

**How We Came to Be Here**  
(from page 7)

North of Panhandle blocks as one of the Bay Area's "Best of the Bay" neighborhoods. The report declared, "You'd be hard-pressed to find an area that could compete with the North of Panhandle district, an area that has come into its own over the last few years ... with a lot to offer."



©2004 by Michael J. Helquist

Part one of this series appeared in the September-October issue of NOPNA News.

A version of the article, including notes and references, is on the NOPNA website at: <http://www.nopna.org/house/goldengate.2077.html>

**Local Artists**  
(from page 6)

they moved in, the space was full of trash and oil. After Ny2k cleaned out all the trash, Christie, a neighbor from across the street and past NOPNA leader, started the garden. She planted some shrubs and came over regularly to water and plant new things. When a new job made it difficult for her to continue taking care of the plants, she asked Krystl if she could take over. Krystl accepted readily. "I didn't want to see the plants die. So I started learning by experience, and from Christie, how to garden. I'd never done anything like that in my whole life... and I became really attached to it."

Ny2k and Krystl also practice their community activism by hosting a radio program, which has aired for the past three years on KUSF 90.3 FM, the University of San Francisco radio station. It's on from 11:30 a.m. to noon every Sunday. Music and politics are the main

fare, but they also touch on metaphysics, local artists, and just plain nonsense.

When asked what they like about the neighborhood, they mention Café Abir with its strong coffee, the great food at Bean Bag Café, and the good people at Parkside Market at Hayes and Lyon, as well as Post All Center on Divisadero near Fell. "I like the diversity of this neighborhood a lot," says Krystl. "I wouldn't want to live anywhere else. I also love the fog." Ny2k adds, "The diversity, the evolved-ness, and the live-and-let-live attitude of the neighborhood. Plus being so close to the parks."

Galaxy Chamber's CDs are available locally at Open Mind Music at Divisadero and Page, and at Amoeba Records at Haight and Stanyan.



# North Panhandle



North of Panhandle Neighborhood Association

November/December 2004

## Annual Holiday Get-together

December 5, 2004 ♦ 4:30 to 7:30 p.m.  
1751 Social Club (Fulton Street, between Central and Masonic)

Come meet your neighbors, greet old friends, and make some new ones at the annual NOPNA holiday party. We will be celebrating our organization's notable neighborhood improvement accomplishments over the past year, and toasting the folks who helped make them happen.

Along with great food and beverages (among other things, the club is famous for its delicious desserts), the party also offers a chance to engage in some free-wheeling feedback about what projects and improvements you

would like to see NOPNA tackle in the New Year. Be prepared to let your neighbors know what's been happening, and what ought to be happening!

The party will be held late in the afternoon—a pleasant way to finish out your weekend, while leaving plenty of time to rest up for the coming week.

Kids are welcome, so bring the whole family. See you all there!



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**NOPNA General Meeting**  
THURSDAY, NOV. 18

**CAFÉ NEON**  
1801 McAllister (at Baker)

7:00 pm:  
"Meet Your Neighbors"  
7:30 pm: General Meeting

Everyone is welcome.  
**BRING A FRIEND!**

## Tips from the NOPNA Safety Committee

If you attended the last NOPNA general meeting in September, you got to hear a neighborhood crime update from our Park Street Police Station Sergeant Mark Porto. The theme of his talk can be summed up as, "If You Don't Report It, We Can't Do Anything About It."

Porto was referring to the need for North Panhandle residents to report suspicious activity and minor crime. Incidents like car break-ins, which have been on the increase, often go unreported because residents don't believe it's worth the effort or won't make any difference.

On the contrary, as Sergeant Porto noted, individual reports can add up to a collective identification. When community members report petty crime to the police on a regular basis, it allows them to investigate, track, and eventually discern a pattern that allows them to arrest the guilty parties. Porto urged all neighborhood residents to call the police directly whenever we see suspicious activity or witness a crime in our neighborhood. The Station's direct number is 415-242-3032.

To further assist the police in their crime-stopping efforts, NOPNA has added a car-break-in report form to our website at [www.nopna.org](http://www.nopna.org). Simply fill out the form and submit it to the Park Station, even if you don't want to report the incident to your insurance company. The officers may be able to apprehend the criminals—and, who knows, they may even find your stuff!



