money needed to build a social hall that could be used by all Scandinavians.[103] The new building, which was designed by a Swedish immigrant architect named August Nordin, is rendered in a fanciful blend of the Craftsman and Art Nouveau styles with ornament nominally derived from traditional Swedish architecture. In actuality, the building looks more German or Swiss than it does Swedish. According to the building contract dated May 4, 1907, the $35,000 building was built by a consortium of builders, including the Swedish contractors Andrew Olson, Carlson & Swanson, and Victor Stanquist.[104] An article in the San Francisco-based Swedish-language newspaper *Vestkusten* discusses the building's program in Swedish. The author has translated the text below:

> We are pleased to produce a picture of the Swedish Society building as it will look when finished. As of now the walls are erected to the first floor only, but the work is progressing rapidly under builder Andrew Olson's leadership. The architect, who as well as the builder is Swedish, is August Nordin. The building should be completed at a cost of approximately $40,000 and it includes a large basement, two stores and a meeting room on the first floor, and a large hall and two lodge rooms on the second floor. The front of the building is divided into two floors above the shops and contains a lodge room, pantry, etc. and a clubroom …. No expenses have been spared in the building's construction, thanks to Mr. E. Lindblom's benevolence in placing all necessary means at the society's disposal. The cornerstone of the building will be placed to coincide with a singing festival here at the end of July.[105]

The article contains a rendering of the building by August Nordin that shows what the Swedish American Hall was supposed to look like when it was completed **(Figure 55)**. The rendering indicates that the building was built according to the original plans. The basement contains a rathskeller called Café du Nord, a longtime live music venue. The interior of the entire building is almost entirely original and it is every bit as impressive as the exterior. It contains lodge rooms, a banqueting hall, a kitchen, a library, club rooms, and a bar. The building also originally contained two retail spaces, one of which was leased to the Swedish-American Mercantile Company, a dealer of imported liquors and wines and a delicatessen selling Scandinavian and German specialties. The Swedish American Hall at 2168-74 Market Street is still operated by the Swedish Society of San Francisco, which uses it for a variety of events. It is San Francisco City Landmark No. 267.

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[103] Ibid., 15.
[104] Jonathan Lammers, *Swedish American Hall Landmark Designation Report* (San Francisco: 2015), 31.
[105] *Vestkusten* (June 27, 1907).

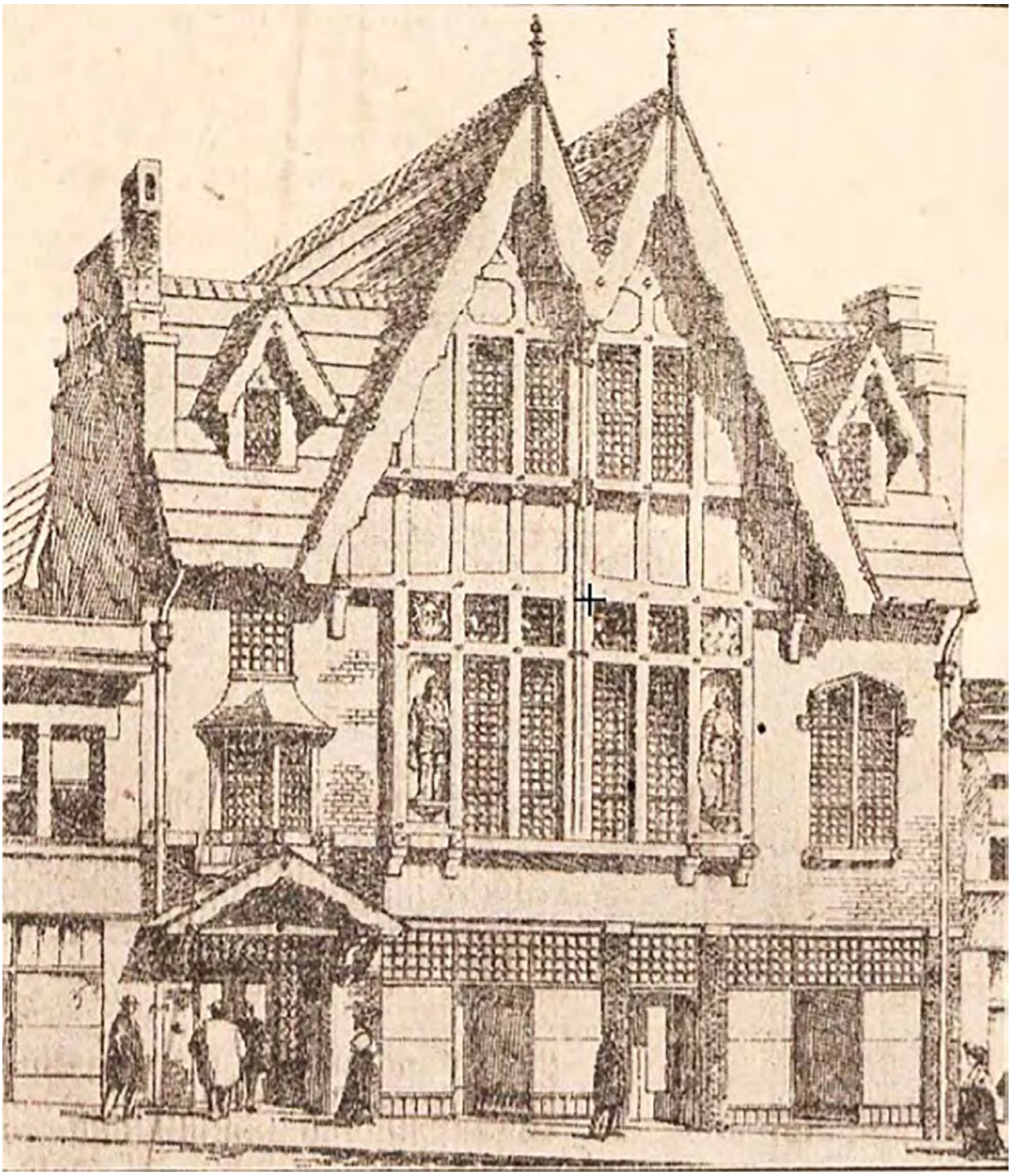

Figure 55. Rendering of the Swedish American Hall by August Nordin, 1907.
Source: *Vestkusten*

The opening of the Swedish American Hall on a very prominent block of Market Street announced to San Francisco the Scandinavian presence in the Upper Market area. Over time, most of San Francisco's Scandinavian fraternal, recreational, and charitable organizations relocated to the area. The following list includes all known Scandinavian and Finnish organizations that were ever located within the Upper Market area, including Duboce Triangle. Properties located in Duboce Triangle proper are followed by an asterisk:

- Central Methodist Church (Norwegian and Danish), 750 14th Street (extant)*
- Finnila's Finnish Baths, 4032 17th Street (demolished)*
- First Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church, 50 Belcher Street (extant)*
- First Swedish Baptist Church, 3459 17th Street (extant)
- First Swedish Methodist Episcopal Church, 439 Guerrero Street (extant)
- Norwegian Lutheran Church, 601-05 Dolores Street (extant)
- Norwegian Singing Society, 431 Duboce Avenue (demolished)*
- St. Ansgar Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church, 152 Church Street (extant)*
- Swedish American Hall, 2168-74 Market Street (extant)*
- Swedish Athletic Club, 3276 16th Street (demolished)
- Swedish Evangelical Mission Church, 455 Dolores Street (extant)
- Swedish Home for Girls, 3744 17th Street (demolished)
- Swedish Lutheran Ebenezer Church, 200 Dolores Street (destroyed by fire)

First Christian Church

Apart from St. Ansgar Danish Lutheran Church, there were not many churches or other religious institutions operating in Duboce Triangle during the Victorian and Edwardian eras. In addition to being a primarily residential enclave, most churches in the Upper Market area preferred to be close to Mission Dolores, on the opposite side of Market Street from Duboce Triangle. However, one notable early church built in the neighborhood during this period was the First Christian Church at 583-85 Duboce Avenue. Located at the southeast corner of Duboce Avenue and Noe Street, this parcel stands is across the street from Duboce Park. The church, which is still owned and operated by the same congregation that built it in 1906, is designed in the Mission Revival style – one of the few examples of this style in Duboce Triangle **(Figure 56)**. Prior to the 1906 Earthquake, the congregation was located in the South of Market area. The existing building was designed by Ross and Burgren and dedicated on January 27, 1908 in a ceremony conducted by Reverend J.H. McCullough.[106] The First Christian Church is a member of the Disciples of Christ, a mainline Protestant denomination historically attended by Anglo-Americans.

106

Figure 56. First Christian Church, 583-85 Duboce Avenue.

1913 Sanborn Maps

The 1913 Sanborn Maps illustrate the widespread new construction in Duboce Triangle that had occurred after the 1906 Earthquake. By this time, the core of the neighborhood – the area bounded by Duboce Avenue and Sanchez, Market, 16th, and Castro streets – was almost 100 percent built out. This area, whose boundaries in part correspond to the Hillside Homestead Association tract, was almost 100 percent residential, consisting of a mixture of single-family dwellings, flats ranging from two to eight units, as well as a handful of larger apartment buildings and mixed-use buildings **(Figure 57)**. The only undeveloped areas were part of a handful of surviving Victorian-era villas. Development was also somewhat sparse along the west side of Castro Street, where the terrain was much steeper, as well as the far northeast corner of the neighborhood, an area bounded by Duboce Avenue, Market Street, and Sanchez Street. This area still had several vacant lots on Belcher and Sanchez streets. Most were being used as storage/staging yards by building contractors and other light industries such as wagonmakers, printers, and laundries **(Figure 58)**. The German Hospital continued to occupy the block bounded by Duboce Avenue, Noe Street, 14th Street, and Castro Street. Most of the original 1878 hospital had been demolished in 1908 and replaced with a modern five-story, brick hospital facing 14th Street **(Figure 59)**. Meanwhile, most of the flatiron blocks facing Market Street had been developed with flats, residential hotels, commercial buildings, and a handful of industrial buildings – especially on the block bounded by Duboce Avenue, Market Street, and Church Street. This block, where Safeway is today, featured remnants of a Japanese nursery at the intersection of Church and Reservoir streets, as well as a section of Clinton Mound – now known as Mint Hill **(Figure 60)**.

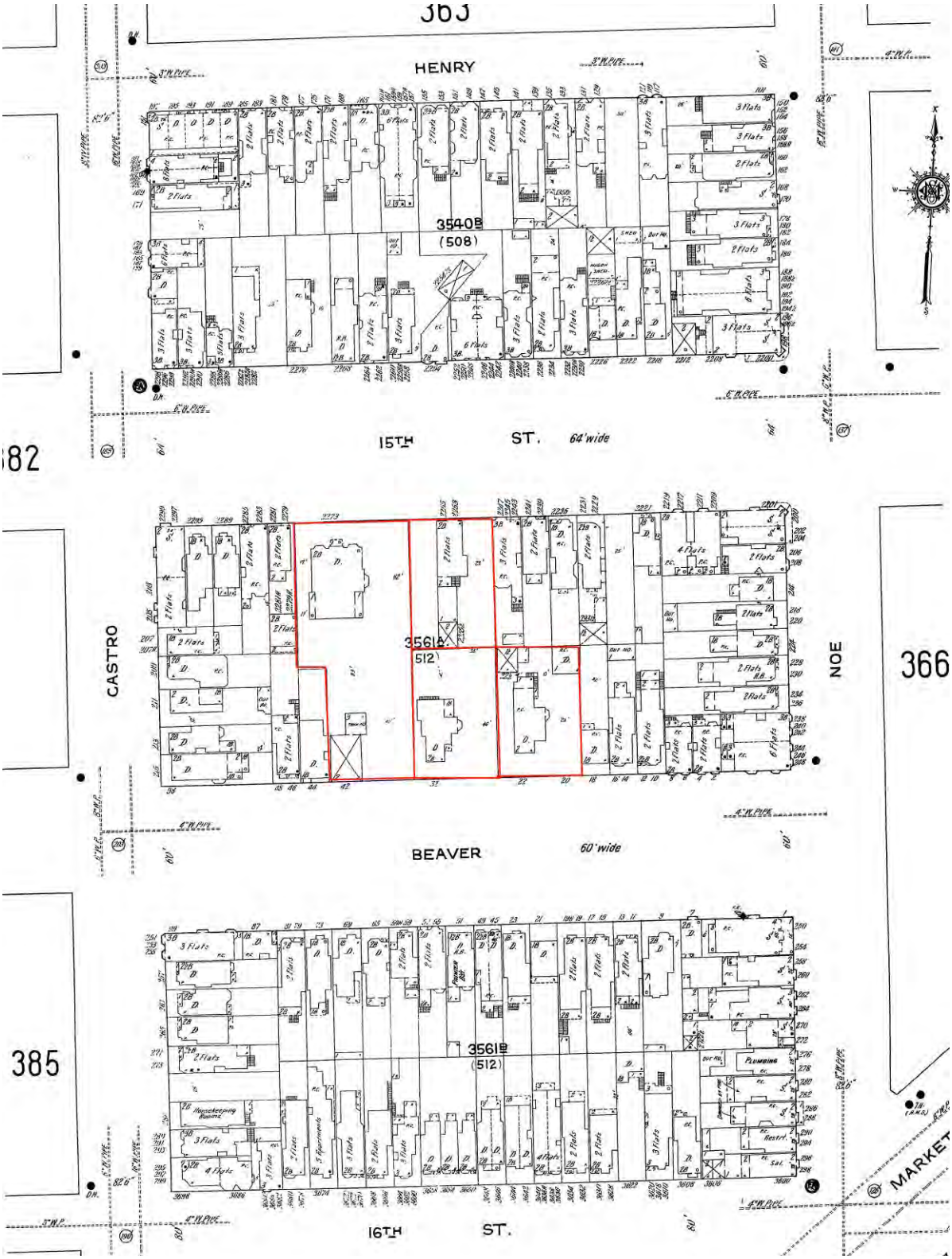

Figure 57. 1913 Sanborn Maps showing blocks bounded by Henry, Noe, 16th, and Castro streets, with suburban villas outlined in red.
Source: San Francisco Public Library

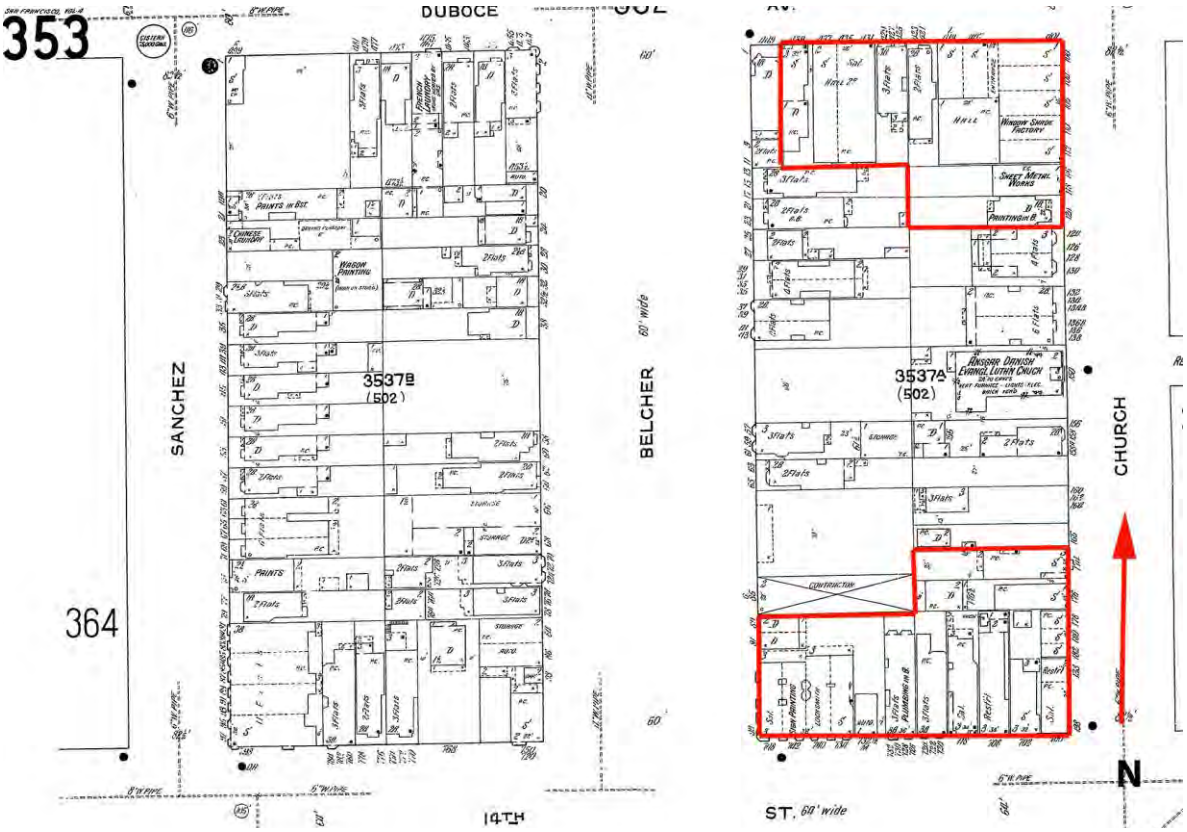

Figure 58. 1913 Sanborn Maps showing block bounded by Duboce Avenue, Church Street, 14th Street, and Sanchez Street with Duboce Triangle's commercial district outlined in red.
Source: San Francisco Public Library

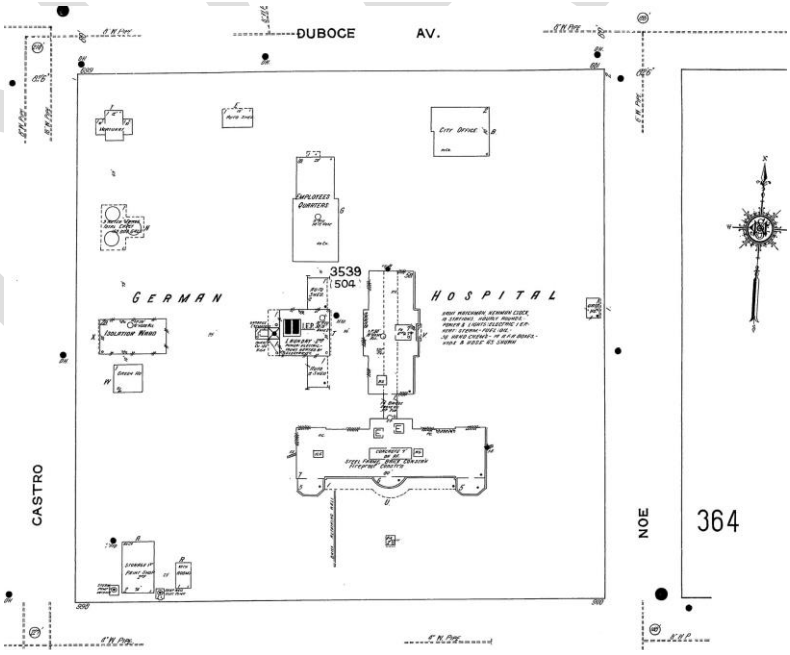

Figure 59. 1913 Sanborn Maps showing the German Hospital
Source: San Francisco Public Library

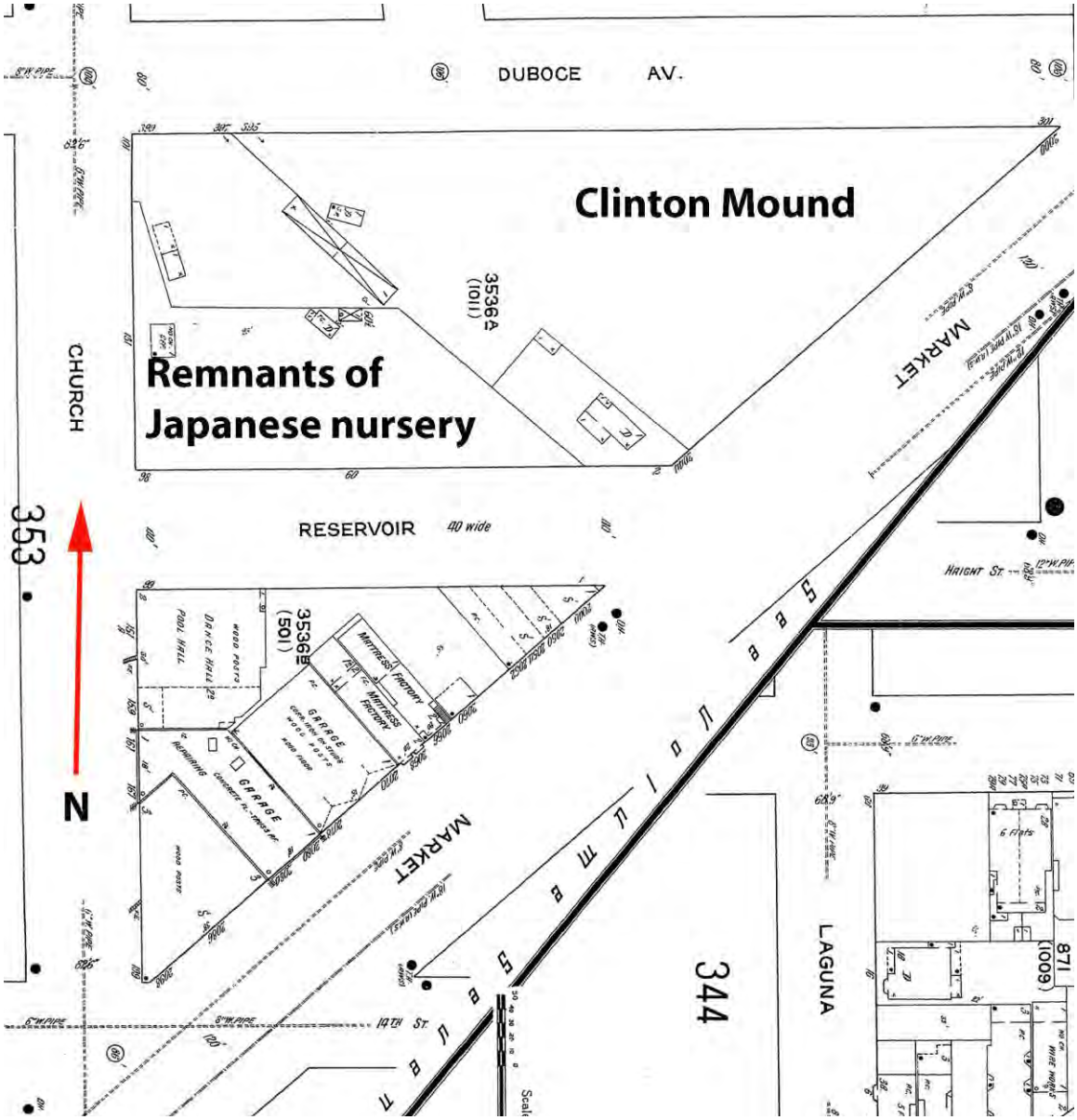

Figure 60. 1913 Sanborn Maps showing block bounded by Duboce Avenue, Market Street, and Church Street. Source: San Francisco Public Library

Duboce Triangle Matures

Altogether, approximately 110 buildings were constructed in Duboce Triangle between 1906 and 1919. Ninety of these were built during the first four years after the 1906 Earthquake, with 50 built in 1906 alone. In subsequent years, 13 buildings were constructed in 1907, 17 in 1908, six in 1909, and four in 1910. By this point, Duboce Triangle was essentially built out, with only sporadic infill development occurring between 1910 and 1919.[107] From this point on, nearly all new construction occurred on the unbuilt portions of suburban estates or when a smaller building was replaced with a larger building.

[107] San Francisco Office of the Assessor-Recorder.

The combination of increasing residential density in what is now Duboce Triangle, as well as the sudden availability of new residential subdivisions West of Twin Peaks, led to the gradual dispersal of many long-time residents, including some members of the neighborhood's Scandinavian community. Scandinavian immigrants dominated San Francisco's homebuilding sector, and as business opportunities opened up in the West of Twin Peaks district, more prosperous members of the community began to pick up stakes and move.[108]

American participation in World War I also affected Duboce Triangle's Scandinavian community. Although Sweden, Norway, and Denmark were all neutral during the war, virulent anti-German sentiment in the U.S. increased suspicions toward Scandinavians due to their Germanic language, customs, and culture. Once comfortable publicly expressing their ethnic heritage through their religion, language, foodways, and music, Scandinavians (and of course Germans) became increasingly reticent about public displays of their culture, forcing the community inward. This factor probably hastened the assimilation of San Francisco's Scandinavian community to mainstream middle-class, American "White" culture, including embracing the cult of suburban domesticity. Moving to the suburbs was simply the most "American" thing an immigrant could do.

The "exodus" of Scandinavians from Duboce Triangle was very slow at first, and it did not really pick up speed until the 1920s, but the seeds were sown in the mid-1910s. However, many of those who did leave held onto their property "in the city," becoming absentee landlords in the process. In addition to providing a reliable source of rental income, maintaining a foothold in the "old" neighborhood allowed property owners to provide housing to older immigrant relatives, many of whom did not have had a solid command of English and may not have felt comfortable leaving behind their churches, stores, and cultural organizations.[109]

Ironically, it was the opening of Muni's Twin Peaks Tunnel in 1917 that made the dispersal of better-off residents possible, and it ever so slowly initiated the decline of Duboce Triangle over the next fifty years. Although many neighborhood property owners and residents looked forward to the improved mobility and business opportunities that the streetcar tunnel would provide, it ended up providing an escape valve to the West of Twin Peaks district. Instead of being the neighborhood at the end of the line, as it had been for the last half-century, improved public transit service and the construction of Market Street Extension turned Duboce Triangle and the rest of greater Eureka Valley into an increasingly crowded way station between Downtown and the bucolic western suburbs. With its aging Victorian and Edwardian flats, crowded schools and playgrounds, and absentee ownership patterns, Duboce Triangle began the slow steady evolution from prosperous streetcar suburb to declining inner city neighborhood.

