MISSION DOLORES NEIGHBORHOOD HISTORIC CONTEXT STATEMENT

PREPARED FOR MISSION DOLORES NEIGHBORHOOD ASSOCIATION
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA
NOVEMBER 2021

PREPARED BY:
ROLAND & NAWI ASSOCIATES 2007
CAREY & COMPANY 2009
CONSULTANTS KATHERINE PETRIN & SHAYNE WATSON 2016
SAN FRANCISCO PLANNING REVISIONS 2021
Table of Contents
Introduction........................................................................................................................................... 4
Project History ......................................................................................................................................... 5
Definition of Survey Area ........................................................................................................................ 9
Part I: Methodology ............................................................................................................................ 10
Field Methodology .............................................................................................................................. 10
Research Methodology ....................................................................................................................... 11
Evaluation Methodology ..................................................................................................................... 11
Part II: Historic Context ...................................................................................................................... 17
Natural Environment .......................................................................................................................... 17
Pre-Historic Settlement (Pre-1776).................................................................................................... 18
Spanish Exploration and Settlement of Alta California (1776-1834)................................................. 19
  Mission Development and American Indians............................................................................... 21
  Mission San Francisco de Asís ......................................................................................................... 22
  Construction and Expansion of Mission Dolores ........................................................................ 23
Mission Dolores Neighborhood during Mexican Rule (1821-1848).............................................. 25
Early American Period (1848-1864)............................................................................................... 27
  Dispossession of Native American Land .................................................................................... 29
  Urbanization of former Mission Dolores ................................................................................... 30
Early Development Period (1864-1906) ......................................................................................... 33
  Jews in San Francisco .................................................................................................................. 37
  Early Development: Single Family Residential ....................................................................... 39
  Mission Dolores Park .................................................................................................................... 41
1906 Earthquake and Reconstruction (1906-1915)......................................................................... 47
Modern Development of Mission Dolores Neighborhood (1916-1943)........................................ 62
Postwar Era (1943-1965) .................................................................................................................. 67
1965 to the Present ............................................................................................................................ 69
Part III: Property Types ..................................................................................................................... 73
Part IV: Survey Findings .................................................................................................................... 80
  Evaluative Framework for Individual Properties and Historic Districts ..................................... 81
Individually Eligible Properties ........................................................................................................ 86
Eligible Districts ..................................................................................................................................... 87
Ongoing Efforts and Recommendations ......................................................................................... 89
Bibliography ....................................................................................................................................... 94
Cover Image: Mission Dolores, circa 1903.
Source: Open SF History/wnp15.832.jpg.
(Open SF History Historical Images of San Francisco,
A Program of the Western Neighborhoods Project)
INTRODUCTION

The Mission Dolores Neighborhood Context Statement and Neighborhood Survey are a result of a series of draft efforts by consultants Roland-Nawi Associates (2007), Carey & Co. (2009), and Katherine Petrin and Shayne Watson (2014-2015). The current version of this document incorporates studies of the surrounding area by the Planning Department, updates content of the document based on current Department policies and finalizes previous consultant studies. The City within a City: Historic Context Statement for San Francisco’s Mission District, adopted 2007, and the Mission Action Plan (MAP2020), adopted 2017, serve as the basis of the Department’s historical understanding of the larger Mission area. Further, a Latinx citywide historic cultural statement is in final draft status as of 2021. The Department references these documents throughout to provide greater cultural context and comprehension.

The San Francisco Planning Department’s work is guided by Resolution No. 20738, adopted by the San Francisco Planning Commission on June 11, 2020, centering the Planning Department’s work program and resource allocation on racial and social equity. On July 15, 2020, the San Francisco Historic Preservation Commission adopted Resolution No. 1127 centering Preservation Planning on racial and social equity. In response to the adoption of these resolutions, revisions were made to the draft context completed by Katherine Petrin and Shayne Watson in 2016 to further address the American Indian community and experience. This context statement is intended to address the development of the Mission system in San Francisco and focuses on identifying properties associated with early residential development and post-earthquake construction in the neighborhood occurring between 1864-1906. The Department acknowledges that the Mission system and the colonization of the area within the Mission Dolores neighborhood is a source of trauma for the American Indian community. As of December 2021, the Department is working with tribal consultants on developing an American Indian Historic Context Statement as part of future citywide cultural resource survey efforts.

The Mission Dolores neighborhood is a sub-area of the larger Mission District in the City of San Francisco. It is generally bounded by Valencia Street on the east, Sanchez Street and Church Street on the west, 20th Street on the south, and Market Street and the Central Freeway on the north. Also included is the west side of Church Street between 18th Street and 20th Street and the south side of 20th Street between Church Street and Dolores Street. The Mission Dolores neighborhood shares much in common with the larger Mission District in terms of geography, culture, building typologies, and pre-World War II demographics. It is distinguished, however, by its close association with Mission San Francisco de Asís, known as Mission Dolores, San Francisco City Landmark #1. Parts of the Mission Dolores neighborhood extend over areas that were formerly part of the Mission Dolores complex (See Figure 1).

2 San Francisco has 37 defined neighborhoods that were established in the 1990s when the Board of Supervisors passed legislation establishing the Department’s required neighborhood notification requirements for projects. Many sub-neighborhoods exist within these larger defined neighborhoods.
Project History

This final product is a culmination of work by the Department and preservation consultants in collaboration with the Mission Dolores Neighborhood Association. Separately, through several Department-led survey efforts, many individual resources and historic districts have been identified within and in close proximity to the Mission Dolores neighborhood, including those that are associated with the theme of post-1906 reconstruction of the area located east of Dolores Street (the 1906 Fireline). The Market & Octavia Better Neighborhoods Plan historic resource survey, completed in 2008, includes the portion of the Mission Dolores neighborhood between Sanchez and Dolores Streets and north of 17th Street and Chula Lane. The Planning Department also completed the Inner Mission North historic resource survey in 2010, which includes identification of all potential historic resources within the portion of the Mission Dolores neighborhood east of Dolores Street (See Figure 2 for map of these survey areas). Several blocks west of Dolores Street and south of Chula Lane/17th Street had not been comprehensively surveyed and recorded within the Mission Dolores neighborhood prior to the initiation of this project. Below is a timeline of this project’s history since its initiation:

- In 2009, the Mission Dolores Neighborhood Association (MDNA) engaged Carey & Company to produce a comprehensive survey of the Mission Dolores neighborhood, which consisted of five broad tasks:


  2. Survey previously undocumented structures built before 1964 within the Mission Dolores neighborhood south of 17th Street/Chula Lane and west of Dolores Street (MDNA Survey Area) and prepare draft Department of Parks and Recreation (DPR) Primary Record (523A) forms for each structure.
3. Prepare DPR Building, Structure, and Object (523B) Forms for buildings determined to be individually eligible for the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) or the California Register of Historical Resources (CRHR) within the MDNA Survey Area.

4. Review existing documentation, including the survey work conducted in the Mission Dolores neighborhood as part of the Planning Department’s Market & Octavia historic resource survey.

5. Prepare a draft DPR District Form (523D) for the Mission Dolores Neighborhood 1906 Fire Survivors and Reconstruction Historic District, which includes portions of the Mission Dolores neighborhood west of Dolores Street.

Due to the completion of the Inner Mission North Survey in 2010, Carey & Co. did not re-survey or re-evaluate properties east of Dolores Street, except for institutions or community uses located on the east side of Dolores Street between Market Street and 20th Street that may have a strong thematic connection to properties on the west side of Dolores Street, as described in the historic context statement. The findings of the survey conducted by Carey & Co. identified a neighborhood-wide district with boundaries consistent with the identified survey area, excluding properties fronting onto the east side of Dolores Street (see Figure 2.A). The “Mission Dolores Neighborhood 1906 Fire Survivors and Reconstruction Historic District” is described as “encapsulating the settlement and development of San Francisco from 1791 to 1918.”

- In 2010, the San Francisco Historic Preservation Commission adopted the draft Mission Dolores Context Statement and Neighborhood Survey with modifications as produced by Carey & Company. In order to finalize the Mission Dolores Neighborhood Survey as adopted with modifications, the commission recommended further refinements to the survey and context statement including revisions to address any comments of the staff of the California State Office of Historic Preservation.

- In 2013, the California State Office of Historic Preservation provided comments and made the decision not to enter the Mission Dolores Neighborhood Survey findings from 2010 into the State Historic Resources Inventory.

- In 2014, the Mission Dolores Neighborhood Association (MDNA) engaged a project team (architectural historians Katherine Petrin, Michael Corbett and Shayne E. Watson) to update the comprehensive survey of the Mission Dolores neighborhood completed by Carey & Co. in 2009 and address comments from the California State Historic Preservation Office. The project team was requested to undertake the following tasks:

  1. Revise the historic context statement prepared as part of the Mission Dolores Neighborhood Survey (2009) to reflect an updated historic district boundary and period of significance.

---

5 Motion No.0056
6 Carol Roland-Nawi, Ph.D., State Historic Preservation Officer to Peter Lewis, Mission Dolores Neighborhood Association, June 5, 2013.
2. Complete fieldwork to re-visit all parcels previously surveyed to verify each property within the subject area with regard to status as a contributing or non-contributing historic resource.

3. As a separate submittal, prepare a National Register Nomination for the Mission Dolores neighborhood.

Since the initiation of the Mission Dolores Neighborhood Survey in 2009, the Department completed several survey efforts within the larger Mission District, including the Inner Mission North Historic Resource Survey, the Market & Octavia Better Neighborhoods Plan Historic Resource Survey, the South Mission Historic Resource Survey, and the Eastern Neighborhoods Mission Area Plan (Inner Mission South) Historic Resource Survey (See Figure 2 for map of survey areas). In 2011, a Historic Resource Evaluation (HRE) completed by consultant firm Page & Turnbull concluded that Mission Dolores Park is individually eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places, at the local level of significance, as a designed historic landscape under Criterion A (Event) and under Criterion C (Design/Construction). The Department concurred with this determination as part of a Mitigated Negative Declaration for the Mission Dolores Park Rehabilitation and Improvement Project. 

---

Figure 2. Map of the historic resource survey areas, 2009.
Definition of Survey Area

Figure 2.A below illustrates the updated survey area. Because both sides of Dolores Street form a major, historically significant, landscaped boulevard, the eastern side of Dolores Street is included in the expanded Mission Dolores neighborhood survey area defined by consultants in 2015.

Fig. 2.A. The properties included within the red outline reflect those surveyed in 2015. The area is consistent with that surveyed in 2009 and has been expanded to include properties fronting on to the east side of Dolores Street.
PART I: METHODOLOGY

Field Methodology

In February 2009, Carey & Co. architectural historians Erica Schultz (M.H.P., historic preservation), Karen McNeill (Ph.D., history), and Allison Vanderslice (M.A., cultural resources management) conducted a field survey of 183 previously undocumented parcels south of 17th Street/Chula Lane and west of Dolores Street in the Mission Dolores Neighborhood (MDNA survey area) and recorded information such as the number and type of buildings as well as the existing conditions, historic features, and architectural significance of each resource. Digital photographs were taken of each structure visible from the public right-of-way and noted the overall environment and relationships of the buildings to determine if the neighborhood contains potential historic districts. The findings of the survey conducted by Carey & Co. identified a neighborhood-wide district with boundaries consistent with the identified survey area, excluding properties fronting onto the east side of Dolores Street (see Figure 2.1). The "Mission Dolores Neighborhood 1906 Fire Survivors and Reconstruction Historic District" is described as "encapsulating the settlement and development of San Francisco from 1791 to 1918."8

For each parcel with a structure over 45 years old, Carey & Co. prepared a DPR Primary Record (523A). DPR Primary Records (523A) were not prepared for 14 parcels that (1) contain structures that are less than 45 years old; (2) are part of the San Francisco Municipal Railway (MUNI) right-of-way (ROW); or (3) consist of an interior parcel that could not be viewed from the public ROW. All DPR forms prepared for this submittal are considered draft as they were not accepted by the California Office of Historic Preservation (OHP).

In 2014-15, architectural historians Katherine Petrin and Shayne E. Watson re-visited each parcel within the MDNA survey area in addition to the properties on the east side facing on to Dolores Street south of 20th Street, and architectural historian Michael Corbett verified findings. Because both sides of Dolores Street form a major, historically significant, landscaped boulevard, the survey area was updated to include the eastern side of Dolores Street. Two perpendicular side-streets on the east side of Dolores Street which are not thru-blocks, Hidalgo Terrace and Dolores Terrace, were also surveyed. The residences on Hidalgo Terrace represent a coherent, intact grouping and were identified as a California Register-eligible historic district as part of the Inner Mission North Survey.9 This is not the case on Dolores Terrace where there is little cohesion among a variety of building types (residences and garages), buildings are not similarly oriented to the street, and construction dates vary. In addition, the properties do not appear to strongly correlate to the contexts in the district.

For all properties, basic information (APN, address, resource type, date of construction, current and updated status) and existing conditions were recorded. Contributor status was analyzed. Updated status codes were assigned. Architectural historian Michael Corbett field verified and confirmed the findings.

9 N. Moses Corrette, Hidalgo Terrace Historic District, Department of Parks and Recreation District Record, 2003.
In 2019-20, department staff reviewed former drafts of the Mission Dolores Context Statement & Neighborhood Survey and made updates and revisions based on current department documents and other City actions. Using parcel data provided by consultants, department staff evaluated parcels for both individual and district eligibility using the National Register of Historic Places and California Register of Historic Resources criterion. Updated survey findings take into consideration existing Department preservation policy and methodology in preparation for current Citywide Cultural Resource Survey (SFSurvey) efforts.

Research Methodology

To prepare the revised historic context and the evaluations of the identified historic district and individual historic properties, Carey & Co. reviewed Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, city directories, newspapers and photographs, census records, voter registration records, and primary and secondary sources regarding the history of the Mission Dolores neighborhood, its development within San Francisco, and people and uses associated with buildings in the neighborhood. The following repositories and City departments were consulted by Carol Roland-Nawi for the draft context and by Carey & Co. for this report:

- San Francisco Planning Department
- San Francisco Department of Building Inspection
- San Francisco Office of the Assessor-Recorder
- San Francisco Recreation and Parks Department
- History Center, San Francisco Public Library
- Western Jewish History Center, Judah L. Magnes Museum, Berkeley, California
- Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley
- Environmental Design Archives, University of California, Berkeley
- California State Library

Evaluation Methodology

The following section provides an overview of the criteria for significance and the seven aspects of integrity used to evaluate properties in the Mission Dolores survey area. It contains general information about the criteria of significance and aspects of integrity adopted by the National Park Service and the California Office of Historic Preservation as well as detailed guidance for evaluating the significance and integrity of residential, commercial, and institutional buildings within the Mission Dolores survey area. Specific criteria and integrity considerations are outlined for both individual evaluations and historic district evaluations.

Significance

National Register of Historic Places and California Register of Historical Resources Criteria

Significance establishes why a property is important. The criteria for significance, as established by the National Park Service, are identical at the federal, state, and local level. The criteria apply to buildings as well as landscapes, structures, sites, and objects. Properties are evaluated for significance within their relevant historic contexts using the following adopted criteria:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>National Register</th>
<th>California Register</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Criterion A</td>
<td>Criterion 1</td>
<td>Associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criterion B</td>
<td>Criterion 2</td>
<td>Associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criterion C</td>
<td>Criterion 3</td>
<td>Displays distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, work of a master, high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose component may lack individual distinction.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Criterion D       | Criterion 4         | Yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important to prehistory or history.  

In addition to separate evaluations for eligibility for the California Register of Historical Resources (CRHR), the state automatically lists on the CRHR resources that are listed or determined eligible for the NRHP through a complete evaluation process.  

**Criteria Considerations**  
The following resources are not usually considered for listing in the National Register:

a. Religious properties  
b. Moved properties  
c. Birthplaces and graves  
d. Cemeteries  
e. Reconstructed properties  
f. Commemorative properties  
g. Properties that have achieved significance within the past fifty years

These properties can be eligible for listing, however, if they meet special requirements, called *Criteria Considerations (A-G)*, in addition to meeting the regular requirements (that is, being eligible under one or more of the four significance criteria and possessing integrity).

Generally, such properties will qualify for the National Register if they fall within the following seven criteria considerations:

a. A religious property deriving primary significance from architectural or artistic distinction or historical importance; or

b. A building or structure removed from its original location, but which is significant primarily for architectural value, or which is the surviving structure most importantly associated with a historic person or event; or

c. A birthplace or grave of a historical figure of outstanding importance if there is no appropriate site or building directly associated with his or her productive life; or

---

11 All State Historical Landmarks from number 770 onward are also automatically listed on the California Register. [California Office of Historic Preservation, *California Register of Historical Resources: The Listing Process*, Technical Assistance Series 5, (Sacramento, n. d.), 1.]
d. A cemetery which derives its primary significance from graves of persons of transcendent importance, from age, from distinctive design features, or from association with historic events; or

e. A reconstructed building when accurately executed in a suitable environment and presented in a dignified manner as part of a restoration master plan, and when no other building or structure with the same association has survived; or

f. A property primarily commemorative in intent if design, age, tradition, or symbolic value has invested it with its own exceptional significance; or

g. A property achieving significance within the past 50 years if it is of exceptional importance.

California Environmental Quality Act Statute and Guidelines
When a proposed project may cause a substantial adverse change to a historical resource, CEQA requires the lead agency to carefully consider the possible impacts before proceeding (Public Resources Code Sections 21084 and 21084.1). CEQA equates a substantial adverse change in the significance of a historical resource with a significant effect on the environment (Section 21084.1). The Act explicitly prohibits the use of a categorical exemption within the CEQA Guidelines for projects which may cause such a change (Section 21084).

A “substantial adverse change” is defined in Guidelines Section 15064.5(b) as “physical demolition, destruction, relocation, or alteration of the resource or its immediate surroundings such that the significance of a historical resource would be materially impaired.” Furthermore, the “significance of an historic resource is materially impaired when a project “demolishes or materially alters in an adverse manner those physical characteristics of a historical resource that convey its historical significance and that justify its inclusion in, or eligibility for inclusion in the California Register of Historical Resources;” or “demolishes or materially alters in an adverse manner those physical characteristics that account for its inclusion in a local register of historical resources…” or “demolishes or materially alters in an adverse manner those physical characteristics of a historical resource that convey its historical significance and that justify its eligibility for inclusion in the California Register of Historical Resources as determined by a lead agency for purposes of CEQA.”

For the purposes of CEQA (Guidelines Section 15064.5), the term “historical resources” shall include the following:

1. A resource listed in or determined to be eligible by the State Historical Resources Commission, for listing in the CRHR (Public Resources Code §5024.1, Title 14 CCR, Section 4850 et seq.).

2. A resource included in a local register of historical resources, as defined in Section 5020.1(k) of the Public Resources Code or identified as significant in a historical resource survey meeting the requirements of Section 5024.1(g) of the Public Resources Code, shall be presumed to be historically or culturally significant. Public agencies must treat any such resource as significant unless the preponderance of evidence demonstrates that it is not historically or culturally significant.

3. Any object, building, structure, site, area, place, record, or manuscript which a lead agency determines to be historically significant or significant in the architectural, engineering, scientific, economic, agricultural, educational, social, political, military, or cultural annals of California, may be considered to be a historical resource, provided the lead agency's
determination is supported by substantial evidence in light of the whole record. Generally, a resource shall be considered by the lead agency to be “historically significant” if the resource meets the criteria for listing in the CRHR (Public Resources Code Section 5024.1, Title 14 CCR, Section 4852) as follows:

A. Is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of California’s history and cultural heritage;

B. Is associated with the lives of persons important in our past;

C. Embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, region, or method of construction, or represents the work of an important creative individual, or possesses high artistic values; or

D. Has yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history. (Guidelines for the California Environmental Quality Act)

Under CEQA §15064.5, “generally, a project that follows the Secretary of the Interior’s Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties with Guidelines for Preserving, Rehabilitating, Restoring and Reconstructing Historic Buildings or the Secretary of the Interior’s Standards for Rehabilitation with Guidelines for Rehabilitating Historic Buildings shall be considered as mitigated to a level of less than a significant impact on the historical resource.”

California Historical Resource Status Codes
The California Historic Resource Status Codes (status codes) are a series of ratings created by the California Office of Historic Preservation to quickly and easily identify the historic status of resources listed in the state’s historic properties database. These codes were revised in August 2003 to better reflect the historic status options available to evaluators. The following are the seven major status code headings:

1. Properties listed in the National Register or the California Register.
2. Properties determined eligible for listing in the National Register or the California Register.
3. Appears eligible for National Register or California Register through Survey Evaluation.
4. Appears eligible for National Register or California Register through other evaluation.
5. Properties recognized as historically significant by local government.
6. Not eligible for listing or designation.
7. Not evaluated for National Register or California Register or needs revaluation.

San Francisco City Landmark and Historic District Criteria
Landmarks in San Francisco are governed by Article 10 of the Planning Code, which define significance and identifies evaluation criteria. Article 10, Section 1004 defines a landmark as “an individual structure or other feature or an integrated group of structures and features on a single lot or site, having a special character or special historical, architectural or aesthetic
interest or value.” Article 10 also sets forth proposals for evaluating city landmark designations using the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) Criteria.

Originally adopted in 1967, Article 10 encourages the listing of architecturally and culturally significant properties, including concentrations of properties (historic districts) whose characteristics may lack individual distinction. Article 10 designation triggers regulatory protections against inappropriate alterations and demolition of individual landmarks and contributors to historic districts. Significant changes to locally designated properties are subject to review and approval by the San Francisco Historic Preservation Commission. In addition, changes to these properties are subject to environmental review under CEQA.

