HAIGHT-ASHBURY AND ITS CONTRIBUTION TO THE COUNTERCULTURE MOVEMENT

A Thesis

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School

of Cornell University

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts in Historic Preservation and Planning

by

Ethan James Potter

August 2020

© 2020 Ethan James Potter

ABSTRACT

The City of San Francisco, specifically the Haight-Ashbury neighborhood, was the epicenter of the American Counterculture Movement in the mid to late sixties. The social, cultural, and political impact of this movement is vast and widely known. This thesis provides a themed historical narrative of the Haight-Ashbury, specifically about its role in the Counterculture Movement. There are three major themes that explore the history of both the Counterculture Movement and Haight-Ashbury. Significant planning and preservation efforts for Haight-Ashbury, since the sixties, are also surveyed. Subjects such as intangible culture, history, city planning, and architecture are examined as they pertain to Haight-Ashbury and the Counterculture Movement.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Ethan Potter is, above all, passionate for history. He grew up in Sammamish Washington, playing baseball and football. He studied history, English, and anthropology at Washington State University graduating with a Bachelor of Arts in History. He then worked in education as a tutor and a docent. Ethan decided to pursue a degree in Historic Preservation for its ability to educate the public about history. Ethan was inspired to pursue history after reading Carl L. Becker's 1930 speech, "Every Man A Historian," which demonstrates how historical research is conducted by nearly everyone, every day. Historic Preservation proved to be a great medium to pursue both of his interests. More specific research interests include vernacular cultural landscapes, American sports and music history, rural communities, architectural history, castrametation, and geography of the American West. Ethan enjoys reading, cycling, and golf.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First and foremost, I thank Professor Michael A. Tomlan for his constant support and guidance throughout my two years at Cornell University. In his role as Committee Chair, Professor Tomlan assisted me at all stages on this thesis and provided invaluable advice. Our weekly discussions about topics of all sorts helped to guide, inspire, and satiate my increasing interest in all things historic preservation. Professor Tomlan's breadth and depth of knowledge is second to none, and I am grateful for the opportunity to learn from him.

Professor Jeff Chusid, my second committee member, has helped my growth as a student of historic preservation substantially. Professor Chusid imparted his knowledge of California history, cultural landscapes, architecture, and materials to me. His passion for preservation emanates and inspires. It has been a true honor to study under both of these scholars.

I also wish to thank Donna Graves, Pilar LaValley from San Francisco Planning, William Beutner from San Francisco Heritage and Brian Turner from the National Trust for Historic Preservation for giving their generous help to my research.

Lastly, I thank my family, specifically, my parents, Ted and Adriana. Without their unconditional and constant love and support, none of what I have accomplished would have been possible.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT ii

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH iii

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS iv

LIST OF FIGURES vi

INTRODUCTION 1

CHAPTER 1: ARCHITECTURAL AND SOCIAL BACKGROUND 10

CHAPTER 2: HEALTH AND WELLNESS 46

CHAPTER 3: POLITICS THROUGH ART 73

CHAPTER 4: ARTS, ENTERTAINMENT, COMMERCE 104

CHAPTER 5: HAIGHT-ASHBURY'S CONTINUED EVOLUTION 155

CHAPTER 6: PRESERVATION IN THE HAIGHT-ASHBURY 173

CONCLUSION 200

BIBLIOGRAPHY 206

APPENDIX 215

LIST OF FIGURES

1.1: The Cole Valley Lange Dairy, Ca. 1870.

http://www.outsidelands.org/almshouse-road.php

1.2: Stanyan Park Hotel after rehabilitation.

https://noehill.com/sf/landmarks/nat1983001235.asp

1.3: View from the top of the Chutes.

http://www.foundsf.org/index.php?title=The_Chutes

1.4: Real Estate Map Ca. 1880.

http://www.outsidelands.org/podcast/WNP291_Baird_Estate

1.5: The Dudley Stone School.

https://opensfhistory.org/Download/wnp37.01893.jpg

1.6: 1779 Haight, Oldest building on Haight Street in Upper Haight.

https://goo.gl/maps/oiTxmGo7eAgy6qVAA

1.7 Building Density in the Haight 1919-1970.

https://ia801306.us.archive.org/14/items/haightashburybri00sanf/haightashburybri00sanf.pdf.

1.8 SF Heritage 1987 Haight-Ashbury Tour Map

Scanned by Author in The Haight: History and Architecture, *Heritage Newsletter* Vol. XV No. I, April 1987, I-VIII.

1.9 1937 San Francisco Residential Security Map

https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/7b1886a2c3594db9b4076f1a063cb49f

1.10: Coexistence Bagel Shop in North Beach.

https://ids.si.edu/ids/deliveryService?max=800&id=AAA-AAA_greemark_28241

1.11: Map of North Beach in a café located in the Tea Room and Coffee Gallery.

https://ids.si.edu/ids/deliveryService?max=800&id=AAA-AAA_greemark_29350

1.12: Muir Beach Acid Test Poster.

https://woodstockwhisperer.info/page/201/

2.1: Timothy Leary at the Human Be-In.

https://americanhistory.si.edu/lisalaw/photoind.htm

2.2: 558 Clayton, Haight-Ashbury Free Medical Clinic.

https://goo.gl/maps/HUEYsbMdngWJ6jBf6

2.3: 1915 Page, formerly Far-Fetched Foods.

https://goo.gl/maps/VPn2Uz6JuJBPhFCm8

3.1: 924 Howard, Calliope Warehouse Loft.

https://goo.gl/maps/MDTsEWNb37ui9EXT8

3.2: ALF Meeting.

https://americanhistory.si.edu/lisalaw/photoind.htm

3.3: Dutch Provos with their famous White Bicycle.

https://bicycletrax.wordpress.com/2014/04/03/provoking-the-birth-of-bike-sharing/

3.4: 50 Green Street, former KMPX studios.

Taken by author

3.5: 211 Sutter, former KSAN studios.

Taken by author

3.6: 1350 Waller, All Saints Episcopal, date unknown.

http://sflib1.sfpl.org:82/search/?searchtype=X&searcharg=%221350%22+waller&

sortdropdown=-

&SORT=D&extended=0&SUBMIT=Search&searchlimits=&searchorigarg=X%22Haight%22+Ashbury%26SORT%3DD

3.7: 1321 Oak, Howard Presbyterian Church.

https://calisphere.org/item/33b0f7e75937bfce23f281a7bc8a6739/

3.8: 330 Ellis, Glide Memorial Church.

Taken by author

3.9: 42 Belvedere Street.

https://goo.gl/maps/WsY9mzoETmJ5bMWp6

4.1. 1806 Geary, The Fillmore.

https://goo.gl/maps/fLtneUZaYNGGntj8A

4.2. 710 Ashbury, home of the Grateful Dead, with several other bands.

https://warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/scapvc/theatre/research/current/culturesoftheleft/dispatches/leftinsanfrancisco/

4.3. Typical Elvis concert poster.

https://i.etsystatic.com/19389619/r/il/fe1dc4/1889428590/il_1140xN.1889428590_3k0z.jpg

4.4. The Red Dog Saloon pre-renovation.

https://flashbak.com/charlatans-hippies-guns-lsd-san-francisco-rock-band-wild-sixties-387027/red-dog-saloon-virginia/

4.5. 1268 Sutter, Avalon Ballroom.