[108] Alexander S. Bodi, *The Duboce Triangle of San Francisco: A Study of a Community* (San Francisco: Thesis submitted to San Francisco State University Anthropology Department, 1983), 17.
[109] Ibid., 18.

Associated Property Types

The period between 1906 and 1919 accounts for approximately 110 out of the 552 individual properties inventoried in the reconnaissance survey, or approximately 20 percent. Similar to the preceding period, virtually all are residential properties. Furthermore, nearly all are multi-family buildings, including flats, apartment buildings, and mixed-use (residential-over-commercial) blocks. In contrast to the preceding periods, where most new construction occurred within the Hillside Homestead Association, between 1906 and 1919 much of the new construction occurred within the northeastern corner of the neighborhood, particularly along Belcher, Walter, and Sanchez streets, as well as on 14th Street between Church and Noe streets. As before, mixed-use buildings were typically built on corners, especially around the intersection of 14th and Church streets – Duboce Triangle's "downtown" – as well as along Market Street. In regard to architectural styling, buildings constructed during this period are not all that different from the preceding period, with most of the multi-family buildings designed in the Late Queen Anne or Classical Revival styles. In contrast to previous periods, most of the buildings constructed during the post-1906 era were large and often constructed in rows of two or more identical (or almost identical) buildings. Although most of Duboce Triangle's civic, religious, and fraternal institutions were located along Market Street or in nearby Eureka Valley, this period witnessed the construction of several of the neighborhood's most important institutions, including the Swedish American Hall and First Christian Church.

National and California Register and City Landmark Eligibility

Properties associated with the continued urbanization of Duboce Triangle between the 1906 Earthquake and the end of World War I represent the tapering off of large-scale residential development in the neighborhood. This period is when most of Duboce Triangle's remaining vacant land was developed with larger flats and apartment buildings, as well as a handful of institutional properties. Under National Register Criterion A/California Register Criterion 1 (Events), surviving properties of this type, which all postdate the 1906 Earthquake, constitute a relatively common resource type in San Francisco. They also embody the continued urbanization of the neighborhood that began in the 1890s. As such, most properties developed within this period may not qualify under this criterion unless they were built in response to the 1906 Earthquake or if they are associated with the growing Scandinavian presence in the neighborhood. Under National Register Criterion B/California Register Criterion 2 (Persons), some properties may also be significant for associations with important residents, including prominent members of the Scandinavian community. In regard to National Register Criterion C/California Register Criterion 3 (Design/Construction), most buildings constructed during this period are designed in the Classical Revival, Craftsman, and Mission Revival styles. Properties with only vague ornamental references to period styles would not typically be eligible under this criterion. In regard to building type, this period witnessed the construction of several larger apartment buildings and a handful of prominent institutional buildings – particularly churches and social halls. Especially fine examples of either type may be eligible. A handful of older properties were remodeled during this period in more contemporary styles, and as long as the remodels were executed convincingly, it is possible to register the property under this criterion and period of development.

Integrity Considerations

Properties associated with the theme of post-quake development in Duboce Park comprise a significant portion of all buildings in the neighborhood. Buildings from this period are not especially rare citywide, because they postdate the 1906 Earthquake, and they are generally more utilitarian than their pre-quake counterparts. Therefore, a higher degree of integrity should be expected of registered properties from this period. At the very least, properties from this era ought to retain the aspects of design, materials, workmanship, and feeling to convey their significance and associations under this context. Integrity considerations include the following:

- Properties ought to embody distinctive examples of the types, forms, and styles of architecture popular during the period of 1906 to 1919, including retention of discernable form, footprint, massing, and roofline.
- Properties should retain the majority of their original exterior cladding materials, architectural detailing, and most of their original fenestration pattern. Retention of original window sashes is preferred.
- Window and door replacement is very common in properties of this vintage and should be acceptable as long as the replacement features conform to the original openings and sash lite patterns. Retention of original doors is preferred.
- Replacement of original porches and entry stairs is also very common in properties built during this period due to deterioration and insertion of garages into basements. However, it is important that replacement features of this kind match the original feature as closely as possible. Enclosed porches are acceptable on properties that otherwise retain high integrity.
- It is also common for properties of this age to have acquired an addition. Additions built during the historic period should be considered part of the property's historical development and should not impede historical designation. Contemporary additions – particularly rear additions – are generally acceptable as long as they do not visually overwhelm the resource. As long as they are set back, vertical additions of no more than one story can be acceptable as long as the original building's form, massing, and scale are respected.
- Properties that have been converted all or in part to another use, such as residential to commercial or commercial to residential, may still qualify for registration as long as the property retains sufficient integrity to convey its original use and retains the majority of its character-defining features, including form, massing, materials, and architectural detailing.
- In circumstances where a property is the oldest or best example of a particular property type or architectural style, or if it is a property most closely associated with a particular context, a higher degree of alteration may be acceptable.

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G. Duboce Triangle Matures – The Roaring Twenties and the Depression: 1919 to 1939

Duboce Triangle finally became a mature neighborhood during the 1920s and 1930s. As mentioned in the previous section, most of the remaining vacant lots had been developed by the onset of the 1920s-era Building Boom. Virtually the only unbuilt land in the neighborhood consisted of the grounds of several Victorian suburban villas along 15th and Beaver streets, as well as a couple dozen vacant lots along the west side of Castro Street, several contractor yards on the west side of Church Street, and a handful of other locations. As mentioned, Duboce Triangle had become heavily Scandinavian between 1900 and 1920, so much that it was widely known as "Little Scandinavia." However, the dominance of Scandinavian culture was already starting to slip away as more affluent Scandinavian immigrants and their American-born children began moving to the West of Twin Peaks area.

As Duboce Triangle became more "urban" due to its increasingly central location on the city's most important transit line, it remained a largely lower-middle-class to middle-class neighborhood with pockets of upper-income housing along Castro Street, where Duboce Triangle butted up against Corona Heights and Buena Vista. As a neighborhood that was largely built-out, there was relatively little new construction in Duboce Triangle during the 1920s and 1930s. New construction did not dry up entirely, however, because, as explained above, there was still a little open land here and there, and during this period all but one of the surviving Victorian suburban villas were subdivided and redeveloped with two and three-family flats. In most cases the villas themselves were demolished, but a few were kept and incorporated into the development, such as 2253-55 15th Street, a large Italianate villa that was retained as part of a development of 1910s-era flats (See Figure X).

Nearly all of the new construction built in Duboce Triangle during this time were flats. Most of the corner lots suitable for apartment buildings and larger mixed-use buildings had already been built upon by this time, so most of the new buildings constructed during the 1920s and 1930s were built in mid-block locations or on the outer fringes of the neighborhood. In addition, the newer buildings tended to cover most of the lot with no front or side yard setbacks. Finally, there was a significant stylistic break, as rustic and shingle-clad Victorian and Edwardian styles were cast aside in favor of stucco-clad buildings designed in the Mediterranean, Period Revival, and Art Deco styles. After the Stock Market Crash of 1929, most new construction switched to remodeling and enlarging existing buildings.

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New Residential Construction

The prototypical 1920s-era dwelling in Duboce Triangle is a two or three-family flat designed in the Mediterranean style. Constructed on vacant lots along Castro, or on the sites of subdivided Victorian suburban villas, developers built several rows of speculative flats in response to the demand for more multi-family housing in Duboce Triangle. Built without front or side yard setbacks and clad in stucco or brick with red clay tile detailing, these buildings represent a significant departure from their predecessors.

The majority are located on the block bounded by 15th, Noe, Beaver, and Castro streets, which historically had been the location of four suburban villas (See Figure 57). Ca. 1923, a now unknown contractor purchased the largest of these villas, demolished the Victorian mansion and outbuildings and began building flats in their place. The first ones were built on 15th Street, including 2263-65, 2267-69, 2271-73, and 2275-77 15th Street. Built between 1923 and 1925, these four two-unit buildings are designed in an eclectic style mixing elements of the Craftsman, Classical Revival, and Mediterranean styles **(Figure 61)**. The first block of Beaver Street contains another six Mediterranean-style flats constructed on the sites of two adjoining Victorian suburban villas, including 60-62, 64-66, and 68-70 Beaver Street, which were built at the rear of an estate at 2273 15th Street. Adjoining them is another row built on the site of an adjoining Victorian suburban villa at 32 Beaver Street, including 46-48, 52-54, and 56-58 Beaver Street.

Figure 61. 1920s-era flats at 2263-65 (left) to 2275-77 (right) 15th Street.

The largest and most intact row of 1920s-era flats and apartment buildings in Duboce Triangle lines the west side of Castro Street between 15th and Beaver streets. Built between 1927 and 1928, the small planned unit development consists of five flats (2309 15th Street and 210-12, 214-16, 218-20, 222-24 Castro Street), as well as a 12-unit apartment building at 2301 15th Street. All six buildings are clad in stucco (although some have brick bases) and are designed in the Mediterranean style **(Figure 62)**. This still-intact development was constructed on the site of a small chicken ranch – an unusual rural holdout in this part of San Francisco.

Although most of the flats built during the 1920s were constructed as larger infill development on formerly rural or suburban properties, speculators and individual homeowners also built several flats as one-off projects. Examples include 45-49 Belcher Street, a three-unit building designed by architect John C. Hladik and built in 1924 on a vacant lot on the east side of Belcher Street between 14th Street and Duboce Avenue.

Figure 62. Group of six related 1920s-era buildings at the southwest corner of 15th and Castro streets.

During the 1920s, property developers constructed a handful of apartment buildings in Duboce Triangle. One of the best is a 106-12 Noe Street, a two-story-over-basement, wood-frame apartment building containing four units **(Figure 63)**. Designed in the Mediterranean style and built in 1924, the building was built across the street from Franklin Hospital (Formerly the German Hospital - now CPMC's Davies Medical Center). Its comparatively sumptuous detailing suggests that it may have been built for relatively well-paid medical professionals working at the hospital. Similar to most other multi-family residential buildings constructed in Duboce Triangle (and other San Francisco neighborhoods) during the 1920s, 106-12 Noe Street was designed with integral garages in the basement. By the 1920s, many San Francisco households owned a car, and buildings with their own garages could command higher rents than buildings without them.

Not all of the apartment buildings constructed in Duboce Triangle during the 1920s were designed in the Mediterranean style. Several, including a pair of related apartment buildings at 106 Sanchez and 811 14th Street (built 1923-24), are designed in the already slightly out-of-date Classical Revival style, although they are both clad in stucco in keeping with comparable 1920s-era buildings **(Figure 64)**. However, unlike the buildings mentioned earlier in this section, neither 106 Sanchez nor 811 14th Street have integral garages – a clear indicator of their transitional design and lower status.

Figure 63. 1920s-era apartment building at 106-12 Noe Street.

Figure 64. 811 14th Street.

During the 1920s, a few individuals built single-family dwellings on the fringes of the Duboce Triangle neighborhood. As with their larger multi-family counterparts, most are designed in the Mediterranean style with a stuccoed primary façade – often with a brick-clad basement level. Most were built on vacant or underutilized lots. Examples include 967 14th Street, a one-story-over-basement, single-family dwelling constructed in 1924. Clad in brick at the basement level and stucco above, 967 14th Street would not be out of place in the Sunset or Richmond districts **(Figure 65)**.

Figure 65. 967 14th Street.

Although it is no longer a single-family dwelling, 2274 15th Street is one of the more architecturally significant single-family dwellings dating to the 1920s and 1930s in Duboce Triangle. Originally built in 1904, 2274 15th Street was purchased Ca. 1920 by the well-known architect Charles Strothoff. He remodeled the existing dwelling in the English Period Revival style and built an office/studio on the east side of the large double lot. In regard to its Period Revival styling, 2274 15th Street is very unusual for Duboce Triangle. Indeed, it looks very much like the houses that Strothoff was designing for his clients in St. Francis Wood at the same time **(Figure 66)**.

Figure 66. 2274 15th Street.

Most of the buildings constructed during this period were completed during the 1920s-era Building Boom, the height of which lasted from 1922 to 1926. Nonetheless, a handful of buildings were built in Duboce Triangle during the 1930s, a period corresponding with the worst economic depression in the nation's history. The most ambitious of these 1930s-era projects was a row of two-family flats built on the site of a Victorian suburban villa on Beaver Street. They include 46-48, 52-54, and 56-58 Beaver Street. Although 46-48 Beaver was constructed in 1926, 52-54 Beaver was built in 1932 and 56-58 Beaver was built in 1933. All are designed in the Mediterranean style and resemble similar buildings constructed during the 1920s Building Boom **(Figure 67)**.

Figure 67. Row of 1920s and 1930s-era, Mediterranean-style flats on Beaver Street.

As the decade wore on, the Art Deco and Minimal Traditional styles became much more popular for both new construction and remodeling projects than the Mediterranean or Period Revival styles. In Duboce Triangle, one of the best examples of a 1930s-era apartment building designed in the Art Deco style is 230 Castro Street, a three-story-over-basement, wood-frame building containing six units **(Figure 68)**. Built in 1937, it replaced an older Victorian-era cottage on the site. Another example of 1930s-era infill includes a pair of Minimal Traditional-style, four-unit apartment buildings at 65 and 71 Sanchez Street. Built in 1939, these buildings replaced a row of Victorian flats **(Figure 69)**.

Figure 68. 230 Castro Street.

Figure 69. 65 Sanchez Street.

Mixed-use Buildings

A handful of commercial and mixed-use (commercial with residential above) buildings were built in Duboce Triangle during the 1930s. Most were erected along Market Street, but two were built in the neighborhood itself. The older of the two is 286-88 Noe Street, a three-unit (one commercial unit and two flats), Mediterranean-style building built in 1937 **(Figure 70)**. This building, which is home La Mediterranée restaurant, is located within a small commercial district along the first block of Noe Street north of Market Street. Located two blocks east in Duboce Triangle's Church Street commercial district is 178-80 Church Street, a three-story, wood-frame, mixed-use building containing five units, including a ground-floor commercial space and four residential units above **(Figure 71)**. It is designed in the Art Deco style and it was built by contractor Patrick Shannon for Emmanuel Stagnaro, who ran an Italian restaurant in the ground-floor commercial unit and lived upstairs.

Figure 70. 266-68 Noe Street.

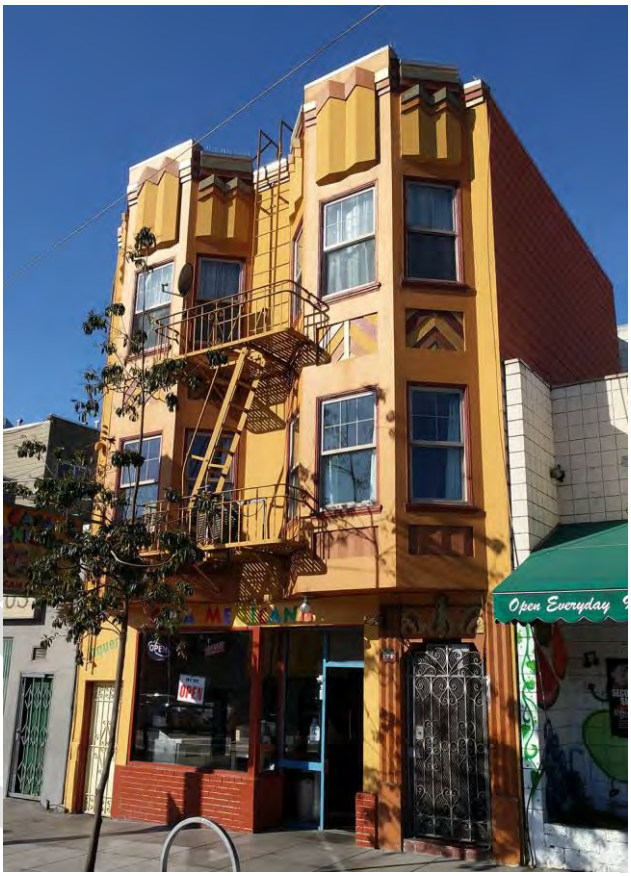

Figure 71. 178-80 Church Street.

Commercial Buildings

There are only two purpose-built commercial buildings dating to this period in Duboce Triangle. The older of the two is 401 Duboce Avenue/100 Church Street, a two-story, reinforced-concrete commercial building anchoring the northern end of Duboce Triangle's tiny neighborhood business district **(Figure 72)**. Built in 1925 by architect and real estate investor Joseph Pasqualetti as a light industrial/commercial loft building, 401 Duboce Avenue was initially used as a contractors' storage facility with offices on the second floor. As discussed in previous sections, contractors' storage yards were once fairly common in Duboce Triangle. The only other sole-purpose commercial building constructed in Duboce Triangle during this time is 2112 15th Street, a heavily altered, one-story commercial building at the intersection of 15th, Sanchez, and Market streets. Long home to a retail paint store, the building now houses a branch bank outlet.

Figure 72. 401 Duboce Avenue/100 Church Street.

Religious/Fraternal Buildings

Figure 73. Former Norwegian-Danish Methodist Church, 754 14th Street.

Although some Scandinavians and Finns had begun leaving Duboce Triangle during this period, there were still enough around to sustain the existing religious and cultural institutions, as well as supporting two new ones. The older of the two was established in 1923 as a house of worship for Danish and Norwegian Methodists. A minority sect within largely Lutheran Scandinavia, Methodism – an American import – appealed to working-class artisans, leading to the founding of the Norwegian-Danish Methodist Church in 1849. The mother church is Jerusalem Church in Copenhagen. In San Francisco, the Norwegian-Danish Methodist Church was originally established in 1896 on 10th Street between Howard and Folsom streets.[110] In 1910, four years after the 1906 Earthquake and Fire, the Norwegian-Danish Methodist Church built a new house of worship at 3324 17th Street in the Mission district. This church served the congregation's purposes until 1923, when they built a much larger building at 754 14th Street in Duboce Triangle **(Figure 73)**.

[110] "New Norwegian Church," *San Francisco Call* (March 2, 1896), 11.

The decision to move to Duboce Triangle was probably motivated by the need for a bigger building, as well as the opportunity to be located within San Francisco's Scandinavian community. The three-story-over-basement building was designed in the Gothic Revival style by Oakland architect W. J. Wythe. The $50,000 building included a church, offices, a parsonage, as well as several apartments.[111] In the late 1930s, the congregation renamed itself Central Methodist Church, around the same time that it dropped Norwegian and Danish language services. The church remained at 754 14th Street until the late 1980s, when it appears to have closed. In recent years, it has housed Golden City Church.

This period witnessed the relocation of a second Nordic church to Duboce Triangle. The First Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church was founded in October 1899 by Henry R. Abrahamson, Robert Kangas, H.A. Hagan, August Dalen, John Johnson, J.H. Helmoven, and Josef Fegelman. Based on the surnames of most of the founders, it is likely that the church was dominated by ethnic Swedes, a substantial minority of Finland's population, although the church also served ethnic Finns as well. The congregation built a small wood-frame church near the corner of Harrison and Essex streets on Rincon Hill.[112] The congregation rebuilt after the 1906 Earthquake and remained in the South of Market area for another three decades. In the mid-1930s, the State of California condemned the congregation's old church to build the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Bridge.

Using proceeds from the condemnation sale, the congregation purchased three adjoining lots on Belcher Street in Duboce Triangle. The new building was a two-story, wood-frame, church building with a parsonage and a social hall. It was designed by a church elder (a former building contractor) named Henry R. Abrahamson in the Mediterranean style **(Figure 74)**. The church was completed in 1936 for $10,135, a relatively small sum given the size of the building, suggesting that the congregation may have volunteered their labor. This congregation remained in the building for two decades under its original name. In 1958, it was renamed Gethsemane Lutheran Church, and in 1964, the congregation merged with nearby St. Ansgar Lutheran Church to form St. Francis Lutheran Church. Finnish language services

Figure 74. Former First Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church, 50 Belcher Street.

[111] "Architect Wythe Busy," *Architect and Engineer*

[112] "Finnish Church Split along Linguistic Lines," *San Francisco Chronicle* (June 6, 1913), 7.

continued until 1977, when the 50 Belcher Street was converted into a daycare facility. It remains in this use today.[113]

Remodeling

Figure 75. 101 Castro Street.

Achieving build-out in the 1930s, much of the construction activity in Duboce Triangle in the 1930s consisted of remodeling. This was especially true after the election of Franklin Delano Roosevelt to the presidency in 1933. As described in detail in the *San Francisco New Deal Historic Context Statement,* FDR and his core group of advisors established a series of programs to jumpstart construction activity during the early 1930s, including several home remodeling programs offered by the Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC) and the Federal Housing Administration (FHA). Home improvement programs offered by these two agencies included a range of assistance, including financial grants and low interest loans, design advice, stock architectural plans, and technical advice. Thousands of property owners took advantage of these programs to remodel their aging Victorian and Edwardian buildings. One popular strategy was to remove all of the wood ornament and coat the exterior in "low-maintenance" stucco. Often the remodeling work was completed in an inexpensive and perfunctory way, but sometimes contractors embellished the exteriors of the newly stuccoed buildings with simple Art Deco, Streamline Moderne, or Mediterranean ornament. Duboce Triangle has several buildings that were remodeled using New Deal home improvement programs, including 101 Castro Street, a mixed-use building at the southeast corner of 14th and Castro streets. Built in 1908, it was remodeled in the Late Moderne style Ca. 1935 **(Figure 75)**.

[113] Page & Turnbull, *DPR 523 A and B Forms for 50 Belcher Street* (San Francisco 2007).

Infrastructure

In 1920, the Eureka Valley Merchants' Association and the Eureka Valley Improvement Association merged to become the Eureka Valley Promotion Association.[114] This new amalgamated group intensified its work to improve the neighborhood's infrastructure. By the early 1920s, all of Duboce Triangle's streets had been graded and paved, with illuminated sidewalks lining all neighborhood streets. Although there were no parks inside the neighborhood, Duboce Park was close by. Duboce Triangle had one public school: McKinley Elementary and one hospital: Franklin Hospital. Although no streetcar lines passed directly through the neighborhood apart from the 22-Fillmore line which ran along Church Street, Duboce Triangle was well-served by several Market Street Railway and Muni lines on Market Street. The increasing use of private automobiles in the 1920s led to the demand for better paving and traffic lights along Market Street.[115]

Sunset Tunnel

In the early 1920s, the Eureka Valley Promotion Association began lobbying for a streetcar tunnel connecting the neighborhood to Golden Gate Park and the fast-growing Sunset district. After considering two alternatives: the Eureka Valley and the Duboce Avenue alignments, the City chose the latter. The Duboce Tunnel project, as it was initially called, entailed the construction of a 4,232-foot-long streetcar tunnel from Duboce Avenue and Noe Street, beneath Buena Vista Park, to Carl and Cole streets in Cole Valley. Construction of the $1.5 million tunnel began in June 1926 and it was completed in February 1928. Muni service began in October 1928 **(Figure 76)**.[116] The tunnel portal and adjoining retaining walls, as well as the shelter, are entirely intact.

Figure 76. Sunset Tunnel, looking west from Noe Street.
Source: OpenSFHistory / wnp36.03765

[114] "Two Eureka Valley Associations Merge," *San Francisco Chronicle* (December 19, 1920), 60.
[115] "Auto Signals Asked," *San Francisco Chronicle* (August 10, 1926), 15.
[116] Paul J. Ost, "New Tunnel an Engineering Feat," *The Municipal Employee*, Vol. II, No. 10.

Proposed Eureka Valley Automobile Tunnel

At the same time that the Sunset Tunnel work was beginning, the Eureka Valley Promotion Association lobbied for the construction of an automobile tunnel from Eureka Valley to the Sunset district running beneath Mt. Olympus. Increasing traffic congestion on narrow two-lane streets throughout the neighborhood led to the demand, but not enough property owners along the proposed right-of-way were willing to pay for it, and the tunnel was never built. In lieu of a new automobile tunnel, the Eureka Valley Promotion Association advocated for street widening. Much of this work was completed by the WPA in the 1930s, but no streets were widened in Duboce Triangle.

Proposed Olympic Stadium

Another ambitious project emerged during the mid-1920s that entailed the potential construction of an "Olympic Stadium" on Corona Heights above Eureka Valley. The stadium would have seated 150,000 people. The site, much of which had been occupied by the Gray Brothers' Quarry, was bordered by Saturn, Eureka, State, and 16th streets, as well as Roosevelt Way and Masonic Avenue. The proposal was rejected on the basis of its high cost, and in the end Kezar Stadium in Golden Gate Park was enlarged for major sporting events.[117]

United States Mint

Although it is located just outside the boundaries of Duboce Triangle, the U.S. Mint exerts a sizable presence in the neighborhood and, indeed, the entire Upper Market area. There has been a U.S. Mint in San Francisco since the Gold Rush. Originally located near Portsmouth Square, in 1874, this facility moved into a new two-story-over-basement, granite-clad, Greek Revival building at 5th and Mission streets. Designed by Supervising Architect Alfred B. Mullett, the San Francisco Mint was the most important Treasury Department facility west of Chicago. Spared destruction in 1906 due to the valiant efforts of its staff, the building was subsequently repaired and kept in service for the next 30 years.[118] The Mint's two main functions included storing gold reserves and minting coins. However, by the 1920s it had become increasingly apparent that the U.S. Mint in San Francisco was functionally obsolete, insufficiently resistant to earthquakes, and increasingly vulnerable to theft.