**Integrity Analysis**

This section discusses integrity considerations and establishes integrity thresholds regarding both individual resources as well as contributing resources within identified districts in the Mission Dolores survey area. Integrity is defined as the authenticity of physical characteristics from which resources obtain their significance. When a property retains integrity, it is able to convey its significance and its association with events, people, and designs from the past. Integrity is composed of seven defining qualities: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. The National Register defines the seven aspects of integrity as follows:

1. **Location** is the place where the historic property was constructed or the place where the historic event occurred. Except in rare cases, the relationship between a property and its historic associations is destroyed if the property is moved.
2. **Design** is the combination of elements that create the form, plan, space, structure, and style of the property. Design can also apply to districts. For districts significant primarily for architectural value, design concerns more than just the individual buildings or structures located within the boundaries. It also applies to the way in which buildings, sites, or structures are related.
3. **Setting** is the physical environment of a historic property. Whereas location refers to the specific place where a property was built or an event occurred, setting refers to the character of the place in which the property played its historical role. The physical features that constitute the setting of a historic property can be either natural or manmade, including elements such as topographic features, vegetation, simple manmade features, and relationships between buildings and other features or open space.
4. **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. A property must retain the key exterior materials dating from the period of its historic significance.
5. **Workmanship** is the physical evidence of the crafts of a particular culture or people during any given period in history or prehistory.
6. **Feeling** is a property’s expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular period of time. It results from the presence of physical features that, taken together, convey the property’s historic character.

---

13 Ibid.
7. **Association** is the direct link between an important historic event or person and a historic property. A property retains association if it is the place where the event or activity occurred and is sufficiently intact to convey that relationship to an observer. Like feeling, association requires the presence of physical features that convey a property's historic character.\(^{14}\)

PART II: HISTORIC CONTEXT

Natural Environment

The City of San Francisco lies at the northern tip of the San Francisco Peninsula, which is surrounded by the Pacific Ocean to the west, the Golden Gate Strait to the north, and the San Francisco Bay to the east. The Bay, a large natural harbor fourteen miles wide by sixty miles long, is made up of a series of saltwater estuaries that open to the Pacific Ocean through the Golden Gate, or mouth of the bay.

Along with these estuaries, a landscape of sandy plains, rolling hills, and rugged ridges comprise the land of the San Francisco Peninsula. Prior to European colonization of the peninsula, at least forty-three hills defined the land that became San Francisco. The Mission Dolores neighborhood lies within a protected basin surrounded by several of these hills, including Diamond Heights and Twin Peaks to the southwest and Bernal Heights and Potrero Hill to the south and southeast. Located within a Mediterranean climate zone, the protected valley has a sunnier and warmer climate than many other parts of the city.

A shallow freshwater lake, the Laguna de Nuestra Señora de los Dolores (Lake of Our Lady of Sorrows), covered part of the eastern edge of the Mission Dolores neighborhood and extended roughly between 15th Street, Howard Street (now South Van Ness Avenue), 20th Street, and Guerrero Street. Fed by the Arroyo de los Dolores, or Dolores Creek, which originated on Twin Peaks and flowed approximately down today’s 18th Street, the lake then flowed into Mission Creek that let out to the bay. The lake’s extent varied with seasonal rainfall.

Marshy land surrounded the lake and extended to Mission Bay, an inlet on the San Francisco Bay, prior to the 1860s and 1870s. Although Friar Pedro Font, a chaplain in the 1776 de Anza expedition, described the area as possessed of “grass, fennel and other good herbs,” it consisted primarily of sand dunes and scrub grasslands, devoid of trees. Brackish water sloughs and marsh lands edged the Bay, with the dominant terrestrial vegetation consisting of open grassland. Although the relatively flat valley did not experience the degree of cut-and-fill that characterized the early development of other parts of the city, its major hydrographic features, the Laguna de los Dolores and the Dolores and Mission Creeks, were completely obscured by urbanization by the 1890s.

---

16 Descriptions of the lake’s location vary with accounts and are probably influenced by the time of year in which the writer saw the lake. George W. Hendry and J. N. Bowman, “The Spanish and Mexican Adobe and other buildings in the Nine San Francisco Bay Counties 1776 to about 1850,” 1940-45, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
17 The exact location and extent of the Laguna is a matter of scholarly debate. The boundaries cited in this report correspond to Zephyrin Englehardt’s 1924 map. Hendry and Bowman placed the Laguna between 15th Street, Shotwell Street, 16th Street, and Mission Street. Zephyrin Engelhardt, San Francisco or Mission Dolores (Chicago, 1924), 168; Hendry and Bowman, “The Spanish and Mexican Adobe,” 1940-45; George A. Merrill, The Story of Lake Dolores and the Mission San Francisco de Asis (Redwood City, Calif., 1942), 3.
18 Engelhardt, San Francisco or Mission Dolores, 39; 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.
19 George A. Merrill reports that when his parents built their first house in the Mission District in 1873, the lake had been reduced to the southeastern half of the block bounded by 18th Street, Guerrero Street, 19th Street, and Dolores Street. Merrill, The Story of Lake Dolores, 3.
Pre-Historic Settlement (Pre-1776)

Archeological evidence indicates that human settlement in the Bay Area dates back at least 6,000 years. Approximately 4,000 years ago, existing Hokan-speaking inhabitants began to be supplanted by Miwok-Ohlonean speakers who migrated into the Bay Area from California’s Central Valley. They settled along the coastal shoreline and wetlands where they established sedentary villages, and utilized the natural landscape for food and shelter. These groups made their way to the northern end of the San Francisco Peninsula at least 2,500 years ago.20

At the time of Spanish contact, approximately 55 independent tribes, or “tribelets,” as Alfred Kroeber, anthropology professor at the University of California, Berkeley, described them, occupied the San Francisco Bay area, extending from Monterey in the south to San Rafael in the north and in the East Bay from San Pablo Bay to Hayward. Speaking at least three different languages, these groups nonetheless shared a similar material, political, and religious culture. Randall Milliken described the Bay Area American Indian culture as “an association of families, two hundred to four hundred people who worked together to harvest wild animals and plant resources and to maintain

a yearly round of ceremonies.” Depending on the diversity of their locale, some groups lived in permanent villages, while others migrated among several seasonal settlements.

The (Draft) Nuestra Historia: San Francisco Latino Historic Context Statement states:

Prior to European contact in 1769, California is believed to have been home to “the densest Indian population anywhere north of Mexico.” When the Spanish arrived in Northern California in the late 18th century, 7,000 to 10,000 Native Americans inhabited the San Francisco Bay Area. The Spanish called the area’s indigenous inhabitants costeños, or “coast dwellers;” later anglicized to “Costanoans.” The anthropological term “Ohlone” refers to a native group with a post-contact history shaped by demographic collapse caused by missionization and subsequent regrouping during the Mexican period. Their ancestors spoke related languages and lived in villages around the Bay Area loosely affiliated through intermarriage, trade, and annual ceremonial cycles.

The people who inhabited the northern San Francisco Peninsula in the late eighteenth century are known as the Ramaytush Ohlone. These Northern Ohlonean (Costanoan) speakers lived in three intermarried, semi-nomadic bands that moved among five identified village settlements on the Peninsula (Chutichi, Stiltintac, Amuctac, Tubsinte, and Petlenuc). Stiltintac, possibly a winter camp, may have stood near the tidal wetlands of the Mission Creek estuary and Chutchui, possibly a summer/fall camp, was located near the Laguna and was the closest settlement to the current Mission Dolores. Tubsinte, another village, was located at the mouth of Visitacion Creek, Amuctac was in Visitacion Valley, and Petlenuc was just east of the Golden Gate. The Ramaytush Ohlone tribe was intermarried with the Huchiuns of the East Bay as well as with the tribes residing to the south, near San Bruno and Pacifica. Although they lived within a limited natural environment, the Ramaytush Ohlone may have played an important role in regional trade, moving obsidian from north of the Bay to the groups in the south and east, and supplying coastal shells to inhabitants of the East Bay. The (Draft) Nuestra Historia: San Francisco Latino Historic Context Statement further elaborates:

Ohlone territory once extended from San Francisco to Big Sur and from the Pacific Ocean to the east side of Mount Diablo. It is uncertain when the first Ohlone settled in present-day San Francisco because most prehistoric sites have either been built on top of or obliterated to make way for buildings during various phases of the city’s post-contact development. The earliest known Ohlone sites in San Francisco, found deeply buried in the South of Market area, have been radiocarbon-dated to between 5,000 and 5,500 years ago; prehistoric middens containing burials and artifacts have been dated to 2,000 years ago.

Spanish Exploration and Settlement of Alta California (1776-1834)

Spanish explorers first spotted Alta (Upper) California in 1542 during Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo’s voyage in search of the mythical Strait of Anián, or Northwest Passage. He eventually landed at San

---

23 Milliken, Founding of Mission Dolores, 1.
Miguel (now San Diego), and following his death in 1543, the voyage traveled as far north as Oregon’s southern coast. Despite this early exploration, the Spanish viewed the California coastline as barren, dangerous, and isolated, and they lacked the manpower to settle the northern frontier of New Spain’s landholdings. Also Northern California’s ubiquitous coastal fog obscured natural harbors, such as the San Francisco Bay, until more careful expeditions discovered them. More than two centuries passed before they made plans to colonize California’s coastline.26

In 1765, Visitor-General José de Gálvez exploited the Spanish crown’s desire to expand its wealth in New Spain as well as the crown’s fears of the incursion into its lands by other European powers, including England and Russia. He convinced the crown to fund an expedition that would lead to the establishment of missions, a well-established colonial institution that ostensibly served to convert the natives to Christianity and divest them of their indigenous ways, thereby creating a local labor force and rendering a region more amenable to imperial rule. Missions were the most common and most populous of the colonial institutions in Alta California. Missions often had their own small guard of soldiers and occasionally housed soldiers’ families and civilians. Military encampments, or presidios, and civilian settlements that functioned as towns, or pueblos, were less common forms of colonial settlement that sometimes accompanied mission settlements. Twenty-one missions were established in Alta California, while only four presidios and three pueblos were established under Spanish rule. In 1769 Captain Gaspar de Portolá led three ships and two land contingents on this “Sacred Expedition.” Junípero Serra, a Franciscan priest, served as the religious leader. A year later the Spaniards established a presidio and mission at Monterey Bay, securing the crown’s sovereignty over Alta California.27

In 1776, the de Anza Expedition arrived in Monterey. The settlers, led by Captain Juan Bautista de Anza on his second expedition, consisted of 240 men, women, and children who spent several months walking from the Presidio of Tubac (Southern Arizona) to Monterey to populate the new Spanish territory in Alta California.28 The soldiers and settlers were primarily from war-torn and drought-afflicted areas of Northern Mexico, specifically Sonora and Sinaloa, and were of mixed Spanish, Mexican, and American Indian descent.29 To Anza, who picked them, they were “expendable, desperate, and susceptible to the promise of future opportunity.”30 The families were given livestock, clothing, and supplies, along with advances on their pay and vague promises of land grants in exchange for twenty years of service.31

After leaving the settlers in Monterey, Anza traveled north to the San Francisco Peninsula to select the location for a new presidio and mission. Anza, along with Friar Font, a chaplain on the expedition, chose a small inland plateau within a partially sheltered valley with sources of fresh water for the mission site. The area appeared to be more fertile than the surrounding sand dunes and was relatively close to the Presidio, which was strategically placed to the northwest at the Golden Gate. However, productive agricultural lands proved to be limited, and the wind and cold climate made cultivation difficult. Most of the grazing and agricultural activities occurred on

27 Barbara L. Voss, The Archaeology of Ethnogenesis: Race and Sexuality in Colonial San Francisco (Berkeley, 2008), 54, 59; Rawls and Bean, California, 26-35.
28 Anza’s first expedition in 1774 established a new land route from Sonora, Arizona, to Monterey, California. Rawls and Bean, California, 40-41.
30 Voss, Archaeology of Ethnogenesis, 45.
31 Ibid.
mission land further to the south (including on land which is presently Potrero Hill), which extended into current-day San Mateo County.\(^{32}\)

**Mission Development and American Indians**

Prior to discussion of the development of the Mission Dolores complex, it is important to acknowledge the established history and relationship American Indians, particularly the Ramaytush Ohlone, have with lands now considered part of San Francisco. The story of the development of missions throughout California has historically been told in a way that does not accurately portray the American Indian experience. The California Native American Heritage Commission website states:

> Despite romantic portraits of California missions, they were essentially coercive religious, labor camps organized primarily to benefit the colonizers. The overall plan was to first militarily intimidate the local Indians with armed Spanish soldiers who always accompanied the Franciscans in their missionary efforts. At the same time, the newcomers introduced domestic stock animals that gobbled up native foods and undermined the free or “gentile” tribe’s efforts to remain economically independent. A well-established pattern of bribes, intimidation and the expected onslaught of European diseases insured experienced missionaries that eventually desperate parents of sick and dying children and many elders would prompt frightened Indian families to seek assistance from the newcomers who seemed to be immune to the horrible diseases that overwhelmed Indians. The missions were authorized by the crown to “convert” the Indians in a ten-year period. Thereafter they were supposed to surrender their control over the mission’s livestock, fields, orchards and building to the Indians. But the padres never achieved this goal and the lands and wealth was stolen from the Indians.\(^{33}\)

American Indians did not welcome efforts by the colonists to “convert” and actively resisted both overtly and covertly. The impact of the mission system on tribes in the area has had lasting implications. The California Native American Heritage Commission site further elaborates:

> The unrelenting labor demands forced separation of children from their parents and un-ending physical coercion that characterized the life of Indians under padre’s authority resulted in several well documented forms of Indian resistance. Within the missions, the so-called “converts” continued to surreptitiously worship their old deities as well as conduct native dances and rituals in secret. By far the most frequent form of mission Indian resistance was fugativism. While thousands of the 81,586 baptized Indians temporarily fled their missions, more than one out of 24 successfully escaped the plantation-like mission labor camps.\(^{34}\)

---


In sum, the Spanish Period and missionization of California had lasting impacts on American Indians and their ancestral lands. The (Draft) Nuestra Historia: San Francisco Latino Historic Context Statement further elaborates:

Spanish colonial governments throughout the Americas expected to gain total control of the land within a ten-year period. Their goal was to populate the colonies with gente de razón, people who were properly acculturated into Spanish society and who would promote Spanish culture in the New World. This social distinction was part of a larger caste system that determined a person’s legal rights. They attempted to accomplish their goal of populating Alta California through various methods: converting local Indigenous populations to Catholicism, promoting intermarriage between soldiers and Native American women, and encouraging racially mixed settler families to relocate to the remote hinterlands of New Spain. After 60 years of colonial rule, however, the indigenous peoples of Alta California proved difficult to assimilate and few ever achieved the status of gente de razón. Spanish missionaries viewed the Ohlone as wards of the church. Influenced by the philosophy of the Spanish Inquisition, indigenous groups were converted to Catholicism. Once baptized, they were forced to speak Spanish, stripped of their native customs and folkways, and prohibited from leaving the mission without permission. If they did escape, they were forcibly returned. Though Ohlone converts were taught many useful skills while living in Mission Dolores, they were also compelled to work long hours for no pay—a situation described by some scholars as slavery. Most devastating, however, was exposure to European diseases to which the Ohlone had no immunity. Pandemic diseases such as smallpox, measles, diphtheria, and influenza took the lives of thousands. Many also suffered widespread rape, sexual, and physical abuse at the hands of Spanish soldiers and clergy. By 1852, when the first California Census was conducted, fewer than 1,000 Ohlone remained, a decline of more than 85 percent since European contact was made in 1769. As the Ohlone population collapsed, other indigenous groups from surrounding areas were brought to Mission Dolores, often lured by food and gifts.35

Mission San Francisco de Asís

The first Spanish settlers of present-day San Francisco arrived on the banks of the Laguna de los Dolores on June 27, 1776. Lead by Lieutenant José Joaquín Moraga, the caravan included fourteen soldiers and their families, two priests – Francisco Palóu and Pedro Cambón – accompanied by a retinue of thirteen young American Indians (mainly Rumsen) from Monterey. The band of travelers was larger than any single village aggregation in San Francisco.36 The settlers, who traveled from Arizona to Monterey, left El Presidio de Monterey to join them some ten days earlier and brought with them mules, horses, and hundreds of heads of cattle. On July 26, 1776, most of the Spanish party moved three miles to the predetermined site for the Presidio, leaving behind the two priests, American Indians of various tribes, six soldiers and their families, and one settler family to establish Mission San Francisco de Asís, which became known as Mission Dolores.37

36 Historians debate the number of people who arrived to colonize San Francisco in 1776. Voss states that 193 settlers founded the Presidio in July 1776, while Milliken estimates the total settlers for both the Mission and Presidio as 75. However, both agree on the group that stayed behind at the mission likely amounted to approximately 45 people. Milliken, Founding of Mission Dolores, 7; Voss, Archaeology of Ethnogenesis, 41-45.
37 Milliken, Founding of Mission Dolores, 8.
The settlers celebrated their first mass on the shores of the lagoon in an enramada, or brush and mud structure, on June 29, 1776. Its exact location remains unknown. The California State Landmark designation places it at the corner of Camp and Albion Streets, while other sources, such as George W. Hendry and J. N. Bowman, locate it near Mission and 14th Streets. Since the majority of settlers had left to establish the presidio, the mission settlers had time to explore the area while waiting for the arrival of the San Carlos, which carried necessary supplies and whose crew would provide additional labor. Friars Palóu and Cambon established contact with the nearby Ramaytush Ohlone settlement of Chutchui and recorded this interaction as successful in establishing relations with the tribe.

**Construction and Expansion of Mission Dolores**

The Mission Dolores Church that currently stands at Sixteenth and Dolores Streets was the fifth church built by Spanish settlers using primarily forced labor of American Indians, and Franciscan brothers and is City of San Francisco Landmark No. 1. A temporary church, which was hastily constructed immediately upon the colonists’ arrival, was quickly replaced by the first permanent one under the direction of Friar Palóu in the fall of 1776. Most likely located at 14th and Mission Streets, the first permanent chapel was built of wood logs (palisade construction) felled by Palóu’s servants and sailors from the San Carlos. The chapel included living quarters and was surrounded by a stockade for protection. The men also established a nearby cemetery, built a corral for cattle, and later constructed an aqueduct. This complex stood about 400 varas, or 1,100 feet, to the east of the current site, near the former lagoon. Finished in 1782 on the same site, the second chapel, a larger building with adjacent living quarters, was also of palisade construction.

In 1783 Palóu moved the site of the Mission quadrangle to the present site, possibly because the buildings stood on valuable agricultural lands. The foundation of the current Mission Dolores church was laid that year, although a third church of palisade was built on the new site in the meantime. A storm almost destroyed this building in January 1787, and the chapel was rebuilt. Construction of the present Mission Dolores church was started in 1788, and it was dedicated on April 2, 1791. During the three years of its construction, over 30,000 adobe bricks were produced using forced labor by American Indians at the mission.

By the time the current Mission Dolores chapel was complete, it stood at the heart of an expanding complex that corresponded to the growing population. The first baptisms at Mission Dolores occurred in June 1777. A number of forced baptisms followed in the early 1780s. With the increased labor force, adobe brick and roof tile construction for new structures had begun by 1784, although the majority of buildings continued to be constructed of wood for the next decade. By the 1790s nearly all American Indians on the San Francisco Peninsula had entered the mission or had left the area, and by 1793 no native villages remained on the peninsula. Until the early 1790s, the population lived in traditional huts, while most of the construction focused on the churches, living quarters for the Fathers and their servants, soldier barracks, guest rooms, storehouses,

---

40 Ibid.
41 Ibid., 197.
workshops, corrals, and the aqueduct. From A History of American Indians in California, part of the National Park Service's Five Views: An Ethnic Historic Site Survey for California.

“In 1786, Jean Francois Galaup de La Perouse, a French navigator, made the following report. . . . On the right stands the Indian Village, consisting of about fifty cabins, which serve as dwelling places to seven hundred and forty persons of both sexes, comprising their children, which compose the mission. . . . These cabins are the most miserable that are to be met among any people; they are round, six feet in diameter by four in height. . . .”

In 1793 around nineteen houses of adobe construction were built for newly converted families likely near the present-day intersection of Dolores and 16th Streets. Each house measured about 20 feet in width and 10 feet in height and contained a window, a door, and a clay tile-clad roof. Another twenty houses were built the following year and over the next two decades houses continued to be built. By 1806, eight rows of houses constituted the new rancheria.

During the late 1700s the original population was drawn largely from the Ramaytush Ohlone and other peninsula tribes, but by the 1800s Mission Dolores drew from a much broader area, including the Central Valley. By 1812 the population of the Mission was over 1,200. The population stayed at this number until the early 1820s as American Indians from the surrounding counties appeared at the mission: the Aguaasos (northerner) of east Marin County were baptized between 1803 and 1810; the Patwin-speaking Suisuns of Solano County began arriving in 1810; the Napa Valley, Tolonas of Green Valley, and other Patwin tribes appeared between 1810-1817; the Coast Miwok, along with people from Sacramento and the North Bay, arrived around 1818. By 1820 the Patwin, Coast Miwok, and Wapppio languages, in that order, dominated Mission Dolores with only a small percentage of Ohlonean speakers, only 18 of which were Yelamu people.