Taken by author

4.6. How ‘Fillmore’ font differs from typical poster font.

Scanned by author from Harrah-Conforth, Bruce M. “The Rise and Fall of a Modern Folk Community: Haight-Ashbury, 1965-1967,” 1990

4.7. Alton Kelly and Stanley Mouse Poster for a Grateful Dead concert. http://www.artnet.com/artists/stanley-mouse/

4.8. Death Skeleton Roses Wreath by Edmund J Sullivan https://www.si.edu/object/voice-music-bo-diddley-quicksilver-messenger-serviceavalon-ballroom-san-francisco-california-72867:saam_2007.27.23

4.9 Rick Griffin’s Flying Eyeball BG-105. https://www.wolfgangs.com/posters/jimi-hendrix-experience/poster/BG105.html

4.10. A Victor Moscoso poster for The Family Dog. https://www.si.edu/object/finger-electric-flag-mad-riveravalon-ballroom-san-francisco-california-2268-2468:saam_2007.27.20

4.11. A woman selling copies of the *San Francisco Oracle.* *http://sflib1.sfpl.org:82/search~/a?searchtype=X&searcharg=%22Haight%22+Ashbury&x=0&y=0&SORT=D&stype=X*

4.12 Robert Crumb’s “Keep on Truckin’” https://today.uconn.edu/2020/02/keep-truckin-art-r-crumb-contemporary-art-galleries/

4.13. Ron and Jay Thelin outside the Psychedelic Shop. https://www.mocp.org/detail.php?t=objects&type=browse&f=maker&s=Greene%2C+Herb&record=89

4.14. 1568 Haight, former location of Love Burgers. https://goo.gl/maps/DETDgiCtJFGg3rg49

4.15. Black Panthers at a protest in Kezar Stadium.

https://americanhistory.si.edu/lisalaw/photoind.htm

4.16: The Grateful Dead standing in front of Mnasidika.

https://www.kqed.org/news/11748384/corner-of-haight-and-ashbury-in-san-francisco-declared-national-treasure

4.17 451 Pacific Ave. Old Firehouse #1

https://noehill.com/sf/landmarks/poi_engine_company_01.asp

4.18. Contemporary map showing some significant Haight locations, ca. 1967.

http://www.prabhupadaconnect.com/Radha-Krishna-Temple-Haight-Ashbury-1967.html

4.19. Allen Ginsberg, dancing the Grateful Dead during the Human Be-In.

https://americanhistory.si.edu/lisalaw/photoind.htm

5.1: 1899 Waller, Park Police Station.

https://sfgov.org/policecommission/park-station

5.2: 1398 Haight, The Drogstore then the Psalms Café.

http://sflib1.sfpl.org:82/search~/a?searchtype=X&searcharg=%22Haight%22+Ashbury&x=0&y=0&SORT=D&stype=X

5.3: Present day shot of Page and Ashbury

https://goo.gl/maps

5.4: Historic shot of Page and Ashbury

http://opensfhistory.org/moreNeighborhoodPhotos.php?n=Haight_Ashbury&bn=1&bn=1

5.5: Present day shot of Waller and Cole

https://goo.gl/maps

5.6: Historic Shot of Waller and Cole

http://opensfhistory.org/moreNeighborhoodPhotos.php?n=Haight_Ashbury&bn=1&bn=1

5.7: Modern Day Haight, 2020.

https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2020-03-17/san-francisco-s-shelter-in-place-order-shows-u-s-what-s-to-come)

6.1: 557 Ashbury. The Doolan-Larson Building.

https://goo.gl/maps/6MM6EZi7cKKtivwe8

6.2: 1198 Fulton, Westerfield House.

Taken by author

6.3: 568 Sacramento, PG & E Substation J, or Whisky a Go-Go.

https://goo.gl/maps/K7NXNAR7dmpi9vHH7

6.4: 261 Columbus, City Lights Bookstore.

Taken by author

6.5: 1702 Haight, the Straight Theater.

http://opensfhistory.org/moreNeighborhoodPhotos.php?n=Haight_Ashbury&bn=1&bn=1

6.6: 1725 Steiner, Winterland Ballroom.

https://www.sfchronicle.com/oursf/article/Our-SF-Rare-photos-of-the-demolition-of-12529182.php

6.7: View from Buena Vista Park 1886.

http://sflib1.sfpl.org:82/search~/a?searchtype=X&searcharg=%22Haight%22+Ashbury&x=0&y=0&SORT=D&stype=X

6.8: Amoeba Records.

https://goo.gl/maps/giF351Yewv9672eL9

6.9: Rolling Stone Haight Map, 1976.

https://www.raremaps.com/gallery/detail/55154/stations-of-the-gods-eye-pilgrimage-places-in-the-haight-rolling-stone-magazine

6.10: Weekend at the Panhandle, 1967.

https://americanhistory.si.edu/lisalaw/photoind.htm

INTRODUCTION

"The Haight-Ashbury is . . . the purest reflection of what is happening in consciousness at the leading edge of our society," – Richard Alpert (Ram Dass)[1]

The Counterculture Movement of the late 1960's was a widespread phenomenon, occurring in the cities and countryside of several countries, but it had the strongest presence in western countries such as the USA and the UK. Within the USA, San Francisco had the strongest cohort, followed by Los Angeles and New York City. Within the city of San Francisco, neighborhoods such as North Beach, Fillmore, and the Mission District played important roles, but Haight-Ashbury became known as the epicenter of the Hippie Counterculture Movement. It was estimated that 100,000 young people flocked to the neighborhood in the Summer of 1967, and somewhere between 7,000-15,000 were permanent residents between 1966-1968. Haight-Ashbury (or "The Haight") was largely populated by white, middle-class American youth who challenged social norms and ideals held by their parents' generation. Many social and cultural issues and subjects still relevant today have their origins in this Counterculture Movement, including the acceptability of drug use and treatment, LGBT acceptance, community policing, organic food, environmentalism, certain music genres and outlets, pop art and other novel forms of cultural expression, underground news media, political action through art, and the popularity of "Eastern" practices, cultures and religions (yoga, Buddhism, etc.). Perhaps the

[1] Ken Wachsberger, *Voices from the Underground* (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 2011).

most significant achievement of this Counterculture is how tolerable and accepted many of these ideas have become in the American mainstream culture. The hippies did not reinvent how humanity lives, but they certainly pulled the mainstream culture in their direction. The Haight-Ashbury is not the only place where this movement occurred, but the neighborhood now serves as the primary pilgrimage site for the Counterculture Movement across the world and deserves to be recognized as such.