In the spring of 1934, the U.S. Treasury Department began looking for a site in San Francisco to build a new U.S. Mint. Requirements included that the parcel be at least 40,000 square feet, be located in or near the "business section," and have at least 200 feet of street frontage.[119] Several months later, on August 2, 1934, the Treasury Department selected an undeveloped serpentine bluff bounded by Hermann Street, Buchanan Street, Duboce Avenue, and Webster Street. Dramatically perched above Upper Market Street, the site – then known as Clinton Mound – was ideal because the vaults could be sunk deep into the natural stone "foundation," which also provided fortress-like security as well as a stable podium for the "earthquake-proof" manufacturing facility above.[120]

[117] "Park Commission, Civic Clubs Back Plan to Build $1,000,000 Athletic Stadium," *San Francisco Chronicle* (May 11, 1927).
[118] James Dillon, *National Register of Historic Places Registration Form: "Old United States Mint"* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1976).
[119] "More than 200 Seek to Sell Site for U.S. Mint," *San Francisco Chronicle* (April 13, 1934), 2.
[120] "U.S. Selects Location for New Mint," *San Francisco Chronicle* (August 2, 1934), 1.

U.S. Representative Florence Kahn was instrumental in obtaining federal Public Works Administration (PWA) funds for the U.S. Mint project.[121] After winning approval from local authorities to rezone the property from residential to industrial use in September 1934, the Office of U.S. Supervising Architect, Gilbert Stanley Underwood, began developing plans for the four-story building. Like virtually every other PWA project in San Francisco, Underwood and his staff designed the U.S. Mint in what is known today as the PWA Moderne style **(Figure 77)**. Built of reinforced-concrete and faced in granite slabs, the building is designed to be visually intimidating to discourage would-be thieves. Massed like a Mesoamerican mortuary temple, the building's only exterior ornament includes a series of circular medallions at the parapet level that depict the coins that are minted there. Less than a year later, in July 1935, the Treasury Department selected a local firm, Clinton Construction Co., to build the $1 million U.S. Mint.[122] Construction began a month later and continued until March 1937. The building was dedicated on May 15 and it began minting coins on July 1, 1937.[123]

Figure 77. U.S. Mint; view north from Market Street, 2017.

The "New" San Francisco Mint has remained in service for 85 years. It is built around a central court that allows abundant light into the building's interior. The ground floor contains the main public lobby, storage vaults, loading docks, and shops. The second floor contains offices and production facilities. The third floor contains an assay office and additional production facilities. The U.S. Mint in San Francisco is one of only four active production facilities operated by the Department of the Treasury, a list that also includes the Philadelphia, Denver, and West Point Mints. The building, which has undergone no substantial exterior alterations, is listed in the National Register of Historic Places.

[121] "Mrs. Kahn has High Hope for Recovery Plan," *San Francisco Chronicle* (June 24, 1934), 6.
[122] "News of the Week in Review," *San Francisco Chronicle* (July 28, 1935), 4.
[123] "New S.F. Home of a Billion Dollars," *San Francisco Chronicle* (December 21, 1936), 5.

Figure 78. 1938 aerial photograph showing the boundaries of Duboce Triangle in red.
Source: David Rumsey Map Collection

1938 WPA Aerial

In 1938, the Works Progress Administration (WPA) commissioned a series of aerial photographs of San Francisco by aerial photograph Harrison Ryker. The photographs, which were taken in very high resolution, are very detailed as they were used to produce a scale model of San Francisco in 1939. The 1938 aerials indicate that Duboce Triangle was almost entirely built-out, with only a handful of vacant and/or underutilized lots **(Figure 78)**. Indeed, the neighborhood looks very similar to what it does now, with some important differences. Landmarks in 1938 include Franklin Hospital, which occupied an entire undivided block at the northwest corner of the neighborhood. The campus, which contained a half-dozen buildings, was lushly planted with lawns, shrubs, trees, and gardens. At the opposite side of the neighborhood, at Duboce Avenue and Market Street, was a wedge-shaped block containing remnants of the former Japanese nursery and Clinton Mound. Along Market Street, most of the commercial lots were developed, although several of the "flatiron" lots contain what appear to be gas stations and other drive-in businesses with surface parking lots.

Associated Property Types

Only 55 buildings were constructed in Duboce Triangle between 1920 and 1939, including 44 between 1920 and 1929, and 11 between 1930 and 1939. As mentioned previously, this is largely a function of lack of available land on which to build. Nearly all of the buildings erected in the neighborhood during this period were constructed on remaining bits of open space, including an abandoned chicken ranch on Castro Street and the gardens of several Victorian suburban villas. As Duboce Triangle evolved into an increasingly inner-city neighborhood, the scale of construction remained within the realm of multi-family and mixed-use buildings, with only three single-family dwellings erected in these two decades. Stylistically speaking, buildings built during this period were quite different from their predecessors. Instead of traditional wood-based Victorian and Edwardian-era styles, the newer buildings were almost always stuccoed and designed in the Mediterranean, Spanish Colonial, Art Deco, Streamline Moderne, and Minimal Traditional styles. Although no larger than their predecessors, these newer buildings tended to incorporate street-level garages, attesting to the growing importance of private automobiles. Although not categorized as new construction, many buildings were remodeled by their owners during this period in either a stripped-down utilitarian mode or the more up-to-date Art Deco or Streamline Moderne styles. Much of this work was executed with funds and technical advice provided by the New Deal-era HOLC and the FHA programs.

National and California Register and City Landmark Eligibility

Properties constructed between World Wars I and II are representative of late infill construction in Duboce Triangle – nearly all of it residential. Under National Register Criterion A/California Register Criterion 1 (Events), surviving properties of this type constitute a common resource type in San Francisco. As such, properties developed within this period may not qualify under this criterion unless they were built in response to the pre-World War II influx of defense workers or some other specific historic event. Under National Register Criterion B/California Register Criterion 2 (Persons), some properties may be significant for associations with important residents, including prominent members of the Scandinavian community. In regard to National Register Criterion C/California Register Criterion 3 (Design/Construction), most buildings constructed during this period are designed in a variety of styles, including the Mediterranean, Spanish Colonial Revival, Art Deco, Moderne, and Minimal Traditional styles. Properties with only vague ornamental references to period styles would not typically be eligible under this criterion. In regard to building type, this period witnessed the construction of several larger apartment buildings, flats, and mixed-use buildings. Most are exceedingly modest, but an especially fine example may qualify. A handful of older Victorian properties were remodeled during this period in more contemporary styles, and as long as the remodels were executed tastefully and with quality materials, it is possible to register the property under this criterion and period of development.

Integrity Considerations

Properties associated with the theme of interwar development in Duboce Park comprise a small portion of all buildings in the neighborhood. Buildings from this period are not y rare citywide and they are generally more utilitarian than their prewar counterparts. Therefore, a higher degree of integrity should be expected of registered properties from this period. At the very least, properties from this era ought to retain the aspects of location, design, materials, workmanship, and feeling to convey their significance and associations under this context. Integrity considerations include the following:

- Properties ought to embody distinctive examples of the types, forms, and styles of architecture popular during the period of 1920 to 1939, including retention of discernable form, footprint, massing, and roofline.
- Properties should retain the majority of their original exterior cladding materials, architectural detailing, and most of their original fenestration pattern. Retention of original window sashes is preferred.
- Window and door replacement is very common in properties of this vintage and should be acceptable as long as the replacement features conform to the original openings and sash lite patterns. Retention of original doors is preferred.
- Occasionally properties of this age have acquired an addition. Additions built during the historic period should be considered part of the property's historical development and should not impede historical designation. Contemporary additions – particularly rear additions – are generally acceptable as long as they do not visually overwhelm the resource. As long as they are set back, vertical additions of no more than one story can be acceptable as long as the original building's form, massing, and scale are respected.
- Properties that have been converted all or in part to another use, such as residential to commercial or commercial to residential, may still qualify for registration as long as the property retains sufficient integrity to convey its original use and retains the majority of its character-defining features, including form, massing, materials, and architectural detailing.
- In circumstances where a property is the oldest or best example of a particular property type or architectural style, or if it is a property most closely associated with a particular context, a higher degree of alteration may be acceptable.

H. Duboce Triangle Enters the Crucible – World War II and its Aftermath: 1940 to 1949

Although war had broken out in East Asia in 1933, and in Europe in 1939, the United States was able to remain neutral for a little over two years., U.S. neutrality came to a shocking end on December 7, 1941, when Japanese forces attacked Pearl Harbor and other U.S. military bases and Pacific Island territories. The U.S. declared war on Japan, and in turn, Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy declared war on the U.S. The war ushered in tremendous changes in San Francisco. The city became the largest port and most strategic military industrial complex on the west coast, with several dozen military bases, shipyards, and other defense industries. Shipyards especially needed labor to build merchant vessels and to build and repair naval craft. Between 1940 and 1943, approximately 94,000 people migrated to San Francisco. By 1945, the city's population was estimated to be 827,000 a figure not exceeded again until 2010. Close to one-third of the newcomers were African Americans from the Mississippi Delta Region, Texas, and Oklahoma. Many others were Dust Bowl refugees from Oklahoma, Texas, Arkansas, and other parts of the High Plains and the Old Southwest. This influx strained San Francisco's housing supply. Although federal and local housing authorities were very proactive in building defense worker housing near the shipyards, and private developers also did their part, older residential areas like Duboce Triangle saw their population densities increase as building owners carved up single-family houses and flats into small apartments.

1940 Census

1940 Census returns for Duboce Triangle reveal an ethnically diverse neighborhood that had no single ethnic majority. Immigrants from Sweden, Denmark, Finland, and Norway and their American-born children comprised a distinct minority but people with Scandinavian surnames comprised no more than 15 percent of all households. Most people of Scandinavian descent were born in California, although older people tended to be foreign-born. Apart from Scandinavians, other ethnic groups represented in Duboce Triangle included Irish, Germans, Italians, French, English, Scots, Canadians, Russians, Arabs, Armenians, Greeks, Turks, Mexicans, Central Americans, Portuguese, as well as Anglo-Americans – in short, a typical San Francisco neighborhood. Virtually everyone was identified on the census schedules as White – there were virtually no Asian Americans or African Americans in Duboce Triangle at that time. The majority of local residents were American-born, with a sizable contingent born in San Francisco. Foreign-born residents comprised no more than 10 percent of Duboce Triangle's population.

Residential Construction

Figure 79. 201-03 (left), 207-09 (center), and 213-15 (right) Noe Street.

During the 1940s, only nine new buildings were constructed in Duboce Triangle. All but one were residential, and seven were two and three-unit flats built just before and/or during the first years of World War II. These flats, which were built on some of the only remaining pockets of open land in Duboce Triangle, were almost certainly defense worker housing because private-market construction was forbidden due to wartime restrictions on the use of building materials. Five of these World War II-era flats were constructed as part of a single development at the intersection of 15th and Noe streets, including 201-03 (built 1942), 207-09 (built 1941), 213-15 Noe Street (built 1941), and 2179-83 15th Street (built 1942). They were all built on the site of a contractor's equipment storage yard. In addition to these four, there was another three-unit building just down the street at 255-59 Noe Street (built 1940) that was part of the same development; it was built on the site of the driveway of the storage yard. These flats, which would not appear out of place in the Outer Sunset district, are designed in a mixture of styles, including Mediterranean, Minimal Traditional, and French Provincial **(Figure 79)**. In addition to these five, there are two more flats featuring a very similar design at 145-47 and 151-53 Sanchez Street. These two-unit flats were both built in 1940 and they are designed in a blend of the Minimal Traditional and French Provincial styles **(Figure 80)**. The only other dwelling constructed in Duboce Triangle in the 1940s is a two-unit building at 3633 16th Street designed in the Streamline Moderne style.

Figure 80. 145-47 (left) and 151-53 (right) Sanchez Street.

Remodeling

As mentioned in the previous section, Scandinavians had begun leaving Duboce Triangle in the late 1910s/early 1920s, with the exodus picking up steam in the 1930s. Anecdotally, it seems that many who left for the new suburbs West of Twin Peaks and down the Peninsula held onto their old homes in the old neighborhood, renting the flats out to elderly immigrant relatives and recent newcomers who wanted to live in a Scandinavian community. Over time, as older family members died and moved away, absentee owners often sold their buildings to investors with no ties to the neighborhood. During World War II, the growing demand for housing in San Francisco provided a powerful incentive to profit off the demand by chopping up larger flats and single-family dwellings into small apartments. This work was often executed without permits and done very cheaply, leading to increasingly substandard living conditions and overcrowding. In addition, most of Duboce Triangle's housing stock was built in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, meaning that most buildings ranged from 30 to 70 years old. Built of redwood, the housing stock was generally solid but aging, with worn-out and deteriorating exterior and interior finishes. Recently arrived defense workers were almost certainly happy to have a roof over their heads, but increasingly Duboce Triangle was beginning to become shabby. In addition, there were few, if any, street trees and the onshore winds tended to blow trash into fences and vacant lots. In short, although not a slum, Duboce Triangle was no longer a very desirable neighborhood.[124]

[124] Alexander S. Bodi, *The Duboce Triangle of San Francisco: A Study of a Community* (San Francisco: Thesis submitted to San Francisco State University Anthropology Department, 1983), 9.

Duboce Farmers' Market

Figure 81. Duboce Farmers' Market, 1943.
Source: San Francisco Historical Photograph Collection, San Francisco Public Library, AAC-4808

In 1943, the nation's first municipal farmers' market opened in Duboce Triangle. U.S. entry into the war had severely disrupted the domestic produce supply chain, leading to food shortages, particularly in urban areas. At the same time, many small farmers in the hinterlands of the Bay Area could not sell their produce because the local wholesale distribution network had all but collapsed, forcing some to plow their crops under. In 1943, John G. Bruncato, head of the San Francisco Victory Garden Council, came up with the then novel idea of organizing carpools of urban residents to drive out to the farms to buy produce directly from local farmers. This effort worked but it was difficult to organize, and urban people sometimes got lost out in the country. To simplify matters, Bruncato decided to provide a dedicated place in the city where farmers could park their trucks and sell produce directly to urban consumers. The site Bruncato selected for the market was a 72,000 square-foot vacant lot at the intersection of Duboce Avenue and Market Street, where Safeway is now. The site was occupied by a portion of Clinton Mound as well as some sheds left over from the old Japanese nursery that had once occupied the left portion of the site **(Figure 81)**.

Highly visible and centrally located, the Duboce Farmers' Market was close to transit and within walking distance of several of the city's more densely populated neighborhoods. Opening on August 12, 1943, over one thousand enthusiastic residents showed up, and within three days managers of the market estimated that 50,000 San Francisco residents had purchased produce from the 100 farmers selling there.[125] Although local authorities initially objected to the project, they eventually came around, and when the

[125] Jesse Drew, "Farmers Market 1943," FoundSF: https://www.foundsf.org/index.php?title=Farmers_Market_1943, accessed June 11, 2021.

market became too congested in the late 1940s, the City built a new state-of-the-art facility on Alemany Boulevard, where it remains to this day.

Civic Institutional Buildings

There was only one non-residential building constructed in Duboce Triangle during the 1940s: San Francisco Fire Department Fire Station No. 6. Designed by the firm of Spencer & Ambrose in the Late Moderne style, the fire station, which was originally known as SFFD Engine Co. No. 27, was constructed in 1948 as part of a citywide bond issue to improve fire protection in the neighborhoods **(Figure 82)**. Built on a vacant lot at 135 Sanchez Street, the fire station was the first such facility in Duboce Triangle. Apart from McKinley Elementary School, it is the only local government building in the neighborhood. SFFD Station No. 6 was seismically upgraded in 2000 but it has not undergone any significant exterior alterations. It is still in use as a fire station.

Figure 82. SFFD Station No. 6.

Associated Property Types

Only nine extant buildings were constructed in Duboce Triangle between 1940 and 1949, and all but one were two or three-unit flats designed in the Minimal Traditional or Streamline Moderne styles, or a blend of Minimal Traditional, Mediterranean, and French Provincial. Several were built during World War II, suggesting that wartime building materials restrictions were lifted to enable the construction of defense worker housing. The only extant non-residential building completed is SFFD Station No. 6.

National and California Register and City Landmark Eligibility

All nine properties constructed in Duboce Triangle during World War II and its immediate aftermath are representative of late infill construction. Under National Register Criterion A/California Register Criterion 1 (Events), surviving properties of this type constitute a very common resource type in San Francisco. As such, properties developed within this period are unlikely to qualify under this criterion unless they were

built in response to the World War II influx of defense workers or some other specific historic event. Under National Register Criterion B/California Register Criterion 2 (Persons), some properties may be significant for associations with important residents, including prominent members of the Scandinavian community. In regard to National Register Criterion C/California Register Criterion 3 (Design/Construction), most buildings constructed during this period are designed in the Minimal Traditional styles. Properties designed in this style are rarely individually eligible under this criterion. Most buildings constructed during this period are two or three-family flats, a very common building type in the city.

Integrity Considerations

Properties associated with the theme of World War II-era development in Duboce Park comprise a vanishingly small portion of all buildings in the neighborhood. Buildings from this period are not rare citywide and they are generally more utilitarian than their prewar counterparts. Therefore, a higher degree of integrity should be expected of registered properties from this period. At the very least, properties from this era ought to retain the aspects of location, design, materials, workmanship, and feeling to convey their significance and associations under this context. Integrity considerations include the following:

- Properties ought to embody distinctive examples of the types, forms, and styles of architecture popular during the period of 1940 to 1949, including retention of discernable form, footprint, massing, and roofline.
- Properties should retain the majority of their original exterior cladding materials, architectural detailing, and most of their original fenestration pattern. Retention of original window sashes is preferred.
- Window and door replacement is very common in properties of this vintage and should be acceptable as long as the replacement features conform to the original openings and sash lite patterns. Retention of original doors is preferred.
- Occasionally properties of this age have acquired an addition. Additions built during the historic period should be considered part of the property's historical development and should not impede historical designation. Contemporary additions – particularly rear additions – are generally acceptable as long as they do not visually overwhelm the resource. As long as they are set back, vertical additions of no more than one story can be acceptable as long as the original building's form, massing, and scale are respected.
- Properties that have been converted all or in part to another use, such as residential to commercial or commercial to residential, may still qualify for registration as long as the property retains sufficient integrity to convey its original use and retains the majority of its character-defining features, including form, massing, materials, and architectural detailing.
- In circumstances where a property is the oldest or best example of a particular property type or architectural style, or if it is a property most closely associated with a particular context, a higher degree of alteration may be acceptable.

DRAFT

I. Postwar Decline and Rebirth: 1950 to 1975

San Francisco's population in 1950 was 775,357, representing an astounding jump of almost 141,000 since 1940, and the highest recorded figure in any decennial census. However, the city's population was estimated to have already hit 827,000 in 1945, so by 1950 San Francisco's population had already entered a period of slow and steady decline. In addition to some defense workers returning to their home states after the war, thousands of natives and long-time San Franciscans began moving out of the city to the new residential subdivisions popping up all over the farmland and hillside pastures of San Mateo and Marin counties – as well the East Bay. New highways built in the 1930s and 1940s, including Bayshore Boulevard, Alemany Boulevard, as well as the Golden Gate Bridge, made commuting into the city relatively fast and easy, and with the VA Bill, White veterans had become eligible for low-interest home loans on new suburban houses. With most of San Francisco already built-out, this meant that many San Franciscans who were in search of a new house with a yard had to leave the city altogether to achieve their goal. At the same time, San Francisco's demographics had changed considerably. African Americans, who before the war comprised a tiny percentage of the population, had surged forward to almost five percent. Excluded from living in most of the West of Twin Peaks district, as well as any r subdivisions with racial covenants, African Americans were forced to find housing where they could – often in older, deteriorating Victorian neighborhoods like the Western Addition, and eventually Duboce Triangle.

1950 Sanborn Maps

The 1950 Sanborn Maps, an update of the 1913 series, indicate that Duboce Triangle was about 95 percent built-out. In comparison with the 1913 Sanborn Maps, nearly all of the remaining vacant lots had been developed. In addition, all of the remaining Victorian villas apart from 22 Beaver Street had been redeveloped with rows of flats. The only remaining vacant lots were side yards of larger Victorians that had not yet been built on, as well as a handful of lots on Belcher, Sanchez, and Church streets. Ironically, the number of "underutilized" lots had grown since 1913 due to the growth in the number of auto-oriented businesses, such as gas stations, drive-in restaurants and bars, and other businesses with on-site parking **(Figure 83)**. Market Street, which had become the primary automobile route to the West of Twin Peaks district, was evolving into an auto-oriented commercial corridor somewhat similar to Lombard Street or Van Ness Avenue. Already, by 1950, several older mixed-use buildings had been replaced by gas stations and parking lots. The largest vacant lot was the site of the Duboce Avenue Farmers' Market bounded by Duboce Avenue, and Market, Reservoir, and Church streets. This parcel in 1950 contained an auto repair facility **(Figure 84)**. The adjoining flatiron lot blocked bounded by Reservoir, Market, and Church streets, contained several buildings, including a large furniture store, a pool hall, a sign manufacturing business, a contractor's storage yard, and a one-story commercial block. Within a few years these buildings would all be torn down to construct Safeway and its large surface parking lot.