While the church was the largest and most imposing building, Mission Dolores consisted of an extensive complex of buildings and structures. In their 1940s study of Mission Dolores, George W. Hendry and J. N. Bowman identified forty-seven buildings and structures, including barracks, granaries, a soap factory, grain mills, workhouses for looms and adobe brick production, a smithy, a carpenter shop, storerooms, tanneries, a mission prison, a school, a bathhouse, and a rancheria. Their study also identifies a number of houses that were established in proximity to the Mission, including the DeHaro, Bernal, and Guerrero adobes. The Mission complex extended at least from Guerrero Street to Church Street and from 15th Street to Dolores Creek/18th Street, and may have been larger as the location of several buildings are not known. Corrals, orchards, gardens, and cemeteries were also established nearby. The fields and gardens were mainly to the east of the mission, and the orchard stood to its west, separated from the complex by the El Camino Real (which ran partway on present-day Dolores Street) that linked the Mission with the Presidio and

49 Cleary, Mission Dolores, 39.
50 Milliken, Founding of Mission Dolores, 24.
51 Hendry and Bowman, “The Spanish and Mexican Adobe,” 1051-1052.
settlements to the south. Because of the poor soils and sparse grasses in the Mission Dolores valley, asistencias, or mission outposts, were established in San Mateo and San Pablo to provide grain and cattle to the Mission.\(^52\)

Visiting in 1817, Camille de Roquefeuil documented the Mission Dolores complex during the height of its development and population. He noted that the gardens appeared to be in good condition and to provide an abundance of vegetables and some fruit. The rancheria, consisting of about one hundred cabins, formed “a rectangle divided evenly into ten blocks by four parallel streets cut across by one perpendicular.”\(^53\) De Roquefeuil further described the Mission buildings, which were distinguished from the American Indian dwellings:

> At one end of the village we saw the little brook which we had crossed on arriving; at the other end is a little canal which it supplies and which furnishes water for the gardens. This canal crosses an empty space which lies between the village and the shops. A plaza of sufficient extent lies between it and the buildings of the mission, which include the church, the lodging for the Fathers, the storehouses and the houses, little different from huts of the Indians, intended for the detachment of guards. All these buildings form a solid line parallel to the village. The cemetery is next to the church, facing the garden.\(^54\)

Following a period of settlement and “conversions”, Mission Dolores stagnated and then declined as a result of deaths, desertions, competition from Mission San Rafael Arcangel (in present-day Marin County), and the decline in external support that followed the Mexican Revolution of 1814. By 1823, due to sickness attributed to the poor climate, the majority of mission population was moved either to existing missions or to help found new missions. The Mission Dolores population remained at just around 250 for the rest of the 1820s. With this decline in population and forced labor, the Mission complex fell into ruin by the late 1820s. French voyager Auguste Bernard Duhaut-Cilly’s reflections revealed this change, “In 1827 there remained of this wealth only the numerous houses necessitated by it, and of which the larger number were already falling into ruin...This diminution of hands had proportionately reduced all the products, and this establishment has again become one of the poorest on the whole coast.”\(^55\)

**Mission Dolores Neighborhood during Mexican Rule (1821-1848)**

The Mexican period officially started in 1821, when Mexico declared its independence from Spain; however, the effects of this took a number of years to reach colonial California. Over the next dozen years, the Mexican government created laws that secured the transfer of power. The Mexican Colonization Law of 1824 and the Reglamento of 1828, for instance, encouraged civilian settlement in California by creating guidelines for the establishment of land grants.\(^56\) The true shift in power from Spanish to Mexican rule occurred in 1833 with the Secularization Act. This act officially wrested control of mission lands from the Catholic Church and made them available for the private ownership of Mexican citizens.

\(^52\) Dean, “Eastern Neighborhoods,” 3.
\(^54\) de Roquefeuil, “Camille de Roquefeuil-Navagitor,” 54.
In 1834 the Mexican government secularized the missions, distributing large portions of their holdings in land grants to Californios – most of whom had served in the military and were otherwise prominent citizens – and Anglo settlers, many of whom had married into Californio families or were merchants who had otherwise sought Mexican citizenship and could then qualify for land ownership.\textsuperscript{57}

During Mexican rule, there was limited modification in Indian policy regarding land:

While no land grants to the colonists had occurred under Spanish rule, some 25 grazing permits or concessions had been issued to colonial citizens. This was the beginning of the dispossession of tribal lands by colonial authorities. The vast plantation like missions claimed about 1/6 of the present territory of the state. But legal title to these lands were assigned to the Spanish crown. The missions were only supposed to last 10 years, after which the developed estates were to be distributed to surviving mission Indians... In actual practice, the new [Mexican republic] government gave 51 land grants to its colonial citizens between 1824 and 1834. These lands actually belonged to various tribes then incarcerated in nearby missions.\textsuperscript{58}

![Map of land grants on the San Francisco peninsula illustrating how Mission Dolores was surrounded by large areas of Mexican-owned land, including Rincon de las Salinas, Potrero Viejo, Rancho San Miguel, and Guadalupe.](image)

Fig. 3. This map of land grants on the San Francisco peninsula illustrates how Mission Dolores was surrounded by large areas of Mexican-owned land, including Rincon de las Salinas, Potrero Viejo, Rancho San Miguel, and Guadalupe. Courtesy of Alexander and Heig. \textit{San Francisco: Building the Dream City}, p. 36.

While the valley remained in common use for citizens under prevailing pueblo rule, lands to the west, south, and east were granted to private citizens in the form of large ranchos. Jose Bernal received 4,446 acres, south of Precita Creek, while Francisco and Ramon DeHaro, twin sons of former Yerba Buena \textit{alcalde} Francisco DeHaro, were granted 1,000 acres east of the old wall that

\textsuperscript{57} Californios were Mexican citizens who settled in California. Many came to California during the period of Spanish exploration or as soldiers attached to the presidios or missions.

demarcated mission pastures. In 1845 Jose Noe was granted 4,443 acres in the area of Twin Peaks. These large Mexican land grants played important roles in establishing later land ownership patterns by focusing early development within the immediate vicinity of the Mission.

Just twenty-five years after securing its sovereignty from Spain, Mexico found itself battling to save its territory. War erupted between the United States and Mexico in 1846, largely over the independence of Texas and its border. The United States overran Mexico with troops and won in a decided fashion. The war officially ended on February 2, 1848, with the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which ceded California (and other territories) to the United States and guaranteed that Mexicans residing in the territory at the time of the treaty could continue to reside there and would retain all rights to their property. Even rights to land that belonged to Mexican proprietors who did not reside on it would be “inviolably respected” as long as a contract for that land could be produced.59 The signers of the treaty did not know, however, that gold had been discovered along the American River nine days earlier.

**Early American Period (1848-1864)**

United States possession of California territory coincided with the discovery of vast quantities of gold in the foothills of the Sierra Nevada mountain range. On January 24, 1848, John Marshall, an employee of a ranch, and mill owner named John Sutter, discovered gold on the American River. News of Marshall’s discovery spread like wildfire and soon, as the saying goes, the world rushed in. The ensuing Gold Rush was not without further abuse of American Indians. John Sutter enslaved hundreds of American Indians, using them for free labor and to defend his land.60 Many white settlers who visited Sutter on his ranch witnessed his cruel treatment of American Indians including accounts of physical, sexual, and psychological abuse. Historian Benjamin Madley writes about Sutter’s abuse, “these encounters had a powerful psychic effect, fueling racism and emotionally hardening colonists...to cruelty toward California Indians.”61 Half of California’s population descended upon the region between San Francisco and the Sierra Nevada foothills, with the former’s population alone growing from fewer than 1,000 people at the opening of 1848 to more than 26,000 by year’s end. Huge waves of migrants from the East Coast and immigrants from Europe, Central and South America, and Asia commenced the following year. These settlers regularly squatted on already claimed land. By 1850, California’s population was sufficiently large that the territory could apply for statehood.

According to the San Francisco Commission to Enquire into City Property’s *Report on the Condition of the Real Estate within the Limits of the City of San Francisco and the Property Beyond, within the Bounds of the Old Mission Dolores* (1851), a number of smaller grants were made in 1843 in the “establishment of Dolores.”62 These smaller grants precipitated the development of a “village” pattern in the vicinity of the old church. Small ranchos northwest of the Mission accounted in part for the open acreage that can be observed in photographs of the Mission as late as the 1880s. Additionally in 1858 President James Buchanan granted Mission Dolores and the surrounding 8.559 Rawls and Bean, *California*, 85-89; Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, February 2, 1848, Article VIII, http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon, accessed August 1, 2007.
61 Ibid.
62 San Francisco Commission to Enquire into City Property, *Report on the Condition of the Real Estate within the Limits of the City of San Francisco and the Property Beyond within the Bounds of the Old Mission Dolores* (San Francisco, 1851).
acres to the Catholic Church under the supervision of Bishop Joseph Sadoc Alemany. This grant included lands on both sides of Dolores Street at the intersection of 16th Street and formed the basis for the continued development of Catholic institutions that occurred at the core of the post-Mission era neighborhood.\textsuperscript{63}

Former archeologist Randall Dean of the San Francisco Planning Department has provided a comprehensive account of the post-Mission period of development:

Between 1835 and the discovery of gold in California in 1848, development...remained focused exclusively around the former mission complex which at this time was becoming a small hamlet. A number of new adobe and wood-frame houses were constructed in the Mission Dolores area, generally by Californio families. In the barter-and-trade based economy of Mexican California, there was no need for commercial establishments, but a few small commercial enterprises were established here in the 1840s. Many of the former Mission structures became adapted to new uses; part of the Mission quadrangle was converted to an inn and tavern, one of the mills (Molino) was converted to a residence, the soldiers barracks was partially demolished and a house constructed on the remains, one of the former mission adobe tanneries was rebuilt as an adobe residence, and the former American Indian rancheria was occupied by remaining Indians...A number of non-Hispanics also moved into the Mission Dolores community. Generally these were young English or American men who had married into local Mexican families. In addition, in 1846, several Mormon families settled in some of the former Mission buildings following a schism that occurred within the party of 236 Mormon emigrants who had arrived by ship at Yerba Buena [the pueblo that was renamed San Francisco] that year...By the 1830s, the Presidio commandante had moved the military headquarters to the Mission since many retired soldiers’ families had moved from the Presidio to the area around Mission Dolores...Although Yerba Buena and the Mission Dolores district were both growing communities during this period, they were increasingly following disparate demographic, cultural, and economic trajectories. The Mission Dolores area was becoming a community of refuge for Californio families who were increasingly economically, politically, and culturally marginalized by the events that transformed the region in the later 1840s...By the 1850s, there were more than 50 adobe buildings in the Mission Dolores district, a number greater than were present when the Mission was at its peak level of activity. There were also an unknown number of wood frame residences constructed by this time. By 1850, the Mission Dolores community extended from 14th Street to Mission Street and from 19th Street to Church Street.\textsuperscript{64}

\textsuperscript{63} Magnahi, "Mission Dolores’ Quest," 140.
\textsuperscript{64} Dean, "Eastern Neighborhoods," 4-5.
According to the *Draft Nuestra Historia: San Francisco Latino Historic Context Statement*, “At Mission Dolores, several land grants made to American Indians were countermanded through official connivance, persuasion, or force. Indigenous people who had lived and worked in the missions were considered Mexican nationals by the Mexican government. Decades later, this categorization would prevent the Ohlone from being recognized as an American Indian group by the U.S. government. Consequently, the tribe’s estimated 3,500 descendants alive today have no claims to their ancestral lands or burials found in San Francisco and cannot repatriate the remains of their ancestors held in public institutions (e.g., U.C. Berkeley).”

**Dispossession of American Indian Land**

As demographics continued to shift as part of the early American era, systems continued to be put into place to dispossess American Indian of their ancestral land. In 1850, the Act for the Government and Protection of Indians was enacted by the first session of the state legislature. This law including several human rights violations such as allowing whites to obtain control of Indians, prohibited whites from being “convicted of any offense upon the testimony of an Indian,” and enacted physical punishments for American Indians found loitering or walking where alcohol was sold. This law was widely abused to continue the allowance of forced physical labor and Indian slavery. In 1860, the law was amended to state that American Indian children and those deemed as

---


https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/5views/5views1c.htm
“drifting” could be placed under custody of white settlers for “employment and training.” This amendment continued the practice of Indian slavery and made it legal for children to be taken at an early age and retained for a longer period of time, often into adulthood.\textsuperscript{67}

While American Indians were being enslaved, imprisoned, and murdered throughout California, the federal government appointed three commissioners in 1851 to negotiate treaties with tribes.\textsuperscript{68} The federal government classified American Indian tribes as foreign nations and treaties were negotiated as the legal means for developing an agreement and ensuring peaceful relations. The National Park Service’s \textit{Five Views: An Ethnic Historic Site Survey for California} further elaborates:

18 treaties set aside 7,488,000 acres of land, or approximately one-third of California, for Indian use. This land settlement was similar to that negotiated with other tribes in other states. The treaties also provided funds for materials and food to allow the Indians to become self-sufficient. The treaties met with hostility in California. On January 16 and February 11, 1852, the State Senate concluded that the treaties "committed an error in assigning large portions of the richest mineral and agricultural lands to the Indians, who did not appreciate the land’s value." (Ellison, 1925:4-5) The legislature instructed the United States senators from California to oppose ratification of the treaties and called for the government to remove the Indians from the state as they had done in other states.\textsuperscript{69}

In 1852 President Fillmore submitted the 18 treaties to the United States Senate, but they were never ratified. Instead, the government continued to displace American Indians and forcibly move them onto reservations away from their ancestral lands. In the same year, Edward F. Beale was appointed the first Superintendent of Indian Affairs in California.\textsuperscript{70} Two years later in 1854, Beale was removed from his post and new superintendent Colonel Thomas J. Henley succeeded in creating four reservations including the Nome Lackee Reservation, Nome Cult in Medicion, Fresno Indian Farm, and Kings River Indian Farm. Reservations were often established on land with a lack of water where it was difficult to grow crops. Over time, more reservations would be established, dissolved, and reinstated displacing and moving and restricting more American Indians much to the benefit of white settlers and the state and federal government.\textsuperscript{71}

\textbf{Urbanization of former Mission Dolores}

Although distances between buildings and the generally pastoral landscape provided a rural character, the Mission Dolores settlement area was urbanizing. Americans platted the area into large city blocks in the 1850s and, as in Spanish colonial and Mexican rancho days, the Mission Dolores neighborhood lay within a vital transportation corridor. \textit{El Camino Real}, also known as the Old San Jose Road and/or the old Mission Road, ran along the western side of the valley. This road, which is partly now covered by Dolores Street and commemorated as California Historical Landmark No. 784, connected the southern peninsula to the Mission and Presidio and formed the northeast boundary of Noe’s Rancho San Miguel during the Mexican period. It continued to be an important transportation route throughout the late nineteenth century.

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{67} Ibid. \textsuperscript{68} Ibid. \textsuperscript{69} Ibid. \textsuperscript{70} Ibid. \textsuperscript{71} Ibid.}
According to geographer Brian J. Godfrey, a private contractor built a “2.5-mile plank road from Yerba Buena Cove to the old mission” in 1851. With the establishment of the horse-drawn Yellow Omnibus Line a year later, this Mission Plank Road hosted the city's first regular public transportation route. The road and bus route provided the primary connection between Mission Dolores and the early American City, helping to facilitate the area’s transition from cattle raising to vegetable and garden crops. A sparse scattering of buildings flanked the road, for example, which extended from the end of Mission Street at Fourth Street to the Mission Dolores and its adjacent settlement. By the 1860s, farmers established a number of large commercial garden plots and nurseries along this corridor and sold their goods to the residents in the urban core. Street grading had also begun in the district by the 1860s, and the city's first streetcar line extended along Valencia Street to 25th Street in 1863, which the San Francisco-San Jose railroad line bought later that year. It included a station at 16th Street.

Fig. 5. This 1853 U.S. Coast Survey illustrates the relationship between the City and the Mission Dolores settlement (at the lower left). Market Street ends at Fourth Street with the plank road connecting the two areas. Courtesy of David Rumsey Map Collection.

---

Although located on the urban fringe and relatively unsettled well into the late nineteenth century, the Mission Dolores neighborhood was a busy center of recreation and leisure. Chronicler of San Francisco’s Gold Rush years, Frank Soulé, described the neighborhood’s activities in 1853, set against the backdrop of the pious space of the Mission church: “The mission has always been a favorite place of amusement to the citizens of San Francisco. Here, in the early days of the city, exhibitions of bull and bear fights frequently took place, which attracted great crowds; and here, also, were numerous duels fought, which drew nearly as many idlers to view them. At present, there are two racecourses in the neighborhood, and a large number of drinking-houses.”

By the mid-1860s, hotelier, collector, and temperance advocate, Robert B. Woodward, introduced some “virtuous entertainment” to this scene of dubious pleasures. Curious passers-by peaked through the gates of Woodward’s four-acre estate at 14th and Mission Streets to see the exotic plants and animals, formal landscaping, and novel architecture. Then, in 1866, he opened the grounds to the public. Woodward’s Gardens promotional literature described itself as “The Central Park of the Pacific embracing a marine aquarium, museum, art galleries, conservatories, menagerie, whale pond, amphitheatre, and skating rink – the Eden of the West! – Unequaled and Unrivaled on the American Continent.” Open to all, Woodward’s Gardens particularly catered to San Francisco’s growing middle class. The grounds closed in 1894.

76 Barbara Berglund, Making San Francisco American: Cultural Frontiers in the Urban West, 1846-1906 (Lawrence, 2007), 70-80.
Early Development Period (1864-1906)

By the 1860s, resolution of public and private land claims through the legal system facilitated implementation of an orderly street grid and residential subdivision. With this, the Mission Dolores neighborhood began to take on a more urban form. During this decade the population of the 11th Ward, which encompassed the neighborhood, rose from 3,000 in 1860 to 23,000 in 1870. This increase in population density and the accompanying housing development was no doubt aided by the extension of city streets into the Mission District and the construction of street car lines along both Mission and Valencia Streets. By the 1870s the area east of Mission Street, between 14th and 17th Streets and out to Howard Street, was well populated with several houses present on every city block. In the Mission Dolores area, marked development had taken place between 15th, 18th, Dolores, and Valencia Streets and on several blocks between Dolores and Valencia Streets near 20th Street. However, west of Dolores Street, blocks remained largely vacant. Several 1880s photographs of the Mission Dolores neighborhood highlight the relatively open and undeveloped western landscape of the area, which had been divided into small ranchos in the 1850s.

---

77 The 11th Ward was a political division within the city governing City/County elections and representation. It encompassed most of the Mission District. San Francisco Planning Department, “Inner Mission North 1853-1943 Context Statement, 2005,” 21.
78 In contrast to the 1853 U. S. Coast Survey Map of San Francisco Bay, California, which shows no buildings in the area south of 16th Street, there are at least fifty-four buildings in the blocks between 17th and 18th Streets and Guerrero and Valencia Streets by the 1870s. Map of the City of San Francisco, 1874.
79 Ibid.
Fig. 8. This 1868 photograph, taken from the Protestant Orphanage grounds in Hayes Valley, overlooks Market Street in the foreground and Valencia Street in the background. View southeast. Courtesy of Gaar and Miller, *San Francisco: A Natural History*, p. 18.
Fig. 9. This map of Mission Dolores in 1874 highlights the denser development within the central core of the neighborhood. Courtesy of California State Library.
The 1874 City Map shows several Mission buildings still in existence at 16th and Dolores Streets.\textsuperscript{80} The footprints of buildings in the vicinity of Camp Street suggest association with the Mission, because of their form, location, and orientation to the street.\textsuperscript{81} In the 1870s the St. Francis Catholic Church was constructed next to the Mission sanctuary. This Gothic Revival brick building had a steeply pitched, gable roof and a prominent central bell tower entry. The building was badly damaged in the 1906 earthquake and demolished.

Figs. 10-11. Mission Dolores in 1865 (left) when a part of it was turned into a saloon and in 1906 (right) long after the land grant to the Mission and adjacent property had been confirmed to the Catholic Church and after the adjacent Gothic Revival church building had been constructed. Views southwest and west respectively. Courtesy of San Francisco Public Library.

In their study \textit{San Francisco, 1865-1932: Politics, Power, and Urban Development}, historians William Issel and Robert Cherny, argue that the distinctive patterns of city neighborhoods were well established by the mid-1880s and continued into the twentieth century. They found this stability expressed in demographics, housing, and social institutions. Based on an analysis of manuscript census data, Issel and Cherny describe the larger Mission District as an area of family habitation with household heads employed primarily in blue-collar jobs and small scale enterprise. A large portion of the population in the mid to late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was foreign born with Germans, Scandinavians, and Irish ethnicities prevailing. Densities in the Mission District were lower than in other parts of the city, particularly the nineteenth century South of Market, the other principal working-class district of the city.\textsuperscript{82} While the authors acknowledged that the Mission District included many diverse neighborhoods, they maintained that these major characteristics of class, social organization, ethnicity, and settlement patterns pervaded the entire area.

\textsuperscript{80} These buildings are located in the block bounded by 15th and 16th Streets and Dolores Street and Guerrero Street. These same buildings appear on the 1853 U.S. Coast Survey Map of San Francisco Bay, California. Ibid.