The overarching theme of this thesis is the development of the Counterculture Movement in the Haight-Ashbury district of San Francisco and its effects on the social and cultural development of San Francisco and the entire country. The contributions are divided into three themes: Health and Wellness, Politics through the Arts, and Arts, Entertainment, and Commerce. This document seeks to identify the most significant patterns, events, influences, individuals, and groups that played a role in these aspects of history.

The most recent work on the preservation of Countercultural history comes from San Francisco Heritage, which published an article in their spring 2017 Newsletter *The Landmarks and Legacies of Haight-Ashbury* detailing the next steps that Heritage and the City and County of San Francisco will take. The proposed Haight-Ashbury Landmark District was added to the Landmark Designation Work Program, and Heritage also received a grant from the San Francisco Historic Preservation Fund Committee to document the neighborhood Counterculture history, create a short interpretive video, and commence community engagement. The Haight Street Neighborhood Commercial District

(the commercial row that terminates in Golden Gate Park) was documented as part of the Draft Neighborhood Commercial Buildings Historic Resources Survey and the Neighborhood Commercial Buildings Historic Context Statement 1865–1965 found the Haight Street Commercial District to have individual and district potential.[2]

This thesis benefits from a staggering amount of scholarship about the Counterculture written both during and after the era. There are several sources in which the author combined first-hand experience, extensive interviews, and primary sources to craft narratives that are both contemporary and scholarly. These sources are the foundation for this thesis because of their focus on individuals and organizations as the agents. There are also numerous books and articles that speak generally about all aspects of the Counterculture, from its inception to its legacy in present day.[3]

---

[2] "Neighborhood Commercial Buildings Historic Resources Survey," Neighborhood Commercial Buildings Historic Resources Survey | SF Planning, accessed May 29, 2020, https://sfplanning.org/project/neighborhood-commercial-buildings-historic-resources-survey)

[3]Cavan, Sherri. *Hippies of the Haight*. St. Louis: New Critics Press, 1972.

Cohen, Allen. "The San Francisco Oracle: A Brief History." *Serials Review* 16, no. 1 (1990): 13–46. https://doi.org/10.1080/00987913.1990.10763930.

Doyle, Michael William. "The Haight-Ashbury Diggers and the Cultural Politics of Utopia, 1965-1968," 1997.

Harrah-Conforth, Bruce M. "The Rise and Fall of a Modern Folk Community: Haight-Ashbury, 1965-1967," 1990

Perry, Charles. *The Haight-Ashbury: A History*. New York, NY: Wenner Books, 2005.

Perry, Helen Swick. *The Human Be-In*. New York: Basic Books, 1970.

Wolfe, Tom. *Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test*. New York: Bantam, 1999. (originally published 1968)

Michael Doyle explains at length the historiography of scholarship that was available in the 80s and 90s on the Counterculture in his Dissertation: "The Haight-Ashbury Diggers and the Cultural Politics of Utopia, 1965-1968."

There are four planning documents of note from San Francisco's Planning Department that were particularly helpful. Each document provides a snapshot of the city's priorities and plans at critical points after the Counterculture Era.[4]

Starting in the Summer of 2019 continuing through the next year, The author accessed several primary sources including Sanborn Maps, the Smithsonian Photograph Collection, documents in the San Francisco Public Library History Center and their digitized collection of the *San Francisco Chronicle* and City Directories accessed via Archive.org.

Groups contacted for input, advice, and information included San Francisco Heritage, The National Trust for Historic Preservation, The City of San Francisco Planning Department, the San Francisco Mime Troupe, The Haight-Ashbury Free Clinic, Donna Graves (co-author of the LGBT Historic Context Statement) and others.

It is important to keep in mind while reading this thesis that there are many aspects of both San Francisco's history and its historic preservation resources that go unmentioned. Given that a majority of the structures, sites, neighborhoods, landscapes, and other parts of the built environment that are mentioned here

[4] "Planning Department." Neighborhood Commercial Buildings Historic Resource Survey | Planning Department. Accessed May 16, 2020. https://sfgov.org/sfplanningarchive/neighborhood-commercial-buildings-historic-resource-survey.
San Francisco Planning Dept. Greater Haight-Ashbury Cumulative Assessment Report, § (1984). https://archive.org/details/greaterhaightash2819sanf/mode/2up
San Francisco Planning Dept. The Haight-Ashbury: A Brief Description of the Past, § (1972). https://ia801306.us.archive.org/14/items/haightashburybri00sanf/haightashburybri00sanf.pdf.
San Francisco Planning Dept. Haight-Ashbury public realm plan: draft report, § (2015). https://sfplanning.org/haight-ashbury-public-realm-plan#timeline
San Francisco Planning Dept. Upper Ashbury Rehabilitation Assistance Program: Environmental Impact Statement. § (1976)

contain a rich history that predates the 1960s. The focus is on San Francisco's – more specifically, Haight-Ashbury's – role as the epicenter of the Counterculture Movement in the late sixties.

One important question needs to be answered before continuing: What is a counterculture? The word originally appears hyphenated (counter-culture) in sociological research papers. In 1960, J. Milton Yinger wrote about the extensive use of the term "subculture" in sociological circles, citing over a hundred publications that use the term, but explained how there was no official definition.[5] Yinger found that a subculture could refer to "certain universal tendencies that seem to occur in all societies," "the normative systems of groups smaller than a society," or the development of norms and mores that "arise specifically from a frustrating situation or from conflict between a group and the larger society."[6] Yinger uses "Contraculture" to refer to this third definition of subculture. Previous works used "counter-culture" or "counter-ideology" to refer to the same phenomenon.[7] Thus, the concept of a "counter-culture" was relatively new even in sociological circles into the late 1960s and suffered from a lack of consensus of its definition. Still, the working definition of counter-culture was a subculture created within a larger culture through conflict that was expressed through contradictory norms and mores.

[5] J. Milton Yinger, "Contraculture and Subculture," *American Sociological Review* 25, no. 5 (1960), 625.
[6] J. Milton Yinger, "Contraculture and Subculture," 626-627.
[7] J. Milton Yinger, "Contraculture and Subculture," 629.

Counterculture (with the hyphen now removed) has been used as a collective term for the vast array of social movements that reached their peak in the mid to late 1960s. The word has become a catch-all, similar to the word "hippie." Although the author employs these terms extensively, an important caveat must be made, the 'Counterculture,' used as a proper noun, combines such a diverse set of groups and individuals that it is inherently inaccurate. This 'movement' has no defined leader, no requirements to join, no agreed upon definition, and no singular experience. Hundreds of books and articles have attempted to explain what the Counterculture Movement was and its significance, and, in my opinion, all have failed, not because of a lack of understanding or research, but because it is a near-impossible task. The author has made a concerted effort to go one level deeper in this thesis, to avoid assigning a collective significance to this nebulous movement, and, instead, to identify groups and individuals that are commonly categorized as part of the Counterculture Movement and speak to their own specific accomplishments.