DRAFT

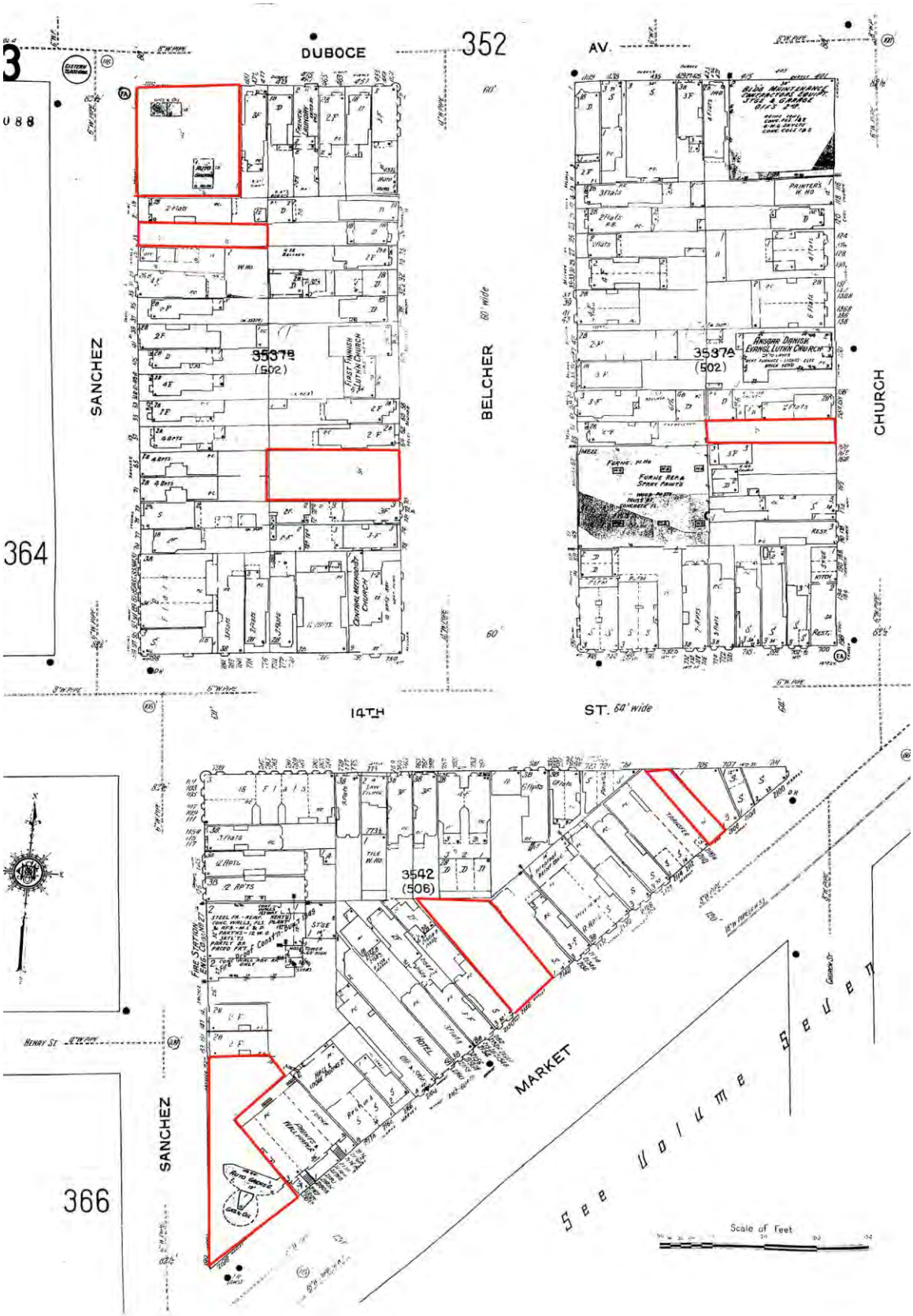

Figure 83. 1950 Sanborn Map showing eastern Duboce Triangle; red lines indicate vacant and underutilized lots. Source: San Francisco Public Library

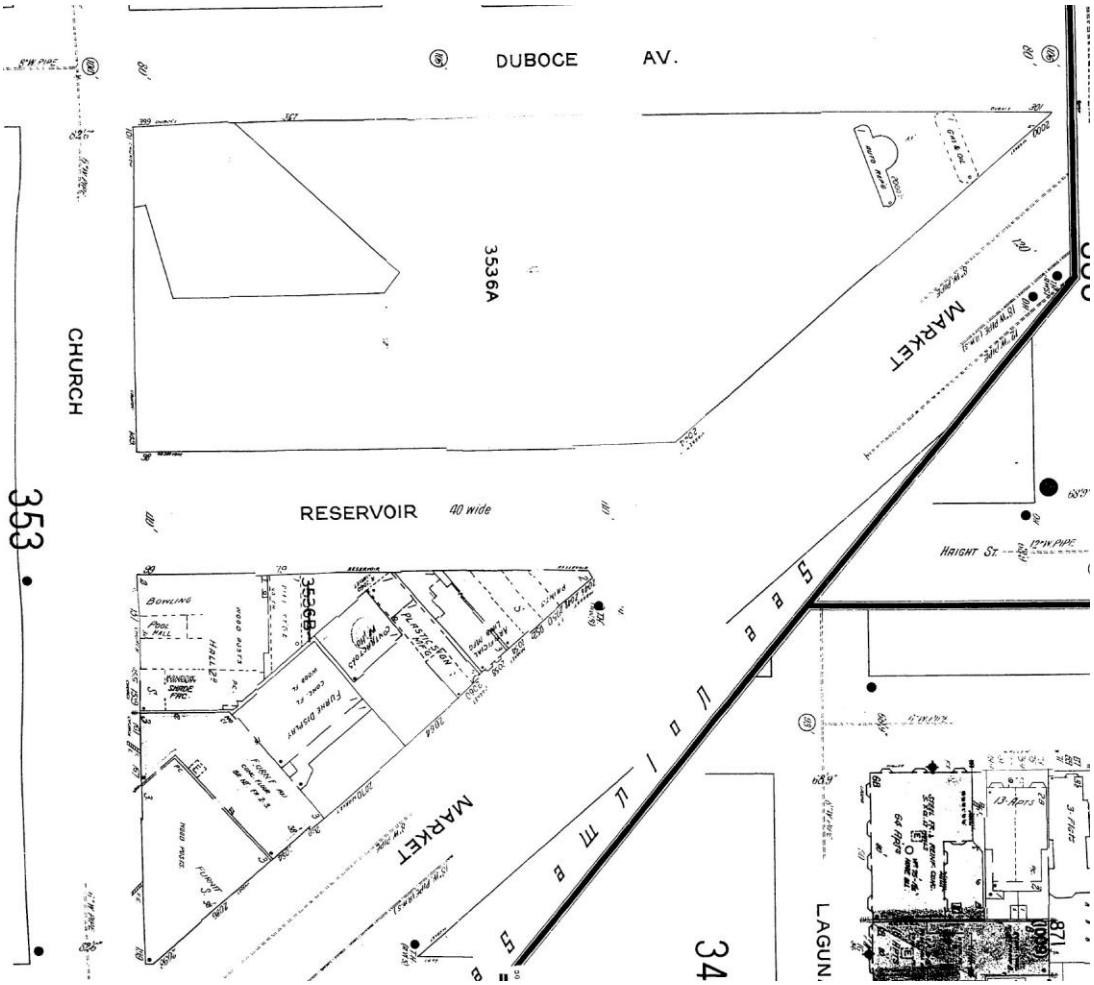

Figure 84. 1950 Sanborn Map showing the blocks bounded by Duboce Avenue and Market and Church streets (now the Safeway parking lot).
Source: San Francisco Public Library

Otherwise, the interior blocks of Duboce Triangle were almost entirely built out in 1950 in an eclectic mixture of single-family dwellings and cottages, flats, and apartment buildings **(Figure 85)**. Some properties contained more than one building – often with a smaller (and older) house at the rear and a larger multi-family building at the front. On most blocks, two and three-family flats were the most common type. However, it is worth noting that unpermitted conversions of many single-family dwellings and flats into apartments during the war were not recorded on the 1950 Sanborn Maps. Several distinctive or unusual buildings that appear on the 1950 Sanborn Maps include Finnila's Finnish Baths complex at the northeast corner of Noe and Market Streets. Built in 1932, the vast complex consisted of a dwelling, an office, several sauna rooms for men and women, a central heating plant, and a row of storefronts lining Market Street **(Figure 86)**. On the same block was a new drive-in restaurant with a large surface parking lot at the intersection of 15th and Market streets. Several buildings were demolished to build this new auto-oriented business. Franklin Hospital still occupied the full block bounded by Duboce Avenue and Noe, 14th, and Castro streets **(Figure 87)**. By this point the complex consisted of the 1908 hospital with a later women's wing attached. Other buildings included housing for nurses, interns, and other employees. The rest of the site was lushly landscaped.

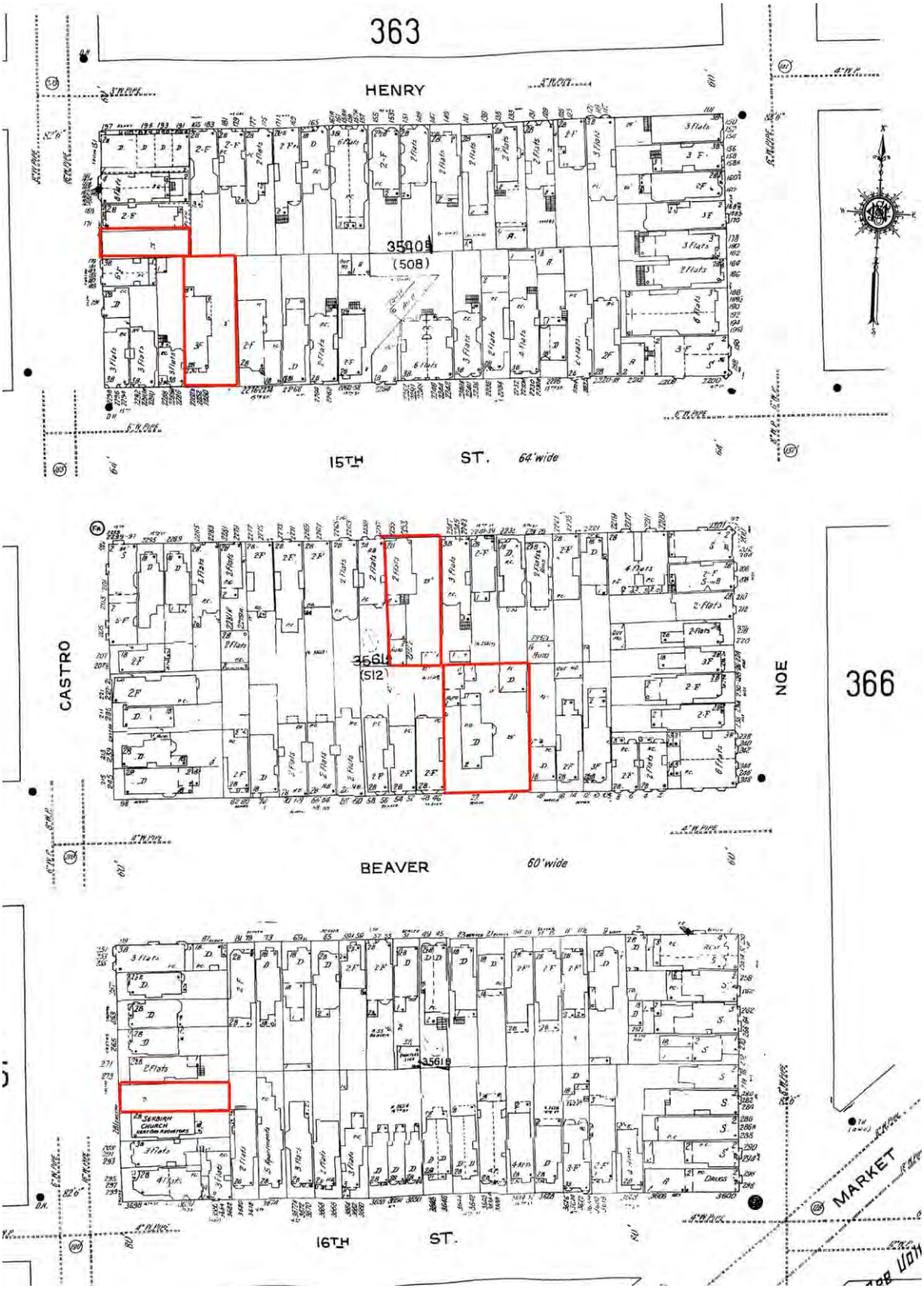

Figure 85. 1950 Sanborn Maps showing the residential core of Duboce Triangle. Red outlines depict vacant and underutilized lots.
Source: San Francisco Public Library

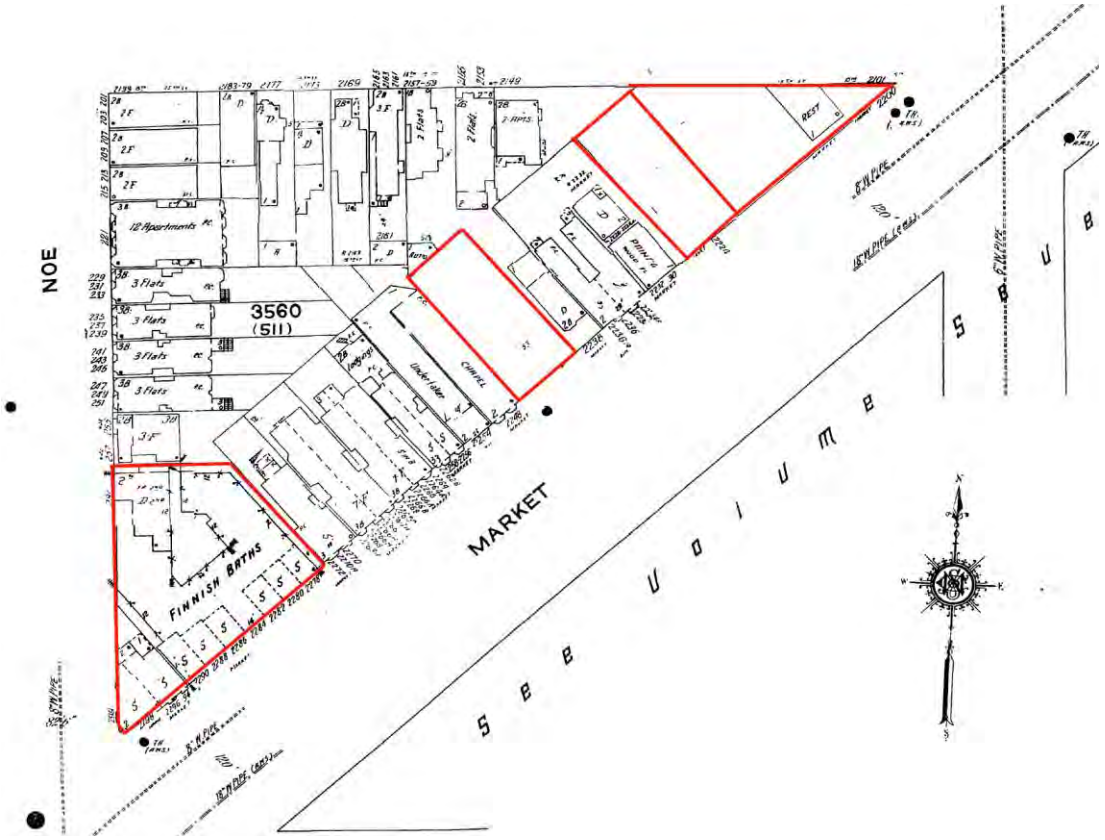

Figure 86. 1950 Sanborn Map showing block bounded by 15th, Market, and Noe streets. Parcels outlined in red include the Finnish Baths and surface parking lots.
Source: San Francisco Public Library

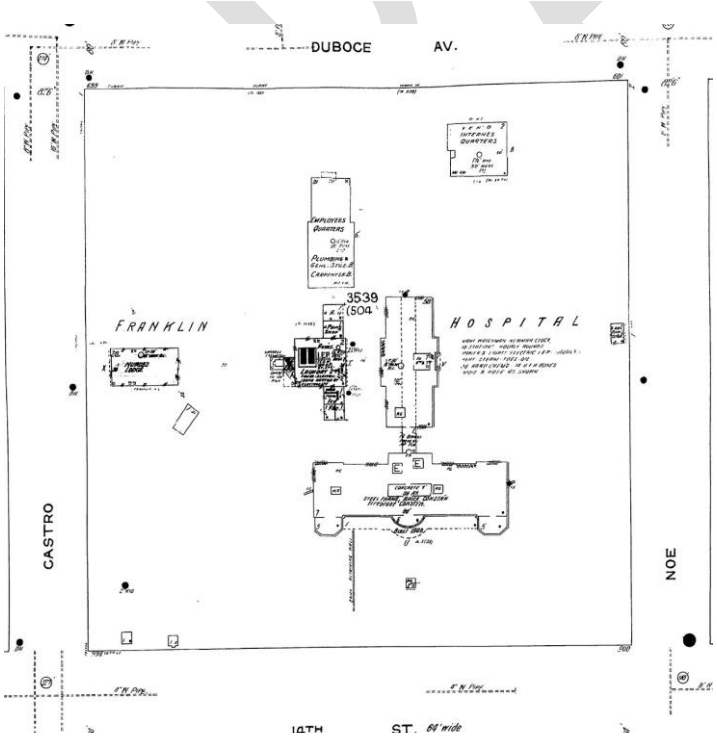

Figure 87. 1950 Sanborn Map showing Franklin Hospital.
Source: San Francisco Public Library

Demographic Shifts

Although the 1950 Census returns have not yet been made public, anecdotal information from oral histories and other sources indicate that Duboce Triangle's already diminished Scandinavian community continued to fade during the postwar period, as older community members died and others continued moving to neighborhoods in the West of Twin Peaks district or outside the city altogether. Contemporary sources indicate that their places were taken by working-class white people of varied origins, including defense workers who decided to stay in San Francisco after the war, as well as

retired people, and others who simply could not afford to live in a "nice" neighborhood. Meanwhile, most of the old-line Scandinavian churches, cultural centers, and businesses remained, although for the most part they depended on clientele visiting the neighborhood on weekends or evenings.[126] Photographs of Duboce Triangle from the immediate postwar era reveal a neighborhood of peaceful, treeless streetscapes, tired Victorian and Edwardian buildings (many of which had been stripped of their ornament and stuccoed or shingled), and wide sidewalks with cars parked in driveways and on the curb. Hints of the neighborhood's Scandinavian past remained on many blocks, including the Scandinavian Seamans' Mission near 15th and Sanchez **(Figure 88)**.

Figure 88. North side of 15th Street, just west of Sanchez Street, 1960. Note the Scandinavian Seamen's Mission at center and JFK campaign poster at right.
Source: OpenSFHistory / wnp14.3354

[126] Alexander S. Bodi, *The Duboce Triangle of San Francisco: A Study of a Community* (San Francisco: Thesis submitted to San Francisco State University Anthropology Department, 1983), 19.

New Residential Construction

Figure 89. 250 Castro Street.

Only 19 extant buildings of any type were constructed in Duboce Triangle between 1950 and 1975. Most were residential apartment buildings constructed on vacant or underutilized lots. Frequently designed in a utilitarian architectural vocabulary sometimes referred to as the "Contractor Modern" style, these so-called "dingbat" apartment buildings mostly went up along Castro Street, where views over the rest of the city could be had from the west side of the street. Examples include 250 Castro Street, an eight-unit apartment building constructed at the southwest corner of Castro and Beaver streets **(Figure 89)**. Built in 1953, it has a twin at 111 Beaver Street which is located just outside the survey area. Unlike its later counterparts, 250 Castro is embellished with a little Late Moderne ornament. A half-dozen other dingbat apartment buildings went up along Castro Street between 1953 and 1969, as well as on intersecting streets, including 175 Castro Street (built 1954), 360 Castro Street (built 1954), 275-79 Castro Street (built 1955), 977-79 14th Street (built 1958), 834 14th Street (built 1959), 3700 16th Street (built 1959), 2278 15th Street (built 1961), and 2 Castro Street (built 1962). None of these buildings are architecturally significant, although 2278 15th Street does display unusual pebble-cast cladding material and interesting angled bay windows. The early 1970s witnessed the construction of several more dingbats, although stylistically speaking, these later buildings tended to be flats sharing more in common with the so-called "Richmond Specials" going up in the Richmond district during the 1970s, such as 118 Church Street **(Figure 90)** and 282 Castro Street **(Figure 91)**. Built in 1968, 118 Church Street, a six-unit apartment building, was constructed on one of the last vacant lots in Duboce Triangle. In contrast, 282 Castro Street, a five-unit apartment building constructed in 1973, took the place of a Victorian dwelling destroyed by fire in 1959.

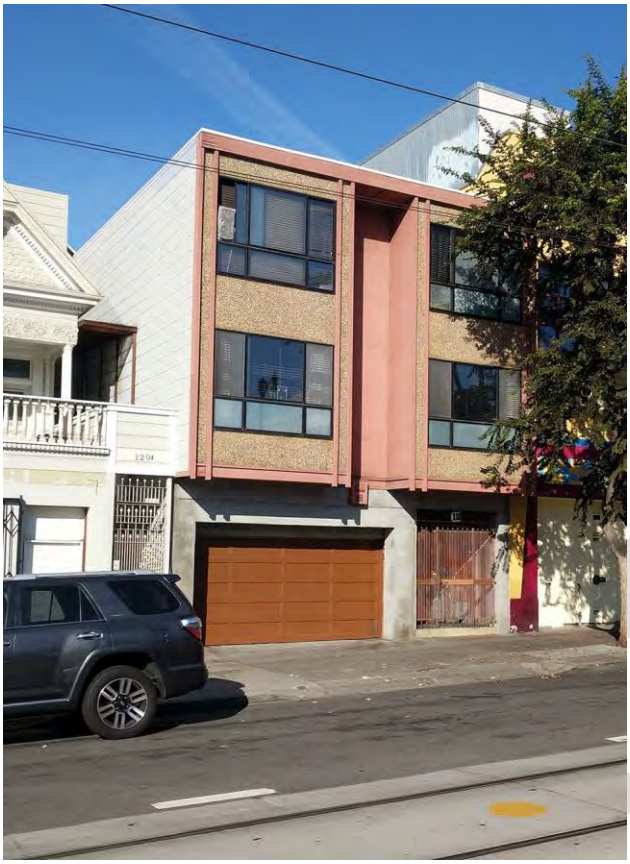

Figure 90. 118 Church Street.

Figure 91. 282 Church Street.

In addition to the private-market residential construction described above, the San Francisco Housing Authority (SFHA) built a low-income housing project at the southeast corner of Duboce Avenue and Sanchez Street. Built in 1972, the four-story, wood-frame building, which is designed in a non-descript contemporary style, houses 90 units set aside for elderly residents **(Figure 92)**. It was erected on the site of a gas station and an older Victorian dwelling. It is the only SFHA "project" inside Duboce Triangle, and its construction is reflective of strategies undertaken by local and federal governments to stabilize and improve the living conditions of poor and working-class people in Duboce Triangle – which at that time was a lower-income neighborhood. In recent years, 25 Sanchez Street was rehabilitated by Bridge Housing Corporation and rededicated in 2019 as an affordable senior housing development.

Figure 92. 25 Sanchez Street.

New Commercial Construction

Only two extant commercial buildings were constructed inside the survey area boundaries between 1950 and 1975. The older of the two is a two-story, concrete block market at 172 Church Street. Built in 1965, the building is designed in a non-descript utilitarian mode **(Figure 93)**. It was constructed for Brown's Furniture Store on the site of a three-story rooming house. The only other commercial building constructed in the survey area boundaries during this period was 158-60 Church Street. Built in 1973 as a Bank of America branch, 158-60 Church Street is designed in the Brutalist style **(Figure 94)**. For many years it was home to Blockbuster Video. Several more commercial buildings were constructed within the neighborhood boundaries during this period, including Safeway, which was built in 1953 at 2000 Market Street. Although it is located just outside the survey area boundaries, Safeway is one of the most important neighborhood "landmarks," occupying a prominent site at the intersection of Market Street and Duboce Avenue. Originally designed in the Late Moderne style, Safeway has been incrementally remodeled and greatly expanded over the last 67 years **(Figure 95)**. Another well-known midcentury building in Duboce Triangle that is outside the survey boundaries is Beck's Motor Lodge. Built in 1958 by local businessman Bill Beck on a large vacant lot near the intersection of Sanchez and Market streets, Beck's Motor Lodge is one of the best remaining Googie-style motels in San Francisco **(Figure 96)**.

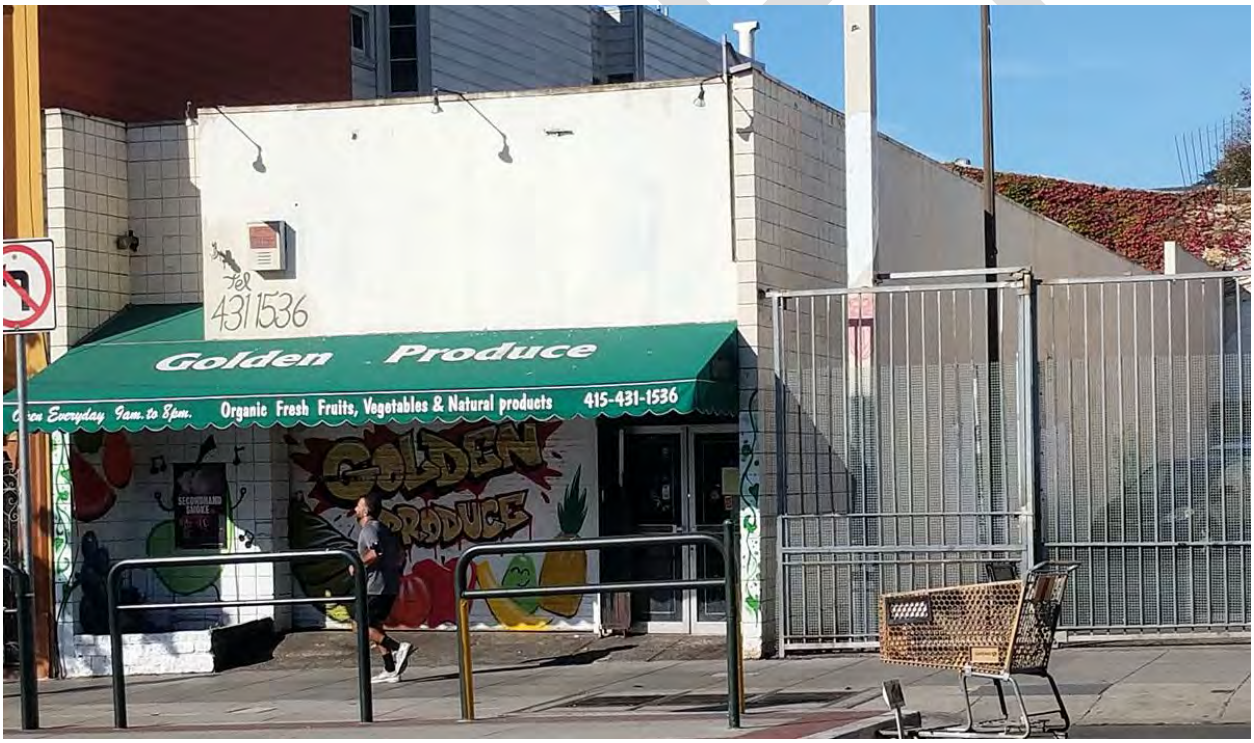

Figure 93. 172 Church Street.

Figure 94. 158-60 Church Street.