**Q3 2004 North Panhandle Real Estate Update**  
Presented by Andrew de Vries, MBA (University of San Francisco Alumnus)  
Your Neighbor & "North Panhandle Real Estate Specialist"

Prudential  
California Realty

Dear Neighbors and Friends:  
Following is a Q3 2004 market update for the North Panhandle with regard to condominiums, single family homes and 2-4 unit buildings according to the *San Francisco Multiple Listing Service*:

Condos	Sales	Avg. Price	Low	High	Avg. Price Chg.
Q3 2004	19	\$545,000	\$279,200	\$852,000	-1%
Q3 2003	19	\$551,000	\$360,000	\$755,000	

  

2-4 Units	Sales	Avg. Price	Low	High	Avg. Price Chg.
Q3 2004	4	\$1,296,000	\$1,100,000	\$1,802,000	+70%
Q3 2003	3	\$764,000	\$440,000	\$1,025,000	

  

SEHs	Sales	Avg. Price	Low	High	Avg. Price Chg.
Q3 2004	2	\$1,287,500	\$1,100,000	\$1,475,000	+10%
Q3 2003	2	\$1,167,000	\$800,000	\$1,535,000	

Buyer demand held strong this quarter and sales prices for 2-4 Units and single family homes rose by double digits over last year. Leveling condo prices may reflect a leveling appreciation trend over all. Demand is expected to continue throughout 2004 as interest rates continue to hold. If you would like info about these sales or to know the current value of your home, please call me at 415-664-9400 x.277.

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### President's Corner

## Community Leadership, Responsibility, Pride

By Tys Sniffen, NOPNA President

As 2004 winds down and my third term as NOPNA President comes to a close, I've been doing a lot of reflecting on why I'm involved, and what it means to be a part of this neighborhood. When I moved here six years ago, I got involved with NOPNA at first simply because I was frustrated by the trash on my sidewalk. I soon realized that the association was doing a lot of good things in the community, from negotiating with developers to reducing traffic danger to planting trees.

I've always felt that I should spend some free time volunteering; before I moved here I was a Scoutmaster for a troop in Milwaukee. So as I got to know NOPNA a bit more, I saw that its leaders were building a sense of community, inspiring local residents with a sense of pride in the area and responsibility for its improvement. I wanted to help do that, too.

Luckily, I enjoy meeting and talking to people. As a neighborhood representative, I felt more free to simply walk up to people and chat with them about their issues and concerns. It's been a great experience for me, and has given me a sense of pride in my community that is hard to express. The residents of this neighborhood have an organization that takes their concerns seriously and works seriously to address them. I've been lucky to play a role in it.

Why spell this out in this column? Because I hope it will inspire each of you to get involved as well—even on an occasional basis. First, of course, you should join the association. But, even more important, find a little time to get active. It's worth it. Please help us make NoPa an even safer, cleaner, more friendly community.

See you in the streets!

North Panhandle NEWS is published for the community, businesses, and friends of our neighborhood, bounded by Turk Street, Divisadero Street, Fell Street, and Masonic Avenue.

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**Managing Editor:** Andrew de Vries  
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**NOPNA's mission:** The purpose of this association shall be to establish neighborhood unity, maintain multi-ethnic and multi-cultural diversity, foster a sense of neighborhood pride, promote a safe and clean community, and improve the quality of life for all residents of the neighborhood.

**CONTACT NOPNA:** PO Box 591504  
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GET the NEWS?—PAY your DUES!  
The NOPNA newsletter depends on contributions from YOU—association members and community residents—to keep you informed about events, activities, and programs going on in our great neighborhood. Please DUE your share! Sign up at our next meeting, or fill out the membership form on the next page.

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### How We Came to Be Here

(from page 5)

vehicle. Thus it was a major event when the San Francisco Municipal Railway yard, previously an historic cable car barn, that filled most of the block bordered by Fulton, McAllister, Masonic and Central was sold to make way for a supermarket. The Plaza Foods Shopping Center, owned by the Petrini family, was built in 1955. On the opening day a circus filled the parking lot with amusement rides for neighborhood children. Although the Petrini's maintained a grocery store here for a few years, the primary vendor became Falletti's Finer Foods. The supermarket and the several accompanying stores gave the outer Western Addition its own identity as well as convenient shopping.

### A Freeway in the Neighborhood?

Freeway access and proposals for expansion have helped define the character of the North of the Panhandle neighborhood. The nearby playgrounds and winding paths for casual weekend walks in the Panhandle Park were nearly lost, or at least severely compromised, in the mid-1960s, when a Park Panhandle Freeway was proposed to close the link between the Bay Bridge and Golden Gate Bridge, and thus complete the Federal Interstate Highway Defense System in San Francisco.