Chapter One introduces the story of The Haight-Ashbury neighborhood from its original development in the 1870s until the mid-1960s and the social movements that would form the Counterculture Era. This section sets up the following three thematic chapters with the history and information needed to help understand why Haight-Ashbury was the epicenter of the Counterculture Movement.

Chapter Two examines Haight-Ashbury's contribution to expanding the availability of healthcare and alternative lifestyles for the benefit of the mind and

body. Recreational drug use and its consequences in the Haight led to the founding of the Haight-Ashbury Free Clinic, the first and best example of a free clinic and the neighborhood greatest contribution to healthcare. Because of the recent criminalization of many drugs, the free clinic was one of the few institutions developing drug-abuse treatments and producing valuable drug research during this time. The organic food movement in America can trace some of its origins back to Haight-Ashbury, in which two of the earliest health food stores were founded. The Back-To-The-Land movement found new participants within the Counterculture. The many publications created during this period expanded upon Bolton Hall's and Ralph Borsodi's ideas and incorporated concepts from the Counterculture into this movement, such as spirituality and environmentalism.

Chapter Three delves into how certain groups associated with the Counterculture in Haight-Ashbury pushed a form of political engagement based in the arts, which differed from other contemporary political movements. This chapter delves deeper into the inspirations of the Counterculture and the development of a group that came to define the 'soul' of Haight-Ashbury's hippies, the Diggers. This organization actively worked to better the lives of the of the community's residents. Their approach arose from their connection to avant-garde theater groups that practiced what came to be known as "Street Theater." The Diggers offered free food, had a free store, free concerts, and free beds. Through this grand social experiment, the Diggers were able to convince many 'straight' institutions to help Haight-Ashbury and help realize their concept of "free."

Chapter Four is the last thematic chapter, and focuses more directly on The Haight's contributions to the arts. In popular music, for example, the San Francisco Sound was hugely significant and many of the bands lived in Haight-Ashbury. The associated psychedelic poster art scene was also centered around Haight-Ashbury. It in turn played a role in the growth of underground comics. These were featured in underground newspapers, and Haight-Ashbury is home to one of the most famous underground papers, *The San Francisco Oracle.* The chapter ends with a discussion of the 'gathering,' the event that is most readily identifiable as representing the Counterculture and that helped propel hippies and Counterculture ideas into the mainstream consciousness.

Chapter Five continues the story of Haight-Ashbury beyond the Counterculture Era and into the present day, specifically focusing on city politics and the Haight's role in the neighborhood movements. Members of the Counterculture who stayed in the Haight helped wider neighborhood improvement efforts. The leader of these efforts, the Haight-Ashbury Neighborhood Council, then joined other neighborhoods in a powerful political movement to make the city government more representative, instead of just favoring the downtown political agenda. There are other examples of Counterculture ideals continuing to affect the Haight well after the 1960s.

Chapter Six establishes the current state of preservation in Haight-Ashbury. This includes a definition of Intangible Culture Heritage (ICH) and Integrity, and the challenges it brings to the neighborhood's preservation. Then, the existing and future preservation efforts, along with resources currently available for the Haight-

Ashbury are described. Some examples of successful preservation in other cities provide a good template for any efforts in San Francisco. Lastly, the Haight's parks, shops, existing landmarks are all discussed, as well as tours, literature, and plans by the city to help provide a comprehensive account of all preservation efforts.

CHAPTER 1: ARCHITECTURAL AND SOCIAL BACKGROUND

This chapter provides a brief history of the physical and social developments that led to Haight-Ashbury holding a singular role in the creation of the nationwide movements collectively known as the Sixties Counterculture. The physical developmental history of the Haight ends around 1950, as there is minimal new construction from that point until the period of significance for the events discussed in this thesis, which is roughly from 1965-1970. This five-year date was chosen to include all of the events, people, and movements that make up the Counterculture Era. The year with the highest number of significant topics is 1967, with the well documented and fabled Summer of Love.

The history of Haight-Ashbury created a very particular set of circumstances that made it a perfect place for this new, bohemian population, colloquially known as hippies, to descend upon the area in the mid-60's. Haight-Ashbury began as an affluent cable-car suburb with a glut of recreational activities. Then, the Great Depression and redlining of Haight-Ashbury by real estate companies in the 1930's caused the Haight to decline until war industries brought new residents and life. Next, the commercialization of the North Beach neighborhood drove the Beats[8] out and into Haight-Ashbury. Finally, the efforts of a few individuals took these circumstances and formed a cultural-political movement now known as the Counterculture.

[8] The Beats or Beatniks are explained later in this chapter.

PHYSICAL DEVELOPMENT OF HAIGHT-ASHBURY

What is now the geographic center of San Francisco was not settled until the 1870s. The land that comprises the neighborhood of Haight-Ashbury was granted to Jose de Jesus by the Mexican government in 1845. F. M. Lange first settled the land, creating a nine-acre ranch in 1870.[9][10]

1.1 Cole Valley Lange Dairy

That same year, Governor Henry Hunt Haight named the members of the first San Francisco Park Commission: Charles Stanyan, Monroe Ashbury, A.I. Shrader, R. Beverly Cole, and Charles Clayton. They made plans for several San Francisco Parks, most notably, Golden Gate Park. Commercial structures lined the eastern terminus of the Park on Stanyan Street, which formed the beginning of the

[9] San Francisco Planning Dept., "The Haight-Ashbury: A Brief Description of the Past," § (1972), 1.
[10] See Fig. 1.1.

neighborhood. The Haight Street Cable Railroad connected the area to the rest of the city in 1883.[11] Cable car lines along McAllister, Hayes and Oak opened soon after, all terminating at Stanyan Street to service the park.[12]

Neighborhood associations often lobbied for cable car lines. The first neighborhood associations in San Francisco were founded in the 1850s, designed as exclusive developments modeled after private residential parks in London. The next phase of neighborhood associations proved to be more enduring. Around the 1880's, when streetcar lines were being developed, neighborhood associations would lobby the city government for lines to enter their areas and provide access to other city services. These were also known as improvement clubs.[13] The first organization founded within present day Haight-Ashbury neighborhood was the Panhandle Improvement Club, which lobbied and raised money for improved streets and streetlights. In the 20th century, developers were creating entire neighborhoods with restrictive rules and comprehensive amenities, allowing the members to avoid dealing with the city and the less desirable residents. By the 1920s, nearly every neighborhood had an association, which were unified by the Central Council of Civic Clubs. These associations often argued over decisions by the city, typically regarding zoning, infrastructure, racial issues, and business. The city was founded with a large Jewish and Catholic population, and the black population was small and dispersed and often overshadowed by the Chinese

[11] The Haight: History and Architecture, *Heritage Newsletter* Vol. XV No. I, April 1987, I-VIII.
[12] San Francisco Planning Dept., "The Haight-Ashbury: A Brief Description of the Past," § (1972), 2.
[13] Stephen E. Barton, "The Neighborhood Movement in San Francisco," *Berkeley Planning Journal* 2, no. 1 (2012), https://doi.org/10.5070/bp32113201).

population. “No other non-white group (except Chinese) composed more than one percent of the city’s population until the second world war. Haight-Ashbury, being far removed from the center of the city, did not employ restrictive rules to the extent other neighborhood associations did.”[14] This trend of neighborhood associations led to the formation of the Haight-Ashbury Neighborhood Council, which played a pivotal role for the Counterculture.