\textsuperscript{81} There are several long, narrow rectangular buildings in the blocks between Dolores and Guerrero Streets and 14th and 15th Streets. While the 1874 Map of the City of San Francisco does not identify them, they are not oriented toward the street and are present on land where the Mission had a number of outbuildings. As Randall Dean points out, some of these were taken over after secularization by later land owners. Dean, “Eastern Neighborhoods.”

\textsuperscript{82} Cherny and Issel describe the Mission District as encompassing a large area along Mission Street beginning at about 12th Street and extending west from Mission to the base of Twin Peaks and east to the industrial areas along the Bay. Issel and Cherny, \textit{San Francisco}, 58, 63.
A sampling of several blocks in the Mission Dolores neighborhood from the 1880 U. S. Census is highly consistent with Issel and Cherny's description. In 1874, the most heavily occupied blocks were those along Dolores and Guerrero Streets within a few blocks of the old Mission.\(^83\) Households in the 400 block of Dolores Street and the 500 block of Guerrero Street between 17th and 18th Streets, were made up of many families headed by a foreign-born, adult male engaged in a blue-collar occupation. Occupants of the blocks included a blacksmith, a sailor, a factory worker, a steward, a molder, and a wood carver. Household size ranged between two and four individuals.\(^84\) Although working-class occupations were the most common, Mission Dolores also included individuals in white-collar occupations supplemented by an admixture of small merchants dealing in groceries, retail, and brick manufacturing. At the southern edge of the neighborhood in the 700 and 800 blocks of Guerrero Street, a scattering of professionals could be found, including two clergymen and a music teacher.\(^85\) These latter blocks were a part of Horner's Addition, an early subdivision that bordered the Mission Dolores area and, near Guerrero and 20th Streets, overlapped the neighborhood.

Although Mission Dolores had a smattering of middle-class merchants and educated professionals, it did not attract members of the city's wealthier elite in the 1860s and 1870s as did some parts of the Mission District. Mission Dolores neighborhood did not contain large mansions like those on Howard Street (now South Van Ness Avenue) and the southeast Mission District. The largest buildings in the area during the 1870s and 1880s were religious: the Mission Church and the Notre Dame College for Young Women/Convent of the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur. The Sisters of Notre Dame emigrated from Belgium to Oregon during the nineteenth century, then migrated down to California in 1850, where they established a convent and school in San Jose. In 1866, Sister Aloyese of the Cross established a school for girls in San Francisco, directly across from the Mission Dolores.\(^86\) It was the first girl's school in San Francisco and was located on land that was part of the Mexican land grant to the church. It superseded an important part of the Mission Rancheria, which continues to exist as an archeological site.

**Jews in San Francisco**

Jews played a significant role in the development of San Francisco from the earliest years of the Gold Rush. While they accounted for only two-tenths of one percent of the nation’s population, they accounted for thousands of immigrants and migrants who disembarked in San Francisco in 1849. Sephardim Jews who originally hailed from the Iberian Peninsula and were the most acculturated Jewish group in the United States at the time, were particularly influential during the Gold Rush era. German-speaking Jews from Central Europe – particularly from Posen, in Prussia, and from Bavaria, in southern Germany – comprised the largest subgroups and were destined to become among the most influential Jews in San Francisco.\(^87\)

San Francisco Jews came together for the first time to celebrate Rosh Hoshanah in 1849. By the end of the year, Poseners and East European Jews (hereafter referred to as Polish Jews) established the First Hebrew Benevolent Society and bought two lots on Vallejo Street to serve as the first Jewish cemetery in San Francisco. Bavarian Jews (hereafter referred to as German Jews) followed suit a

---

\(^83\) Map of the City of San Francisco, 1874.
\(^85\) Ibid.
\(^86\) Lewis Francis Byington, *History of San Francisco* (San Francisco, 1931), 302-304.
year later, establishing the Eureka Benevolent Society in the fall of 1850.\textsuperscript{88} The two groups foreshadowed a schism within the San Francisco Jewish community that led to the establishment of Congregation Emanu-El and Congregation Sherith Israel in 1851. Young businessmen of German origin and a few Sephardim Jews comprised Congregation Emanu-El, which became the Reformist Jewish congregation. By the late 1850s, the congregation built a synagogue in North Beach, and by the end of the century relocated to Sutter Street, where its Gothic-Moorish temple, with its onion-domed spires, soon became one of the most distinctive landmarks in the cityscape. By 1893, the congregation was ready to expand and to build again. Polish Jews and Englishmen founded the smaller, orthodox Sherith Israel congregation.\textsuperscript{89}

Fig. 12. An 1876 photograph of the Jewish Cemeteries, now Dolores Park, looking east-northeast toward the study area, from Church Street near the southwest corner (top) of current Dolores Park. The building at upper right is located approximately where the replica Mexican liberty bell now stands (near 19th Street, not yet developed in the photo), with Dolores Street running behind from left to right. The linear landscaping running from lower left to upper right is where the concrete plaza currently bisects the park (with the circular median remaining). The background of the photograph illustrates the still scattered development pattern of the neighborhood.

Courtesy of San Francisco Public Library.

In 1860, Jewish culture became part of the landscape near Mission Dolores. San Francisco’s two major Jewish congregations dedicated adjacent cemeteries on the fourteen-acre area, the current location of Mission Dolores Park, bounded by Dolores Street, 20th Street, Church Street, and 18th Street, with Eagle Street separating them down the middle. Congregation Emanu-El located its cemetery on the northern half of the site and named it the Navai Shalome, or the Peaceful Abode, while Sherith Israel named its cemetery Giboth Olam, or Hills of Eternity.\textsuperscript{90} The cemeteries

\textsuperscript{88} “To Go Westward,” \textit{San Francisco Call}, July 13, 1893, p. 10; Rosenbaum, \textit{Visions of Reform}, 6-7.

\textsuperscript{89} “To Go Westward,” \textit{San Francisco Call}, July 13, 1893, p. 10; Rosenbaum, \textit{Visions of Reform}, 8-17.

populations quickly grew. Each counted 300 bodies interred by 1867, and within thirty years, 1,900 bodies were interred at the Home of Peace cemetery alone.  

Population pressures and land scarcity compelled the San Francisco government to reconsider allowing cemeteries within the city’s boundaries. As early as 1880 a new city charter proposed to ban burials within the city limits but failed to pass. In 1888, the Board of Supervisors passed an ordinance calling for the removal of the cemeteries as a nuisance. However, even before the passage of this ordinance, Temple Emanuel-El was contemplating acquisition of a new cemetery site. In 1888, Emanuel-El and Sherith Israel congregations acquired land for a new, seventy-three-acre cemetery in the farming town of Colma in San Mateo County, just outside San Francisco’s city limits. They called it Lawndale. Removal of bodies from the Mission neighborhood began apace. Sherith Israel began removing bodies in 1894, and by the spring of 1895, just 150 bodies were left. A year later, just one gravesite remained between the two cemeteries: A rusty iron railing enclosed the plot of Mrs. Augusta R. Neustadt and her two husbands, located in the center of the Congregation Emanuel-El cemetery. A tall stone shaft rose above the three tombstones, making it a prominent fixture in the otherwise abandoned landscape and a source of frustration for would-be real estate developers. As long as this gravesite remained, the property could not be sold and the land could not be developed.

**Early Development: Single Family Residential**

Between 1870 and 1900, the workforce of San Francisco almost doubled, increasing by 41 percent. The population gain, along with improved transportation and infrastructure, pushed urban development south and west of the downtown area, leading to a period of rapid growth and urbanization for the Mission Dolores neighborhood.

The 1899 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map shows a substantial increase in density from the 1870s. Most large blocks were subdivided again into standard narrow city lots. According to historian Randolph Delehanty, one of the most popular devices for increasing the real estate potential of city blocks was to cut small streets and alleys, thus creating more street frontage and maximizing the amount of developable land. The Mission Dolores area saw a good deal of this type of small street development after 1870. The neighborhood was crossed with narrow streets cutting through the center of blocks; what Delehanty calls an “inside” and “outside” block pattern. Some of these were little more than alleyways. The most concentrated areas of this type of development were between Guerrero, Valencia, 16th, and 17th Streets and near the Notre Dame School between Dolores and Guerrero Streets. However, even around 1900, the western edge of the neighborhood remained sparsely developed between Market Street and 16th Street and between Church and Dolores Streets, where only a few buildings had been constructed on Church Street and on Landers Street by the turn of the century.

Despite a build-up, the neighborhood generally remained distinctly residential with a high concentration of single-family residences. Dwellings outnumbered flats three to one. While built

---

92 “Lone Sentinel of the Dead,” *San Francisco Call*, July 12, 1896, p. 10; Rosenbaum, *Visions of Reform*, 75-76.
out lots were not uncommon, a large number of houses still had set backs that allowed for a front yard and separation from the neighboring building. Corner stores were frequent, with nearly sixteen such establishments within a thirteen-block radius. Most commerce, however, was confined to the Valencia Street, Mission Street, and 16th Street corridors, which by 1899 were principally an assemblage of shops, commercial enterprises, small manufacturing plants, and restaurants, often with residential units above.\textsuperscript{96}

The notable religious institutions and schools continued to thrive within the Mission Dolores neighborhood, with the Mission Church, St. Francis Church, and Notre Dame School predominating. By 1906, the College of Notre Dame occupied a five-story building and counted 200 pupils.\textsuperscript{97} The first Mission High School was the most significant institutional addition to the neighborhood in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. Residents of the Mission first organized to advocate for a neighborhood high school in 1896. At the time, Mission residents had to send their children to high school in the Western Addition, which meant that Mission children often did not attend high school. Travel costs to the Western Addition were high for a relatively poor population, and such a journey was inappropriate for young girls to make without escorts. The residents did not initially request a new building, but within two years the Mission Dolores neighborhood could claim to host the first public comprehensive high school in San Francisco, as well as west of the Rocky Mountains, in a monumental Renaissance Revival style building.\textsuperscript{98} Charles I. Havens, a private practitioner who had experience with school and industrial design, won the commission to design the Mission High School. It was completed in 1898 on land formerly owned by the Jewish Cemetery Association.

![Fig. 13. View north toward the Old Mission High School built in 1897. Courtesy of San Francisco Public Library.](image)

Although more densely developed than in previous decades, Mission Dolores continued to be a family neighborhood around 1900. Census data for the period provides a clear picture of the economic, ethnic, and social composition. By 1900, the 600 block of Guerrero Street, between 18th and 19th Streets, was fully built out. Of nine households appearing in that block in the manuscript census for that year, eight consisted of two parent families with children. In contrast to the same

\textsuperscript{96} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{97} Byington, \textit{History of San Francisco}, 302-304.
\textsuperscript{98} “Events in the City Suburbs,” \textit{San Francisco Chronicle}, March 7, 1896, p. 11.
location in 1880, fewer heads of household were foreign-born, and more were established in white collar occupations. Merchants and clerks were joined by professionals, including a mechanical engineer, a dentist, and a lawyer.99

“Romeo Flats,” a high-density form of rental housing with four to six units, generally for working-class tenants, became increasingly more common after the 1906 Earthquake and Fire. Similarly, the neighborhood did not conform to the development pattern Delehanty describes in which the “inside” streets tend to be the resort of the lower income working class. The housing stock on small streets such as Albion Street, Cunningham Place, Dearborn Street and others was comparable to that found on the main through streets of the neighborhood and, if anything, may have had a slightly higher ratio of individual family dwellings.

Although by 1900 the Mission Dolores neighborhood had experienced substantial growth and left behind the agrarian character of earlier decades, it was still a distinctly suburban area characterized by houses – many with yards – a small number of churches and social organizations, a number of stables, which indicates the dependence of many residents on horses and carriages, and a single concentrated commercial zone. Among the neighborhood institutions and churches were the College of Notre Dame, the Youth’s Directory, Saint Francis Catholic School, St. Francis Church, and a Protestant church at 20th and Dolores Streets.

Mission Dolores Park

As the City surveyed and auctioned off land, almost no provision was made for public open space or parks. In the official survey of 1849 only four parks, Portsmouth, Washington, Union, and Columbia Squares, were provided, each a block or portion of a block within the city grid.100 An 1860s plan by the prolific landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted for a large municipal park was never realized. Since most subdivision within surveyed blocks was carried out by private entrepreneurs, who were intent on maximizing profits by selling as many parcels as possible, parks were not a serious consideration.

San Francisco was not unusual in this lack of provision for public open space. The urban park movement was in its infancy in the 1840s and 1850s, and it was not until 1858 that planning began for Central Park in New York City, the first large urban park built by a municipality for its citizens. During much of the nineteenth century, cemeteries functioned as parks and open space for urban residents. Often the only large landscaped spaces in a city, cemeteries were used for strolling, picnicking and contemplation. San Francisco is unusual in utilizing the site of two former Jewish cemeteries to create one of the city’s largest parks in the Mission Dolores neighborhood.

The nineteenth century introduced several major developments in the history of San Francisco’s park system. Privately owned parks and recreation spaces like Woodward’s Gardens provided most of the city’s parklands during the 1850s and 1860s. In 1855, however, the City of San Francisco passed the Van Ness Ordinance (named after future mayor James Van Ness) to settle land claims for property lying outside the 1851 city charter limits. In addition to surveying all of the said territory and according land titles to the west of Larkin Street and southwest of Ninth Street, the Ordinance established parks and public squares throughout the city. Notably, however, no public space was set aside for the western Mission. Central Park’s master architect, Frederic Law Olmsted, designed a

plan for the city's park system in 1866, calling for a series of small parks connected by a series of parkways, with a larger, rural park located to the southwest. Mission residents, along with North Beach residents and people residing in the western part of the city opposed this plan, calling for a park located to the north, west, or south of the urban core. An 1868 Committee on Outside Lands also rejected Olmsted’s call for a series of small parks; instead, it proposed a small park of 66 acres, known as Buena Vista Park, and a Central Park-like 1,000-acre, rectangular site, the bulk of which was bounded by Steiner on the east, the Pacific Ocean on the west, Lincoln on the south, and Fulton on the north. Golden Gate Park, as the site came to be called, provided more open space per capita than any other park in the nation, but its location on the edge of the city and in the fog belt and sandy dunes rendered it remote to residents of the Mission District. The creation and maintenance of this park also siphoned funds away the creation of any other substantial park spaces in the city and failed to provide public open space for the Mission District.\(^{101}\)

Discussions about transforming the site of two former Jewish cemeteries into a public park soon commenced. The Mission Park Association organized in 1897 for the purpose of securing improvements to the Mission neighborhood, the most populated but often overlooked neighborhood of the City. Its primary goal was to establish a park of international quality, combined with a zoological exhibit. The Jewish cemeteries were among several sites suggested for the new park. As noted on pages 41-42 of the Mission Dolores Park Historic Resource Evaluation (2011), discussions about transforming the former burial grounds into a public park began at least as early as 1897, when the Mission Park Union organized for the purpose of securing improvements to the Mission neighborhood. Mayor James D. Phelan was president of the Mission Improvement Union at the time. In December 1899, Phelan and the Board of Supervisors secured a special election authorizing bonds for an extension of the Golden Gate Park panhandle and the purchase of the two Jewish cemeteries for a park in the Mission District. Both measures passed but were subsequently challenged in court because they had been approved before a new city charter authorizing such bonds took effect. Despite this setback, Mission residents continued to pursue acquisition of the cemeteries through the issue of park improvement bonds. The Mission Improvement Union passed a resolution in August 1903, stating that:

\[\ldots\] the establishment of a small park on the two blocks in front of the Mission High School, between Eighteenth and Twentieth streets will be of great benefit to the Mission district and is an urgent necessity for the residents of this section of San Francisco; that we are in favor of the proposed bond issue of $293,000 for the purchase of the park at this point because it is contiguous to the Mission Dolores, will be in the center of 20,000 dwellers in the Mission, is so sheltered as to be the best place for public botanical gardens, and is naturally attractive.\(^{102}\)

In September 1903, a series of bond measures were sent to the voters by the Board of Supervisors. These included bonds for improved streets, new schools and playgrounds, and a new county jail, as well as the purchase of land for new and expanded parks. Item No. 12 in the September election was a measure to issue $293,000 in bonds for acquiring Mission Park. The bond item needed a two-thirds majority vote and was passed by 1,888 votes: 19,386 in favor and 6,862 against.


The fact that the bond measure passed overwhelmingly was seen as a beneficiary of the City Beautiful Movement that had taken hold of San Francisco. The City sold bonds in 1904 to purchase the former Jewish cemeteries and, in February 1905, purchased the land with the promise to its original owners that the site would always remain a place of beauty. After years of delay, development of a park for the Mission District began. In a dramatic change of tone from its position of opposition years earlier, the city vowed to create “one of the most beautiful parks that now adorn San Francisco.”

Following the 1904 sale of bonds for the acquisition of Mission Park, the property largely remained vacant until February 1905 when the purchase was completed. Several more months passed while designs were submitted for the new park. Many designs were suggested, but artists, landscape architects, and architects agreed that “in deference to the historic interest attached to that portion of the city by reason of the famous old Mission Dolores, the general scheme of adornment should be on the old mission plan.” In reality, proposed designs represented three major trends in architecture that dominated the San Francisco Bay Area during the early twentieth century. A proposed design by G. P. Neilson, for example, featured a rationalized landscape of level ground ornamented with formal gardens, bisecting pathways, and monumental, Classical architecture. This design reflected the Parisian influence of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, then the most prestigious architectural school in the world and highly popular among the Bay Area’s younger generation of architects. Arthur Matthews was a preeminent figure in the local Arts and Crafts movement. Matthews’ design called for a combination of simple artistry and nature, with trees forming a natural archway at the entrance of the park. Only Romer Shawhan’s design captured the history of the Mission and reflected the third regional style. He envisioned a largely pastoral landscape of undulating pathways bordered by trees and shrubs that led to simple Spanish colonial style buildings. A formal fountain stood at the center of this design.


Ultimately, the Park Commission adopted a landscape design by the Superintendent of Parks, John McLaren, in September 1905 (below). The accepted design featured a pedestrian boulevard with a landscaped median and central roundabout running along the line of 19th Street. An artificial lake 300 feet by 50 feet in size would be located at the southwest corner of the park. It would function as a wading pool, as well as provide irrigation for park plantings. The southern and western ends of the park would be terraced, and a stone stairway would lead down to the pond from Church and 20th streets. A twelve-lap circular cinder track would be laid at the northeast corner of the park with an outdoor gymnasium at the center of the track. The park would also contain two tennis courts and two baseball grounds in the northern half, and a bowling green near the southeast side. A contemporary news article described plans for the landscaping, stating that “The garden effect will be semi-tropical, and the entire park stocked with broad leaf plants. A row of palms will border the entire square, and an avenue of trees will be planted along the inner edges.” Upon completion, it was declared that the new Mission Park would be “one of the most beautiful squares in the city.”

As part of the plan, the Park Commission also adopted a motion to request the Board of Supervisors to convert 19th Street to a pedestrian boulevard through the park. Previous minutes from their meetings indicate that the commissioners felt retaining it as a street would greatly “mar its beauty, effectiveness and usefulness as a park land.” Generally speaking, the plan adopted for Mission Park reflected larger transitions in park design during this period. On one hand, the plans indicate a formal landscape with terraces, an artificial lake and a prominent boulevard, all bordered by regularly-spaced trees. On the other hand, the plans also represent the growing interest in providing recreational amenities, including a baseball field, track, tennis court and lawn bowling area.
Fig. 15. Arthur Matthews design for the entrance to Mission Park. *San Francisco Call*, May 14, 1905, p. 7.

Fig. 16. Proposed design by Ada Romer Shawhan. *San Francisco Call*, May 14, 1905, p. 7.
The following excerpt from the *San Francisco Call* summarizes the plans as finally adopted by the Park Commission in 1905:

The park will contain a miniature lake 300 by 50 feet, so constructed that children can wade in it in warm weather. A magnificent stone stairway will lead down to the water from Church and Twentieth streets [sic]. On one end of the park a twelve-lap cinder track will be laid, and inside the circle made by it will be erected an outdoor gymnasium.

There will be two tennis courts in the grounds and two baseball grounds. A large bowling green will be laid out in the other section. The Supervisors have been petitioned to have that section of Nineteenth street which runs through the park declared a boulevard. No teams will be permitted to run through it and the block will be made a true boulevard.

The garden effect will be semi-tropical and the entire park stocked with broad leaf plants. A row of palms will border the entire square and an avenue of trees will be planned along the inner edges.107

---

107 “Mission Park Plan Accepted,” in ibid, September 2, 1905, p. 9.
Improvements to the land were begun by Barnum and Bailey Circus, who completed the work in exchange for their lease of the land for the circus’ 1905 tour of San Francisco. Work hadn’t progressed much with just terracing and grading when the 1906 Earthquake and Fires hit San Francisco and delayed construction.

**1906 Earthquake and Reconstruction (1906-1915)**

The following four paragraphs are excerpted from *City within a City: Historic Context Statement for San Francisco’s Mission District* (2007) prepared by the San Francisco Planning Department.