Figure 95. Safeway shortly after opening, 1953.
Source: San Francisco Historical Photograph Collection, San Francisco Public Library

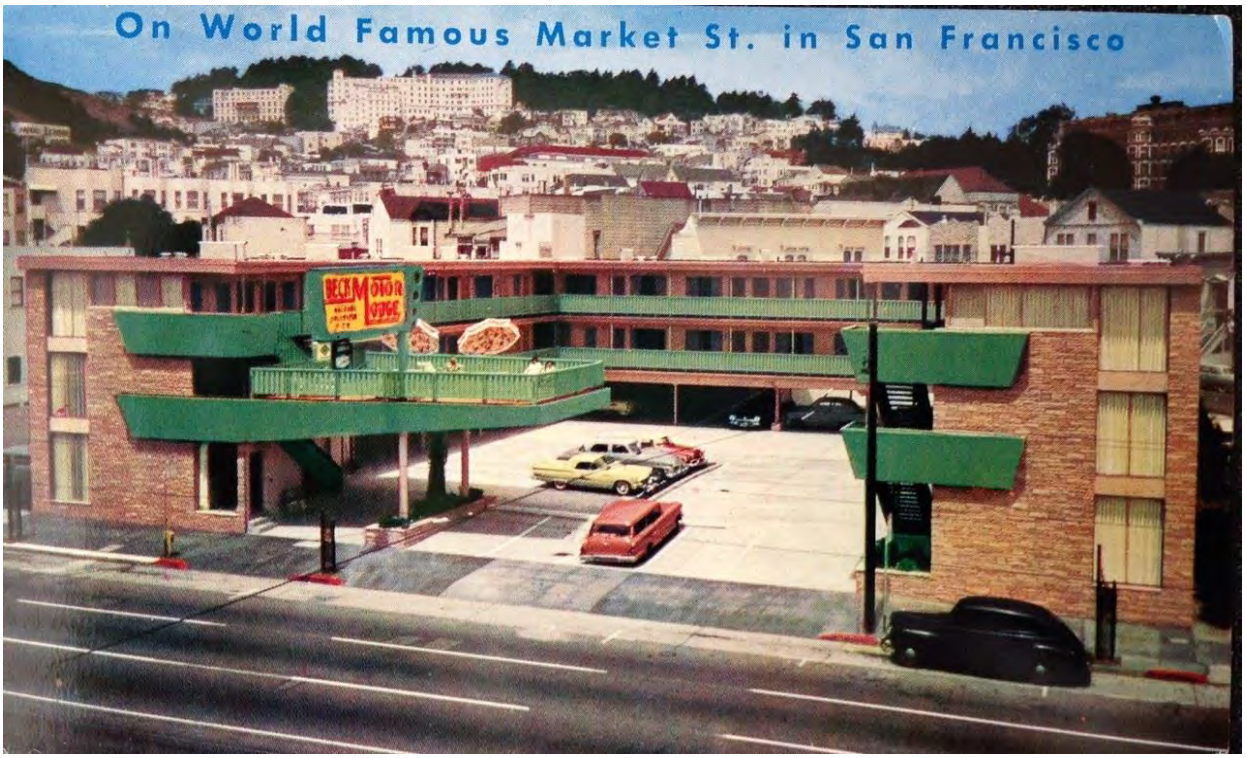

Figure 96. Beck's Motor Lodge, Ca. 1960.
Source: Author's postcard collection

Institutional Buildings

There is only one institutional building – or complex of buildings – erected in Duboce Triangle between 1950 and 1975: Davies Medical Center at 45 Castro Street. As described earlier in this report, in 1878 the German Benevolent Society built the German Hospital on the block bounded by Duboce Avenue and Noe, 14th, and Castro streets. This hospital, which originally catered to San Francisco's large German immigrant community, was rebuilt in 1908 and subsequently expanded and remodeled several times. It was renamed Franklin Hospital during World War I, although the German Benevolent Society continued to manage it until 1956, when it became an independent hospital with its own board of directors. In 1966, the board of directors launched a $12 million campaign to rebuild the aging campus with a new state-of-the art set of buildings, including a pair of towers at the center of the property (North and South Towers), as well as an office building at the northwest corner of the site (45 Castro Street).[127] These three buildings – all designed by Stone Marraccini & Patterson in the Brutalist style – were completed in 1968, at which point the old Franklin Hospital was demolished. The new hospital was renamed Franklin Medical Center in 1968. Four years later, it became Davies Medical Center. It is named for longtime board member, Ralph K. Davies, who was instrumental in rebuilding the campus in the late 1960s.[128] Apart from the addition of a parking structure at the southwest corner of the site in 1994, the Davies Medical Center property has undergone very few changes. Although the buildings are quite large, the original architects made ample use of the property's sloping topography and extensive landscaping to minimize its visual impact on the

[127] Knapp Architects, *Historic Resource Evaluation for Davies Medical Center* (San Francisco: 2008), 2.
[128] "Medical Unit Renamed," *San Francisco Chronicle* (March 21, 1972), 5.

neighborhood **(Figures 97-98)**. During the 1980s and early 1990s, Davies Medical Center played a critical role in the treatment of people with HIV and AIDS.

Figure 97. Davies Medical Center from 14th and Noe streets.

Figure 98. Davies Medical Center from Castro Street and Duboce Avenue.

Social and Physical Decay

Duboce Triangle had not been an affluent neighborhood since the 1880s, but it was not a poor neighborhood either. Indeed, as late as the 1950s, Duboce Triangle was still described as a "functioning working-class neighborhood."[129] But, by the early 1960s, something had changed. No one cause can be blamed, but the decline of Duboce Triangle was the result of several concurrent trends. One major problem was the gradual physical decay of the neighborhood's housing stock. As previously mentioned, many houses and flats had been carved up into small apartments during the 1940s, and the largely absentee ownership did not maintain their buildings, seeking, as slumlords have always done, to extract every dime out of a rapidly diminishing asset. As housing conditions declined, people with other options simply moved away. And as rents dropped, people with even fewer resources moved in. Lack of maintenance tragically caused several major house fires, including a three-alarm fire that destroyed an apartment building at 250-58 Noe Street on September 7, 1963.[130] The property owner demolished the heavily damaged building and never rebuilt – evidently the investment was not worth it. This vacant lot remained an eyesore for two decades, until the Department of Recreation and Parks established the Noe-Beaver Mini Park in 1983.[131] Throughout the 1960s, several other buildings were destroyed by fire in Duboce Triangle, including 523 Duboce Avenue, which succumbed to fire in 1966 **(Figure 99)**. This parcel remained vacant until 1976.

Figure 99. 523 Duboce Avenue, 1966.
Source: OpenSFHistory / wnp69.00875

In addition to absentee owners' physical neglect of the neighborhood's housing stock, San Francisco city government had relinquished its duties in the maintenance of the common realm. According to longtime residents, by the late 1960s, the neighborhood's streets had become badly potholed, sidewalks cracked and crumbling, and sagging power lines lining the wide, treeless streets. Illegal dumping had also become a big problem, with stolen cars abandoned on back streets and heaps of trash dumped on the sidewalks and in the growing number of vacant lots where houses had burned down.[132]

[129] Walter Park, as quoted in Alexander S. Bodi, *The Duboce Triangle of San Francisco: A Study of a Community* (San Francisco: Thesis submitted to San Francisco State University Anthropology Department, 1983), 21.
[130] "200 Firemen Fight 2 Blazes," *San Francisco Chronicle* (September 7, 1963), 5.
[131] "Big-City Oases Exist on Small Scale, Too," *San Francisco Chronicle* (May 2, 1991), 36.
[132] Interview with Imogene "Tex" Gieling, owner of the Benedict-Gieling House at 22 Beaver Street.

Until the early 1960s, Duboce Triangle had remained an almost entirely White neighborhood. However, the demolition of a large swath of the adjoining Western Addition by the San Francisco Redevelopment Agency in the mid-1960s had displaced thousands of African Americans from what had been the city's largest Black neighborhood since World War II. In search of a place to live, African Americans began moving into the adjoining Haight-Ashbury, Panhandle, and Duboce Park neighborhoods, where rents were low. Even though racial covenants and restrictions had been declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in 1948, they remained on the books in many newer San Francisco neighborhoods. Furthermore, "steering" by real estate agents and apartment building owners kept African Americans from living in most middle-class and upper-income White neighborhoods until the 1970s. As an older Victorian neighborhood, Duboce Triangle did not have racial covenants, and it was deteriorating, with low rents and high vacancies. These factors motivated realtors and property managers to steer African Americans toward the area as "slum clearance" got underway in the Western Addition. By 1970, Duboce Triangle's population was well over one-quarter Black, in comparison with 13.4 percent citywide.[133] Sadly, as Duboce Triangle began to integrate, fights broke out between White and Black youth.[134] Increasing tensions during the late 1960s led some longtime White renters to leave and some of the last remaining owner-occupants to sell, sparking a minor episode of "white flight" in Duboce Triangle.[135]

FACE Program

By the late 1960s, Duboce Triangle had reached its nadir. As conditions worsened, the Redevelopment Agency designated the area bounded by Duboce Avenue, Market Street, and Castro Street a "study area." It was during this time that Duboce Triangle assumed its current name and its identity as a separate neighborhood apart from the rest of Eureka Valley.[136] In contrast to the Western Addition, where the Redevelopment Agency had demolished more than 100 square blocks and displaced up to 13,000 people, it took a different approach to Duboce Triangle. The Redevelopment Agency's reluctance to pursue wholesale clearance in Duboce Triangle likely stemmed from the fact that the neighborhood was still largely White, and also because of the fierce opposition that the agency had faced from residents in the Western Addition. Around the same time, the Redevelopment Agency established study areas in Bernal Heights and Alamo Square – two other Victorian neighborhoods that were then experiencing some white flight and other symptoms of distress.[137]

While the Redevelopment Agency was beginning its study of Duboce Triangle, local residents linked up with local planners and preservationists in an attempt to guide decision makers away from traditional urban renewal and toward rehabilitation of the neighborhood's existing building stock. Crucially, many people recognized that Duboce Triangle – all of which had escaped destruction in 1906 – contained one of the city's largest and most intact collections of Victorian and Edwardian housing stock in the city.

Their primary tool in this effort was a new Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) program called Federally Assisted Code Enforcement (FACE). Established in 1969, the FACE program

[133] 1970 U.S. Census.
[134] "Teen Gang Held in S.F. Beatings," *San Francisco Chronicle* (September 15, 1964), 4.
[135] Alexander S. Bodi, *The Duboce Triangle of San Francisco: A Study of a Community* (San Francisco: Thesis submitted to San Francisco State University Anthropology Department, 1983), 26.
[136] Ibid., 23.
[137] "Grant to Enforce S.F. Housing Code," *San Francisco Chronicle* (March 5, 1969), 4.

disbursed HUD funds to help participating communities enforce building codes by paying for the hiring and training of additional inspectors whose sole responsibility was going door-to-door to inspect properties. Any property written up for violations became automatically eligible for a federal low-interest loan to finance the necessary work.[138]

Figure 100. 160-62 (right) and 164-66 (left) Castro Street.
Source: OpenSFHistory / wnp25.11564

FACE proved to be an effective program, but it was not popular with some absentee owners, many of whom had deliberately performed minimal maintenance to their properties for years. And they were the majority of property owners in Duboce Triangle. According to the 1970 Census, Census Tract 169, bounded by Duboce Avenue and Market and Castro streets, housed 3,846 people in 1,688 dwelling units. Of these units, only 250, or 6.7 percent, were owner-occupied.[139] Although there were still some old-line Scandinavian and Finnish immigrants in the neighborhood, many of the flats and apartment buildings had been purchased by speculators. After neglecting their buildings for years, these "slumlords" were finally going to be held to account. Although some property owners cooperated with the FACE inspectors, many others simply did the minimum allowable scope of work and put their properties on the market. Oftentimes, the buildings were purchased by young "urban pioneers" who took full advantage of the low-interest HUD loans to fix up their properties. As a result, FACE had the unexpected result of spurring on gentrification in Duboce Triangle. By March 1969, almost $4 million in FACE funds had been disbursed to San Francisco, with much of that going to Duboce Triangle, where long neglected Victorians began to shine **(Figure 100)**.[140]

[138] Alexander S. Bodi, *The Duboce Triangle of San Francisco: A Study of a Community* (San Francisco: Thesis submitted to San Francisco State University Anthropology Department, 1983), 24.
[139] 1970 U.S. Census.
[140] "Grant to Enforce S.F. Housing Code," *San Francisco Chronicle* (March 5, 1969), 4.

At the same time that FACE money was being used to fix up privately held properties, the Department of Public Works began working on a series of improvements to streets and sidewalks in Duboce Triangle. The work, which extends along Noe and Sanchez streets from Market Street to Duboce Avenue, consisted of widening the sidewalks, placing electrical lines underground, constructing corner bulb-outs and medians, and landscaping the formerly treeless streets. Due to the width of these two streets, parking was also reconfigured from parallel to the curb to ninety degree/angled parking. This work, which was accompanied by comprehensive neighborhood-wide tree-planting program, really changed the feel of Duboce Park as once harsh, too-wide streets were converted into lusciously landscaped green boulevards. Completed over 50 years ago, Duboce Triangle's mature tree canopy, which mainly consists of eucalyptus, ficus, and magnolias, stands apart from most San Francisco neighborhoods. In addition to beautifying the streets, the project was also designed as a traffic-calming measure and a community-building exercise – the latter achieved through the construction of multiple small outdoor seating areas **(Figure 101)**.[141]

Figure 101. Outdoor seating area at Noe and Henry streets.

Local neighborhood groups worked with the San Francisco Planning Department and the Department of Public Works to oversee FACE and the other federal and local programs designed to remedy blight and improve living conditions for all Duboce Triangle residents. At that time, the dominant neighborhood group was the Noe-Henry United Community Association. The group, which was founded around 1970, was headed by Alvin J. Matilla.[142] Noe-Henry represented both tenants and property owners in its efforts to effect clean streets, calm traffic, and enforce leash laws. Until the establishment of the Duboce Triangle Neighborhood Association (DTNA) in 1975, Noe-Henry's primary rival was the Castro Property Owners, an organization, as its name suggests, whose membership was limited to property owners. This organization represented the more affluent people living along Castro Street.[143]

[141] Allan B. Jacobs, *The Good City: Reflections and Imaginations* (New York: Routledge, 2011).
[142] Scott Blakey, "New Opposition to Castro Street Widening" *San Francisco Chronicle* (April 4, 1970), 36.
[143] Alexander S. Bodi, *The Duboce Triangle of San Francisco: A Study of a Community* (San Francisco: Thesis submitted to San Francisco State University Anthropology Department, 1983), 24.

Gentrification and Demographic Change

Figure 102. Construction of the entrance to the Muni Metro tunnel at Church Street and Duboce Avenue, 1972.
Source: SFMTA Archives, Image No. M1273_3

As mentioned, it tended to be the newcomers who took advantage of FACE and other programs designed to rehabilitate Duboce Triangle. Young professionals had begun arriving in San Francisco in large numbers in the early 1970s as the local economy transitioned from blue collar industries to white collar professions. Victorians, long disparaged for being cheap and ugly, had come back into fashion, and many young professionals – including a sizable contingent of Gay men – began buying Victorians and Edwardians in neighborhoods like Alamo Square, Duboce Triangle, and the Haight-Ashbury to fix up. Similar things were happening in other older cities hollowed out by a generation of white flight and disinvestment. In addition to having ample restorable housing stock, Duboce Triangle was close to transit and shopping and only a short ride away from Downtown on Muni, which was then beginning the work to build a streetcar tunnel beneath Market Street in tandem with the all-new BART system **(Figure 102)**.[144] This project represented the first major attempt to improve San Francisco's transit infrastructure after decades of neglect and retrenchment.

"Welcome to the Gayborhood": Duboce Triangle in the Early 1970s

Although FACE and other civic improvement programs certainly jumpstarted the rehabilitation of Duboce Triangle, the sudden and sustained influx of Gay men in the late 1960s/early 1970s played a more enduring role in the neighborhood's transformation. Beginning after World War II, Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer/and or Questioning (LGBTQ) people began migrating to San Francisco. Long known to be a "wide open" city, many Gay servicemembers had settled in the city after the war due to their positive experiences while on leave, as well as the city's overall tolerant attitudes in comparison with the rest of the country. Originally centered in North Beach, the Gay community gradually expanded into the Polk Gulch neighborhood in the late 1950s. From there, it was not far to Upper Market Street, where a bar at 2348 Market Street called the Missouri Mule changed ownership in 1963. The new owner, John Burgoa, reoriented the honky-tonk bar toward a new clientele, with a "campy" singer called Vivacious

[144] Alexander S. Bodi, *The Duboce Triangle of San Francisco: A Study of a Community* (San Francisco: Thesis submitted to San Francisco State University Anthropology Department, 1983), 31.

Vivian. Located on the north side of Market Street between Castro and Noe, this bar (now called Beaux) was located in Duboce Triangle.[145] Pretty soon, a number of other Gay-oriented bars, restaurants, and stores began opening along both sides of Market Street between Dolores and Castro streets. Several early Gay-oriented businesses in Duboce Triangle included Burke's Corner House at 2100 Market Street (demolished) and Toni's Dry Cleaning at 270 Noe Street, which is still in business at this location **(Figure 103)**.[146]

The growth of Gay-owned and operated businesses in both Eureka Valley and Duboce Triangle may have been an indication that LGBTQ people were starting to move to the Upper Market area, but the opening of these businesses doubtlessly attracted more people. Added attractions included the area's good weather, easy transit access, and low property values. By 1973, a thriving LGBTQ business district had evolved along Castro Street between Market and 19th Street – the historical neighborhood shopping district of Eureka Valley anchored by the landmark Castro Theater.

In both Eureka Valley and Duboce Triangle, Gay men (and some Lesbians) began buying run-down Victorian and Edwardian houses and flats from old-timers who were fleeing to the suburbs or from absentee owners. The newcomers began fixing up their houses, often buying paints and tools at Cliff's Variety at 479 Market Street.[147] Gay-owned Victorians became known for their flamboyant color schemes. Some of their straight neighbors joined in, and by the mid-1970s, "Painted Ladies" had been added to the San Francisco tourist maps, with heavy concentrations in Alamo Square, Eureka Valley, Noe Valley, Duboce Triangle, and parts of the Western Addition and Mission district. This wave of interest in restoring Victorians led to the establishment of the Victorian Alliance in 1973, as well as several contracting firms and supply houses dedicated to replicating lost millwork, wallpaper, plaster detailing, vintage light fixtures, etcetera. The newly founded Foundation for San Francisco's Architectural Heritage (established 1971) leapt into the fray by saving and relocating several Victorian homes within the Redevelopment Agency's Western Addition project areas.

Figure 103. Toni Dry Cleaners, 270 Noe Street.

[145] Shayne Watson and Donna Graves, *Citywide Historic Context Statement for LGBTQ History in San Francisco* (San Francisco: 2015), 170.
[146] Ibid.
[147] Ibid.

Figure 104. Scott's Pit, 10 Sanchez Street, Ca. 1973.
Source: lostwomynsspace.blogspot.com

After gaining its own name and identity in the early 1970s, Duboce Triangle again began to become subsumed, but this time within the greater Castro district. As most readers likely know, the Castro moniker largely replaced the older name of Eureka Valley during the early 1970s as the neighborhood transformed into San Francisco's largest predominantly Gay neighborhood. Although most of the well-known LGBTQ businesses were located south of Market Street in the Castro proper, there were several important business establishments in Duboce Triangle. Not all were Gay either. One of the most important was Scott's Pit at 10 Sanchez Street. San Francisco's first Lesbian biker bar, Scott's Pit opened Ca. 1970 **(Figure 104)**. Known for its poetry readings and political activism, Scott's Pit was occasionally raided by the police.[148] A well-known dance club called the Mind Shaft (most recently the Lucky 13) was located at 2140 Market Street. Much of the period associated with the LGBTQ communities post-dates the end of the period of significance of this document. For a much more robust discussion of post-1975 properties associated with these contexts, please consult Shayne Watson and Donna Grave's *Citywide Historic Context Statement for LGBTQ History in San Francisco.*

Associated Property Types

As described above, only 17 extant buildings were constructed in Duboce Triangle between 1950 and 1975. The overwhelming majority were inexpensive "dingbat" apartment buildings constructed along Castro Street and as infill projects elsewhere in the neighborhood. None have any architectural significance. Along Market Street, outside the survey area, several commercial buildings were constructed on the north side of Market Street in Duboce Triangle, including Safeway in 1953 and Beck's Motor Lodge in 1957. Several other low-scale, mid-century commercial buildings, including a few gas stations and drive-in restaurants have all been demolished in recent years. More important than new construction was the restoration of dozens of Victorian and Edwardian-era houses, flats, and apartment buildings during the early 1970s, as well as the 1970s-era landscape and street improvements along Sanchez and Noe streets.

National and California Register and City Landmark Eligibility

Properties constructed in Duboce Triangle after World War II are generally representative of very late infill construction or urban renewal. Under National Register Criterion A/California Register Criterion 1 (Events), surviving properties of this type constitute a common resource type in San Francisco. As such, properties developed within this period may not qualify under this criterion unless they were built in response to the context of postwar redevelopment or some other specific historic event. Under National Register Criterion B/California Register Criterion 2 (Persons), some properties may be significant for associations with important residents, including prominent members of the LGBTQ community. In regard to National

[148] Shayne Watson and Donna Graves, *Citywide Historic Context Statement for LGBTQ History in San Francisco* (San Francisco: 2015), 246.

Register Criterion C/California Register Criterion 3 (Design/Construction), most buildings constructed during this period are designed in the Contractor Modern style. Properties designed in this style are only rarely eligible under this criterion.

Integrity Considerations

Properties associated with the theme of postwar development in Duboce Park comprise only a small portion of all buildings in the neighborhood. Buildings from this period are not rare citywide and they are uniformly more utilitarian than their prewar counterparts. Therefore, a higher degree of integrity should be expected of registered properties from this period. At the very least, properties from this era ought to retain the aspects of location, design, materials, workmanship, and feeling to convey their significance and associations under this context. Integrity considerations include the following:

- Properties ought to embody distinctive examples of the types, forms, and styles of architecture popular during the period of 1950 to 1975, including retention of discernable form, footprint, massing, and roofline.
- Properties should retain the majority of their original exterior cladding materials, architectural detailing, and most of their original fenestration pattern. Retention of original window sashes is preferred.
- Window and door replacement is very common in properties of this vintage and should be acceptable as long as the replacement features conform to the original openings and sash lite patterns. Retention of original doors is preferred.
- Occasionally properties of this age have acquired an addition. Additions built during the historic period should be considered part of the property's historical development and should not impede historical designation. Contemporary additions – particularly rear additions – are generally acceptable as long as they do not visually overwhelm the resource. As long as they are set back, vertical additions of no more than one story can be acceptable as long as the original building's form, massing, and scale are respected.
- Properties that have been converted all or in part to another use, such as residential to commercial or commercial to residential, may still qualify for registration as long as the property retains sufficient integrity to convey its original use and retains the majority of its character-defining features, including form, massing, materials, and architectural detailing.
- In circumstances where a property is the oldest or best example of a particular property type or architectural style, or if it is a property most closely associated with a particular context, a higher degree of alteration may be acceptable.

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Epilogue

The period covered in the Duboce Triangle Historic Context Statement ends in 1975, 45 years before this project was undertaken. In the nearly half-century that has passed since 1975, Duboce Triangle has continued its evolution into a highly desirable residential neighborhood. Often lumped in with the greater Castro district, Duboce Triangle actually shares much in common with the rest of the historical Eureka Valley neighborhood, including its architecture, demographic makeup, and urban form. However, unlike its sister district, Duboce Triangle has a more intimate atmosphere. Home to a little over 5,000 people, Duboce Triangle has evolved into a middle-class-to-affluent neighborhood inhabited largely by White professionals. Today, the neighborhood is 65 percent White, 16 percent Asian, 11 percent Latino, four percent multiracial, three percent African American, and one percent Native American. In terms of gender, 61 percent of Duboce Triangle residents are male and 39 percent female, indicating that the neighborhood still has a large Gay contingent. Duboce Triangle is also very well-educated, with 75 percent of the neighborhood holding at least a Bachelor's degree. Renters still comprise the majority of the population (71 percent), but this is much lower than it was in the early 1970s. The higher ratio of home-ownership is largely the function of the widespread conversion of many flats into condominiums in recent decades. In terms of its physical environment, Duboce Triangle has not changed all that much since the early 1970s. The only exception is Market Street, where most of the low-slung gas stations and drive-in restaurants have been replaced by mid-rise, mixed-use buildings in recent years. Inside the neighborhood itself, there has been very little new construction apart from a few infill projects on a handful of vacant lots.

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IV. RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter builds on Duboce Triangle Survey and the preceding chapters in the *Duboce Triangle Historic Context Statement*. It discusses property types commonly encountered in Duboce Triangle; registration requirements for local, state, and national registers; integrity thresholds; as well as providing a list and brief description of several potential historic districts and local landmark candidates. The *Duboce Triangle Historic Context Statement* is organized chronologically spanning the years 1870 to 1975, although it discusses several properties that achieved significance after 1975.

A. Definition of Property Types

As a largely residential neighborhood, the majority of the property types in Duboce Triangle have at least a partial residential component. The Duboce Triangle Survey completed by the author of this report did not evaluate any properties with frontage on Market Street, because those had already been surveyed in the Market and Octavia Survey and documented in the California Register-eligible Upper Market Street Commercial Historic District. Nevertheless, the *Duboce Triangle Historic Context Statement* does cover the properties on the north side of Market Street between Castro and Church streets, so we have included several buildings in this area in the sections below.

Residential, Multi-family

Multi-family residential properties comprise the single-largest category of buildings within Duboce Triangle, comprising 356 of the 552 buildings surveyed. Multi-family residential properties include all flats, apartment buildings, and residential hotels built between 1870 and 1975. Multi-family properties are located throughout the neighborhood, although they tend to be clustered within the central and eastern parts of Duboce Triangle, within easy walking distance of transit lines along Market Street and Duboce Avenue. Flats are often located on mid-block parcels, whereas large apartment buildings typically occupy prominent corner lots. The vast majority were built between 1885 and 1915 and are mostly of wood-frame construction. Typical styles from this period include San Francisco Stick/Eastlake, Queen Anne, Classical Revival, and Colonial Revival. In addition, there is a handful of buildings from later periods, including Mediterranean-style apartment buildings from the 1920s, Art Deco and Streamline Moderne flats and apartment buildings from the 1930s and 1940s, and Contractor Modern-style "dingbat" apartments from the 1950s and 1960s.