1.2 Stanyan Park Hotel

By 1890, only a dozen residences had been constructed in the Haight, six of which survive.[15] The recreational facilities in the neighborhood helped to define its early development and history. The California League Baseball grounds were laid out on the current site of the Stanyan Park Hotel (built 1907) in 1887.[16] As

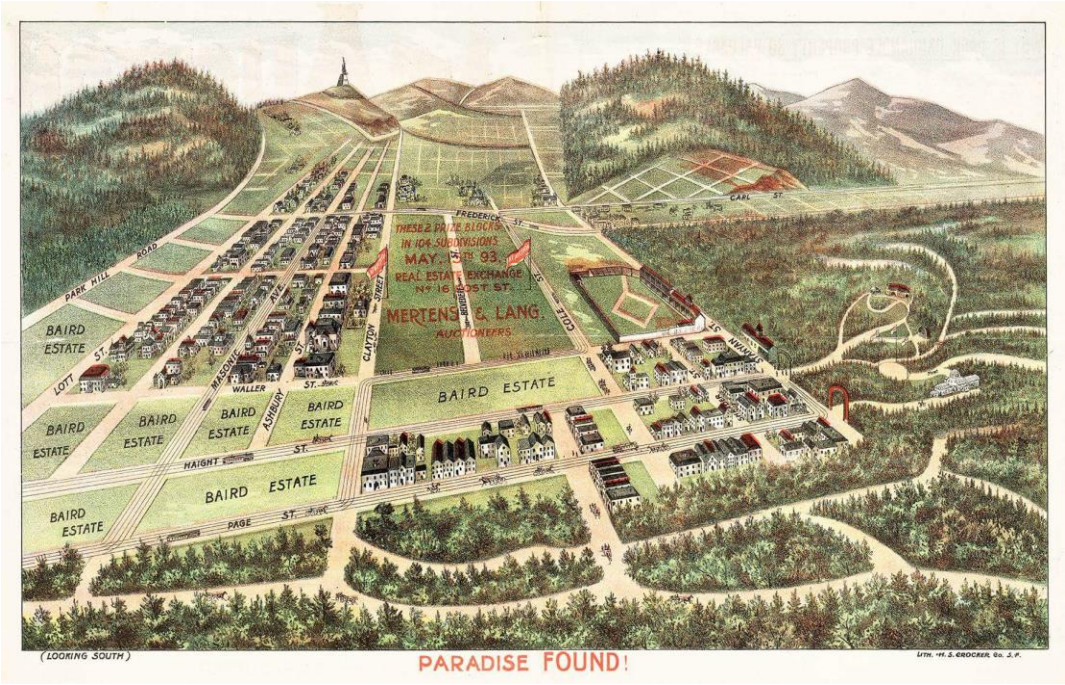
[14] Stephen Barton, The Neighborhood Movement.
[15] 503-525 Cole Street.
[16] See Fig 1.2.

cycling eclipsed baseball as the preferred sport in the area, the grounds were moved north out of the Haight in 1897.[17] In 1895, Paul Boynton Chute created an amusement park along Haight Street colloquially known as The Chutes, located on the south side between Cole and Clayton.[18] The amusement park was by far the largest and most popular recreational facility in the neighborhood. The main attraction was a three-hundred-foot-long, seventy feet high, inclined plane that allowed guests to plunge gondolas into a man-made lake. Other features included an elevated railroad, merry-go-rounds, caged animals, various galleries, a theater, an alligator house, refreshments, and a "Darwinian Temple," which added an educational element to the revelry.[19]

1.3 The Chutes

[17] The Haight: History and Architecture.
[18] See Fig. 1.3.
[19] The Haight: History and Architecture.

Just after the turn of the century, about half the blocks in the Haight were developed, The Chutes was moved to Fulton Street, and Belvedere Street was extended to Haight street. The 1900 census shows 450 households in the neighborhood, primarily of northern European origin. German, Irish, Swedish, and Scottish were the most predominant, but some Swiss, Australians and French could be counted. Non-white residents include two Black women, twelve Japanese, and fourteen Chinese men. The majority of households were married with children and sixty percent were renters.[20]



1.4 Late 19th C. Real Estate Map

Haight Street properties remained mostly in the Baird Estate well after the neighborhood began to develop.[21] On the other streets, many houses were built by contractors including the Hinkel family, Robert Pieper, and Cranston & Keenan.

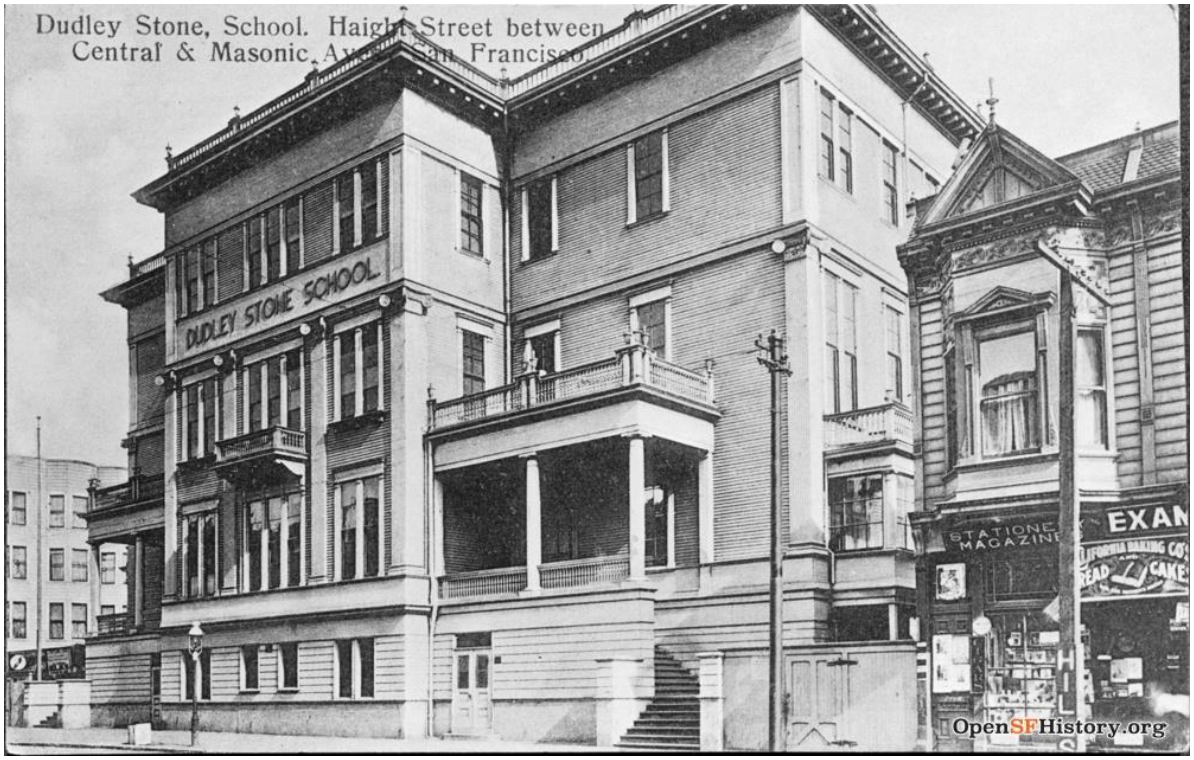
[20] The Haight: History and Architecture.
[21] See Fig. 1.4.