Among the options considered were a surface level freeway and a tunnel under the Panhandle from Baker to Clayton Streets. Public debate raged, with the daily newspapers stirring sentiment on both sides (the *San Francisco Examiner* supported the freeway; the *Chronicle* opposed it). Although Fell Street houses would not be lost to a freeway expansion, botanists warned that the century-old trees and the overall parkland would be irreparably damaged by a surface road, as well as by the proposed tunnel.

When the decision came to the Board of Supervisors, just one swing vote blocked the freeway plans. Nevertheless, the freeway proposal was resurrected two years later, in 1966, with renewed debate before it was again defeated.

Before the Loma Prieta earthquake weakened the Central Freeway, Golden

Gate Avenue provided a quick and convenient route to the freeway for motorists from the western reaches of the city. Beginning at Masonic Avenue, Golden Gate offered two lanes for traffic heading east to the freeway ramps. When the 1989 earthquake brought an end to the use of these ramps, traffic on Golden Gate lessened, and today one lane for westbound traffic shares space with a bike lane.

### Community Building

In 1986 a small group of neighbors gathered to discuss the ongoing problems of noise, litter, street-fighting, and overall tension linked to the drug dealing that had claimed the Grove Street and Central Avenue area. Working together and with the police, the neighbors managed to stop the drug dealing, and relative calm settled at the intersection. Further meetings were discontinued.

However, with continuing unemployment, homelessness, and other social problems not so easily deterred, neighbors found the drug trafficking, street crime, and vandalism had returned four years later. This time neighbors mobilized on a much larger scale, and 100 concerned residents gathered in May 1990 to address the problems.

Many of the most active participants in the new North of Panhandle Neighborhood Association (NOPNA) were members of the Golden Gate Avenue Community Association, a group founded in 1983. Both organizations still exist today. NOPNA, the larger association, focused on basic neighborhood interests and needs. Since 1998 NOPNA has grown considerably; it now has 250 registered members, a bimonthly newsletter, and members who continue to focus on clean and safe streets and who monitor commercial and residential developments.

### Toward the New Century

The last years of the twentieth century witnessed significant changes both in the North of the Panhandle neighborhood and for the 2000 block of Golden Gate Avenue. The city's ever-spiraling real estate market continued to bring gasps of disbelief to anyone in the

housing market—investors, homeowners, and tenants. As the prices of properties in the neighborhood zoomed seemingly out of control, the word was definitely out about the desirable features of the 30 square blocks between Divisadero and Masonic, Fell and Turk Streets.

Homebuyers unable to afford houses in the Noe Valley and Diamond Heights neighborhoods, for example, found the North of the Panhandle area offered better value for their diminished real estate dollars. What had been a largely unnoticed neighborhood for many city residents suddenly found itself popular and advertised. In 1999 and 2000 alone, more than 60 properties changed ownership in the neighborhood and 48 of those were purchased over the asking price.

The neighborhood's largest commercial development from the mid-1950s, the Plaza Foods complex at Fulton and Masonic, once again became scene of the most ambitious new construction in the area. In late 1997 the Petrini family sold the site to a limited partnership composed of a local development firm, the Emerald Fund, and Lucky's Supermarket (since purchased by Albertson's). Plans were announced to replace the one-story shopping mall and street-level open parking lot with a mixed-use complex including 135 condo units atop a supermarket and an underground parking lot. The building would rise three floors above street level to the forty foot maximum height limit.

The prospect of losing a beloved grocery store, Falletti's, mobilized hundreds of neighbors to modify the project, or oppose it outright. An ad-hoc group of neighbors extracted extensive changes in design, layout, exterior appearance, and commercial operations of the project, and the city's severe need for housing ensured official approval of the construction. What had once been a sandy and empty expanse outside the city boundaries, then a cable car and Muni bus yard, and a mid-century collection of small retail stores is now the new Fulton Street Market and Petrini Place.

Public recognition of the neighborhood's improved standing in the public eye came in July 2000 when the *San Francisco Bay Guardian* heralded the

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## Local Artists

By  
Melissa Andres

Not all goths are dark, morbid, sad, and weepy. They can have a great sense of humor and love to laugh like everyone else. They can be fun. They can be spiritual... and they can be political.