Residential, Single-family

Single-family residential properties comprise the second-largest category of buildings within Duboce Triangle, comprising 139 properties out of the 552 surveyed. This category includes all cottages, Victorian villas, rowhouses, and freestanding accessory dwelling units in the survey area. Single-family properties were constructed throughout the period of significance, although they skew older than multi-family residential properties. They tend to be located in the higher-elevation areas in the western third of the neighborhood, particularly along Castro, Beaver, and Henry streets. Stylistically speaking, they represent all major styles found in the neighborhood, including Folk Victorian, Italianate, San Francisco Stick-Eastlake, Queen Anne, Classical Revival, Colonial Revival, Mediterranean, Period Revival, Spanish Colonial Revival, Art Deco, Streamline Moderne, and Modern.

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Residential, Mixed-Use

Residential, mixed-use buildings comprise the third-largest category of buildings within Duboce Triangle, with 28 such buildings out of 552 within the survey area. Mixed-use buildings typically have ground-floor commercial units with residential flats or apartments on the upper floors. Mixed-use buildings can be found throughout Duboce Triangle and they were built from approximately 1880 to 1940. Often located on corner parcels, the typical mixed-use building in Duboce Triangle contains a store on the ground floor with a flat or two upstairs. The largest concentration of such buildings is on the block bounded by Duboce Avenue and Church, 14th, and Belcher streets. There are also several along Noe Street between Market and Henry streets. Most Victorian and Edwardian-era styles are represented, although many mixed-use buildings have been stripped of their original ornament. There are several more mixed-use buildings in the adjoining Upper Market Street Commercial Historic District that were not inventoried in this survey.

Commercial

There are only eight wholly commercial buildings within the Duboce Triangle survey area. Often single-story, these buildings tend to be located on mid-block parcels near Market Street, especially in Duboce Triangle's small neighborhood commercial district bounded by Duboce Avenue and Church, 14th, and Belcher streets. Most date to the middle of the twentieth century and many are designed in utilitarian and/or contemporary styles. There are several more commercial buildings in the adjoining Upper Market Street Commercial Historic District that were not inventoried as part of this survey.

Religious/Fraternal

There are six religious/fraternal buildings within the Duboce Triangle survey area. All but one are churches or former churches, including several associated with the neighborhood's Scandinavian and Finnish communities, including St. Francis (formerly St. Ansgar) Lutheran Church, Golden City Church (formerly the Danish-Norwegian Methodist Church), and the former First Finnish Lutheran Church. Although it is not associated with the Scandinavian community, First Christian Church is also located in the survey boundaries. The final member of this group is the Swedish American Hall.

Institutional

There are three institutional buildings/complexes in the Duboce Triangle Survey Area, including CPMC's Davies Medical Center, SFFD Station No. 6, and McKinley Elementary School.

Parks/Infrastructure

Adjoining Duboce Park, which is not part of the historical boundaries of either Duboce Triangle or Eureka Valley, the Duboce Triangle survey area contains just one park, the Noe-Beaver Mini Park. Notable infrastructure includes the 1970s-era street improvements and landscaping along Sanchez and Noe streets.

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B. Architectural Styles

Folk Victorian (1865 to 1875)

The oldest known buildings in Duboce Triangle are designed in the Folk Victorian style. The term refers to a vernacular mode of building that spread across the United States in the 1870s and 1880s, thanks in part to the availability of architectural pattern books and the widespread adoption of construction technologies such as balloon framing and materials such as machine-milled lumber and cut wire nails. Typical features include a rectangular or L-shaped plan and gable-roofed massing with an integral or extruded front porch. Ornament is typically spare but may include details popular during the Victorian era, such as scroll-sawn brackets and quoins or decorative shingle patterns. Duboce Triangle has only three Folk Victorian houses, including 2150, 2173-75 (See Figure 112), and 2177 15th Street. All were built Ca. 1870.

Italianate (1875 to 1885)

The Italianate style is the earliest of the "high-style" Victorian styles in Duboce Triangle, serving as the dominant style from 1875 to 1885. The Italianate style has its origins in the rural villas of Renaissance Italy. Popularized in the writings of Andrew Jackson Downing in the 1830s, architect Alexander Jackson Davis designed several Italianate "villas" in New York's Hudson River Valley that were widely disseminated in architectural publications. These villas influenced the design of everyday houses for the middle classes in the United States from the 1850s to the 1880s. Typical features included the use of wood – in particular rusticated water tables, quoins, arched window hoods– to imitate stone masonry construction. More elaborate examples of the style feature broad front porches and a tower or a cupola to enliven the complex roofline. Examples of Italianate villas in Duboce Triangle are few, although the Ca. 1870 Benedict-Gieling House at 22 Beaver Street (Landmark No. 284) is a superb example (See Figure 10). In San Francisco, Italianate ornament – usually just arched window and door hoods and brackets – was often superimposed on the otherwise utilitarian façade of the typical San Francisco rowhouse. Early examples from the 1870s are typically flat-fronted and later examples from the 1880s usually have bay windows. Duboce Triangle has approximately 30 good examples of this type, including 2253-55 15th Street (built Ca. 1875) (See Figure 114) and 300 Castro Street (Built Ca. 1880) (See Figure 127).

San Francisco Stick-Eastlake (1885 to 1895)

The San Francisco Stick-Eastlake style is the earliest indigenous Anglo-American style in California, dominating residential construction in San Francisco from 1885 until 1895. The San Francisco Stick-Eastlake style is a regional variant of what architectural historian Vincent Scully called the "American Stick Style." The latter term refers to an architectural aesthetic that emerged in the United States during the 1870s and 1880s, in which a building's wood-framing was expressed on its exterior with applied millwork, or "stick-work." The American Stick Style was the first Victorian-era style to dispense with the pretense of imitating stone construction, embracing instead the underlying balloon framing used in most domestic construction during the second half of the nineteenth century. The associated term "Eastlake" refers to the work of the British author and furniture designer, Charles Locke Eastlake. Eastlake, who advocated a return to the mediaeval English Gothic style, published a book called *Hints on Household Taste in Furniture, Upholstery and other Details* in 1868. Republished in the United States in 1872, American architects appropriated certain elements of Eastlake's furniture designs and applied

them to architecture, including incised floral motifs, sunburst brackets, rosettes, and geometrical-pattern stained glass. Much was lost in the translation, and Charles Eastlake repeatedly disavowed the style that emerged under his name in the United States. The American Stick-Eastlake style gained national prominence at the 1876 Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia, where it was featured in several American industrial and furniture exhibition halls.

The American Stick-Eastlake style reached its zenith in San Francisco in the 1880s, where local builders and architects applied Stick-Eastlake ornament to the city's standard rowhouse type. Advancements in redwood milling techniques meant that machine-made, Eastlake-influenced decorative motifs, including sunburst brackets, rosettes, and incised ornament, could be added to the primary façade at minimal expense. The rooflines typically received a great deal of attention, often with applied ornamental trusswork and false gables. Duboce Triangle has approximately 113 buildings designed in the San Francisco Stick-Eastlake style, making it one of the more common styles. Good examples include the two-unit flats at 772-74 14th Street (built 1888) (See Figure 105), the six-unit apartment building at 888-98 14th Street (built Ca. 1890) (See Figure 107), and the nine-unit apartment building at 136-44 Noe Street (built Ca. 1885) (See Figure 138).

Queen Anne (1895 to 1905)

The Queen Anne style originated in England in the 1870s with the work of architect Richard Norman Shaw. The term referred to the high-style buildings constructed during the reign of Queen Anne of England (1702-14), which represented a transition from late medieval forms toward an architecture informed by Renaissance Europe. Shaw's widely published English country houses were very influential on American architects and builders during the last decade of the nineteenth century. The Queen Anne style first caught the attention of Americans at the Centennial Exposition of 1876 in Philadelphia, during which the British government put up two half-timbered buildings designed in the style. The Queen Anne, or "Free Classic" style, took America by storm, particularly for large summer residences. With its picturesque turrets, shingled surfaces, art glass windows, and wrap-around porches with scroll-sawn balusters, the Queen Anne style was an eye-catching vocabulary that blossomed in East Coast and Midwestern commuter suburbs and resort towns. Gradually, speculators brought the style to the masses.

The Queen Anne style dominated San Francisco's domestic architecture from 1895 until 1905. Although there are a few high-style examples, for the most part the style was applied to the standardized San Francisco rowhouse. Duboce Triangle has approximately 45 buildings designed in the "pure" iteration of the Queen Anne style, along with another 23 designed in a blend of the Queen Anne and Classical Revival styles. The style flourished in the neighborhood between 1895 and 1905, although there are a few earlier and later examples. Good examples of the style include a three-unit flats at 2161-65 15th Street (built Ca. 1890) (See Figure 110) and 158-62 Henry Street (built 1908) (See Figure 134). A sub-variant of the style is the Queen Anne cottage. Typically smaller than the full-blown Queen Anne single family dwelling, the Queen Anne cottage was typically constructed on speculation in San Francisco's outlying neighborhoods. Duboce Triangle does have an excellent row of related Queen Anne cottages at 851, 855, 859-61, 865, 871, 875, and 879 14th Street, as well as one matching cottage at 74-76 Henry

Street. Built between 1902 and 1906 by residential builder Fernando Nelson, this development includes two that were raised in the early part of the twentieth century to receive commercial storefronts.

Classical Revival (1895 to 1910)

The Classical Revival style emerged in the United States as a result of the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. The centerpiece of the exposition was the famous "White City." Primarily designed by the New York architectural firm of McKim, Mead & White, the temporary exposition buildings were based on French Neoclassical architecture of the nineteenth century. Many prominent U.S. architects were trained at the École des Beaux-Arts, which promulgated the French Neoclassical ideal. In the U.S., the style was better known as the "American Renaissance" or the "Classical Revival" style. Although primarily used for important public buildings such as libraries, courthouses, state capitals and the like, the Classical Revival craze that swept the nation during the 1890s and early 1900s was adopted for residences as well, including many of the palatial summer "cottages" of Newport, Rhode Island and other eastern resort communities. Classical Revival features gradually disseminated down to the middle and working classes as residential builders began rejecting Victorian eclecticism in favor of a pared-down Neoclassical aesthetic, replete with imitation ashlar construction, porticos supported by paired columns, plaster swags and cartouches, and flat roofs capped by classical friezes.

The Classical Revival style became popular in San Francisco in the mid-1890s as it did in the rest of the country and it remained in use until about 1910. In addition to being used for freestanding mansions in Pacific Heights and Presidio Heights, the style was popular for speculative rowhouses, flats, and apartment buildings. Around 1900, as San Francisco's inner neighborhoods, such as Duboce Triangle, began to become more heavily urbanized, builders began replacing cottages and vacant lots with much larger flats. Duboce Triangle, which contains almost 200 buildings designed in the Classical Revival style, has several dozen of these distinctive Classical Revival flats, including the proposed Fourteenth and Walter Street Classical Revival Flats Historic District, which contains 42 Classical Revival-style flats and apartment buildings. Two very good individual examples include 101-11 Noe Street (built Ca. 1895) (See Figure 137) and 81-93 Sanchez Street (built 1909) (See Figure 141).

Mission Revival (1895 to 1915)

The Mission Revival is another architectural style indigenous to California. The style, as its name suggests, takes its cue from the 21 missions established under Spanish and Mexican rule in California between 1769 and 1823. The style stems from the publication of the novel *Ramona* by Helen Hunt Jackson in 1884. In addition to romanticizing California's Hispanic origins, the book called attention to the crumbling architectural legacy of this period. The California Building at the 1893 Columbian Exposition was the first building (albeit temporary) designed in the style, which was characterized by the use of plain white stucco walls, arched window and door openings, shallow-pitch gable roofs clad in red clay tile, scalloped or lobed parapets, paired bell towers and/or domes, quatrefoil windows, and tiled ornament. The Southern Pacific Railroad then adopted the Mission Revival style for many of its big city railroad depots, culminating with the San Diego and San Francisco Depots of 1915. The style thrived in California and the Southwest from the mid-1890s until about 1915, although there are some later examples dating to the 1920s and 1930s

Although San Francisco has several excellent examples of the Mission Revival style, including Fort Winfield Scott in the Presidio, the city does not have as many public or institutional buildings designed in the style as Southern California cities such as Los Angeles, Santa Barbara, or San Diego, etc. In San Francisco, the Mission Revival is mainly a residential style, although in many cases it is blended with the Craftsman style to create a distinctive hybrid Mission/Craftsman style. Duboce Triangle only has four buildings designed in the Mission Revival style. By far, the best example is the First Christian Church at 583-85 Duboce Avenue (built 1906) (See Figure 130). Another good example is an apartment building at 88-92 Castro Street (built 1911) in the proposed S.A. Born Castro Street Historic District.

Craftsman (1895 to 1920)

The Craftsman style was a close contemporary of the Mission Revival style, flourishing in San Francisco from the late 1890s until about 1920, and as described above, the two styles were often combined to create an engaging hybrid style. Unlike the Mission Revival style, the roots of the Craftsman style go back to late nineteenth-century England, especially the work of British Arts and Crafts architects M.H. Baillie Scott and Charles F.A. Voysey. Their work was widely published in the U.S., capturing the attention of the brothers Charles and Henry Greene in Pasadena, California. The architectural firm of Greene & Greene transformed the British Arts and Crafts style by incorporating aspects of Japanese architecture and decorative arts. The firm's stately Southern California bungalows were published in *Craftsman* magazine, which brought them to the attention of architects across the nation. In Northern California, the local First Bay Region Tradition also pulled from the British Arts and Crafts movement, but it was simpler and equally influenced by the Eastern Shingle style. Although San Francisco does have a few neighborhoods that contain traditional Craftsman bungalows – chiefly Westwood Park – for the most part the style was melded with the contemporary Mission Revival, Classical Revival, and even the Prairie style, to yield a distinctive San Francisco rowhouse type that is frequently referred to simply as the "Edwardian" style. Characteristics of this style often include the use of clinker brick cladding at the basement level, rough-textured stucco or brick on the upper floors, art glass windows, and prominent eaves supported by large knee braces.

Duboce Triangle contains only 12 buildings designed in the Craftsman style. All were built between 1901 and 1917 – the heyday of the style. Nearly all are part of a development of 15 rowhouses, flats, and one apartment building constructed by Stephen A. Born on the west side of Castro Street between Duboce Avenue and 14th Street (See Figure 38). They are all located within the proposed S.A. Born Castro Street Historic District. Otherwise, the rest of Duboce Triangle contains only a handful of vaguely Craftsman buildings.

First Bay Region Tradition (1895 to 1920)

As mentioned in the previous section, similar to the Craftsman style, the First Bay Region Tradition was an outgrowth of the British Arts and Crafts movement, albeit filtered through the Eastern Shingle style. The style crystalized in San Francisco and the East Bay with the work of a small group of architects, including Albert Schweinfurth, Ernest Coxhead, Willis Polk, Julia Morgan, and Bernard Maybeck. A reaction to the excesses of the Queen Anne and Stick-Eastlake styles, the First Bay Region Tradition hearkened back to simplicity and the use of local, natural materials to make a statement about place. Characteristics of the First Bay Region Tradition include the use of dark-stained shingles on the exterior

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(often with black-painted trim), picturesque and asymmetrical massing, steeply pitched roofs, and exposed rafter and purlin ends. In San Francisco, the First Bay Region Style flourished between 1890 and 1917, especially on Russian Hill and in the neighborhoods of Pacific Heights and Presidio Heights.

There are only eight buildings in Duboce Triangle that are designed in the First Bay Region Tradition, and most of those are older Victorian-era dwellings or apartment buildings that were remodeled in the style at a later date, such as 862-78 14th Street (built Ca. 1905). By far, the best example is 3653-55 16th Street (built Ca. 1890) (See Figure 119). This dwelling, which appears to incorporate an older house at the rear of the lot, was likely remodeled in the First Bay Region Tradition Ca. 1910.

Jacobethan/English Period Revival (1920 to 1930)

The term Jacobethan is a portmanteau of "Jacobean" and "Elizabethan," and it refers to English domestic architecture built during the reigns of Queen Elizabeth I (1558-1603) and King James I (1603-1625). This was an important period in which British architecture began to transition from mediaeval forms to the Renaissance architecture of the Mediterranean world. "Jacobethan" was actually coined as a joke by English poet John Betjeman, but it was soon appropriated by architectural historian Henry Russell Hitchcock to describe all British-influenced domestic architecture built on both sides of the Atlantic between World War I and II. In San Francisco, the Jacobethan style thrived between 1918 and 1939 in the residence parks West of Twin Peaks – in particular St. Francis Wood, Forest Hill, and Monterey Heights, as well as Sea Cliff and Presidio Terrace. Signature elements of the style include rambling and informal floorplans, asymmetrical massing with steeply pitched gable roofs (often with dormers), faceted chimneys made of brick, and exterior finished including textured stucco, tile, brick, and stone. Jacobethan houses often sit in lushly landscaped gardens meant to evoke visions of rural England.

Duboce Triangle only has two buildings designed in the Jacobethan style: 270-72 Castro Street (built 1928) and the Charles Strothoff House at 2272-76 16th Street (See Figure 116). Originally built in 1904, the Charles Strothoff House was remodeled Ca. 1925 by architect Charles Strothoff in the Jacobethan style. Strothoff was a prominent San Francisco architect who designed many of the best Jacobethan houses in St. Francis Wood and other West of Twin Peaks neighborhoods.

Mediterranean (1920 to 1940)

The Mediterranean style is a catch-all term for buildings inspired by the traditional architectural vocabularies of the lands facing the Mediterranean Sea – in particular Spain and Italy, but also the South of France, Greece, and North Africa. In contrast to the Mission Revival and Spanish Colonial Revival styles, which often take an "archaeological" approach to their sources, the Mediterranean style is focused on creating an atmosphere appropriate to the Mediterranean world. As a result, Mediterranean-style buildings often mix and match influences from different regions and eras in pursuit of an architectural vocabulary evocative of California's Mediterranean climate and landscape. Popular in the American Southwest and Florida during the 1920s and 1930s, the Mediterranean style's characteristics include the following: smooth-plastered exteriors with molded detailing, flat or hipped roofs clad in red clay tile, shaped parapets, wrought iron balconies and window grilles, and tiled stairs and door surrounds. Sometimes confused with the Spanish Colonial Revival style, Mediterranean-style

buildings are more often to have molded stucco ornament – such as quoins and voussoirs – and arched window openings reminiscent of the vernacular architecture of Italy.

Duboce Triangle has 46 properties designed in the Mediterranean style. Nearly all are two or three-family flats constructed as infill housing during the 1920s and 1930s, such as the row of six two-family flats at 46-48, 52-54, 56-58, 60-62, 64-66, and 68-70 Beaver Street (See Figure 67). Constructed between 1927 and 1932, these relatively utilitarian dwellings replaced several older Victorian villas that used to dominate this block. Another (and better) example is an apartment building at 106-12 Noe Street. Built in 1922 as housing for nurses at Franklin Hospital across the street, this building is likely the most highly developed example of the Mediterranean style in Duboce Triangle (See Figure 63).

Art Deco/Streamline Moderne (1925 to 1940)

The Art Deco and Streamline Moderne styles are both descended from European aesthetic movements that emerged in the mid-1920s. The Art Deco style saw its genesis at the 1925 *Exposition des Arts Decoratifs* in Paris. Furniture, artwork, and architecture showcased at this exposition embodied the influences of ancient Egypt and the ziggurat-building cultures of the Middle East, including Assyria, Babylon, and pre-Islamic Persia. The Art Deco style soon crossed the Atlantic, where it took off in the major cities of the U.S. In California, the Art Deco style was heavily influenced by Meso-American architecture of the Aztec and Mayan empires. Robert Stacy-Judd of Los Angeles and Timothy Pflueger of San Francisco wholly embraced pre-Columbian Mexican architecture and pioneered a regional variant later called the "Mayan Deco" style. The style dominated San Francisco during the late 1920s and the 1930s, with such landmarks as Timothy Pflueger's Medical-Dental Building at 450 Sutter Street (1929) and the San Francisco VA Medical Center at Fort Miley (1934).

The Streamline Moderne style represents an evolution of the Art Deco style toward a more machine-based aesthetic. Emerging toward the end of the 1930s, the Streamline Moderne style was heavily influenced by contemporary industrial designers such as Raymond Loewy, in particular the aerodynamic vocabulary of airplanes, ocean liners, and even everyday consumer items such as radios and toasters. The dominant characteristics of the Streamline Moderne style include planar stucco surfaces embellished only by flat moldings called "speed lines"; curved canopies above doors and windows; ribbon, porthole, and glass block windows; and extruded aluminum detailing such as hand rails and balustrades. Good examples of the Streamline Moderne style in San Francisco include the Aquatic Park Bathhouse (1939) and the Henry Doelger Building at 320 Judah Street (1940).

Duboce Triangle has two buildings designed in the Art Deco style and only one designed in the Streamline Moderne style. Both of the Art Deco buildings: 178-80 Church Street and 230 Castro Street, are multi-family buildings. The former is a mixed-use building built in 1911 that was remodeled in the Art Deco style Ca. 1935 (See Figure 71) and the latter is an apartment building constructed in 1937 (See Figure 68). The sole Streamline Moderne building in the neighborhood is 3633-35 16th Street, a Victorian-era dwelling remodeled Ca. 1935.

Minimal Traditional (1935 to 1955)

The Minimal Traditional style is a catch-all term that describes buildings that incorporate aspects of traditional American residential design along with a modernist preference for minimal ornamentation. Emerging during the depths of the Depression, sources of inspiration for the Minimal Traditional style include the Colonial Revival style of the 1910s and various Period Revival styles of the 1920s. This backwards-looking tendency was perhaps part of the Zeitgeist of Depression-era American culture, but it did not preclude the use of contemporary building methods and materials combined with a predilection toward minimal ornament and modernist devices such as wrap-around windows. In San Francisco, Minimal Traditional buildings prevail in semi-suburban tract house developments in the Sunset and Parkside districts, and all-new subdivisions such as Miraloma Park, Lakeside, and Merced Manor. Typical characteristics of the style include asymmetrical massing (split levels were common in some neighborhoods) with hipped roofs, wrap-around corner windows, lapped wood siding or brick cladding, wood windows divided into bands by horizontal muntins, and scalloped wood trim at the attic level.

Duboce Triangle only has a handful of Minimal Traditional-style buildings, including six flats constructed as infill development during the late 1930s and early 1940s. Examples include a group of four flats at 201-03, 207-09, and 213-15 Noe Street, and 2179-83 15th Street (built 1941-42) that were built on the site of a contractor's storage yard (See Figure 79) and a pair of flats with a very similar design at 145-47 and 151-53 Sanchez Street (built 1940) (See Figure 80).

Contemporary (1955 to Present)

The Contemporary category encompasses everything built in Duboce Triangle between the end of World War II and the present day. This category, which includes roughly 30 properties, is a grab bag, including everything from high-style, architect-designed modernist architecture to speculative commercial buildings designed and built by untutored contractors. As explained above, Duboce Triangle was essentially built out by the end of World War II, meaning that post-war buildings typically replaced an older building. As a declining neighborhood throughout much of this period, there was essentially no impetus for architect-designed buildings in the neighborhood apart from SFFD Fire Station No. 6, which was designed by Spencer & Ambrose and constructed in 1948 as part of a citywide bond issue to improve fire protection in the neighborhoods (See Figure 82). Virtually everything else falls into the category of "Contractor Modern," a catch-all for inexpensive buildings designed and constructed by contractors without the contribution of an architect or other design professional. Although not numerous, Contractor Modern buildings are sprinkled throughout the neighborhood, especially in the neighborhood's commercial district on Church Street, as well as several residential properties built on Castro Street during the 1950s and 1960s. Nearly all are designed in a utilitarian vocabulary and built of inexpensive materials. Sadly, most also detract from their environment. In recent years, several higher-quality modernist buildings have gone up along Market Street and intersecting streets in Duboce Triangle. However, these were all built after the end of the period of study for this historic context statement.

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C. Registration Requirements

The three main registration programs available in San Francisco include the National Register of Historic Places, the California Register of Historical Resources, and Article 10 of the San Francisco Planning Code. Properties can be registered in any one of these national, state, and local inventories, although properties formally listed in the National Register of Historic Places and/or Article 10 of the Planning Code are automatically listed in the California Register of Historical Places. All three programs use similar eligibility criteria and integrity standards, although there are some subtle differences. All three registers are described in some detail below, as well as lists of any properties in Duboce Triangle that are included in these registers.

National Register of Historic Places

The National Register of Historic Places (National Register) is the nation's comprehensive inventory of historic properties. Administered by the National Park Service, the National Register includes buildings, structures, sites, objects, and districts that possess historical, architectural, engineering, archaeological, or cultural significance at the national, state, or local level. Typically, any property over 50 years of age may be eligible for listing in the National Register if it meets any one of the four eligibility criteria *and* if it retains integrity. A resource under 50 years of age may be eligible if it can be demonstrated that it is of "exceptional importance" or if it is a contributor to a National Register 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 eligibility criteria 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 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 property can be eligible at the national, state, or local level of significance if it is important to American history, architecture, archaeology, engineering, and/or culture. In addition to meeting at least one of the four eligibility criteria, a property must retain integrity, meaning that it must have the ability to convey its significance through the retention of the majority of seven aspects that, in various combinations, define integrity. These aspects are: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association.

There are no National Register properties in Duboce Triangle.