San Francisco was woefully unprepared for the great quake of 1906. In the pre-dawn darkness of April 18th, miles below the San Francisco Peninsula, two geologic plates along the San Andreas Fault suddenly slipped and lurched past each other by thirteen feet. The massive shock waves propagated through the earth’s crust and reached the surface within seconds. The earthquake, estimated at 7.8 on the Richter scale, arrived with violent undulations at 5:12 a.m. and lasted for close to a minute. The people of San Francisco were awoken that early morning by unimaginable chaos and calamity. The shock waves buckled streets and rails, snapped water and gas pipes, knocked houses off their foundations, collapsed numerous masonry buildings, and wreaked havoc within those structures that withstood the onslaught. Many of the severely damaged and destroyed buildings were located on the poorly compacted “made land” of sand and debris that had been used to fill the bays, marshes, and creeks; these soft lands liquefied, intensifying the shock waves.\(^{108}\)

\(^{108}\) San Francisco Planning Department, “City within a City,” 55.
The northern portion of the Mission District was hit hard by the quake. Along an entire filled creek alignment from Valencia to Folsom, between Seventeenth and Eighteenth Streets, the ground liquefied and shook, damaging or destroying two-thirds of the buildings. On the site of the former twenty-foot deep Laguna de los Dolores, the quake caused the uncompacted fill to suddenly drop four to five feet, and to shift laterally seven feet. This violent torque-ing of the earth caused numerous buildings in and around the district area to be cast from their foundations and into the street or into neighboring properties. Some of the worst quake-related destruction occurred in this part of the Mission District. Despite the unfolding tragedy, the grand, wrecked houses of Howard Street proved to be a popular attraction to sight-seers right after the quake.109

When the shock waves subsided, despite the damage, much of San Francisco had survived. But no sooner had the stunned and terrified populace begun to attend to the urgencies of the injured and trapped, than an even greater calamity unfolded. Approximately 52 separate fires erupted throughout the South of Market, a dense landscape of industry, manufacturing, warehouses, and cheap housing built on unstable sands and marshes. The ruptured gas lines, overturned furnaces, and damaged industrial plants of the badly shaken area set blazes that spread with ferocious intensity. The primarily wooden building stock went up like kindling. Despite half a dozen major fires in San Francisco that had occurred during the Gold Rush era, widespread use of wood construction had continued, in part because masonry materials were neither readily available nor safe in earthquakes.110

Though enough water remained in undamaged reservoirs to fight the initial fires, thousands of localized breaks in water lines throughout the City made firefighting largely futile, despite the valiant efforts of the Fire Department. The fires spread and merged unchecked throughout the day, consuming the entire urban core, and then continuing west and north into residential neighborhoods. Attempts to use explosives to create firebreaks often compounded the critical situation; the explosives, where improperly set, caused new blazes, and they also ruptured additional water lines.111

---

109 Ibid., 55-56.
110 Ibid., 56.
111 Ibid.
Fires swept south and west burning everything from Valencia Street to the east side of Dolores Street and to 20th Street on the south.\textsuperscript{112} Dolores Street, because it was so wide, created a firebreak, and at 20th and Church Streets one of the few fire hydrants that remained operative allowed firefighters to stop the flames from burning to the south and west.\textsuperscript{113} Firefighters also dynamited the Notre Dame Academy across from the mission specifically to prevent the fire from jumping the street and burning down the colonial relic.\textsuperscript{114} “Another opportune discovery, an undamaged cistern at Nineteenth and Shotwell Streets... allowed firefighters to apply a pincer-like defense to stop the blaze at Twentieth and Mission Streets. The Mission District conflagration was turned back, but not before it had devoured approximately thirty square blocks.”\textsuperscript{115} “The organized rallies of the military, city firefighters, and general populace, including refugees in Mission Dolores Park, were responsible for halting the conflagration to the west on Dolores Street and to the south on Twentieth Street.”\textsuperscript{116}

\textsuperscript{112} A. L. McDonald, \textit{Map of San Francisco}, 1906.
\textsuperscript{113} A plaque at this site commemorates this fire hydrant, known as the "Golden Fireplug."
\textsuperscript{114} Cleary, \textit{Mission Dolores}, 61.
\textsuperscript{115} San Francisco Planning Department, “City within a City,” 58.
\textsuperscript{116} Ibid.
The following paragraph is excerpted from *City within a City: Historic Context Statement for San Francisco’s Mission District* (2007) prepared by the San Francisco Planning Department.

San Francisco was a wasted land on April 21st, 1906. The firestorm left behind apocalyptic ruins, within which virtually nothing remained standing. More than 3,000 lives were lost and more than half of the City’s 410,000 residents were left as refugees without homes or many, if any, possessions. Four-fifths of the city’s buildings totaling 28,000 had burned to the ground, including the entire urban core of nearly five square miles: the downtown commercial center, the vast industrial and working-class tableland of South of Market, and the first ring of outlying residential neighborhoods. Among the utterly destroyed areas was the northern Mission, except for the few surviving residential blocks that had been spared to both east and west of the burned area. The Mission neighborhoods south of Twentieth Street were saved.\(^{117}\)

\(^{117}\) Ibid., 60.
Fig. 21. Mission High School, completed just eight years before the earthquake and fires of 1906, survived the disaster. Here, it overlooks the original, makeshift refugee camp in Mission Park. Courtesy of Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

As devastating as the disaster was to San Francisco, virtually all of the buildings survived within the Mission Dolores neighborhood west of Dolores Street and south of 20th Street. Most of the surviving buildings were Italianate or Stick-Eastlake residential buildings (mostly houses and flats), with some commercial and mixed-use buildings. Particularly notable among the latter was the building constructed in 1904 at the southwest corner of Church Street and 17th Street (3703 17th Street) and the building constructed in 1878 at the northeast corner of 18th Street and Sanchez Street (3888 18th Street). The oldest buildings to survive the disaster in the neighborhood were the Mission Dolores chapel and cemetery and the Tanforan Cottages, built in the 1850s. The Tanforan Cottages are City of San Francisco Landmarks Nos. 67 and 68. Although it escaped the fire, the St. Francis Catholic Church (completed in 1876) adjacent to the Mission was badly damaged by the earthquake and was subsequently torn down.
The newly established Mission Park (now Mission Dolores Park) was immediately requisitioned as a tent camp for the temporary housing of those rendered homeless by the earthquake and fires. “For the immediate needs of the refugees, eleven relief camps were set up on public parks throughout the City, including at Mission Dolores Park. In Golden Gate Park, the Army constructed a virtual town, with large residential barracks, tented housing, latrines and bathhouses, laundries, and other services. This Army relief town was accessible for the North of Market refugees, but fewer of the Mission or South of Market refugees trekked out to the sandy wastes.” Within months the tent city was deemed unsanitary and refugees were removed to Duboce Park. “Later, the relief agencies constructed and sold approximately 5,300 earthquake shacks in the relief camps, designed as affordable interim housing for those with moderate incomes. Those of the poorest classes who could not afford them had to fend for themselves.” 118 The first earthquake shack in Mission Park, “Crowley Cottage,” named after the Reverend D. O. Crowley, vice-chairman of the Mission Relief Committee, was also the first refugee cottage erected in all of San Francisco. 119

---

118 San Francisco Planning Department, “City within a City,” 60-61; “Refugees are Removed,” San Francisco Call, July 25, 1906, p. 4.
119 “Demand is Made for Better Parks,” in ibid., November 13, 1910, p. 46.
Revised Mission Dolores Neighborhood Context Statement

December 2021

As noted in *City within a City: Historic Context Statement for San Francisco’s Mission District,* “the reconstruction of the vast area of San Francisco that was destroyed in April 1906 was not evenly distributed. While four-fifths of the city’s building stock had uniformly burned to the ground in three days, the decade-long process of rebuilding occurred unevenly across the city. Enduring factors such as street patterns, property lines, infrastructure, geography, politics, and socio-economic history all contributed to several contexts for reconstruction in different neighborhoods and districts. Nonetheless, the reconstruction of each area occurred within the context of the overall citywide reconstruction, a theme that rallied and resonated among the populace of that era.”

During the reconstruction period, the social fabric of the Mission Dolores neighborhood remained ethnically diverse and working-class, and many of the religious, social, cultural, educational, labor, and commercial institutions that had long histories in the neighborhood rebuilt within the neighborhood. As the larger Mission area grew in population, long sought-after neighborhood improvements, including transportation networks, roadwork, the creation of public parks, and beautification measures were all finally realized. Single-family housing and the last of the farmsteads all but disappeared to accommodate population pressures, rendering the Mission Dolores neighborhood an undeniably urban center.

The neighborhood was extensively rebuilt in the burned area east of Dolores Street following the earthquake and fires of 1906. The renewed neighborhood had a revitalized commercial district centered along Valencia Street and with additional commerce along Church Street and Sixteenth Street. Light industry, an enlarged network of associational and religious institutions, a larger number of educational institutions, and a dense concentration of multi-unit housing also characterized the reconstruction. As the San Francisco Planning Department’s *Inner Mission North Context Statement* makes clear, most of this rebuilding activity was accomplished by the private sector without any overall recovery plan or urban blueprint. Indeed, individual organizations and

---

Figs. 23-24. Left: View southwest toward a refugee tent camp in Mission Park following the earthquake and fires of 1906. Note the area behind the park which was unaffected by the fire. Courtesy of San Francisco Public Library. Right: A city of earthquake cottages in Mission Park, as seen from the northeast corner of 18th Street and Dolores Street, 1906. Courtesy of Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

---

120 San Francisco Planning Department, “City within a City,” 60.
121 San Francisco Planning Department, “Inner Mission North,” 26.
Mayor James Rolph’s own Mission Promotion Association on Commercial Development spearheaded many redevelopment efforts in the Mission District.

Perhaps the most obvious post-earthquake change in the Mission Dolores neighborhood was its transition from a semi-suburban, single-family dwelling area at the periphery of the city, to a dense neighborhood fully integrated into the larger urban context. While flats had been a component of the neighborhood in the nineteenth century, single-family homes had dominated the area. By 1915 that relationship had reversed with single-family dwellings accounting for only one-third of the housing stock. Two- to three-story flats had become the predominant form of housing. In addition, a newer form of housing, the multi-unit apartment building occupied several lots. These two forms of multi-unit housing clearly represented the future, and their growth can be traced into the 1950s and later. In addition, vacant land, which had not been uncommon in the neighborhood in the late nineteenth century, became a rarity. The 1915 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map shows only eight approximately 25-foot wide standard house lots still unbuilt in 1915. This contrasts markedly with 1899 when there were 109 lots within the area bound by 18th Street, Church Street, 20th Street, and Sanchez Street, several of which consisted of large, unsubdivided portions of blocks or parcels. Corner stores, almost all of which were destroyed in the 1906 fires, were quickly replaced, attesting to the importance of this pattern of commerce in the city. Previous undeveloped areas, such as the blocks between 16th Street and Market Street west of Dolores Street, which were not destroyed in the fire, were entirely built out in this period, in large part due to the immediate need for housing in the City.

In their study of San Francisco, Issel and Cherny emphasized the predominantly working-class character of the Mission District and its diverse ethnic composition. Most married women were housewives, but occupations among men included a broad range of skilled and unskilled work: bartenders, warehousemen, carpenters, general laborers, painters, machinists, teamsters, electricians, metal workers, plumbers, blacksmiths, pile drivers, tinsmiths, grocers, etc. A number of police officers, who were traditionally Irish, lived in the neighborhood, which also counted small-time merchants and the occasional real estate agent, physician, artist, attorney, dentist, or other white-collar professional among its residents.

The Mission Dolores neighborhood retained its ethnic diversity in the post-earthquake period. Large pockets of German families and smaller groups of Italian, French, Norwegian, Dutch, Swedish, English, and Finnish families lived in the neighborhood. The combined eight German, Swedish, and Norwegian churches constructed in the neighborhood by 1915 attest to the prominence of these ethnic groups. Like the rest of the Mission, however, the Mission Dolores area also became more Irish in ethnic makeup. This was due in large part to the migration of residents from the South of Market district to the Mission. The heavily working-class and Irish neighborhood in the South of Market district was completely destroyed in 1906, and the residential building stock of the area was not replaced; instead, South of Market was rebuilt as an industrial zone with only small pockets of housing. The result was a mass migration of working class residents into the southern districts of the city. The immediate impact on the Mission Dolores neighborhood and the broader Mission District was a substantially increased density. The Irish who came from the South of Market also

provided a strong ethnic identity to the area. As Issel and Cherny point out, “For the next thirty years or so, until after World War II, many Mission residents were consciously Irish, consciously working class and very conscious of being residents of the ‘Mish.’” All of these characteristics were reflected in the Mission Dolores neighborhood.

The working-class character of the Mission Dolores neighborhood was built into the landscape. In the nineteenth century San Francisco had no zoning regulations, a trait it shared in common with other American cities. Commercial, industrial, and residential uses, however incompatible or undesirable, could co-exist next door to each other. While largely residential, the Mission Dolores neighborhood became home to some light industry in the post-earthquake period. The most notable of these industrial spaces was the shirt and overall manufacturer, Levi-Strauss, at 250 Valencia Street, between Clinton Park and Brosnan Street. The largest industrial complex, however, was the Leonard Lumber Company on 15th Street, between Dolores and Guerrero Streets. Notably, the area bounded by Dolores Street, 15th Street, Valencia Street, and 16th Street came to host the highest density of industrial spaces. In addition to the lumberyard, this area hosted Mission Marble Works, a mattress factory, United Milk Co., and a sheet metal works. The Dairy Delivery Company, one of three dairy companies in the area, also retained a large facility on 19th Street, near Guerrero Street. Perhaps the greatest testament to the strength of working-class ties in the Mission Dolores neighborhood was the construction of the Carpenters’ Hall Lodge at the southwest corner of Valencia and McCoppin Streets (badly damaged by the fire and then demolished), and the Building Trades Temple Association building on 14th Street, near Guerrero Street (demolished). The latter group was associated with the most powerful unions in the city. Finally, the construction of a commercial baseball stadium on former Chinese vegetable gardens and across the street from the former grounds of Woodward’s Gardens accentuated the working-class character of the Mission district and Mission Dolores neighborhood. The Mission Reds and their more famous counterpart, the San Francisco Seals, both Pacific Coast League teams, played at Recreation Park until 1931, when Seal Stadium opened at Bryant and 16th Streets.

125 Issel and Cherny, San Francisco, 66.
The class and ethnic composition of the neighborhood translated into political affiliations too. While most registered voters aligned with the traditional Republican and Democratic parties, a significant number of neighborhood residents were affiliated with the Union Labor and Socialist parties. The Union Labor Party emerged as the third-party leader of San Francisco during the mayoral election of 1901, following the bloody teamsters and waterfront strike of that year. Democratic mayor James Phelan had ordered City police to protect strikebreakers; consequently, union support of the Democratic Party declined precipitously. Capitalizing on this turn of events, the Union Labor Party ran on a union platform and appealed almost exclusively to the working class. Party leader, Eugene Schmitz, won the election, ushering in a decade of Union Labor Party rule. The Union Labor Offices on Valencia Street between 15th and 16th Streets attest to the strong union presence that characterized the Mission District as a whole. The Socialist Party, meanwhile, was enjoying its height of popularity in the United States at this time. Eugene V. Debs, former leader of the American Railway Union, ran for President multiple times as the Socialist Party candidate and captured nearly one million votes in the 1912 election.\textsuperscript{129}

The radical politics of the neighborhood’s working-class ties were confirmed with a blast. On Saturday, July 22, 1916, a bomb exploded on the west side of Steuart Street, just south of Market Street, during the Preparedness Day Parade, one of many organized demonstrations in the country to show support for United States’ entry into World War I. Ten people died, and forty people were injured. Police and other officials immediately suspected the more leftist and radical wings of the labor movement. Among the people under suspicion, but never arrested, was Alexander Berkman, a Russian-born immigrant who was one of the most famous anarchists in the country. He had been living for about a year at 569 Dolores Street, directly across from Mission Park, where he published a monthly magazine called \textit{The Blast}. Tom Mooney, one of the suspects who was eventually arrested, wrongly convicted for the bombing and sentenced to death (his conviction was overturned in 1939), lived on 15th Street, just east of the Mission Dolores neighborhood. The affiliation of Mission Dolores neighborhood residents with this event once again attests to the area’s enduring working-class character.\textsuperscript{130}

While the working-class politics of San Francisco during the post-earthquake period catered to demographic groups like those found in the Mission, James Rolph’s rise to power made official the neighborhood’s political clout. Born and raised in the Mission, “Sunny Jim” Rolph ran for the office of mayor in 1911. Ironically, he vowed to clean up the corruption at City Hall that had plagued the administrations of the Union Labor Party, the party that previously represented the demographics of the Mission. Rolph’s election platform advocated the Mission, and he won the mayoral election of 1911. A charismatic leader and dapper dresser, Rolph believed in a broad definition of government duties. During his first term alone, he oversaw planning of the Panama Pacific International Exposition of 1915, which celebrated San Francisco’s emergence from the rubble and ashes of the earthquake and fires of 1906 and like the Panama-California Exposition at San Diego popularized architecture that pretended to derive from Spanish-Mexican colonial California; implemented the construction of the new City Hall; launched multiple bond campaigns to secure funding for the municipal railway system; and secured federal approval of the construction of the massive Hetch


Hetchy water system that conveys water from the Sierra Nevada to San Francisco. Rolph remained mayor of San Francisco until 1930, when he successfully ran for governor of California. Having such a powerful figure and native son in City Hall had tangible results in the reconstruction of the Mission Dolores neighborhood.

One of the most dramatic changes that Mayor Rolph's administration brought to the Mission Dolores neighborhood was the Church Street electric streetcar line. He championed the expansion of the city's municipal railway system, and in 1913 voters approved a huge bond measure to achieve this goal. Three years later, in 1916, a path was cut along the western edge of Mission Dolores Park for tracks of the new Church Street line.

Figs. 27-28. Left: Installation of the Church Street streetcar line at 16th Street and Church Street (looking north). Right: Church Street and 18th Street, looking south towards Mission Dolores Park. The Youth's Directory is the first building visible. Courtesy of San Francisco Public Library.

The rail tracks marked one of many alterations that Mission Park underwent in the post-disaster period. The City was slow to invest significant funds into the park once the tent city was removed, around 1908. Improvements were limited to laying a new water pipe system, spreading loam and fertilizer over the park, planting some trees and shrubs, and removing macadamized areas that the Red Cross had used during the emergency relief. Crowley Cottage also remained on the park grounds as a reminder of the disaster.

Although these improvements paled in comparison to the pre-earthquake plans for Mission Park, the green space became an anchor for the reconstruction and development of the neighborhood. As noted, the Youths' Directory rebuilt at 19th and Church Streets; the Mission Congregational Church erected a new building on the opposite side of the park, at the corner of Dolores and 19th Streets; and the Second Church of Christ, Scientist built a block away, also on Dolores Street. Reverend R. K. Hamm, rector of the new Mission Congregational Church, "pointed out the value of the new site at Nineteenth and Dolores Streets. On the opposite corner, he said, would be erected the new Youths' 

---

Directory, and across Dolores street would be the Mission High School and picturesque Mission Park.” 134 Apartment buildings filled in the rest of the park’s border.

Improvements to Mission Park continued to occur gradually before World War I, according to no specific plan, and largely in thanks to the untiring efforts of the Mission Promotion Association on Commercial Development. The group called for paving the streets that bordered the park, constructing sidewalks and curbs around the park, and completing the transformation of Dolores Street into a boulevard by adding decorative medians and planting palm trees. Dolores Street from 17th Street to 20th Street was bituminized in 1910 to facilitate smooth passage to and from the park; Dolores Street was also extended south at this time from 20th Street to Mission Street. 1913-1914 saw the construction of a “convenience station” (storage and toilet facilities) designed by M. Shelby Company. The pathway that still bisects Mission Dolores Park was improved to include concrete paths during the 1910s, and tennis courts arrived in 1913. The children’s playground promised in the plan originally approved by the Parks Commission was built in 1916. It replaced a wading pool. 135

Fig. 29. Mothers and their children at the Mission Park playground in 1922. This site originally hosted a wading pool. Courtesy of San Francisco Public Library.

Several familiar landmarks and institutions in the Mission Dolores neighborhood were repaired and/or rebuilt after the earthquake and fires. The College of Notre Dame hired prominent San Jose architect, Theodore Lenzen, to design a new building for the venerable institution. Notre Dame School at 347 Dolores Street is City of San Francisco Landmark No. 137. Lenzen (1863-1912) was a

135 Ambitious Programme to Improve Mission,” San Francisco Chronicle, March 27, 1910, p. 41; “Mission Association Resumes Activities,” in ibid., July 9, 1912, p. 5; “Gives Fountain in Father’s Memory,” in ibid., November 22, 1912, p. 3; “Tennis is in Vogue throughout the Year,” in ibid., January 6, 1914, p. 6; “Mission Tots to have Playground,” in ibid., March 18, 1916, p. 9; “Mission Park to Get Improvements,” San Francisco Call, August 27, 1910, p. 9; “Great Improvements Made in Many Parts of the City,” in ibid., September 17, 1910, p. 9; Young, Building San Francisco’s Parks, 187.
well-known and respected architect whom the San José Mercury once declared had contributed more to the look of dwellings and businesses than any other architect in Santa Clara County. Among his more notable commissions was San José’s city hall, designed in 1890. For the Notre Dame College in San Francisco, Lenzen designed “nearly an exact duplicate” of the original. That said, it was more than twice the size of the old one and was ready to welcome over 500 students by the fall of 1907.136 The Youth’s Directory, a Roman Catholic orphanage whose sprawling Victorian facility on 19th Street, between Guerrero and Valencia Streets, burned down, had a new, $100,000 building constructed at the southwest corner of 19th and Church Streets (now demolished). Elevated twenty-six feet above Church Street, the pressed brick building rose four stories and was capped by a tower. As the San Francisco Chronicle noted, “Its commanding position fronting Mission Park gives it prominence over surrounding buildings so that the new structure is seen from most points of the city.”137

Fig. 30. Notre Dame Catholic Girls High School, 1906, just before the earthquake and fires. Note that some landscaping of the Dolores Street median was underway. Courtesy of the California State Library.