Ny2k (pronounced like "Nick") Fell and Krystl Chamber are Hayes Street neighbors who shatter a broad range of stereotypes. In addition to being "eclectic goths," they are also gardeners, radio show hosts, and members of a band, Galaxy Chamber, which performed at the neighborhood block party in July.

Ny2k started the band in 1987. Almost four years later, Ny2k and Krystl met at the I Beam, a club formerly located in the Upper Haight. Krystl soon joined the band, and now plays bass guitar and sings. Besides Krystl, Galaxy Chamber currently has four other regular members: Crow Mayhem (keyboards), Carlos Bonilla (percussion), Nathan Williams (guitar), and Ny2k (percussion

& vocals). The band also performs with a fire dancer, Salena Luna, and a puppeteer, Dave Hasbaroque of The Shadow Circus Creature Theatre. Tom Houston is the band's photographer. Most of the group lives in the neighborhood.

As in most cultural movements, San Francisco's current goth scene embraces a range of styles, and Galaxy Chamber tends toward the fringes of that range. They can't really be pigeonholed in one convenient category, because they amalgamate several different styles. They have been called "gothadelic" or "tribal space goth," because they attempt to meld punk, occult, and psychedelic traditions. They've even been dubbed "afro-gothadelic" because they use a lot of percussion and sometimes have a funk element to their sound.

Their music is inspired by religion, politics, philosophy, and history. They've written songs with themes ranging from



the plight of the Native Americans, mental instability, and breaking free of the traditional barriers in life, to their vision of what the future might be like. One of their songs, "Sigil," is a prayer that the people of the world will realize that we're all a part of the same humanity and come together in peace.

The band's name, "Galaxy Chamber," is meant to evoke the macrocosm within the microcosm. "It's like the space bar in the movie *Star Wars* where all of the species and cultures meet."

Ny2k and Krystl manage to be both out of this world and completely down to earth at the same time. Ny2k grew up in Cleveland, but has lived in San Francisco for almost 20 years, ten of them in the neighborhood. He's friendly, talkative, and quick to share his views on politics and music. To pay the rent, Ny2k works as a sound engineer/producer and tarot card reader, and builds union booths at conventions part of the year. Krystl, who is eloquent, thoughtful, and artistic, has been living in the neighborhood for 14 years. She moved around a lot while growing up and never really settled down until she came to San Francisco. "It's like this is where I needed to be," she says.

Krystl and Ny2k contribute to the neighborhood by taking care of the sidewalk garden next to their building. When

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## We've Noticed...

—A new Laundromat is going up at the corner of Lyon and McAllister...there's new paint on the Parkside Market building at the corner of Lyon and Hayes...the church on Hayes next to the Parkside Market is for sale... construction has stopped on the proposed traffic light on Masonic at Grove...a new art bar, the Madrone Lounge, has opened on Divisadero at Fell... Taco Loco, at the corner of Page and Divisadero, has a new owner—as does the Chances Bar ... the old hair salon on Fulton across from Albertson's has been torn down, (a new burrito shop may be setting up there shortly).

## We've Heard...

—A Washington Mutual bank may shortly occupy the vacant storefront in front of Albertson's... the restaurateur who intended to remodel the building at Fulton and Masonic (next to Starbucks—the building that previously housed the Fulton Street bar) has apparently run out of money and stopped construction... a fire at 750 Lyon at McAllister has put long-time Panhandle residents Addie and Deborah in temporary residence for the time being, but they will be back as soon as their home is repaired.

## Around and About

—There's a new shop at 1925 Hayes Street, called Faith Simply Magical Living. The description on its Web site (<http://www.shop-faith.com>) states that the store "features the works of local artists and alchemists, united by their interest in the sacred feminine." It's a good place to buy locally made intentional gifts and art, as well as selected books. Faith Simply has a workshop space where they hold classes, a weekly meditation, and energy healing services (most weekdays, by appointment). The shop is open on the weekends from noon until 6pm.

Last December, the shop hosted a highly successful holiday fair; they expect an even larger turnout this year. The shop's quarterly art shows feature live music and offer an opportunity to mingle with local artists.

Speaking of the arts, did you know that our neighborhood boasts a cool, quirky artsy, folksy cabaret? It's held on the first Sunday evening of each month, at Fulton and Lyon. Stop by and steep yourself in the local creative scene!