California Register of Historical Resources

The California Register of Historical Resources (California Register) is an authoritative guide to significant architectural, archaeological, and historical resources in the State of California. Properties can be listed in the California Register through a number of methods. State Historical Landmarks and National Register-eligible properties (both listed and formally determined eligible) are automatically listed. Also listed are State Historical Landmarks numbered 770 or above, Points of Historical Interest recommended for listing by the State Historical Resources Commission, properties identified in cultural resource surveys with California Historical Resource Status Codes of 1 to 5, and resources designated as local landmarks by city or county ordinances that use National Register criteria. Properties can also be nominated to the California Register by local governments, organizations, or private citizens. California Register evaluation criteria are closely based on National Register criteria, although there are some subtle differences. To qualify for listing in the California Register, a property must be 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.

Similar to the National Register, a property determined eligible for listing in the California Register must retain integrity. The California Register uses the same seven aspects to define integrity: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association.

Because the California Register by definition incorporates multiple national, state, and local historic resource inventories, there is no definitive list of California Register-listed properties. Because of this, it is not known how many California Register properties there are in Duboce Triangle beyond those designated under Article 10 of the San Francisco Planning Code and contributors to the California Register Upper Market Commercial Historic District.

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Article 10 of the San Francisco Planning Code

According to Article 10 of the San Francisco Planning Code, a city landmark is "any structure, landscape feature, site or area having historic, architectural, archaeological, cultural or aesthetic significance in the history of San Francisco, the State of California or the nation."[149] Similarly, a "historic district refers to any area containing a significant concentration of structures, landscape features, sites or objects having historic, architectural, archaeological, cultural or aesthetic significance which are contextually united."[150] San Francisco presently has 288 individual city landmarks and 15 historic districts. Initiation of a city landmark or a historic district can be made through one of three ways: a motion made by a member of the Board of Supervisors; a resolution of intention by the Planning Commission, Art Commission, or Historic Preservation Commission; or an application submitted by the owner(s) of the property or their authorized agent(s). Individual properties initiated for designation as city landmarks under Article 10 must meet at least one of the following criteria *and* retain integrity:

- Properties significant for their association with historic events, including the city's social and cultural history;
- Properties significant for their association with a person or group important to the history of the city, state, or country;
- Properties significant for their architecture or design;
- Properties that are valued as visual landmarks, or that have special character or meaning to the city and its residents;
- Collections of properties or features that are linked by history, plan, aesthetics or physical development.

There are four properties in Duboce Triangle that are city landmarks:

- Saint Francis Lutheran Church at 152 Church Street (Landmark No. 39),
- José Theater/Names Project Building at 2362 Market Street (Landmark No. 241),
- Swedish American Hall at 2168-74 Market Street,
- Benedict-Gieling House at 22 Beaver Street (Landmark No. 284).

D. Integrity Thresholds

Properties potentially eligible for listing in the National Register, California Register, or for designation as a city landmark or historic district contributor under Article 10 of the San Francisco Planning Code *must* retain sufficient historical integrity. Integrity is defined by the California Register as "the authenticity of an historical resource's physical identity evidenced by the survival of characteristics that existed during the resource's period of significance."[151] The National Register, California Register, and Article 10 each recognize seven such characteristics, or "aspects," that collectively define integrity: location, design,

[149] San Francisco Planning Department, *Preservation Bulletin No. 5: "Landmark and Historic District Designation Procedures"* (San Francisco: rev. ed., 2001), 1.
[150] *Preservation Bulletin No. 5*, 1.
[151] Department of Parks and Recreation, Office of Historic Preservation, *Technical Assistance Series #6 "California Register and National Register: A Comparison"* (Sacramento: 2001), 2.

setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. A property does not have to retain all seven aspects but it should retain a majority of them. *National Register Bulletin 15* provides in-depth definitions of each of the aspects:

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

There are two slight differences between the California Register and the National Register in regard to integrity. In some circumstances a property that is ineligible for the National Register due to loss of integrity may be eligible for the California Register if it has the potential to "yield significant scientific or historical information or specific data."[152] The California Register is also somewhat more lenient in regard to the inclusion of buildings that are less than 50 years old or buildings or structures that have been moved, especially if they were moved in order to save them from demolition.[153]

The aspects of integrity that are most important for a property to retain depend in large part on the criteria under which the property is eligible. For example, a property eligible under National Register Criterion C or California Register Criterion 3 (Design/Construction) should at a minimum retain the aspects of design, materials, and workmanship. Similarly, properties eligible for listing under National Register Criterion B or California Register Criterion 2 (Persons) and/or National Register Criterion A or California Register Criterion 1 (Events) should retain integrity of design, materials, and workmanship, but also the aspects of association and feeling from the period in which a particular person occupied a property or when a certain event happened there.

The degree of integrity that a property should retain also depends on the property type. As an informal rule, residential properties should retain a higher degree of integrity than either commercial or industrial properties. This is because in the course of their lifespan commercial properties often undergo incremental changes to accommodate new tenants or changes in use. Similarly, industrial properties are commonly modified in response to changes in technology and/or production methods. In contrast,

[152] Department of Parks and Recreation, 6.

[153] Properties less than 50 years old can be listed in the National Register only if they can be demonstrated to be of "exceptional significance" under Criterion Consideration G.

residential properties typically do not undergo such drastic changes because their essential use typically does not change. Residential properties are also almost always smaller than commercial or industrial properties and extensive alterations may disproportionately impact them. Similarly, civic and religious properties should be held to a higher standard because of their symbolic importance and visual prominence in most communities.

Some types of alterations affect the integrity of a property more than others. Alterations to primary façades are generally more harmful than alterations to a less-visible rear or side elevation. Other types of alterations that can disproportionately compromise a property's integrity include difficult-to-reverse actions such as stripping finish materials or ornamental detailing, concealing a primary façade behind an addition or incompatible materials, significantly changing a building's fenestration pattern, or altering its roofline or massing. In contrast, alterations that may be less harmful to a property's integrity include replacing windows within the existing openings, constructing a horizontal addition on a rear elevation, building a vertical addition that is set back from the primary façade, or adding a limited number of new windows to a rear or side elevation.

An evaluation of integrity should also include some basis of comparison. For example, what is the overall level of integrity for a particular property type within the community? If most remaining commercial buildings in a given neighborhood have been significantly altered, a property that has undergone substantial but still fewer alterations than its neighbors may still qualify if it is the best remaining example.

Minimal Integrity Thresholds for Properties

Presented below is a list of integrity thresholds that a property should retain in order to qualify for listing in the National Register, the California Register, or under Article 10 of the Planning Code:

- Retains historical form and roofline, especially the street façade. Properties that have gained additional stories after the period of significance general do not qualify for listing.
- Retains the majority of its historical window and doors in their original pattern.
- Retains its historical exterior cladding, such as concrete, wood, stucco, plywood, metal, etc. The cladding may have been replaced but it ought to match what was used when the property achieved significance. This can require a judgment call if no permits record any changes, but certain building types and styles within a defined geographical area typically use a narrow range of materials. Historic photographs, if available, can be of assistance in making this determination.
- Retains at least some of its historical ornament (if any), especially door and window casings, porches and vestibules, friezes and cornices, pilasters and columns, etc. The entire or partial replacement of storefronts and porches is a common alteration, but the replacement should resemble as closely as possible what existed during the period of significance.
- Replacement of doors and windows is generally acceptable as long as they conform to the original pattern and size of the original openings. A comparison of the property with comparable properties can assist in making this determination.

- Additions may be acceptable as long as the essential character of the historic building is preserved. In particular, rear additions, or additions built on other non-character-defining elevations that respect the scale of the building are acceptable. Some additions that do not fit within this guideline, in particular buildings that have been raised to receive a new ground floor, may have gained significance in their own right if executed during the period of significance. Vertical additions, unless they can be set back or concealed from view of the street, are generally discouraged.
- Setting is another important part of a property's character-defining features. Setting includes things like yards and landscaping, outbuildings, setbacks, as well as neighboring properties. In general, for properties to be eligible for listing in the National Register they should not have been moved from their original site. The California Register allows moved properties to be registered if they were moved to ensure their protection.

In general, integrity levels in Duboce Triangle vary widely, with integrity levels generally much higher in the central and western parts of the neighborhood than in the eastern part of the neighborhood – particularly close to Market Street. As a predominantly residential neighborhood, higher integrity levels should be expected for potential individual landmarks and historic districts. In regard to the neighborhood as a whole, there are relatively few buildings built after 1930, which contributes to the overall cohesiveness of the neighborhood in terms of urban form. On the other hand, many older Victorian and Edwardian buildings were remodeled in the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s. These remodels were often completed in a perfunctory, utilitarian mode – often stripping all of the original wood detailing and applying a uniform coat of stucco over the wood siding. Although many buildings were restored in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, integrity issues are present in many parts of the neighborhood, especially in the eastern part of the neighborhood.

E. Recommendations

As the previous sections document, Duboce Triangle contains a wealth of individually significant properties and also several concentrations of buildings reflective of the neighborhood's evolution. In order to preserve the neighborhood's character, we recommend working with individual property owners and the San Francisco Historic Preservation Commission to designate any number of individual city landmark candidates identified below, as well expanding the existing California Register-eligible Duboce Triangle Historic District. Finally, the author has identified five potential local landmark districts within the boundaries of Duboce Triangle that merit designation.

Registration can take place at the local, state, or national level. Local registration under Article 10 of the San Francisco Planning Code provides the most protection and ensures that any demolitions or significant exterior alterations must be reviewed by Planning Department staff and/or the Historic Preservation Commission. As mentioned in the previous chapter, there are only four properties in Duboce Triangle that are currently designated city landmarks, and two of these – the José Theater/Names Project Building and the Swedish American Hall – are located on Market Street outside the survey area boundaries. This leaves just two city landmarks within the survey area: St. Francis Lutheran Church at 152 Church Street and the Benedict-Gieling House at 22 Beaver Street. There are no local historic districts in Duboce Triangle, although the neighborhood borders the locally designated Duboce Park Landmark District, which was approved in July 2013 as San Francisco's thirteenth historic

district. Unless initiated by the Historic Preservation Commission (HPC) or the Board of Supervisors, property owner approval is required to designate a city landmark. Similarly, the approval of the majority of property owners is required before a local landmark district can be designated.

Potential City Landmark Candidates

Presented below is a list of 37 potential city landmark candidates in Duboce Park. The featured properties are exclusively residential, although there are several mixed-use buildings. The list includes a broad range of periods and styles, although it is weighted toward Victorian-era single-family dwellings, flats, and apartment buildings. Examples were chosen on the basis of overall architectural quality, especially well-preserved and/or unusually fine specimens of a particular type or style. Victorian-era properties within the western half of Duboce Triangle dominate the list because most of the higher-quality examples were built between 1870 and 1890 within the boundaries of the Hillside Homestead Association. Further research and analysis will be required to confirm the eligibility of any property in the following list. In addition, unless initiated by the San Francisco Historic Preservation Commission, owner approval will be required to designate any of them. Photographs of all 37 properties follow on pages 130-49.

- San Francisco Stick-Eastlake-style, two-unit flats at 772-74 14th Street, built 1888
- San Francisco Stick-Eastlake-style, two-unit flats at 776-78 14th Street, built Ca. 1885
- San Francisco Stick-Eastlake-style, six-unit apartment building at 888-98 14th Street, built Ca. 1890
- San Francisco Stick-Eastlake-style, three-unit apartment building at 951-55 14th Street, built Ca. 1885
- Italianate-style single-family dwelling at 963 14th Street, built Ca. 1880
- Queen Anne-style, three-unit flats at 2161-65 15th Street, built Ca. 1890
- San Francisco Stick-Eastlake/Swiss Chalet-style single-family dwelling at 2168 15th Street, built Ca. 1885
- Folk Victorian single-family dwelling at 2173 15th Street, built Ca. 1870
- Queen Anne/Classical Revival-style, two-unit flats at 2229-31 15th Street, built Ca. 1895
- Italianate-style, two-unit flats at 2253-55 15th Street, built Ca. 1885
- San Francisco Stick-Eastlake, two-unit flats at 2258-60 15th Street, built Ca. 1890
- English Period Revival-style, three-unit apartment building at 2272-76 15th Street, built 1904 and remodeled Ca. 1925
- San Francisco Stick-Eastlake/Neo Grec-style, single-family dwelling at 3651 16th Street, built Ca. 1885
- First Bay Region Tradition, two-unit flats at 3653-55 16th Street, built Ca. 1890.
- San Francisco Stick-Eastlake-style, two-unit flats at 3673-75 16th Street, built Ca. 1890

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- Queen Anne style, two-unit flats at 45-49 Beaver Street, built Ca. 1900
- Italianate two-unit flats at 160-62 Castro Street, built Ca. 1880.
- San Francisco Stick-Eastlake-style, two-family flats at 164-66 Castro Street, built Ca. 1885
- San Francisco Stick-Eastlake-style, single-family dwelling at 198 Castro Street, built Ca. 1880
- Italianate-style, single-family dwelling at 245 Castro Street, built Ca. 1875
- Queen Anne-style, single-family dwelling at 263 Castro Street, built Ca. 1900
- Queen Anne-style, single-family dwelling at 281 Castro Street, built Ca. 1890
- Italianate-style, single-family dwelling at 300 Castro Street, built Ca. 1880
- San Francisco Stick-Eastlake-style, two-family flats at 301-03 Castro Street, built Ca. 1890
- Queen Anne/Neo-Grec, three-unit flats at 477-81 Duboce Avenue, built Ca. 1895
- Mission Revival-style First Christian Church and Rectory at 583-85 Duboce Avenue, built 1906
- San Francisco Stick-Eastlake-style, two-family flats at 15-17 Henry Street, built 1889
- San Francisco Stick-Eastlake-style, three-unit flats at 19-23 Henry Street, built Ca. 1890
- Queen Anne-style, single-family dwelling at 73 Henry Street, built 1893
- Queen Anne-style, three-unit flats at 158-62 Henry Street, built 1908
- Queen Anne-style, six-unit apartment building at 191-97 Henry Street, built 1892
- San Francisco Stick-Eastlake-style, six-unit apartment building at 47 Noe Street, built 1891.
- Classical-Revival-style, eight-unit apartment building at 101-11 Noe Street, built Ca. 1895
- San Francisco Stick-Eastlake-style, nine-unit apartment building at 136-44 Noe Street, built Ca. 1885.
- Queen Anne-style, three-unit, mixed-use building at 147-49 Noe Street, built Ca. 1905
- San Francisco Stick-Eastlake-style, two-unit flats at 43-45 Sanchez Street, built Ca. 1890.
- Classical Revival/Art Nouveau-style, nine-unit apartment building at 81-93 Sanchez Street, built 1909
- Queen Anne-style, two-unit, mixed-use building at 95-97 Sanchez Street, built Ca. 1895

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Figure 105. 772-74 14th Street.

Figure 106. 776-78 14th Street.

Figure 107. 888-98 14th Street.

Figure 108. 951-55 14th Street.

Figure 109. 963 14th Street.

Figure 110. 2161-65 15th Street.

Figure 111. 2168 18th Street

Figure 112. 2173-75 15th Street.

Figure 113. 2229-31 15th Street.

Figure 114. 2253-55 15th Street.

Figure 115. 2258-60 15th Street.

Figure 116. Charles Strothoff House, 2272-76 15th Street.

Figure 117. 3673-75 16th Street.

Figure 118. 3651 16th Street.

Figure 119. 3653-55 16th Street.

Figure 120. 45-47 Beaver Street.

Figure 121. 160-62 Castro Street.

Figure 122. 164-66 Castro Street.

Figure 123. 198 Castro Street.

Figure 124. 245 Castro Street.

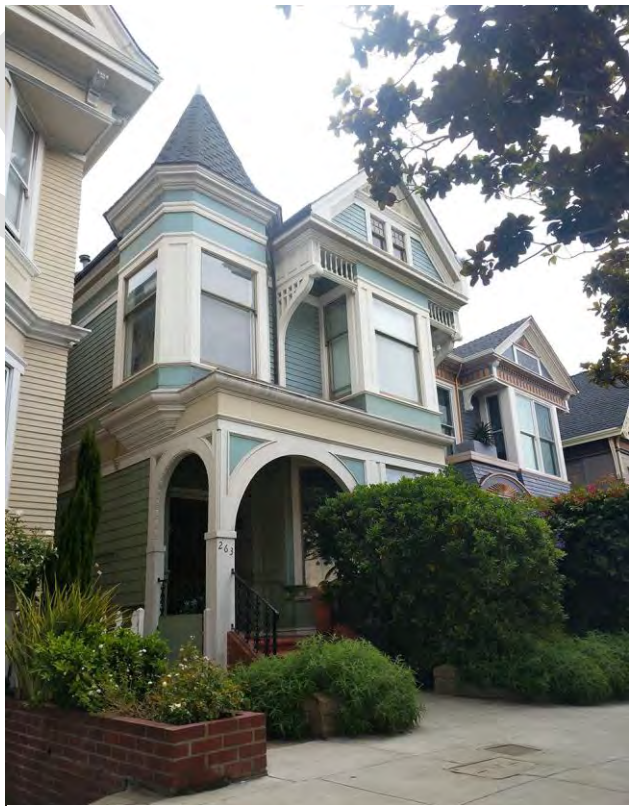

Figure 125. 263 Castro Street.

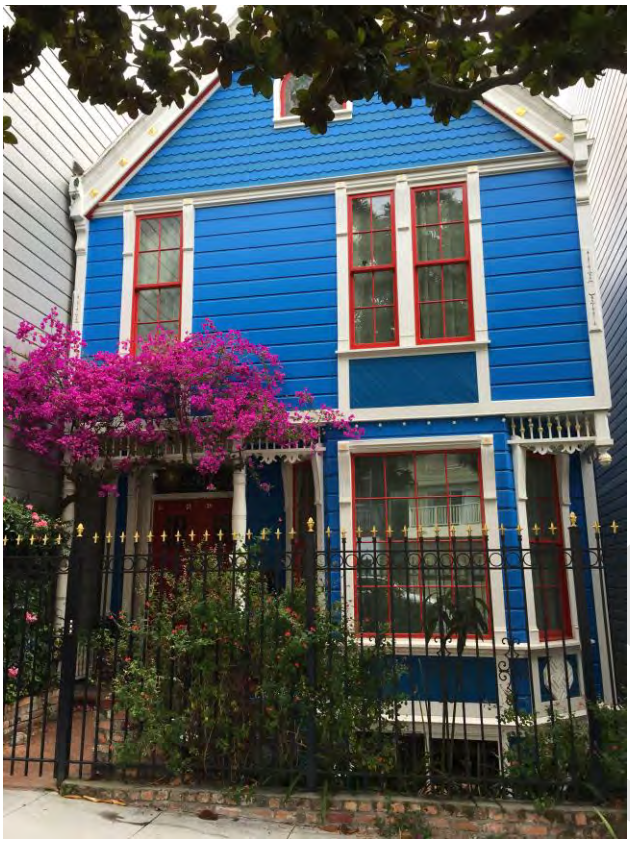

Figure 126. 281 Castro Street.

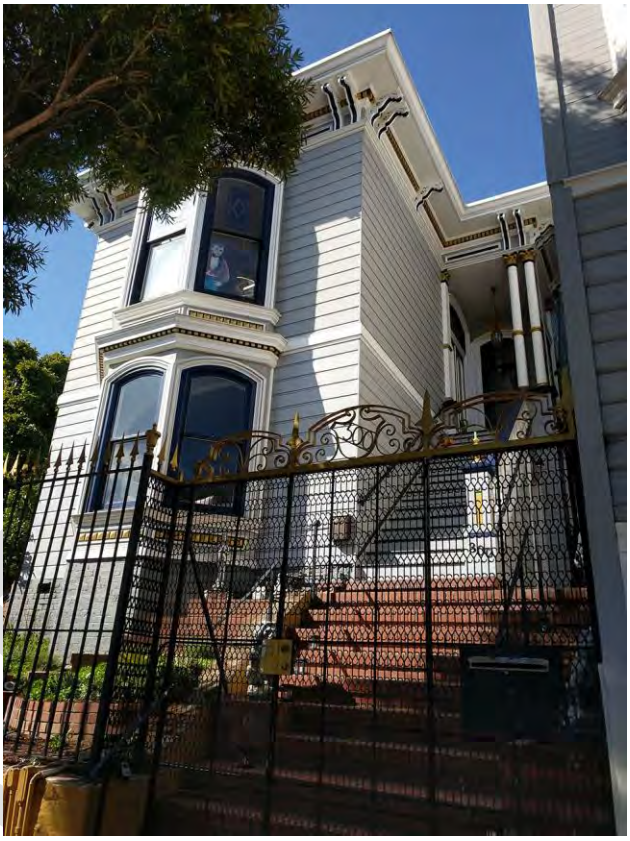

Figure 127. 300 Castro Street.

Figure 128. 301-03 Castro Street.

Figure 129. 477-81 Duboce Avenue.

Figure 130. First Christian Church, 583-85 Duboce Avenue.

Figure 131. 15-17 Henry Street.

Figure 132. 19-23 Henry Street.

Figure 133. 73 Henry Street.

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Figure 134. 158-62 Henry Street.

Figure 135. 191-97 Henry Street.

Figure 136. 47 Noe Street.

Figure 137. 101-11 Noe Street.

Figure 138. 136-44 Noe Street.

Figure 139. 147-49 Noe Street.

Figure 140. 45-47 Sanchez Street.

Figure 141. 81-93 Sanchez Street.

Figure 142. 95-97 Sanchez Street.

Potential Historic Districts

We identified five potential new local historic districts and the expansion of an existing California Register historic district in Duboce Triangle. They range in size from seven properties to well over two hundred. Most consist of very cohesive collections of related properties, but the largest, the Hillside Homestead Association Historic District, contains a much more varied building stock due to its size and its broad period of significance. All are characterized by a high level of integrity and comprise some of the city's finest Victorian and Edwardian building stock.

Our first recommendation is to expand the existing California Register-eligible Duboce Triangle Historic District, which was originally identified in the Planning Department's 2006-09 Market and Octavia Survey. As mentioned previously, this historic district encompasses the northeastern part of Duboce Triangle. Its irregular boundaries are encompassed by Duboce Avenue to the north, Church Street to the east, Market Street to the south (excluding the properties with frontage on Market Street), and Noe Street to the west **(Figure 143)**. The boundaries exclude several pockets of residential properties with lower levels of integrity and clusters of properties that were developed after the district's period of significance, which ends in 1935. The Market and Octavia Survey excluded the westernmost section of Duboce Triangle west of Noe Street because it was not part of the associated Market and Octavia Area Plan. Unfortunately, this left about forty percent of Duboce Triangle unsurveyed and without any layer of protection and/or recognition.

A primary recommendation of this report is to expand the boundaries of the California Register-eligible Duboce Triangle Historic District westward one block from Noe to Castro Street, including the first tier of properties on the west side of Castro Street. This expanded historic district would go as far south as the northern boundary of the Upper Market Street Commercial Historic District Extension and as far north as 14th Street. The district would exclude CPMC's Davies Campus and McKinley Elementary School, as well as the row of residential properties on the west side of Castro Street between Duboce Avenue and 14th Street because they are not contiguous with the rest of the proposed district. Nearly all of the area that we propose adding to the Duboce Triangle Historic District was part of a nineteenth-century subdivision called the Hillside Homestead Association. As mentioned earlier, in the years after the Civil War, it began to develop as an upper-middle-class enclave of Victorian villas. Although later development subsumed most of the landscaped villa lots, several of the villas themselves survive. In addition, the quality of the domestic architecture from the last quarter of the nineteenth century is very good within this area, especially along Beaver Street, Henry Street between Castro and Noe streets, and Noe Street between 14th and Beaver streets. In regard to architectural quality, the blocks west of Noe Street exceed the area east of Noe, which was mainly developed after 1900. We also recommend that the first tier of properties on the west side of Castro Street be included in this district expansion because this marks the approximate location of the 1852 Charter Line and the western boundary of the Mission Survey.

Finally, we recommend advancing the period of significance for the entire historic district to 1945, to encompass Depression-era and World War II-era infill construction. Thirteen years have elapsed since the California Register-eligible Duboce Triangle Historic District was adopted. Since then we have

learned more about how the pre-war defense build-up impacted neighborhoods like Duboce Triangle, and properties dating to the late 1930s and early 1940s are tangible reminders of this period.