The general rise in social and religious organizations is notable in the period following the earthquake and fires. The Columbia Park Boys Club, for instance, built new headquarters on Guerrero Street, between 16th and 17th Streets. Founded in 1895 by Major Sydney S. Peixotto, member of a prominent Sephardim Jewish family, the Columbia Park Boys Club was guided by the following philosophy:

Instead of going at the problem of the city boy and his spare hours with the idea of what is "good for the boy" and what "he ought to do," the question in the Columbia Park Boys' Club has been first, what does the city boy want? What appeals to him? In other words the club aims to give healthful play of the kind boys really like, not the kind that people think they ought to like, but this play is so molded that its results are a vital character-building force in a boy's life.\textsuperscript{138}

The progressive organization was open free-of-charge to boys between the ages of eight and fourteen, regardless of ethnicity or class. Despite its motto, this organization provided a highly structured program of athletics, music, summer camp, and more. It also proved to be a hugely popular organization and boasted a long waiting list.\textsuperscript{139} Another prominent building to be erected in the neighborhood during this period was the Mission Turn Verein Hall at 18th and Lapidge Streets. Like all Verein Halls, it was built as a place for gymnastics and provided association space for those of German origin and a home for the German Men's Chorus; many community organizations gathered there for a variety of purposes, especially those related to neighborhood improvement programs. Other social and/or social welfare institutions included multiple orphanages and the Mary's Help Hospital (demolished), which faced Guerrero Street and occupied the western half of the block on which the Levi Strauss factory stood.\textsuperscript{140}

Several elementary schools were built in the Mission Dolores neighborhood during the reconstruction period too. They reflected both popular sentiment towards public education during the Progressive Era and the growing population of families in the Mission following the earthquake and fires. The schools included Everett Elementary on Sanchez Street (Everett Middle School and Sanchez Elementary School replaced this building in the 1920s), a kindergarten at 18th and Oakwood Streets, and Marshall Primary School at Cunningham Place. Notre Dame Academy and Mission Dolores Church ran private educational institutions.\textsuperscript{141}

In keeping with the history of the neighborhood, religious institutions abounded. Smaller churches for German and Swedish denominations – Lutheran, Baptist, Evangelical, Congregational – were most numerous in the neighborhood. Among the most architecturally prominent of these churches were the red brick Gothic Revival Mission Congregational Church at 19th and Dolores Streets, which was designed by the Reverend Francis W. Reid and completed in 1910 (also known as the Norwegian Lutheran Church and the Golden Gate Lutheran Church), and the domed Second Church of Christ, Scientist, which was completed in 1916 and designed by William H. Crim to seat 1,000 people.\textsuperscript{142} Jews continued to have a presence in the neighborhood too. In 1907 the congregation B'nai David, which was established in the Mission during the 1880s, along with the Chevra Mikva Israel commissioned Harry S. Weiss to design a synagogue and children's day school on 19th Street, between Guerrero and Valencia Streets. The cornerstone was laid in April 1908.\textsuperscript{143} All of these religious institutions were located between Dolores Street, Valencia Street, 16th Street, and 19th Street.

\textsuperscript{138} Eustace M. Peixotto, "The Columbia Park Boys' Club, A Unique Playground," \textit{Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science} 35, no. 2 (March 1910), 220.
\textsuperscript{139} Ibid., 220-222.
\textsuperscript{140} Issel and Cherny, \textit{San Francisco}, 64.
\textsuperscript{142} "New $100,000 Christian Science Church," \textit{San Francisco Chronicle}, June 10, 1916, p. 8.
\textsuperscript{143} "Consecrated the Scroll," \textit{San Francisco Call}, December 23, 1895, p. 9; "Jews in Mission Will Build $10,000 Synagogue," in ibid., November 6, 1907, p. 14; "Begin Synagogue on Date of Fire," in ibid., April 12, 1908, p. 52.
The Roman Catholic Church also retained a significant presence in the neighborhood. In 1911 Virginia Fair Vanderbilt, the daughter of a Comstock Load millionaire and United States senator, donated money to the Sisters of the Holy Family, a long established organization devoted to early childhood education in the city, to build a Children’s Day Home at the corner of Dolores and Sixteenth Streets. Willis Polk designed the Italianate building. Two years later, the cornerstone was laid for a new Mission Dolores Basilica. After the heavily earthquake damaged church of the 1870s was demolished, Architects Frank T. Shea and John O. Loftquist designed an austere Mission style basilica. Shea was a Beaux-Arts trained architect known as the “church builder of San Francisco,” having previously designed such landmarks as Holy Cross Church in the Western Addition (1899), St. Brigid’s Church on Van Ness (1900-1904), St. Vincent de Paul Church at Green and Steiner (1911), Nuestra Señora Guadalupe on Russian Hill (1912), and St. Paul’s Catholic Church in Noe Valley (1913). Loftquist served as Shea’s engineer. The first mass in the concrete-and-steel Basilica was held on Christmas Day, 1918.\textsuperscript{144} The construction of these two institutions marked a continuation of patterns that emerged in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when Mission Dolores neighborhood had been dominated by Catholic institutions. Most of these had been concentrated within the half-block that contained the Mission itself and in the school directly across Dolores Street. This enclave of Catholic institutions remained within the confines of the original Mission grant to Bishop Alemany in 1858.

Modern Development of Mission Dolores Neighborhood (1916-1943)

Another prominent improvement project came with the restoration of Mission Dolores in 1918 by noted San Francisco architect Willis Polk. The restoration of Mission Dolores contributed to a larger movement to capitalize on regional nostalgia for Spanish colonial days and Californians’ growing love of the automobile and tourism. Harriet Forbes in Southern California gathered the support of many women’s clubs and convinced a group of men to invest in recreating and paving El Camino Real from San Diego to Sonoma. The new “king’s road” would roughly follow the original trail of the Franciscans who founded missions along the California coast during the eighteenth century, and extant missions would be restored for tourist appeal. Road work began in 1902, and Forbes designed the mission-bell guidepost to demarcate the new highway.145 As Willis Polk wrote to the *San Francisco Chronicle*, “Our good roads enable [Americans] to see California. The old missions are... probably as far as travel and trade are concerned, one of our most valuable assets. These missions, therefore, should be preserved. The railway companies, hotels, banks and all California interests, having prosperity of our State at heart, undoubtedly realize the tremendous advertising value of the work now commenced at Mission Dolores.”146

Polk also strove for architectural authenticity in the restoration of Mission Dolores. He criticized other mission restorations for demolishing significant sagging roofs, faded or cracked tiles, and bowed walls with roofs that were too rigid, tiles that were too bright, and walls that were too straight. Such restorations, Polk felt, compromised the historic feeling of California’s most treasured buildings. For Mission Dolores, Polk vowed to “preserve in the time-worn beauties of the building without introducing the garish note of modern imitation.” After meticulously photographing the roof, for instance, Polk’s design called for the roof to be removed, a steel framework to be put in place, then the original rafters and their buckskin thongs to be returned. Original tiles were used whenever possible, with new ones tinted to match the old. Similarly, patchwork of the adobe walls

---

146 Willis Polk to *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 16, 1918, p. 18.
was designed to match the existing building. Such measures promised to “give back to San Francisco the single souvenir of its beginning in its original form, mellowed with the charm of the years.”

With the completion of the Mission Dolores Basilica and the reconstruction of the mission in 1918, the post-earthquake and fires reconstruction phase of the Mission Dolores neighborhood was complete. As symbolized by the phoenix emblazoned on the City seal and flag, San Francisco had once again risen from the ashes. The first post-earthquake Sanborn Fire Insurance Map for the Mission Dolores neighborhood was completed in 1915 and reveals that the neighborhood as it exists today was largely shaped in the immediate post-earthquake period. This is true in terms of the character and period of the housing stock, in the general patterns of neighborhood development and, up until World War II, in patterns of class and ethnicity.

While San Francisco, like much of the United States, witnessed a roller coaster period of labor strife, the first Red Scare, xenophobia, affluence, and the devastating human toll of the Great Depression, between the end of World War I and America’s entry into World War II, the Mission Dolores neighborhood underwent little substantive change. It witnessed few demographic shifts or major alterations to the built environment, except that residential infill construction continued apace. In this period, construction typically took the form of large apartment buildings, flats, and to lesser degree, individual homes. The trend toward multi-unit housing was established during the immediate post-earthquake rebuilding but experienced its greatest increases in the period between 1914 and 1930.

Important non-residential buildings constructed during this time period include: Everett Middle School (1925 by architect John Reid Jr.); Mission High School (1926 also by architect John Reid Jr.); Sanchez Elementary School (1926); Golden Gate Lutheran Church (1910 and 1931 by Rev. Francis W. Reid); and Saint Nicolas Cathedral (constructed 1919 as a Lutheran Church, Russian Orthodox since 1960).

During the 1920s overall residential construction within the neighborhood was prolific and buildings were generally of high quality materials and techniques. Prior to 1915 eleven large-scale apartment buildings had been erected in the neighborhood. During the 1920s, the number of buildings erected included 36 apartment houses and multiple-family dwellings (of more than 3 units), an additional 21 buildings comprised of flats, two schools, and twelve single-family dwellings (most as part of one development located at Hidalgo Terrace).

With the onset of the Great Depression in 1930 and the resultant economic collapse, the pace of residential construction decreased in the decade following the robust 1920s. Yet during the lean economic times of the 1930s, many property owners improved, embellished, or expanded their buildings to increase rent potential. There appear to be multiple examples within the neighborhood of bay-fronted flats and apartment buildings originally constructed in historicist, Classical Revival styles, which were stripped of ornament, stuccoed, and given cornices and parapets to conform to the popular Art Deco and Streamline Moderne styles of the day. This pattern of alteration conforms to a broader, national architectural trend that favored streamlined buildings and was inspired locally by the construction of the Golden Gate Bridge in 1937 and the 1939 Golden

---

147 "Restoration of Old Mission to Begin in Month," San Francisco Chronicle, April 13, 1918, p. 12.
Gate International Exposition on Treasure Island. Preparations for the 1939 International Exposition included a citywide beautification movement known as “Shine for ‘39.” In the 1930’s, it became a common practice to update existing buildings by removing historicist ornament and adding Art Deco detailing characterized by zigzags, chevrons, rays, stepped arches, stylized floral motifs, and simplified and overlapping forms. New construction during the 1930s included one set of flats, one commercial building (245 Church St.), one apartment building (718 Church St.), one school, and 5 single-family dwellings. Prior to WWII, (between 1940-41), one apartment building (255 Dolores St.) and five buildings comprised of flats were constructed.

The year 1941 marks a transition with regard to architectural development and reflects a broader historical shift related to the onset of WWII. In 1942 the U.S. government imposed a temporary moratorium on residential construction nationwide (with the exception of war housing), for defense purposes and to divert construction materials to the war effort. In 1942, flats in the form of a two-story-over-garage, Art Deco-style duplex were constructed at 724 Church Street, the last example of new construction within the study area during WWII. As discussed below the Valencia Gardens, a public housing project outside the study area, was constructed between 1939 and 1942. In 1943 and 1944 no new buildings were constructed within the study area. By the start of WWII, the Mission District, representing San Francisco’s oldest urban core, was fully built out.

Mayor Rolph’s advocacy for education reform reached the Mission Dolores neighborhood during the 1920s and introduced some of the most significant changes to the physical landscape. When he entered office in 1911, San Francisco had the poorest public school system in the state. At the height of the Progressive Era, Rolph’s charismatic personality bolstered the mayor’s ability to raise money for school construction. Voters approved two bond measures, one for $3.5 million in 1917 and a second for $12 million in 1922. This resulted in the two-phased construction of a new Mission High School in 1925 and 1927, and Everett Middle School in 1927, both designed by city architect, John Reid, Jr., who was also involved with the design of San Francisco’s Civic Center and counts Laguna Honda hospital, San Francisco General Hospital, and the Noe Valley Library among his copious achievements. 149 Mission High School was completed in an elaborate Spanish Baroque style with a domed tower featuring mosaic tiles. Everett Middle School is more eclectic in style, with strong Classical references in the Corinthian columns that support the façade’s arcade, and Moorish references in the tile work. Overall, it, too, suggests Spanish Revival. Both schools were constructed at the edge of the Mission Dolores neighborhood, with Mission High School to the south and Everett Middle School to the west.

---

149 San Francisco Planning Department, “Golden Age of Schools.”
The high school’s architecture complemented that of the Mission Dolores parish church, located a block north on Dolores Street, which was then being embellished with the Churrigueresque Revival details that characterize it today. In the 1920s, the Spanish or Mediterranean Revival style emerged as an important and widely used architectural style California. In art, architecture and literature, the period was characterized by a romanticization of the rancho period of California’s past. Many architects argued that it was the quintessential aesthetic that represented both California’s history and its Mediterranean landscape. During the 1920s, entire towns like Santa Barbara and Los Gatos were redeveloped on a Spanish architectural theme and new subdivisions, such as Rancho Santa Fe in San Diego and Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr.’s, Palos Verdes embraced the style. While never as popular or widespread in the Bay Area as in Southern California, it was used for a number of major public buildings. The Mission Dolores area, with its strong Hispanic heritage, was a natural place for this style to find expression. The Catholic Basilica, Mission High School, and Everett Jr. High School are among the finest examples of the style in the City. In addition, there are a number of lesser examples scattered throughout the neighborhood.

The City had ambitious plans for the Dolores Street median during the 1920s too. By this time, it ran continuously from the beginning to the end of Dolores and hosted its trademark ribbon of palm trees. In 1924, it became part of a more comprehensive plan to link the City’s parks into a connected system that included Dolores Street, the Presidio, and Lincoln Parkways. That plan never came to fruition. The 1924 Annual Report also proposed a plan to use the median for the placement of statuary that was clogging Market Street. This plan was never carried out either. A lone Spanish-American War monument, California Volunteers designed by sculptor Douglas Tilden, marks the beginning of the median at Market Street; it was relocated there in the 1930s from its original 1903 location at Market Street and Van Ness Avenue.
Although generally intended to segregate commercial, industrial, and residential uses, the zoning of older neighborhoods in San Francisco, including the Mission Dolores neighborhood, tended to reflect already existing patterns. When zoning was introduced in the 1920s, the major north-south streets in the Mission Dolores neighborhood were zoned commercial, reinforcing the established uses along Valencia Street and 16th Street and allowing for increased mixed use along Guerrero Street. Corner stores retained their strong foothold, joined in the 1940s and 1950s by a number of gas stations on key corner lots, particularly along Valencia Street and Guerrero Street. However, within a few decades, many of the light industrial uses in residential blocks were redeveloped into small subdivided tracts of flats and single-family homes, which became more common again as the proliferation of automobiles encouraged suburban-style development.

By 1930 the Mission Dolores neighborhood had shifted from a predominantly blue-collar, foreign-born population to an almost equal mix of native/foreign-born and skilled blue/white-collar residents. Of fourteen households in the 700 block of Guerrero Street that year, half reported a foreign-born head of household. Of these, most had immigrated from northern Europe, maintaining the earlier neighborhood ethnic mix of German, Scandinavian, and British born. Those in blue-collar occupations were involved in skilled trades such as building, electrical, and fire fighting. Those in white collar occupations were primarily engaged as retail clerks or in lower echelon administrative jobs. Among this mix there were a few small-scale entrepreneurs including the owner of a nail manufacturing operation and the owner of a tire store. A new development was the presence of households headed by single women, often with grown children or boarders in residence.153

---

152 In 1950 there were 19 corner stores, in contrast to 17 in 1915. This does not include gas stations. Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, “San Francisco, California,” (1915, 1950).
Postwar Era (1943-1965)

World War II brought significant changes to the Mission Dolores neighborhood. Wartime industries, particularly in shipbuilding, created jobs, a population boom, and a housing shortage.

As noted in *City within a City: Historic Context Statement for San Francisco’s Mission District*, prepared by the San Francisco Planning Department in 2007, “By mid-Twentieth Century, San Francisco was comprised of an older urban core at the center of a new and growing metropolis. Fueled by increased auto-mobility and the post-war economic prosperity of the 1950s, suburban development proliferated in the Bay Area. New suburbs became the new home for the burgeoning middle class, who also found mini-centers of commerce and industry outside of the city. Like many U.S. cities, San Francisco’s urban core became characterized by vacancies and economic decline in older residential districts, though vitality of the downtown financial and retail center was maintained by the suburban commuters.”

The slow decline of San Francisco’s maritime industry culminated with the modernization of Oakland’s rival port in the 1960s. From a population of 635,000 in 1940, San Francisco’s residents peaked in 1950 at 775,000, before declining to 740,000 in 1960 and 716,000 in 1970.

San Francisco’s inner city experienced an exodus of middle-class residents, primarily of white ancestry, to the suburbs, including the far western neighborhoods of the city, the Richmond and Sunset. Following the return of younger Mission residents from overseas after the war, many took advantage of the benefits conferred by the GI Bill, such as educational grants and low-interest home loans, and moved out of the cramped and aging flats of the Mission to the newly developed housing tracts of the Sunset/Parkside, Marin County and the Peninsula.

These inner city conditions created opportunities for newcomers, leading to further socioeconomic changes in the Mission. During World War II, in-migration of African-Americans from the southeastern U.S. occurred, followed by Hispanic [Latino] immigration.
in the 1950s and Asian immigration in the 1960s. The 1960s and 1970s also saw an influx of artisans, bohemians, students, and other counter-culture types to the Mission. They re-inhabited the older building stock of the Mission and breathed new life into its inner city neighborhoods. As the renter population increased and more owners were either low-income or absentee, maintenance and upgrades were often deferred on older structures.

One response to the socio-economic changes in inner city districts like the Mission was urban renewal, a heavy-handed civic response to perceived blight and decline. The renewal strategy consisted of scraping sites clear of older structures and building monolithic complexes to suit new uses. To these ends, the San Francisco Housing Authority, the first of its kind in California, was established in 1938 to develop high density, low-income housing projects. A decade later, the San Francisco Redevelopment Agency was established in 1948 and wrought large-scale disruption in established neighborhoods such as the Western Addition in order to accomplish new projects.154

Community activism during the 1950s and 1960s halted the Redevelopment Agency’s plans for Mission Street and the larger Mission neighborhood more generally. Having witnessed neighborhoods like the Western Addition uprooted and its residents displaced by the bulldozer, or the produce warehouse district near the Embarcadero replaced with such experiments in gentrification as the Golden Gateway development, Mission residents of many ilk organized the Mission Council on Redevelopment. This group proposed to veto any redevelopment projects slated for neighborhoods within the district. Their plan failed, leading to the group’s vehement opposition to any redevelopment plans in the district; instead, one of the Mission’s leading anti-renewal advocates stated that each neighborhood could renew without the helping hand of the government. A redevelopment plan for the Mission District also would have created a Mission Rehabilitation-Renewal Committee to negotiate with the Redevelopment Agency, establishing a model for government-community relations in postwar redevelopment plans. For the time being, neighborhood residents prevailed in their battle against major renewal programs in the Mission, underscoring the power of organized community opposition, but curtailing experimentation in government-community cooperation schemes.155

The Mission Dolores neighborhood saw a continuation of trends established in the post-earthquake years. Density continued to increase, with a substantial increase in multi-unit buildings. Overall, the number of single-family homes declined in the area. By 1950, Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps show only 58 single-family dwellings in the neighborhood, mostly concentrated on the smaller side streets of the neighborhood, such as Chula Lane, Linda Street, and Lapidge Street. Multi-unit dwellings by contrast expanded exponentially, with an almost 80 percent increase by 1950.156 Consistent with the Inner Mission North area, this type of dwelling was most often found on compact, pedestrian-oriented streets and corner lots. The pattern of growth for this type of housing followed that of the Mission District in general. The trend toward multi-unit housing was

154 San Francisco Planning Department, *City within a City: Historic Context Statement for San Francisco’s Mission District*, 84-85.


established during the immediate post-earthquake rebuilding, but experienced increases in the period between 1914 and 1930.\textsuperscript{157} In the period after 1950, a number of multiple unit buildings replaced some older housing, noticeably along Church Street and on a number of large corner lots between Guerrero Street and Valencia Street.

\textbf{1965 to the Present}

Subtle change more than dramatic rupture characterized the Mission Dolores neighborhood from 1918 through the postwar period. Like most of America, however, the late twentieth century introduced some significant changes. Demographically, the neighborhood remained predominantly white, but Latinos – especially those from Central America – moved into the neighborhood in significant numbers, as did lesbians and feminists. Urban renewal arrived in the form of Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) in the 1960s and 1970s, but community activists fought back at the City’s larger plans to raze blocks of old building stock. Urban decay plagued the eastern border of the neighborhood as the twentieth century came to a close, but by the twenty-first century, the traditionally working-class neighborhood became associated more with hipster adults, gourmet dining, and, like the century before, community activism for neighborhood improvements.