The row houses typically followed similar floor plans: high basements, a staircase to first floor, parlors, and dining rooms opposite, bedrooms and bathrooms on the second floor with attics above.[22]

As the density increased in the neighborhood, single family, two story homes were no longer preferred, giving way to three- or four-story flats and apartments. These structures typically contained four to five different dwellings and reflected the growth of the middle-class suburban population of the neighborhood. Through this transition from single-family homes to flats, the buildings maintained similar exterior features, such as bays, either rounded, hexagonal, or square. Because of the swift development of the neighborhood, nearly all residences were built between 1890-1910. The Queen Anne style dominates the neighborhood. According to SF Heritage, there is no better neighborhood to study the Queen Anne phase of Victorian architecture in the city.[23] This is due to the relatively small group of contractors and architects that developed the Haight with such rapidity. Most residences cost between $6,500 and $8,500 each and could be rented for $40 a month. Hybrid flat apartments were built when housing demand increased. These structures resemble flats and houses in style but operated like apartments. Additionally, the earthquake and fire of 1906 also caused an increase in development and interest in the Haight-Ashbury, along with other neighborhoods unaffected by the disaster.

[22] The Haight: History and Architecture.
[23] The Haight: History and Architecture.

By 1915, the neighborhood was 90% developed and largely resembled its current makeup. Haight Street contained commercial fronts that supported the neighborhood, as schools and churches also started serving the population. Notable extant examples include the Dudley Stone Grammar School, built in 1896, which is a now a Chinese Immersion School (1250 Waller).[24][25] St. Agnes, Hamilton Methodist Episcopal Church, and All Saints Episcopal served the religious within the Haight. Other significant, extant, non-residential structures include 1779-1783 Haight,[26] (built in 1892, it is the oldest structure on Haight Street), 1660 Haight, an old Nickelodeon built in 1911, 1701-1705 Haight, 1600-1624 Haight, 1724 Waller, 1749 Waller, 1757 Waller, which is a fire house for the San Francisco Fire



1.5 Haight Street Entrance to Dudley Stone School

[24] San Francisco Chronicle (San Francisco, California), January 8, 1898: 11. NewsBank: America's News.
[25] See Fig. 1.5.
[26] See Fig. 1.6.

1.6 1779 Haight, Oldest structure on Haight Street.

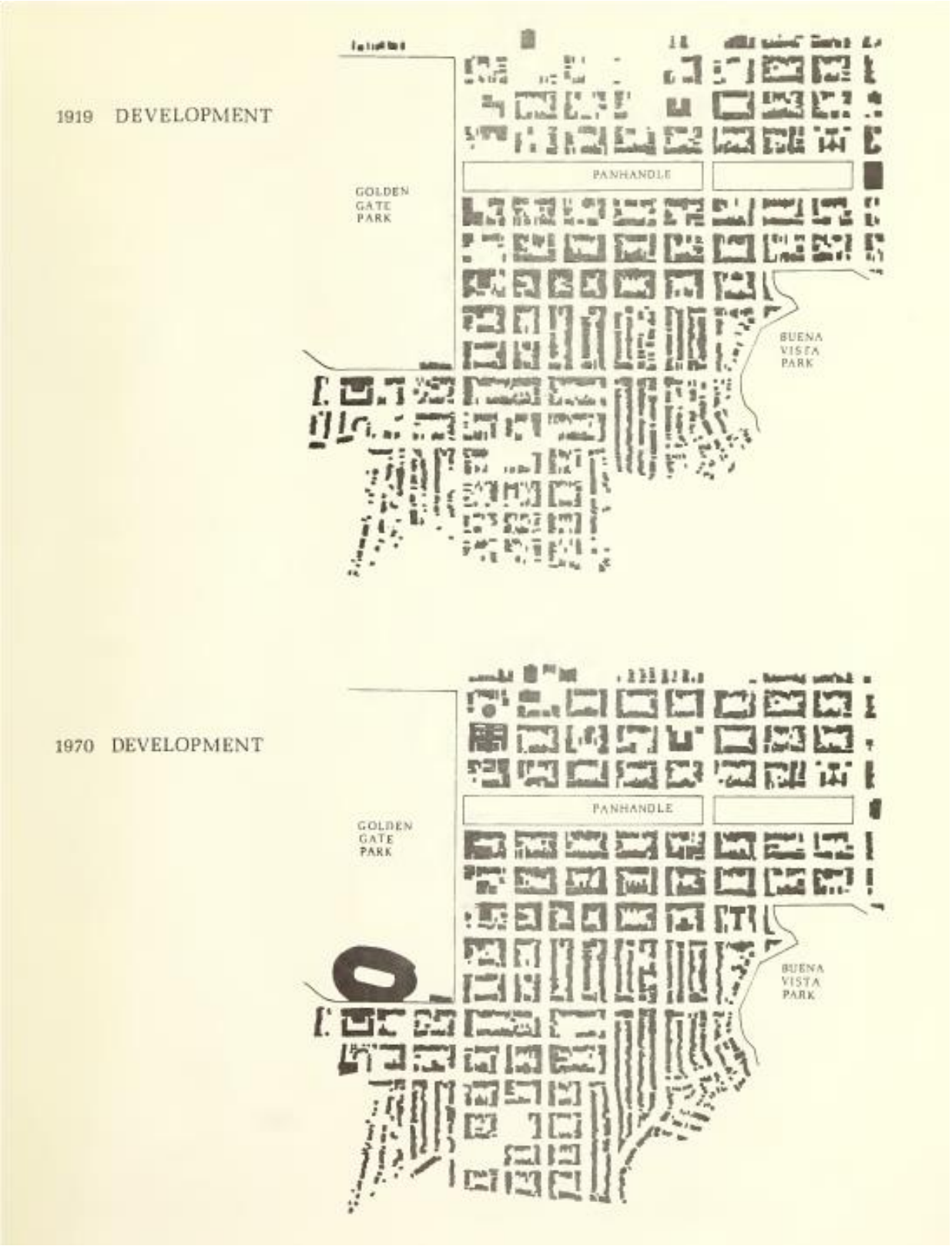
Engine Company #30. A few apartments were built in the 1920's, such as 130 Frederick. The attached map displays just how dense the neighborhood was by 1919 compared to 1970.[27]

Haight-Ashbury is closely tied with the creation of Golden Gate Park and the growth of the city's transportation network. Haight continually prospered by having the public transportation routes to the entrance of the Park. Haight Street is also a relatively isolated commercial district, so no rival centers could draw business away from the merchants.