**GET ACTIVE!** Your NOPNA membership gives us a stronger voice at City Hall and supports our efforts to create a clean, safe, and friendly neighborhood. Membership is open to everyone residing or interested in the area located within our boundaries: Divisadero, Masonic, Fell, and Turk. Please complete the following information:

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

Phone(s) \_\_\_\_\_ E-mail \_\_\_\_\_

**Annual dues** (payable to NOPNA): \$25 Individual / \$30 Family / \$50 Mover / \$100 Shaker  
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## Greet the Youth Cleaning Our Streets

Back by popular demand—Teens from the Larkin Street Youth Center have returned to the streets of the North Panhandle to continue their street and graffiti clean-up work. This excellent neighborhood beautification program is made possible by a grant from Emerald Fund, developers of The Fulton Market.

Please be sure to stop and thank the Larkin Youth members when you see them working hard to make our neighborhood shine!



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# How We Came to Be Here

Part two in a two-part series chronicling North Panhandle history and the development of our unique homes

By Michael Helquist

## The House That Holds Our History

The building at 2077-2079 Golden Gate is a handsome Stick-style house, popular in San Francisco in the 1880s, with vertical and horizontal planks or "sticks" following the framework. Rectangular bay windows define both levels of the house and lend perspective to the otherwise flat, linear quality of the building. Stylized natural elements, heavily incised, provide ornamentation that might seem overdone if not so well balanced. A heavy, bracketed cornice assures the visual aspect is contained, appearing solid on the street.

Walking down this block of Golden Gate, a visitor will notice similar stick style features in several houses, such as 2076, 2067-2069, 2059, 2022, 2011, and 2009, but none are as pure in form as 2077-2079 with its bay window on the first level complementing the cornice and entry, the second level bay window complemented by the single flat window, and the recessed roof line several feet higher than a few of its neighbors.

One can also see the rich variations that defined San Franciscan buildings with Stick features blending with Italianate and Edwardian styles. For example, directly across the street from 2077-2079, the house at 2082-2084 shares many features except for its slanted bay windows, a feature more popular in the following decade of construction. Several of the buildings have been modified to include a driveway and garage.

Most of the early construction also reveals the creativity, sometimes the frivolity, of builders with the amount of ornamentation added to the exteriors. Whether these details seem integral to the style or simply excessive is often determined by the balance of features and by exterior painting schemes.

## The First Owners of 2077-2079 Golden Gate

On a cool March 15th of 1889, Stephen D. Chiucovich must have taken great satisfaction in completing the necessary paperwork at the Spring Valley Water Works offices to apply for water service at his new home. His wasn't the first house to be built on the second-to-last block of Golden Gate Avenue as it ended at the broad expanse of cemeteries just the other side of Masonic Avenue. His friends must have marveled at his decision to live so far from the center of town. Only the year before he was residing at 308 McAllister, a good many blocks closer to town than his new home.

Designed as a one-family home, Chiucovich's building reflected his solid financial position: the house was large with two stories, thirteen rooms, and a full basement. He owned his business, the S.D. Chiucovich Company, with Maurice N. Perrault, who resided at 211 Mason Street. Their firm operated a saloon at the southeast corner of Larkin and Golden Gate. The two men were probably acquainted with Chiucovich's neighbor at the opposite end of the block where he had just completed his new home. Charles Leonhardt of 2003 Golden Gate was also a saloon keeper.

Chiucovich and his wife, Mary, resided at their Golden Gate home for another twelve years, when, in 1902, they had relocated to Alemany. They continued to own their Golden Gate property through the years of turmoil following the 1906 earthquake and fire. They certainly returned to their property at some point after the fire to check on the status of their building. While they likely found little structural damage at their house, they could not have helped notice the thousands of people camping out in the park a few blocks away.

On Golden Gate itself, as everywhere in the city by order of the mayor, residents were not permitted to use any gas or electricity for fear of igniting additional fires from broken gas lines. For a period of up to six weeks, homeowners and tenants of all walks of life cooked on the sidewalks on makeshift grills or on appliances pulled out from their homes.

The Chiucoviches sold their first home to a relative (Vaso Lazzaro Chiucovich) in December of 1914. The period of their ownership, twenty five years, would become the longest the building at 2077-2079 Golden Gate ever remained with one individual or family.