In his study of changing San Francisco neighborhoods in the 1970s and 1980s, Brian Godfrey concluded that after 1950, the Mission Dolores neighborhood became less ethnically diverse and more middle class. With a housing cost 16 percent higher than the city median, Godfrey finds that the western portions of the Mission Dolores neighborhood attracted a population that tended to be white, native-born, and more affluent than the rest of the Mission.\textsuperscript{158} The \textit{City within a City: Historic Context Statement for San Francisco’s Mission District} concurred and stated, "the western Mission, an area of well-maintained dwellings and flats on hillier terrain, saw minimal in-roads made by the Latino population. This part of the Mission, west of Valencia Street, became a transitional area for affluent white neighborhoods to the west, such as Dolores Heights and Eureka and Noe Valleys.”\textsuperscript{159} Recently, the Mission Dolores neighborhood manifested urban demographic shifts, such as the return of young families to the city.

Institutions in the Mission Dolores neighborhood reflect changes in ethnic ties that characterized the area’s population during the early twentieth century. Some churches that had originally been associated with earlier immigrant communities, for example, took on more general Protestant denominational identities. The Swedish Baptist Church at 17th and Dearborn Streets became the Church of Christ. The Swedish Tabernacle was founded in 1877; its original building was destroyed in 1906. It was rebuilt and later became the Good Samaritan Community Covenant Church at 455 Dolores Street. The two major public schools, Mission High School and Everett Junior High School, remained central institutions in the neighborhood.

. The overall Mission District did experience a dramatic rise in Latino populations, which characterized the neighborhood during the second half of the twentieth century due to greater access to housing and transit. In 1950, Latinos counted for approximately 11.6 percent of the Mission population. That number rose to 45.7 percent in 1980. Consequently, the period from 1960 to 1980 saw the business district along Mission Street and east of Mission Street take on a distinctive ethnic character with many Latino owned businesses, galleries, and social institutions. Within the Mission Dolores neighborhood, Latino population rose from 5.7 percent in 1950 to 28.5

\textsuperscript{157} San Francisco Planning Department, “City Within a City,” 36.
\textsuperscript{158} Brian Godfrey, \textit{Neighborhoods in Transition}, 159.
\textsuperscript{159} San Francisco Planning Department, “City Within a City,” 90.
percent in 1980. Central Americans became an increasingly prominent group within the Mission, such that the Mission had the greatest concentration of Latinos from Central America of any major city in the U.S. by the 1980s. In addition, it retains a population of Latino families who had established themselves in the neighborhood in earlier decades. Overall, the Mission Dolores neighborhood remains a diverse area that is ethnically and socio-economically mixed.

Since the 1970s, Latino settlement of the Mission Dolores neighborhood has declined in absolute numbers; nonetheless, in the late twentieth century, Latino businesses filled the commercial district along Valencia Street and Guerrero Street, while social and religious institutions that had served earlier waves of immigrants catered to Latino communities. The El Buen Pastor Church at 16th and Guerrero Streets, for example, became the first Spanish language congregation established in the neighborhood in the 1940s. The First Swedish Methodist Church became the Spanish Presbyterian Church, and the Second Church of Christ, Scientist on Dolores Street attracted a largely Latino congregation. In 1962, a statue of Mexican revolutionary Miguel Guadalupe Hidalgo was erected at the top of the 19th Street pathway. Four years later Gustavo Diaz Ordaz, president of the United Mexican States, presented San Francisco with a memorial replica of the “Mexican liberty bell.” It stands at the base of the same pathway.


160 Ibid.
161 Godfrey, Neighborhoods in Transition, 148-156; San Francisco Planning Department, “Inner Mission North,” 34.
162 San Francisco Planning Department, “Inner Mission North,” 33.
163 San Francisco Planning Department, “Inner Mission North,” 90; plaque commemorating the dedication plaque of the Mexican Liberty Bell.
Vibrant murals also decorate buildings in the Mission Dolores neighborhood and the Mission District in general, a product of the Chicano movement that emerged in the 1960s. This ancient art form became a common and prominent method for activists in the Chicano movement to express ethnic pride and/or to critique social injustice. The community murals, as mural historian Timothy Drescher called them, were painted at the street level, where the public could watch, communicate, and sometimes assist the artists. Since 1977 Precita Eyes Mural Arts and Visitors Center, founded by Susan Cervantes and her husband Luis, has been a leader in organizing community mural projects in the Mission. 24th Street east of Mission Street forms the nucleus of the mural canvas, as well as Balmy Alley and Clarion Alley. Some significant murals grace the walls of buildings within the Mission Dolores neighborhood too. They are not necessarily Latino in content; rather, they express a profusion of cultural and gender politics that marked the late twentieth century.


The Mission has experienced public and private reinvestment in its building stock, infrastructure, and services, as well as a continuation of earlier socio-economic trends. The Mission’s affordable and available housing stock, its central location, and its fine weather have attracted a younger demographic in recent years. Many have inhabited existing homes, while others have constructed high density loft-style flats and apartments. The neighborhood continues to retain a significant Latino population, though over the last thirty years there has been a decrease in both low to moderate income households as well as the Latino population, raising concerns of displacement. Through community activism, the Latino population has been instrumental in refocusing civic efforts on quality of life in urban neighborhoods such as the Mission. One plank of the overall

platform of retaining and enhancing neighborhood character in the Mission is preservation of its historic and cultural resources.”\(^{167}\)

As part of these efforts, Mission Action Plan 2020 began in 2015 as “a collaborative process between community advocates, including the Mission Economic Development Agency (MEDA), Dolores Street Community Services/Mission SRO Collaborative, Cultural Action Network—and long-time neighborhood activists from Plaza 16, Pacific Felt Factory, and the Calle 24 Latino Cultural District, and City staff to identify potential solutions for the residents, arts organizations, nonprofits, and businesses being displaced by the rapid changes in the Mission.”\(^{168}\) MAP2020 identifies several objectives including maintain the socio-economic diversity of the neighborhood, protect tenants at risk of eviction and preserve existing housing, increase the proportion of affordable units, stem the loss of and promote community businesses, retain and promote Production, Distribution and Repair (PDR) jobs and uses, and increase economic security.\(^{169}\) Most strategies in the Mission Action Plan 2020 are currently under implementation and have included process improvement measures, amendments to the Planning Code, and community engagement across city agencies.

\(^{167}\) San Francisco Planning Department, "Mission Context Statement," 91-92.


\(^{169}\) Ibid.
PART III: PROPERTY TYPES

The following section, which provides an overview of property types commonly found in the Mission Dolores neighborhood, is excerpted from Roland-Nawi Associates’ “Mission Dolores Historic Context Statement,” dated December 2007, unless otherwise noted.

The Mission Dolores neighborhood contains a wide variety of property types and architectural styles. With the exception of heavy industry, it contains a mix of uses and occupancy. However, the residential character of the area, first established in the 1870s and persisting through the post-earthquake rebuilding period, continues to dominate the neighborhood. The neighborhood largely derives its visual character from the extensive number of Victorian, Edwardian, Mission Revival, and Classical Revival style; two- to four-story residences that abut one another along the frequently tree-lined streets. The neighborhood also includes some examples of later twentieth century styles including Art Deco to Modern.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROPERTIES

The Mission Dolores area contains both prehistoric and historic archeological sites. According to former archeologist Randall Dean of the San Francisco Planning Department, the Mission Dolores neighborhood’s archeological record is not only significant but retains relatively good integrity. Most archeologists agree that the remains associated with the Mission Dolores complex, which included many buildings and sites besides the Mission Dolores church and cemetery, must be viewed as an interconnected resource.170 The San Francisco Planning Department has developed, but not formally adopted, a Mission Dolores Archeological District, which is integral to any consideration of potential historic districts and significant resources within the area. The district is concentrated in the area from 14th Street to the north, Guerrero Street to the west, 17th Street to the south, and Sanchez Street to the east. This potential boundary overlaps the Inner Mission North and the Mission Dolores neighborhoods. While this area contains the greatest concentration of archeological resources, the early settlement of the area extended beyond this and may contain other subsurface resources.171 The archeological district appears to be eligible for listing in the NRHP and the CRHR under Criterion D/4 for its potential to yield information regarding the traditions and heritage of local American Indian tribes, the Franciscan missionization of California American Indians, and resources related to the Mexican period.172

In 2008, the San Francisco Planning Department developed thirteen archaeological zones associated with Hispanic Period San Francisco (1777-1848) (Attached, Appendix I). These zones have not been formally adopted and were defined in association with the San Francisco Planning Department’s Archaeological Mapping Project. Two zones overlap the Mission Dolores Survey Area. “Zone Two: Third and Fourth Missions” is bounded by Church Street to the west, 16th Street and the lots fronting on 16th Street to the north, Dolores Street to the east, and Chula Lane to the south. “Zone 5: Southern Mission Complex” is bounded by Church Street to the west, Chula Lane and 16th Street to the north, Guerrero Street to the east, and 18th Street and half block toward 19th Street to the south.

RESIDENTIAL PROPERTIES

172 Ibid.
Single-family Residences
Single-family residences, once common, are now an exception within the Mission Dolores neighborhood. They generally consist of two types: Victorian-era residences that survived the 1906 earthquake and fires and are mainly found on the southern and western periphery of the neighborhood, and small cottages that occupy the rear of long lots behind flats that face the street. Chula Lane and Abbey Street in the Mission Dolores neighborhood contain a handful of single-family cottages that retain a high level of integrity. Generally, if a building was constructed as a single-family residence, it remains an example of this property type, even if interior subdivision has occurred. Queen Anne and Italianate styles from the late nineteenth century are common, but single-family residences may also feature Spanish Eclectic, Classical Revival, and Art Deco styles from the early twentieth century.


Flats
Flats consist of two- to four-story buildings, generally with one unit per floor and each with a separate entrance. They represent the most common residential property types in the neighborhood. Flats were widely constructed in the 1880s and became the predominant housing form in the period following the 1906 earthquake and fires. These numerous wood-frame flats with projecting bay windows give the neighborhood’s streets a distinctive architectural rhythm. Most are constructed with a soft story or raised basement with an elevated entry. A variation or subtype that appears to be common in the neighborhood is the double flat with two through units on a single floor. This type of flat shares a common central wall, but each retains a separate entrance. Flats are found in all architectural styles, including the immediate post-earthquake Edwardian, Classical Revival, and Exotic Revival styles.
Romeo Flats
The Romeo flat, a San Francisco-based building type, was typically built after the 1906 earthquake and fires. Romeo flats are multi-unit, residential buildings with three bays lining the façade. An open or enclosed, central winding staircase located in the central bay divides the façade vertically. Balconies are located at each story of the central bay if it is open. When enclosed, windows are located at each landing. With stacks of narrow flats located in the outer bays, this building type usually incorporates four or six apartments. The east side of Sanchez Street between Dorland Street and 18th Street contains a row of Romeo flats that retain a good to high level of integrity.

Apartment Buildings
A new American building type emerged in the late 19th century, the apartment house. An apartment house is a multi-unit building containing separate apartments, with self-contained conveniences for three or more families having a common street entrance and shared interior circulation. In addition to separate bedrooms and living rooms, a residence unit in an apartment house has an individual toilet, bath, and kitchen; these amenities were not shared as in other similar building types, such as tenements. As noted by architectural historian Michael Corbett, the first apartment houses were marketed to the upper middle class. Initially, the apartment house
image suffered due to regulation by tenement house laws. Tenements typically housed society’s poorest people.

In the late 19th century, apartment houses began to appear on corner lots throughout the City. Prestigious single-family dwellings, which were demolished, had often previously occupied these lots. The apartment houses that replaced individual residences were not cheap to build but were more lucrative as assets. Well into the 20th century, apartment houses continued to be a popular building type as San Francisco’s economy shifted toward white-collar workers who were employed in downtown office and retail concerns. Increasingly, apartment living appealed to these workers.

The earliest apartment houses were designed in a variety of architectural styles, including Classical Revival, Mission Revival, and Colonial Revival. Later examples of the 1930s and 40s were designed in the Art Deco, Streamline Moderne, and International styles, and Spanish Colonial Revival.

In the Mission Dolores neighborhood, multi-unit buildings, or apartment buildings first appeared in the late nineteenth century, such as 3888 18th Street (1878), however, they did not become a significant residential type until after 1906. Sanborn maps indicate that by 1915 eleven large-scale apartment buildings had been erected in the neighborhood. After the First World War, residential construction picked up substantially, with a large number of apartment houses erected particularly along major thoroughfares and on large corner locations.

In addition to the Mission Dolores neighborhood, apartment buildings were constructed in Russian Hill, the Tenderloin, Pacific Heights, the Western Addition, on Market Street and Van Ness Avenue.

Mixed Use Buildings
From early in its history, the neighborhood’s otherwise residential blocks were characterized by mixed commercial/residential structures on corner lots. The post-1906 rebuilding effort, when such buildings were almost universally replaced in kind, attests to their importance to the neighborhood fabric. This type can also be found along the neighborhood’s major commercial corridors. These buildings are generally two- or three-story with commercial units at the street level that have large storefront windows surmounted by transom windows. The upper stories

---

173 Based on a comparison of Sanborn Map Fire Insurance Maps from 1899 and 1915.
containing residential units often have projecting bays. If located on a corner lot, they often have a distinctive corner entrance on the first level and a projecting corner bay above.

![Image](image1.png)

**COMMERCIAL**

**Single-story Commercial Buildings**

Single-story commercial buildings are less common in the Mission Dolores neighborhood due to high land values. However, numerous examples are located particularly along the older commercial corridors, such as Valencia Street and 16th Street, and along the small streets and alleys adjacent to these commercial zones. These buildings typically feature storefront windows flanking entrances on the lower portion, often underneath transom windows, and flat roofs. Another common feature of these single-story buildings were interior mezzanines, though few remain.

![Image](image2.png)

**INSTITUTIONAL PROPERTIES**

The Mission Dolores neighborhood encompasses a number of buildings, complexes, and sites that serve the social, recreational, and religious needs of its residents. Due to their size, locations, and architectural qualities, this type contains some of the most prominent buildings within the community. They are generally associated with the history and the development of the neighborhood and often possess architectural significance. Many date from the post-earthquake period and represent a variety of architectural styles. Spanish and Mission Revival styles are
particularly notable, with some of the City's best examples of these architectural styles located in this neighborhood.

**Schools**
The Mission Dolores neighborhood has several historic private and public institutions that continue to function as schools, or which originated as school facilities and have now been adapted to other uses. These include Mission High School (3750 18th Street), Everett Junior High School (450 Church Street), Notre Dame School (347 Dolores Street), and the elementary school attached to the Mission Dolores Basilica (401 Church Street), among others. The historic context provides a detailed history of many of these schools. A large number of these buildings are architecturally distinguished, and several have been designated as City Landmarks.


**Churches/ Synagogues/ Temples**
In addition to the Mission Dolores and the Mission Dolores Basilica, a number of churches, synagogues and temples are located within the neighborhood. Many of these originally served ethnic congregations that built the places of worship to maintain not only religious practices, but social connections forged by ties to the old country. Many have strong historic associations and were the site of annual celebrations and gatherings that are important in the history of the Mission District. In addition, many of these are architecturally distinguished and/or associated with prominent local architects.
Parks and Public Spaces
Mission Dolores Park is one of the largest parks in the city and had its origins in early cemeteries that were plotted in the neighborhood, as outlined in the historic context. The park is primarily planted with grass and numerous mature palm trees and other plantings. It contains a playground, tennis courts, and a basketball court, along with various statues, structures, and pathways. Mission High School and two- to four-story single-family houses, flats, and apartment buildings designed in a wide range of styles border Mission Dolores Park to the north, west, and south and contribute to the feeling and character of the park. This important public space has met public recreational needs for over one hundred years.

Similarly, the Dolores Street median is an important example of city beautification and is part of the El Camino Real, the original mission road through California. In addition to these designed landscape features, the Mission Dolores neighborhood has a number of streets that are characterized by street planting along the curb, which function to screen residential properties from the street and to separate pedestrian and vehicular pathways.
PART IV: SURVEY FINDINGS
The following properties are located within the defined Mission Dolores Neighborhood Survey Area and have been previously surveyed and/or identified and proposed for designation.

Properties Identified in Here Today
1957-1959 15th Street 37 Abbey Street 347 Dolores Street
2005 15th Street 75-77 Chula Lane 216 Dorland Street
2047 15th Street 81-83 Chula Lane 231-233 Dorland Street
3639-3641 15th Street 542-546 Church Street 455-459 Sanchez Street
3650-3652 15th Street 93 Cumberland Street 461-465 Sanchez Street
3656 17th Street 96 Cumberland Street 467-471 Sanchez Street
3763-3765 17th Street 214 Dolores Street 473-477 Sanchez Street
3773 17th Street 220 Dolores Street 479-483 Sanchez Street
3689 19th Street 261-265 Dolores Street 79 Sharon Street
3851 20th Street 310-320 Dolores Street
23-27 Abbey Street 333 Dolores Street

Properties Listed or Formally Determined Eligible for Listing in the National Register of Historic Places and the California Register of Historical Resources
Dolores Street Historically known as El Camino Real
214 Dolores Street Tanforan Cottage #1
220 Dolores Street Tanforan Cottage #2
229 Dolores Street Holy Family Day Home
320 Dolores Street Mission Dolores
347 Dolores Street Notre Dame School
827 Guerrero Street John McMullen House
3543 18th Street Women’s Building

California State Landmark
Camp Street Site of Original Mission Dolores
Dolores Street Historically known as El Camino Real

San Francisco Landmarks
320 Dolores Street Mission Dolores, #1
3535 19th Street B’Nai David Synagogue, #118
827 Guerrero Street John McMullen House, #123
845 Guerrero Street Kershaw House, #136
347 Dolores Street Notre Dame School, #137
3250 18th Street Charles School, #139
3541-3543 18th Street Mission Turn Hall (Women’s Building), #178
3750 18th Street Mission High School, #255

Existing Historic Districts in the Mission Dolores Neighborhood
Hidalgo Terrace Historic District
Guerrero Street Fire Line
Ramona Street Historic District
Inner Mission Boulevards & Alleys Historic District
16th and Valencia Streets Post-Fire Historic District
Evaluative Framework for Individual Properties and Historic Districts

INDIVIDUAL PROPERTY EVALUATION
For properties within the Mission Dolores survey area, the following considerations are meant to guide the evaluation of significance, though additional considerations may be found during the evaluation process. In addition to qualifying under at least one criterion of significance, an individual property must retain sufficient integrity to convey this significance in order to qualify for listing on the California or National Registers. National Register Bulletin No 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation provided guidance in development of the integrity thresholds. A higher threshold of integrity is required for individual resources as compared to district contributors.

HISTORIC DISTRICT EVALUATION
For cohesive groupings of properties identified as districts within the Mission Dolores survey area, the following considerations are meant to guide the evaluation of significance and additional considerations may be found during the evaluation process. It is very common for historic buildings to have undergone modifications over time. When evaluating historic districts, it is important to look at the collection of buildings and how they relate to each other on the street. The massing, form, and level of alteration of individual buildings become the critical components when considering contributor vs. non-contributor status when evaluating an area as a potential historic district.

Evaluation by Criterion
National Register Criterion A/California Register Criterion 1: Association with significant events in local, state, or national history
Residential, commercial, and institutional properties within the Mission Dolores neighborhood may be associated with several broad contextual themes including American Indian heritage, Spanish exploration and settlement of California, the early development of the Mission Dolores neighborhood, and reconstruction efforts after the 1906 Earthquake and Fire. In order for a property to qualify as individually significant under Criteria A/1, there must be a specific association to an event, pattern of events, or historic trends. The previously mentioned themes are too broad for properties to qualify as significant under Criterion A/1. Associations with specific events in the Mission District that qualify as significant under Criteria A/1 include buildings or structures associated with early agricultural development in the Mission District, resources whose original uses directly related to the establishment of the original Mission San Francisco de Asis complex, and properties directly associated with reconstruction efforts after the 1906 Earthquake and Fire. Significant evidence substantiating a connection to any of these themes is required to solidify an individual property's significance.

Integrity
The aspects of integrity most important for Criteria A/1 are determined by the significant association. Generally, the retention of essential features in order to convey significance is determined by the identified significance and period of significance. Once a period of significance is established, the property’s appearance should relate closely and appear as it did during the period of significance. Properties associated with an important event or person should retain sufficient integrity such that "a historical contemporary would recognize the property as it exists today."174 In

174 National Park Service, Bulletin No. 15
general, a lower threshold of integrity is appropriate for properties significant under Criteria A/1 or B/2, provided there is sufficient historic fabric to convey the association with a significant person, event, or trend.

National Register Criteria B/California Register Criteria 2:
Association with significant individuals in local, state, or national history
Properties within the Mission Dolores neighborhood may be significant for their association with persons significant to the history of San Francisco, California, or national history. In such cases, a property must be closely associated with the productive life and accomplishments of a significant person. The birthplace, childhood home, or temporary residence of a significant person would not qualify under this criterion. Properties connected to the work and accomplishments of any known individual from the Spanish settlement era, such as a Franciscan priest or Spanish official would be significant under Criterion 2 for its association with the life of a person important to history.

Integrity
The aspects of integrity most important for Criteria B/2 are determined by the significant association. Likewise, the retention of essential features in order to convey significance is determined by the identified significance and period of significance. Once a period of significance is established, the property’s appearance should relate closely and appear as it did during the period of significance. Properties associated with an important event or person should retain sufficient integrity such that “a historical contemporary would recognize the property as it exists today.” In general, a lower threshold of integrity is appropriate for properties significant under Criteria A/1 or B/2, provided there is sufficient historic fabric to convey the association with a significant person, event, or trend.