By the 1920s, the neighborhood became home to many important institutions, which was a point of pride for residents. Grattan and Dudley Stone elementary schools, Poly High and Lowell High, and University of San Francisco provided education. This was supplemented by three hospitals (U.C. Medical Center, St. Mary's, and Harkness) and recreation by the Haight (Straight) Theater, and Kezar Stadium (1925).

The next major change to the area occurred in the

[27] See Fig. 1.7



1.7 Building Density Map 1919-1970

1930's as the Great Depression led to increased rental vacancies, and absentee landlords allowed many structures to go into disrepair. By 1939, fifteen percent of houses were in a substandard condition according to City Planning records. Many houses were stuccoed during this period as Victorian architecture was out of style. World War Two caused a massive influx of workers into San Francisco and Haight-Ashbury was altered to accommodate this new population. Although few new structures were completed during the war years, the number of dwelling units increased 85%, from 4,750 to 8,770.[28] After the War, the Haight had more dwelling units, but the population that occupied them was quickly leaving. The new middle class of the post-war years did not flock into the Haight, but a racially diverse, working-class population slowly populated the neighborhood in the 1950's. The expansion of automobile use also caused Haight Street to dwindle in citywide importance. Other commercial areas became easier to access, and more residents used vehicular entrances to Golden Gate Park.[29] Haight-Ashbury was no longer a focal point in the city for leisure and business. The merchants on Haight Street started to serve just the nearby community.

The Haight's built environment and surrounding features are quite unique compared to the rest of the city,

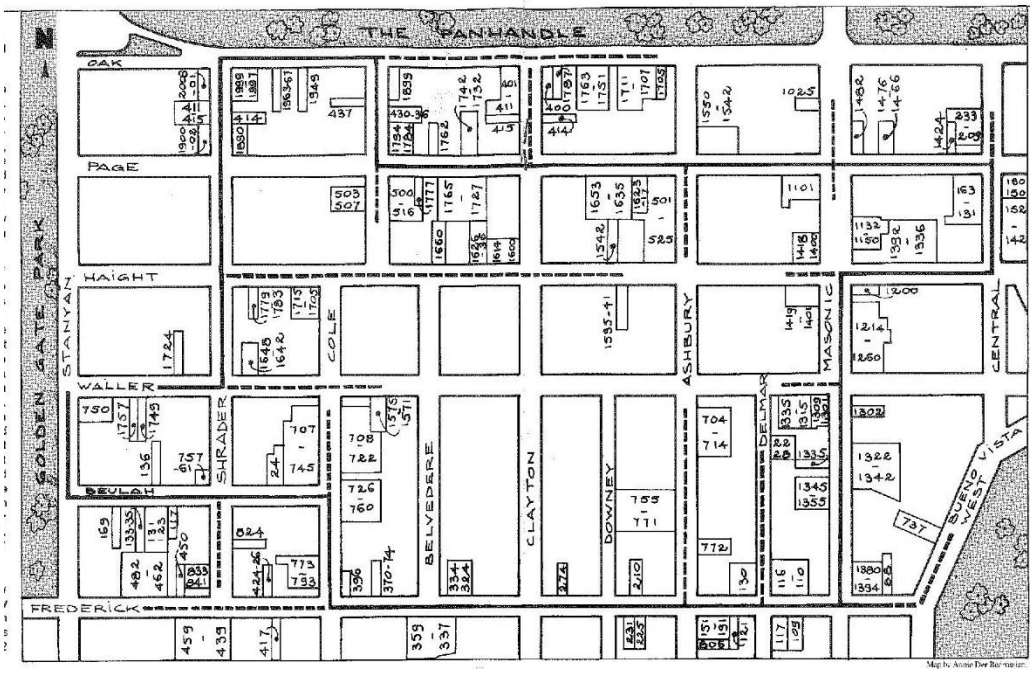
> "Haight-Ashbury's unique landscape and features also led it to feel like a small western town with a tight knit community. Looking south from Haight Street, one can view Twin Peaks and the foothills below, speckled with houses but the

[28] San Francisco Planning Dept., "The Haight-Ashbury: A Brief Description of the Past," § (1972), 8.
[29] San Francisco Planning Dept., "The Haight-Ashbury: A Brief Description of the Past," § (1972), 8

peaks remain forested. This quality of the West, the emptiness and loneliness in a grand spectacle of nature was transported into the heart of a bustling city."[30]

Figure 1.8 is a map from the Spring 1987 *SF Heritage Newsletter*, which featured a walking tour of the Haight. This is not a comprehensive list of all historic (by age) structures in the Haight. It is simply the ones featured in the newsletter plus a few more structures. Note the construction dates are typically older at the edges of the neighborhood. The closer to the center, the newer the structures. This is because the Baird Estate took up most of the land around Haight street during the initial construction phase.[31] The 'skinny' blocks bounded by Waller, Cole, Frederick, and Masonic are evidence of the effort to densify the neighborhood.[32][33]