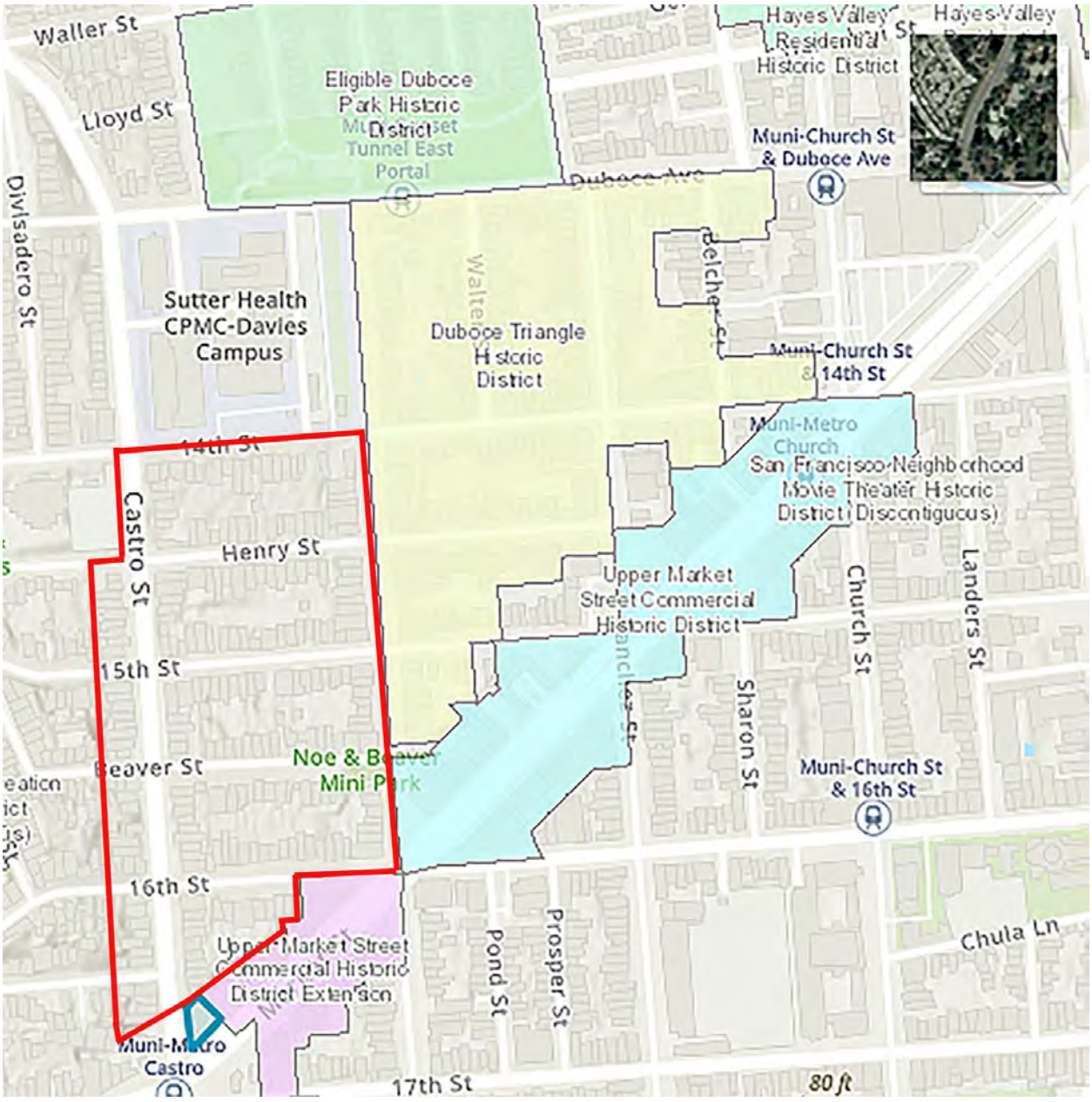

Figure 143. Map showing proposed addition to the California Register-eligible Duboce Triangle Historic District. Source: San Francisco Property Information Map; annotated by Christopher VerPlanck

As mentioned previously, local historic districts offer substantially more protection than California Register historic districts, because proposed demolitions and alterations to properties in local historic districts requires review by the Historic Preservation Commission. On the other hand, local historic districts are more difficult to establish because they require approval by the Historic Preservation Commission. Furthermore, a majority of property owners within the district must consent. Local historic districts also typically require more documentation than either California or National Register districts,

including detailed information on individual properties. Due to these factors, local historic districts are rarely approved. San Francisco's newest local landmark district, the Duboce Park Landmark District, was approved in 2013 – nearly a decade ago. The following list includes brief descriptions of five potential local landmark districts.

- ***S.A. Born Castro Street Historic District***: This district occupies the west side of Castro between Duboce Avenue and 14th Street, including 18, 22, 34, 42, 48, 52, 56, 60, 64, 68, 72, 74-76, 80 (non-contributor), 84-86, and 88-98 Castro Street. This district would also likely include several properties along the south side of Duboce Avenue between Castro and Divisadero streets and on the east side of Divisadero Street between Duboce Avenue and 14th Street. These properties are excluded from the potential historic district because they are outside the survey area boundaries. The properties inside the proposed district boundaries were developed between 1902 and 1907 by prominent merchant builder Stephen A. Born as part of a high-end residential development catering to doctors and administrators working at the German Hospital. The proposed S.A. Born Castro Street Historic District is characterized by its high-quality Classical Revival and Craftsman rowhouses – many with impressive clinker brick foundations and exterior stairs. The period of significance is 1902 to 1907. The approximate boundaries of the district are shown in **Figure 144**.
- ***Duboce Park Queen Anne/Classical Revival Rowhouse District*****:** This very small district encompasses four related Queen Anne/Classical Revival-style rowhouses at 557, 563, 569, and 573-75 Duboce Avenue. Built Ca. 1905 by the same (now unknown) builder, these rowhouses share a similar vocabulary embodying characteristics of the Queen Anne and Classical Revival styles. Because of their prominent location across from Duboce Park, this row is reminiscent of "Postcard Row" opposite Alamo Square. The period of significance is 1905 and the district's boundaries are shown in **Figure 145.** These four properties are contributors to the California Register-eligible Duboce Triangle Historic District.
- ***Fernando Nelson Fourteenth Street Historic District*****:** This small district encompasses a row of eight related Queen Anne-style single-family and mixed-use buildings at 851, 855, 859-61, 865, 871, 875, and 879 14th Street, as well as one matching cottage at 74-76 Henry Street. Built between 1902 and 1906 by prolific residential builder Fernando Nelson, this development presents an intact row of Queen Anne cottages, two of which were raised in the early part of the twentieth century to receive commercial storefronts. Although not individually spectacular, as a group the row is impressive in its uniformity and high level of integrity. The group also includes one cottage on Henry Street directly behind the others. The period of significance is 1902 to 1906 and the district's boundaries are shown in **Figure 146**. All nine properties are contributors to the California Register-eligible Duboce Triangle Historic District.
- ***Fourteenth and Walter Street Classical Revival Flats Historic District*****:** This medium-sized district comprises 42 Late Queen Anne and Classical Revival flats and apartment buildings constructed between 1900 and 1910. The irregular boundaries include both sides of 14th

Street between Sanchez and Walter streets and both sides of Walter Street from 14th Street northward to the middle of the block. This district encompasses one of the largest and best-preserved groups of early twentieth century flats in San Francisco. The northeast corner of Duboce Triangle was the last part of the neighborhood to develop, in part because it remained in larger unsubdivided parcels for longer than the rest of the neighborhood. As a result, this part of the neighborhood developed within a compressed time period. Furthermore, it developed as Duboce Park was evolving into a much denser residential area after 1900. Although the majority of the individual buildings in this district are visually unimpressive, as a whole their design, including their height, massing, setback, materials, and styling, are very consistent, giving the district a very cohesive urban feel. Unusual in San Francisco, this district is reminiscent of urban working-class neighborhoods in industrial cities of the Northeast. Overall integrity levels are quite high, with only four non-contributors. The period of significance is 1900 to 1910 and the boundaries are depicted in **Figure 146**. Nearly all of the 42 properties are contributors to the California Register-eligible Duboce Triangle Historic District.

- ***Hillside Homestead Association Historic District*:** By far the largest of the five potential local landmark districts proposed in this report is the Hillside Homestead Association Historic District. This district comprises approximately 202 residential and mixed-use properties in the western third of Duboce Triangle. The boundaries include 14th Street to the north, Noe Street to the east, Market Street to the south (not including properties that face Market Street), and Castro Street to the west. This district includes nearly everything that was surveyed as part of this project and it forms the majority of the area we recommend for inclusion in the expanded California Register-eligible Duboce Triangle Historic District.

  As mentioned previously, the Hillside Homestead Association evolved into a middle-class to upper-middle-class residential district of suburban villas during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. As such, this part of Duboce Triangle has a collection of high-quality and well-preserved Victorian and Edwardian-era housing stock unmatched in most of the city. However, unlike the other four districts described above, the Hillside Homestead Association Historic District includes several dozen properties built after 1910, including several 1910s and 1920s-era flats built as infill construction on the sites of post-Civil War Victorian villas. As a result, the period of significance is broader than the other districts, spanning from 1870 to1926. The boundaries of the potential historic district are depicted in **Figure 147**.

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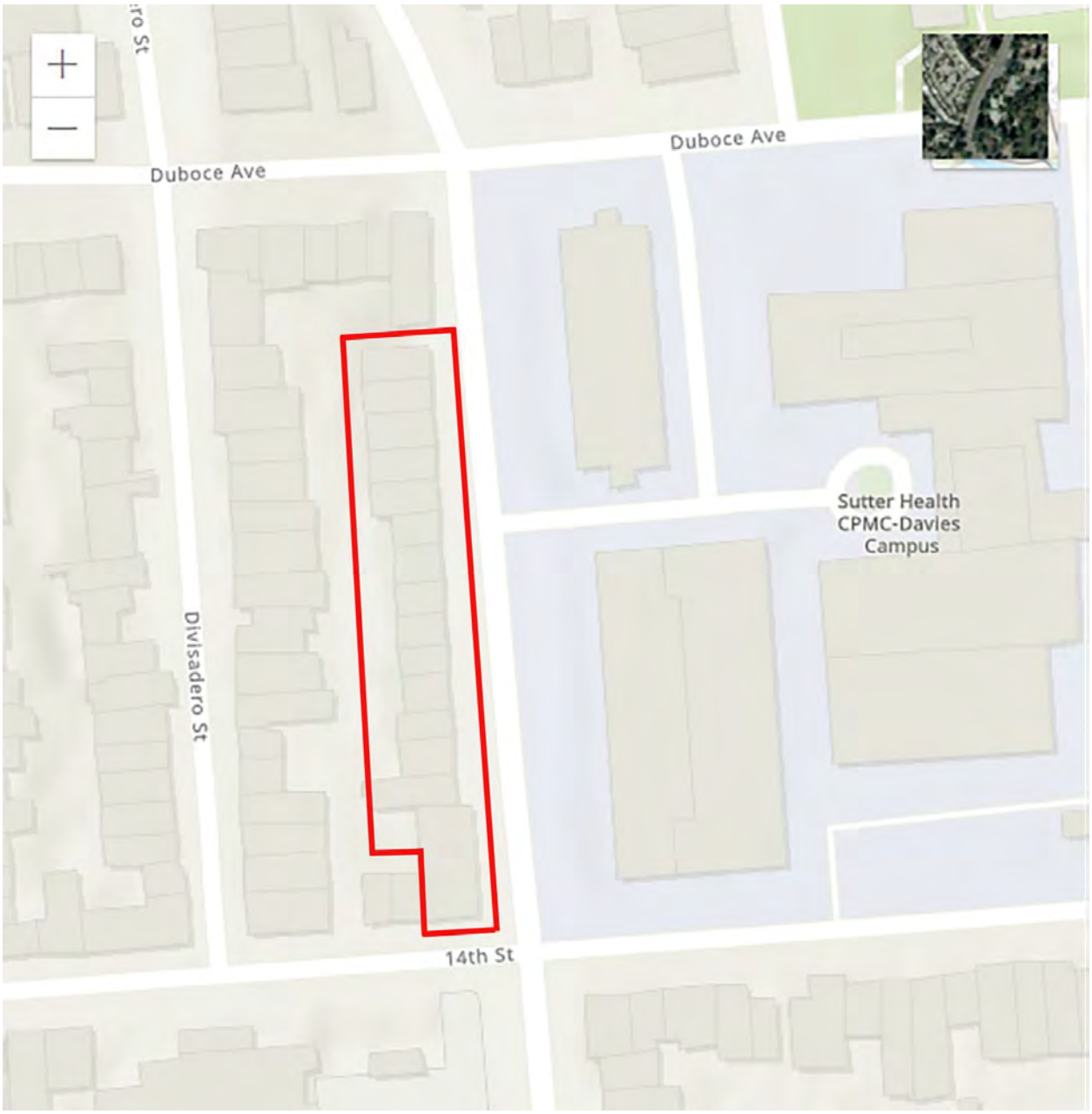

Figure 144. Boundaries of proposed S.A. Born Castro Street Historic District.
Source: San Francisco Property Information Map; annotated by Christopher VerPlanck

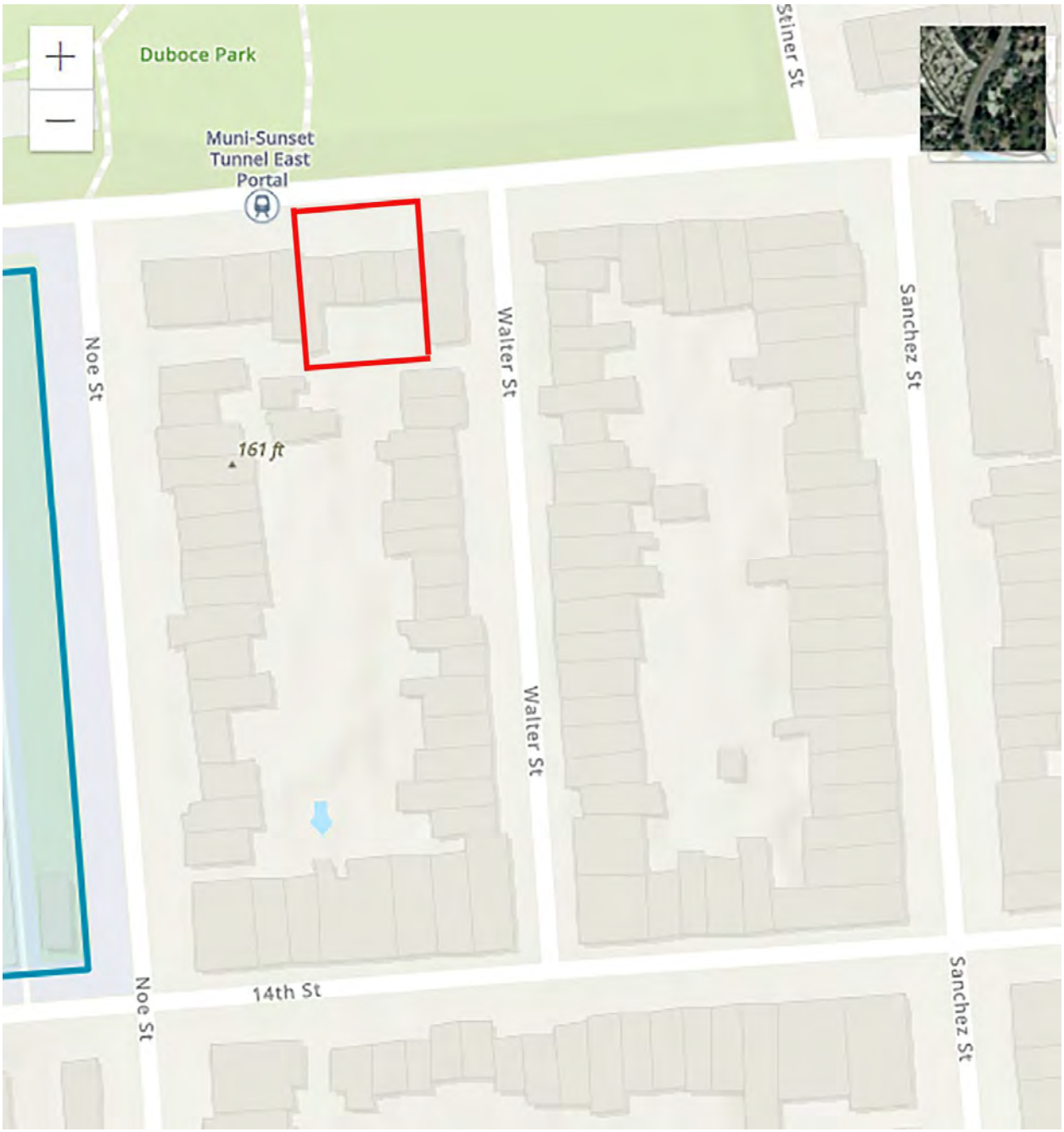

Figure 145. Boundaries of proposed Duboce Park Queen Anne/Classical Revival Rowhouse Historic District.
Source: San Francisco Property Information Map; annotated by Christopher VerPlanck

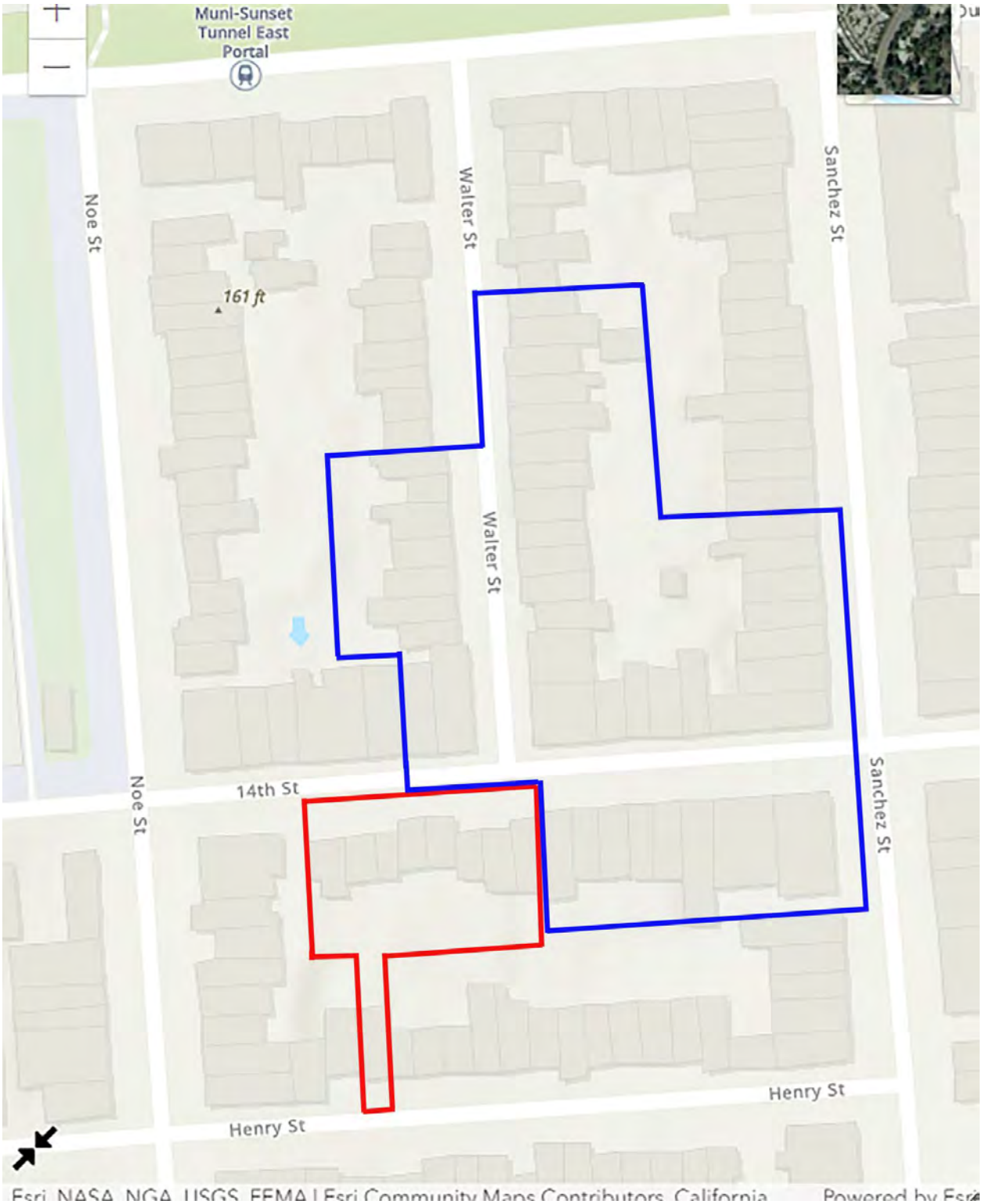

Figure 146. Boundaries of proposed Fernando Nelson Fourteenth Street Historic District (in red) and the proposed Fourteenth and Walter Street Classical Revival Flats Historic District (in blue).
Source: San Francisco Property Information Map; annotated by Christopher VerPlanck

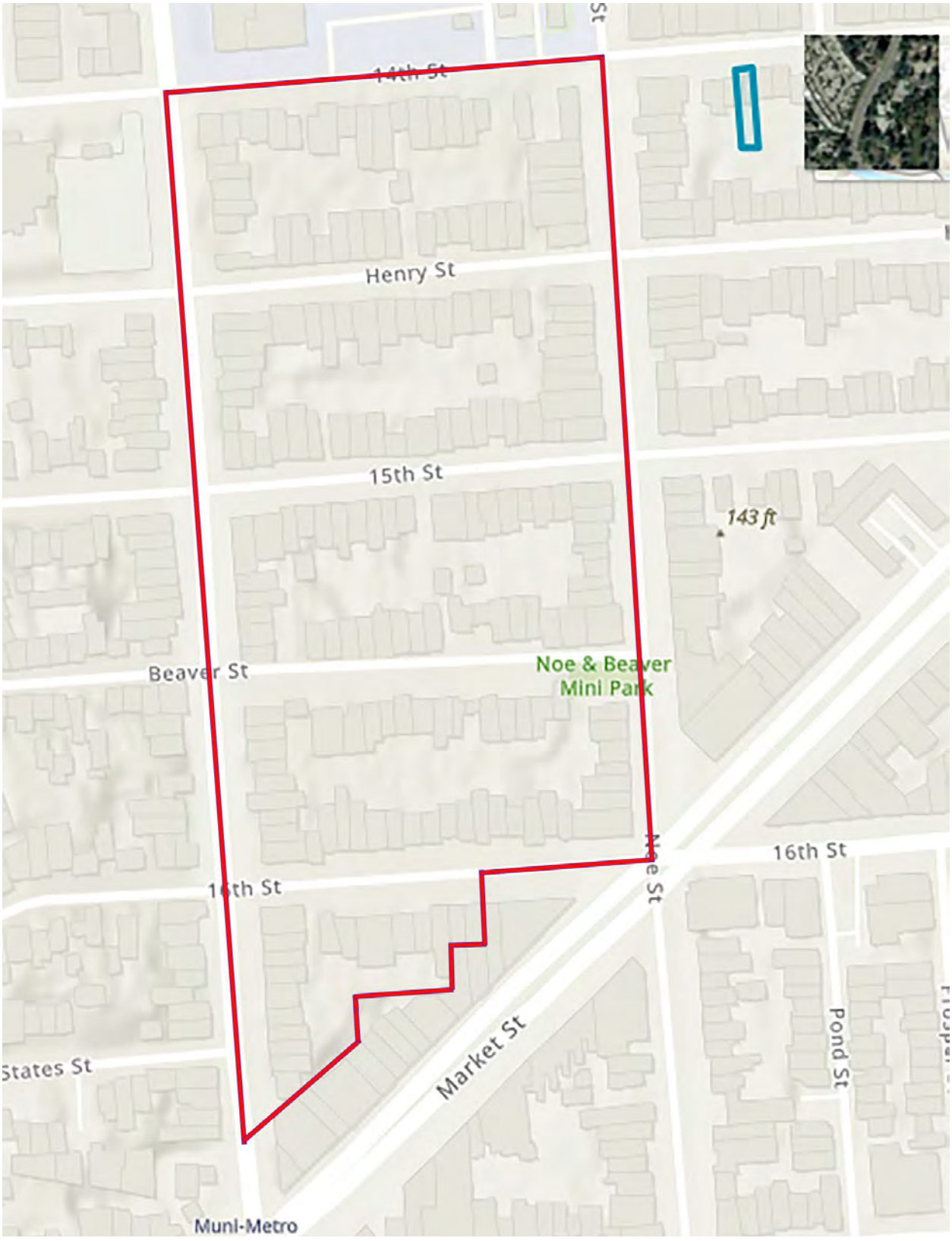

Figure 147. Boundaries of proposed Hillside Homestead Association Historic District.
Source: San Francisco Property Information Map; annotated by Christopher VerPlanck

V. CONCLUSION

Duboce Triangle is an old San Francisco neighborhood with a long and varied history. Laid out in the 1850s as part of the greater Mission district, the area remained a wild expanse of scrub-covered dunes and small truck farms until 1868, when William Hollis founded the Hillside Homestead Association in the area bounded by 15th, Noe, 16th, and Castro streets. During the 1870s and early 1880s, the unnamed area began to develop as an exurban neighborhood of large-lot Victorian villas. The opening of the Castro Cable Car line in the 1880s unleashed a wave of residential construction by mom and pop contractors building one or more speculative rowhouses and the occasional multi-family building. Duboce Triangle remained a moderately populated, middle-class neighborhood until the early 1890s, when builders began constructing much denser housing, including flats and apartment buildings. Duboce Triangle began around this time to attract Scandinavian and Finnish immigrants, who put their stamp on the area for a generation. Duboce Triangle was largely built-out by 1920, although scattered infill continued up until the 1960s. After the opening of the Twin Peaks Tunnel in 1918 and the Sunset Tunnel in 1926, the Scandinavians began moving to the West of Twin Peaks district, although their churches and businesses remained in Duboce Triangle for another generation. During World War II, speculators began buying buildings from the departing Scandinavians and carved them up into tiny apartments for defense workers. Overcrowding and neglect caused Duboce Triangle to rapidly decline during the 1950s and 1960s, until local and federal government intervention, combined with private capital and sweat equity, led to the gradual rehabilitation of much of the neighborhood's housing stock during the 1970s and 1980s. During this time, Duboce Triangle became associated, along with the nearby Castro district, as the primary center of Gay life, culture, and commerce in San Francisco, and by extension, the nation.

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