National Register Criteria C/California Register Criteria 3:
Possesses distinctive characteristics of a type, style, period, or method of construction; is the work of a master designer, builder, or craftsman; or exhibits high artistic values.
Properties within the Mission Dolores neighborhood may be significant for their architecture if they possess the distinctive characteristics of a style. Individual examples must be distinctive, though not necessarily architect-designed, with complexity of design, ornamentation, plan, or modulation. Properties found to be eligible under this Criterion may also be identified as significant due to a rare or unique method of construction or use of materials. For properties to be found individually eligible under this criterion, they must be representative of a particular architectural style or method of construction. Buildings that are significant solely for architecture (Criterion C/3) must retain higher integrity of materials, design, and workmanship.

Integrity
The aspects of integrity most important for Criteria C/3 are design, materials, and workmanship. The following character-defining features are essential and must be present in order to meet the minimum threshold for integrity for properties significant under Criteria C/3:

- Historic massing, form, setback, and roofline
- Historic cladding materials
- Historic entryway and/or stairs configuration
- Historic window openings or changes to window openings that are minimal and compatible
- Architectural detailing that reflects historic design and key elements of a style

175 Ibid.
The following list of acceptable and unacceptable alterations was developed to assist in determining the integrity of an individual property and whether or not an individual property will be considered a contributor or a non-contributor to an identified historic district under Criterion C/3.

**Acceptable Alterations**
The following alterations were considered generally acceptable and did not impair the integrity of individually eligible properties or district contributors. Generally, acceptable alterations either occurred during the period of significance, gained significance within their own right, or were determined to be conforming to the *Secretary of the Interior’s Standards for Rehabilitation*.

**New Additions**
- Modest additions on visible and non-visible elevations that are constructed within the period of significance

**Rehabilitation**
- *Rehabilitated* properties may be considered district contributors if the rehabilitation meets the *Secretary of the Interior’s Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties*.

**Garage**
- Addition or insertion of garage within existing building envelope that does not adversely impact a projecting bay, front entry, or other original elements.
- Additions or insertions of garage that occurred within period of significance
- Additions on secondary, non-visible elevations that do not adversely impact significant features of building

**Cladding**
- Individual properties and contributors should retain original cladding materials. Original cladding in the Mission Dolores neighborhood includes wood siding, brick and other masonry, and stucco.

**Windows and Doors**
- Both individual and district contributor properties should retain their original window and door configurations and materials at the primary and visible elevations. Replacements are acceptable at secondary elevations and repair of original material is preferred to wholesale replacement. Window replacement is acceptable at secondary elevations if the replacement elements conform to the original openings and sash patterns and the property still retains sufficient integrity of materials, workmanship, and feeling based on other elements of the property to convey its significance. Door replacement is acceptable at primary elevations so long as it is compatible materially and in design. In some instances, compatible window and door replacements will be evaluated for acceptability.

**Porch and Entry**
- Replacement of porches and entry stairs in similar configurations and materials as the original feature is acceptable, particularly if the alteration occurred within the period of significance. In the case of unknown original conditions, replacement consistent with the pattern of historic structures, will be evaluated for acceptability.

**Ornamentation**
- Individually eligible properties and contributors should retain the majority of their original ornament especially at key locations such as door and window openings, porches, cornices, and rooflines.
Addition of New Features

- Added elements and features limited to security grilles, gates, and bars and fire escapes are allowed so long as they do not impact the material integrity of the building.

Unacceptable Alterations

The following alterations were considered unacceptable as they were determined to impair the integrity of individually eligible properties. Properties exhibiting alterations that fall within the below categories and are within potentially eligible historic districts will be classified as non-contributing properties.

Additions

- Additions on visible elevations that substantively alter building form and massing and/or additions occurring outside the period of significance

Rehabilitations

- Rehabilitations that substantively alter building form and massing and/or provide a false sense of history (ex. Ornamental features added later that give the building the appearance of a different period of construction).

Garage

- Those that substantively alter building form or obscure the resource; construction of a garage structure that spans the entire front base may impair contributor status.
- Construction of a garage structure in a front yard setback that involves the removal of historic material

Cladding

- Replacement of original cladding on primary elevations with new non-compatible materials including vinyl or aluminum siding, or other materials that obscure property’s architectural detail, original form, and key features.

Windows and Doors

- Replacements that involve openings that are significantly enlarged or altered to accommodate a new window or door
- Replacement of historic wood windows with incompatible materials

Porch and Entry

- Enclosure of porch or removal or restyling of substantive porch members such as rooflines, eave ornament, and posts or piers
- Modification of entry such that it overwhelms or obscures form, massing, or original ornamentation

Ornamentation

- Addition of or restyling and mixing elements and ornament from different periods of development to give a building a false sense of history
- Removal of elements and ornament

Significance: National Register Criterion D/California Register Criterion 4:
Yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important to prehistory or history

While it is rare for individual resources to be identified as significant under Criterion 4, the Mission Dolores neighborhood includes a large area under the general footprint of the former mission settlement has been previously identified as a potential archeological district, significant under Criterion 4 for its likelihood to yield knowledge of prehistory and/or history. For more information, please see page 73.
Individually Eligible Properties

Based on thorough review of the Mission Dolores Neighborhood Association survey materials and additional research conducted by Department staff, the Department finds the following buildings located within the MDNA survey area eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) and the California Register of Historical Resources (CRHR) as individual structures pursuant to the California Environmental Quality Act (CEQA) and subject to local preservation review:

- 1957-1959 15th Street
- 3639 17th Street
- 3773 17th Street
- 3751-3753 17th Street
- 3763-3765 17th Street
- 3888 18th Street
- 154 Dolores Street
- 158 Dolores Street
- 216 Dorland Street
- 231 Dorland Street
- 267-271 Dorland Street
- 48 Landers Street
- 443 Sanchez Street
- 55-57 Sharon Street
- 60-62 Sharon Street
- 74-78 Sharon Street
- 83-85 Sharon Street

The individual properties would likely meet registration requirements necessary to be listed as significant under Criterion C/3 Architecture. With further analysis, some of these properties may be eligible for listing Under Criterion A/1 Events for their associations with the reconstruction period following the 1906 Earthquake and Fire. These individual properties are likely related to thematic, architectural, and cultural contexts being developed as part of the Citywide Cultural Resource Survey.

Mission Dolores Park: Mission Dolores Park was determined to be individually eligible by the Department as part of a Mitigated Negative Declaration and is recognized as a historic resource pursuant to CEQA. Mission Dolores Park is individually eligible for listing in the NRHP/CRHR in the area of local significance as a designed historic landscape under Criterion A/1. It was identified primarily for its association with Progressive Era ideals in park planning, which led directly to the acquisition. The HRE report also found that the Park was eligible for listing in the NRHP/CRHR under Criterion C/3 as an excellent example of San Francisco's "reform" or "rational" parks. Such parks were developed in accordance with Progressive Era and City Beautiful ideals, which dominated San Francisco's political and social landscape during the early twentieth century. This site is also significant as the former site of the Ramaytush Ohlone village Chutchui, which predates the development of Mission Dolores Park. While not yet listed on the California Register, this site is given special consideration in local planning process.

---

**Dolores Street Median:** The Dolores Street Median between Market Street and San Jose Avenue was evaluated as part of a Department of Public Works project in 2013. The Dolores Street Median is individually eligible for listing in the California Register under Criterion 1 (Event) for its association with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of local or regional history. The median is strongly associated with the rising prominence of the Mission Dolores neighborhood at the turn of the century. In concert with the development of Dolores Park around this time, the creation of a prominent landscaped boulevard marked the city-supported effort to revitalize the Mission Dolores neighborhood after the 1906 Earthquake and Fire. The project was part of larger reconstruction and Boulevard construction programs throughout the City, and is arguably the most picturesque of those constructed in San Francisco in the early 20th century. The Mission neighborhood associations were pivotal in instigating the median project and securing appropriations from the city over time for its completion. The median serves as a physical marker of the collaborative effort to improve the Mission Dolores neighborhood after the 1906 Earthquake and Fire and the desire to elevate the prominence of the neighborhood within the City of San Francisco after the disaster. The median is considered a historic resource pursuant to CEQA and any proposed projects are subject to preservation review. While not yet listed on the California Register, it is given special consideration in local planning process.

**Eligible Districts**

Based on thorough review of the Mission Dolores Neighborhood Association survey materials and additional research conducted by Department staff, the Department has identified two historic districts. The identified historic districts represent the most cohesive groupings of extant, intact historic buildings that are associated with specific historic themes and periods of neighborhood development (as identified in the Historic Context Statement), while excluding noncontributing buildings and areas to the extent feasible. The Department-recommended potential historic districts are described in the following sub-sections, and a map and district summaries are attached.

**Chula-Abbey Early Residential Historic District:** The Chula-Abbey Early Residential Historic District contains a grouping of smaller, lower density dwellings that stand out amongst the many larger row-houses and flats that comprise much of the rest of the urbanized neighborhood. The low-scale, freestanding buildings of the historic district indicate intentions by the builders and residents over time (from the late nineteenth century through the turn-of-the-century) to maintain a less urbanized setting on Chula (formerly Church) Lane, which is located directly south of the historic Mission Dolores parcel, away from the more heavily-travelled corridors of the neighborhood. In addition, these modest cottage buildings (including one duplex) suggest a historic working-class character and may also be associated with a specific cultural or ethnic population that formed an enclave. These properties, indicative of a specific pattern of development that did not occur throughout the greater neighborhood, distinguish the potential historic district from other nearby properties and areas in the neighborhood that lack some or all of these qualities.

**Alert Alley Early Residential Historic District:** The Alert Alley Early Residential Historic District is comprised of buildings of a variety of architectural styles including vernacular, Italianate, Classical Revival, and Queen Anne. The district demonstrates the transition of the Mission Dolores neighborhood from early, small scale single-family construction to larger scale multi-family construction during the reconstruction period after the 1906 Earthquake and Fire. The Alert Alley Early Residential Historic District is significant as a representative collection of residential...
buildings associated with the “Early Neighborhood Development (1864-1906)” and “1906 Earthquake and Reconstruction (1906-1915)” themes within the Mission Dolores Neighborhood. Most of the eligible properties were constructed between 1890-1910, and physically illustrate the transition of development that occurred after the 1906 Earthquake and Fire. The district is centered around Alert Alley, an east-west midblock street that was known as Albert Alley until 1909.
Ongoing Efforts and Recommendations

Based on research, other City actions and department documentation, the Planning Department would like to acknowledge the cultural heritage of this area. Recently, a cultural district was adopted by the City, previous plan area analysis identified a district, and consultant and department research and analysis identified recommendations for additional historic resources.

Fig. 66. Aerial map of the American Indian Cultural District. (American Indian Cultural District.org)

American Indian Cultural District

According to the ordinance amended and formally signed by Mayor London Breed on December 23, 2020, the American Indian Cultural District overlaps within the Mission Dolores neighborhood.\(^{177}\)

The District is within a geographic area that has been identified as culturally and historically significant to the American Indian Community. Further, “this corridor holds a unique concentration of historical events, cultural resources, and Native American-based programming, services, and gathering spaces that are historically and presently important to the American Indian community in the San Francisco Bay Area.\(^{178}\)

It is important to recognize the presence of indigenous peoples on this land prior to any settlement efforts and also to acknowledge the painful history and negative impact the Mission Era had on the American Indian community. The purpose of the American Indian Cultural District is, “to celebrate and strengthen unique cultural identities, and offer a formalized collaborative partnership between the City and a diverse range of communities. The American Indian Cultural District will be a place to honor, recognize, and celebrate the American

\(^{177}\) Board of Supervisors, File No. 191183.

Indian community." The Department is also working with tribal consultants on developing an American Indian Historic Context Statement as part of future citywide survey efforts.

**Proposed Mission Dolores Archeological District**

The San Francisco Planning Department has developed, but not formally adopted, a Mission Dolores Archeological District (MDAD), which is integral to any consideration of potential historic districts and significant resources within the survey area. The MDAD consists of an area with high sensitivity for archeological resources associated with Spanish, Mexican, and Californio era (1776 to the mid-19th century) settlement around Misión San Francisco de Asís. The buried cultural resources within the MDAD could yield important information about the people who lived during this early period of San Francisco history. The historical inhabitants of this district belonged to diverse ethnic and religious groups, including American Indians, Spanish, Mexican, Californios, Franciscan missionaries, and Mormons. The MDAD was created so that these important resources would be treated and interpreted as one complex of interconnected resources that provide a glimpse into a unique era of the city's past.

**Dolores Street Institutional Buildings**

The significant concentration of culturally-oriented institutional buildings, including schools and ecclesiastic buildings; open space, including a large park, a cemetery, and a landscaped median; and cultural monuments that line Dolores Street between Market Street and 20th Street may be considered a cultural landscape. The area contains many different layers of history, dating back to the Ohlone people whose village Chutchui was located in the area currently known as Mission Dolores Park.

The collection of cultural institutions, monuments, and open spaces along Dolores Street reflect a historic land use pattern that incorporated the founding of Mission Dolores and El Camino Real in 1776 and the construction of the extant mission in 1791. As outlined in the historic context statement, the mission stood at the heart of a complex that included numerous buildings and expanses of cultivated land. While the Mission's buildings were adapted for new uses following its secularization in 1834 and nearly all have since been demolished, the mission chapel endured and was finally conveyed to the Catholic Church in the form of an 8.5-acre grant in 1858. This grant included both sides of Dolores Street at the intersection of 16th Street and formed the anchor of this landscape that has been shaped over time by the neighborhood's evolving demographic.

Early German, Scandinavian, and Irish immigrants also erected small neighborhood churches along Dolores Street in the early twentieth century. These include the Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Ebenezer Church, constructed in 1904 at 200-208 Dolores Street (only the rectory remains); the Golden Gate Lutheran Church, built in 1910 at 601-605 Dolores Street; and the Second Church of Christ, Scientist, built in 1916 at 651 Dolores Street, among others. (A complete list is provided below.) The Roman Catholic Church erected the Churrigueresque Revival Basilica in 1918, thereby continuing the pattern of Catholic institutions located within the original Mission grant.

In addition to these neighborhood churches, several schools were erected along the Dolores Street corridor. The Notre Dame School, which was run by the Sisters of Notre Dame, stands as the most prominent. The school occupied a building at 347 Dolores Street, which was constructed in 1906 on land that had been part of the Catholic Church's land grant. They rebuilt the current building the following year after it was dynamited to stop the 1906 conflagration from spreading west of

---

Dolores Street. Two decades later, the construction of a new Mission High School in 1925 and 1927 replaced the monumental Renaissance Revival style building that had stood just west of Dolores Street and north of Mission Dolores Park since 1898. The building’s elaborate Spanish Baroque style with a domed tower featuring mosaic tiles complements the Mission Dolores basilica, located a block north on Dolores Street.

Mission Dolores and its cemetery fronted El Camino Real (now Dolores Street), which linked the 21 Spanish missions along the California coastline and continued to be an important transportation route in San Francisco throughout the late nineteenth century. The City turned this thoroughfare into a boulevard around 1890 when it paved the street and later installed grass-planted medians lined with a stately row of palm trees. Bisecting the area now identified as the Mission Dolores neighborhood, it forms the spine of this vernacular landscape and remains one of the neighborhood’s most identifiable features.

Lastly, located one-and-one-half blocks south of Mission Dolores and along the west side of Dolores Street is Mission Dolores Park. Originally the site of a Ramaytush Ohlone village named Chutchui, the park now spans two city blocks that also contained two Jewish cemeteries from the 1860s until the mid-1890s. Its landscape has been shaped subsequently by local residents who actively fought for the creation of the park and for numerous improvements, including pathways, playgrounds, and tennis courts, since its creation in 1905. In the 1960s, two statues were added to the park: a statue of Mexican revolutionary Miguel Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1962 and a replica of the Mexican liberty bell in 1966.

Many of these resources are discussed in detail in the historic context and/or are recorded in documents on file at the San Francisco Planning Department. The department recommends further consideration of Chutchui/Mission Dolores Park, Dolores Street and the series of institutional buildings in relation to the established Dolores Street Median as part of future Citywide Cultural Resource Survey work. This will also take into consideration work currently underway with tribal consultants on the American Indian Cultural District and development of an American Indian Historic Context Statement.

Dolores Street Institutional Sites:

- Dolores Street/El Camino Real
- Mission Dolores Park/Site of Ramaytush Ohlone village Chutchui
- Mission Dolores chapel, cemetery, and basilica, 310-320 Dolores Street
- Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Ebenezer Church rectory, built in 1904, 200-208 Dolores Street\(^{100}\)
- Congregation Sha’ar Zahav, a former mortuary constructed in 1917 and converted to a synagogue, 290 Dolores Street
- Notre Dame School, built in 1907, 347 Dolores Street
- Dolores Park Church, built 1908 and extensively renovated in the 1950s or 1960s, 455 Dolores Street
- Golden Gate Lutheran Church, built in 1910, 601-605 Dolores Street
- Second Church of Christ, Scientist, built in 1916, 651 Dolores Street
- St. Matthew’s Church, built in 1908, 3281 16th Street

\(^{100}\) The Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Church building was destroyed by a fire in 1993. Only the rectory remains.
• Mission High School, built in 1927, 3750 18th Street

Sites for Potential Landmark Designation
The Department further recommends the following three properties be evaluated further for potential future **landmark designation**:

• **St. Nicholas Cathedral, 2005 15th Street**
  St. Nicholas Cathedral at 2005 15th Street appears to be eligible for local designation under Criterion 3 (Architecture) as a rare remaining example of Gothic Revival institutional architecture in San Francisco. The building was constructed in 1904 as St. Luke’s German Evangelical Lutheran Church and changed its name to Bethel Evangelical Church in 1931 before the property was eventually acquired by the Russian Orthodox Church and renamed St. Nicholas Cathedral in 1960. Under ownership of the new congregation, the onion domed finial and Orthodox cross were added as symbols significant to the Russian Orthodox faith. Even with these alterations, the church retains a high level of integrity and embodies the distinctive characteristics of its style and construction type. Character-defining features include the steeply pitched front gable roof, fish-scale shingles, stucco cladding scored to resemble ashlar masonry, stained glass lancet windows, and heavy wood paneled door. \(^{181}\)

• **St. Mathews Church, 3281 16th Street**
  St. Mathews Church at 3281 16th Street appears to be eligible for local designation under Criterion 3 (Architecture) as a rare remaining example of Gothic Revival institutional architecture in San Francisco. The subject property was constructed in 1907 by the German Evangelical Church in the aftermath of the 1906 Earthquake and Fire. The building was constructed with a wood frame and is clad in wood shingles with ornamentation referencing the Gothic Revival style. Character defining features include the siting and relationship of the building to the street, wood cladding, roof configuration, windows and doors including transoms, surrounds, and glazing; and architectural elements including the rose window, parapets, spires, and fenestration pattern.\(^ {182}\)

• **Congregation Sha’ar Zahav, 290 Dolores Street**
  Congregation Sha’ar Zahav at 290 Dolores Street was identified in the *Citywide Historic Context Statement for LGBTQ History in San Francisco* for its associations with the Jewish LGBTQ community. Reportedly the first LGBTQ Jewish congregation to be formed in San Francisco in 1977, the congregation occupied several temporary spaces before settling permanently at 290 Dolores Street in 1998.\(^1\) The property is associated with the “Building LGBT Communities 1960s-1990s” theme identified in the context statement and likely has other significant associations within the Jewish and LGBTQ community. The subject property was constructed in 1917 in the Craftsman style and functioned as a funeral home until at least 1996.\(^2\)

---


BIBLIOGRAPHY

Archival Repositories
Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley
California State Library
History Center, San Francisco Public Library
Department of Building Inspections, City and County of San Francisco
Environmental Design Archives, University of California, Berkeley
San Francisco Recreation and Parks Department
San Francisco Office of the Assessor-Recorder
San Francisco Planning Department
Western Jewish History Center, Judah L. Magnes Museum, Berkeley, California

Newspapers and Journals
Architect and Engineer
Oakland Tribune
San Francisco Call
San Francisco Chronicle
San Francisco Examiner

Other Primary Sources
San Francisco Board of Supervisors, File No. 191183.


City and County of San Francisco, Commission to Enquire into City Property. Report on the Condition of the Real Estate within the Limits of the City of San Francisco and the Property Beyond within the Bounds of the Old Mission Dolores. San Francisco: Evening Picayune, 1851.

City Map of San Francisco. 1874.

Douglass, L. Parry, M.D., and Glenn F. Cushman, M.D. “The Surgical Management of Ruptured Omphalocele.” California Medicine, 74 (February 1951): 131-133.


McDonald, A. L. Map of San Francisco. 1906.


Randall Dean, Archeologist, Major Environmental Analysis, San Francisco Planning Department.

Sales Ledgers, 1900-2009. Office of the Assessor-Recorder, City and County of San Francisco.


**Secondary Sources**


Revised Mission Dolores Neighborhood Context Statement


City Landmark Files: Mission Dolores, Tanforan Cottages, Notre Dame School, and Mission High School. San Francisco Planning Department.


Revised Mission Dolores Neighborhood Context Statement

December 2021


Roland-Nawi, Ph.D., Carol. State Historic Preservation Officer to Peter Lewis, Mission Dolores Neighborhood Association, June 5, 2013.


San Francisco Biographical Files, History Center, San Francisco Public Library.

San Francisco City Directories, 1900-2008.

San Francisco Commission to Enquire into City Property, Report on the Condition of the Real Estate with the Limits of the City of San Francisco and the Property Beyond within the Bounds of the Old Mission Dolores (San Francisco: Evening Picayune, 1851).