## Neighborhood Demographics in the 1910s and 1920s

The residents of the 2000 block of Golden Gate were a mix of working class and middle-class. In 1911 city voters were required to list their occupations as they registered. So we know that there were carpenters (at 2004, 2068, 2055, and 2071), plumbers (at 2052, 2059), engineers (at 2009, 2051), salesmen and merchants (at 2005, 2014, 2084, 2055, 2085), a music teacher at 2003, a police officer at 2069, an attorney at 2089, and several men involved in other trades such as bricklaying, general contracting, tile-setting, and ironmoulding. Like much of this part of the Western Addition, the residents were mostly Republicans, with a few belonging to the Union Labor party.

Eleven years later, in 1922, similar records reveal that some neighbors had progressed in their occupations, such as James Donovan of 2088 who was first a bricklayer before being promoted to a building inspector; others changed jobs, such as Joseph Wurdack of 2082, a tile-setter in 1911 but a clerk in 1922. There remained, however, a remarkable

(Continued next page)

similarity to their pursuits of a decade earlier.

Women were for the first time listed in the voter registry; most on the 2000 block listed their occupation as housewife although Mrs. Mary Adams of 2059 stated that she was a nurse. As before, many of the block residents were immigrants; some established their own businesses, such as Ettore and Antoinette Massagli, of Italian origin and residing at 2009, who founded a family cement contracting firm.

In the early 1920s several spectacular projects were completed at the beach, and San Franciscans residing near the Panhandle likely joined thousands of others to stroll along the three-mile esplanade parallel to the Great Highway, stop for a swim at the Sutro Baths (built in 1896 as the world's largest indoor pool) or, on warm days, at Fleishhacker Pool (the world's largest outdoors pool, filled with sea water), visit the animals at the Fleishhacker Zoo, or indulge in the varied entertainment at Playland-at-the-Beach, before dining at the Cliff House restaurant with its views of the Pacific.

## Changing Ownership of the Golden Gate House

Periods of ownership of 2077-2079 Golden Gate gradually shortened. In 1916 the house left the Chiucovich family altogether when it was sold to Jacob and Bessie Friedman. The Friedmans lived in the ornate Victorian until late 1925. From that year to 1929, six transactions occurred, perhaps reflecting the dire economic times faced by the city and nation. When the Depression hit, homes that ten years earlier had sold for as much as \$12,000 dropped in price to \$5000. During the 1930s and 1940s, ownership of the Golden Gate house changed every four to five years.

San Francisco saw an unprecedented surge in population growth from 1941 to 1945, with an increase of 100,000 residents. Factories and shipyards expanded rapidly, and the number of workers who streamed into the city for the many jobs often found housing in short supply. Either during the World War II years or directly thereafter, this single-family house was split into two flats, an upper

and lower, either owned jointly by two families or rented by separate tenants.

It was not uncommon in many of the city's older neighborhoods for the grand single-family homes to be bought and sold as boardinghouse investments rather than residences. In later years, the Golden Gate building would provide additional units with the upper flat divided into two separate apartments of three rooms each and with a street level apartment (2081) carved out of the basement.

## African-American Settlement in the Western Addition

Prior to World War II the only concentration of African-Americans in San Francisco was near the slopes of the cemetery lands at Lone Mountain. With the massive migration to the city for the war-related industrial jobs, many African-Americans settled in the Western Addition, including the area left vacant around Fillmore Street by the evacuation of Japanese-Americans. The blocks around Golden Gate and Central Avenues became home for a thriving African-American community, with historically black churches located within every two to three blocks.

Following the war, much of the white population deserted the Western Addition, seeking the newer suburbs in the Richmond, the Sunset, and those down the peninsula.

The social turbulence of the late 1960s and early 1970s took its toll on the residents north of the Panhandle. Several homes were abandoned and others fell into major disrepair. What had been a proud address fifty years earlier was now dismissed with the pejorative "Western Addition,"

meaning an area that many found unsafe and undesirable. The blocks closer to the park seemed to experience more of the social disruption, and neighbors started referring to Golden Gate Avenue as the "Heights." Those who remained here, however, formed a tight-knit community, recognizing its problems but appreciating their urban neighborhood, the proximity of the park, the schools, and the churches.

The 1980 Census Data map for the city shows a heavy concentration of African-Americans along Fell, Hayes, Grove, and Fulton Streets from Divisadero to Masonic, with a lighter concentration in the northeast corner of the North Panhandle area.

## Commercial Development in the Neighborhood

The North of the Panhandle neighborhood had been served primarily by corner grocery stores, small storefronts, and a few clubs along Divisadero Street. Anyone wanting more extensive shopping would travel into town via cable car, or later, by bus and private

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