1.8 SF Heritage 1987 Map

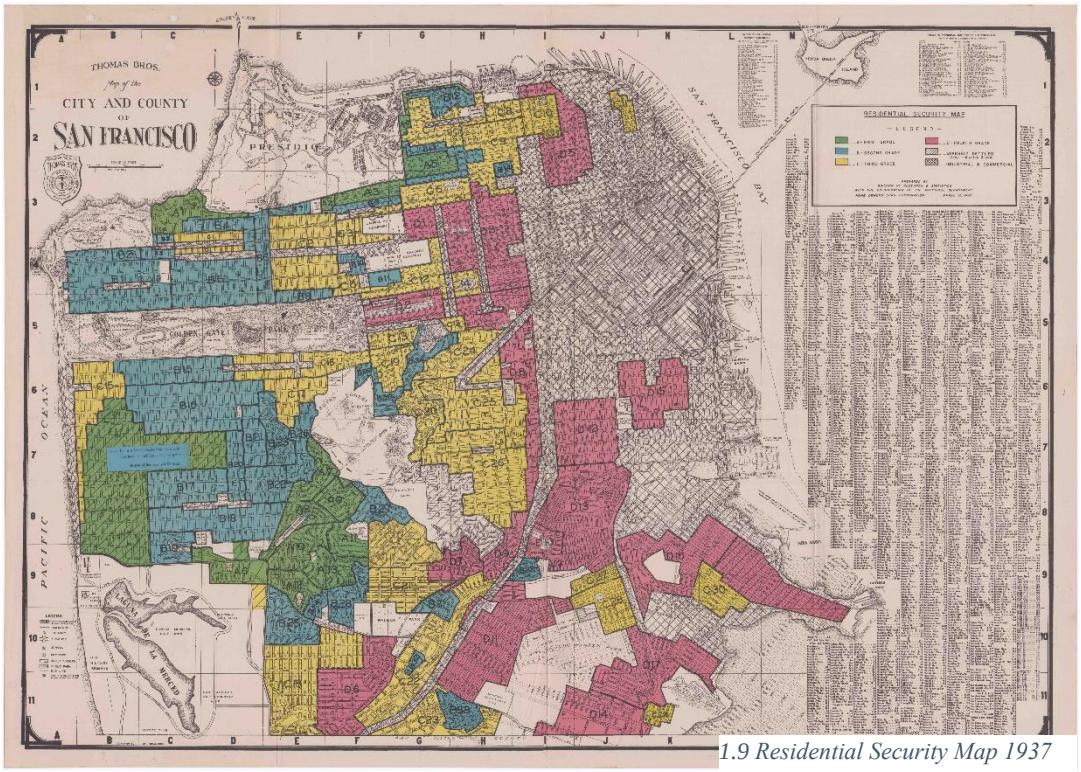


[30] Helen Swick Perry. The Human Be-In. (New York: Basic Books, 1970), 32.
[31] The Haight: History and Architecture.
[32] The Haight: History and Architecture.

THE OLD COMMUNITY

While Haight-Ashbury's physical development was mostly complete by 1930, the neighborhood continued to change. After Haight-Ashbury lost its status as a desirable suburb, the neighborhood evolved into a multi-racial, working-class, socially progressive community that the hippies would refer to as the "Old Community." Without this precursor community, Haight-Ashbury's singular role as the epicenter of the Counterculture may not have occurred here, mostly due to their social progressiveness and acceptance.

The Great Depression caused vacancies to rise in the neighborhood and residents began to move to other areas of the city. A 1937 Residential Security Map of San Francisco shows the area north of Haight Street is graded the lowest and the area south of Haight Street is the second lowest grade.[34] During World



1.9 Residential Security Map 1937

[34] See Fig. 1.9

War Two, Blacks from the South came to work in the war industries and settled in neighborhoods such as the Fillmore, located next to Haight-Ashbury. After the war, Asian immigration laws were dropped, and Hispanic immigration also increased. In the span of less than two decades, three distinct minority groups changed the fabric of many areas of the city. In 1949, the city had reached its full physical extent, and had with a population of 635,000, 95% being white. By 1970, the population of the city had grown slightly to 670,000, but about 300,000 people were members of a minority group.[35]

Areas of the Filmore underwent urban renewal, which caused displacement and further encouraged more Blacks to move into the Haight. In 1950, the Haight was two percent Black, by 1960, that figure rose to sixteen.[36] The White and Black working-class population was nearly equal in number, each consisting of about 40% of the total just a few years later. Asian and Hispanic groups made up the remaining 20%. This "Old Community," as it would soon be known as, saw itself as a "Working Class residential district with a liberal and progressive atmosphere."[37]

The institution that best represents the ideals of this Old Community is the Haight-Ashbury Neighborhood Council (HANC), which formed in 1959 and still exists to this day, actively serving the needs of the community.

The "Old Community" felt that the current neighborhood association was not representing the community effectively. The Haight-Ashbury Merchants and

[35] Stephen Barton, The Neighborhood Movement.
[36] San Francisco Planning Dept., "The Haight-Ashbury: A Brief Description of the Past," § (1972), 8
[37] Stephen Barton, The Neighborhood Movement

Improvement Association (HAMIA), founded in 1906, restricted membership to landowners and merchants. These two organizations differed in their plans for the neighborhood. HANC wanted improved social services and to preserve housing while HAMIA wanted to limit new housing for financial interests of landowners and merchants.[38] Most notably, HANC led the fight against the Panhandle Parkway, which would have converted part of the Panhandle Park into a highway. The fight for the Park grew into a citywide movement which eventually saw the plan canceled due to immense community opposition.[39] Helen Swick Perry interviewed a senior federal highway engineer who stated that the freeway fight for the Panhandle was one of the few successful stands by a group of residents in any large city in America against the combined recommendations of all three jurisdictions, local, state, federal.[40]

Haight-Ashbury went through two major changes during this period. Urban renewal pushed out the Black population in the Western Addition and many moved to the Haight. Later, the Beats of North Beach were priced out and many also settled in the Haight. Additionally, several gay bars opened up in the Haight and the city's growing gay population found another neighborhood accepting of them. In addition to its working-class population, the Haight had a significant population of college students. San Francisco State College's campus was in lower Haight before it moved to the southern outskirts of the city.[41] In the fall of 1965,

[38] Stephen Barton, The Neighborhood Movement.
[39] Sherri Cavan, Hippies of the Haight (St. Louis: New Critics Press, 1972, 5-10.
[40] Helen Swick Perry. The Human Be-In, 14.
[41] Allen Cohen "The San Francisco Oracle: A Brief History." (Serials Review 16, no. 1 (1990): 13–46.), 35.

Richard Buckminster Fuller started an Experimental College within the SFS campus.[42]

The diverse groups that populated the neighborhood were united in their desire to make The Haight a better place to live. “In 1963 HANC may have been the only neighborhood association in the nation to send its own delegation – a white man and a black woman – to the March on Washington.”[43] The neighborhood rejected the proposition that home sellers could discriminate based on race, while every other area of the city voted in favor. The Haight-Ashbury was called “a model for the nation of good race relations”[44]

THE DOORS OF PERCEPTION AND OTHER INSPIRATIONAL WORKS

Unlike marijuana, LSD was completely legal until October 6th, 1966, extremely cheap for how long the high lasted (up to 12 hours). Aldous Huxley published an account of his experience taking LSD in 1954 called *The Doors of Perception,* which contains many of the ideas and experiences that would help influence the ideals of the hippie population. The 80-page account of his experience was the first exposure to this drug to thousands of Americans. Copies of the book could be found in the many coffee houses and bookstores in the North Beach area, and eventually Haight-Ashbury itself. The account proposes the legalization of all drugs, chastises western society for only permitting two chemicals to enjoy (alcohol and nicotine) and explains the lack of side effects of

[42] Fuller helped create the commune of Drop City, which is known for their geodesic dome housing made with automobile body panels.
[43] Christopher Lowen Agee, The Streets of San Francisco, 217.
[44] Christopher Lowen Agee, *The Streets of San Francisco*, 217.

LSD and other Hallucinogens (mescaline, psilocybin, peyote). The book explains how common taking mind-altering drugs is for several religions. In this account, one can see the seeds of the Counterculture's attempt to completely rethink how society functions. Huxley, a well-known author, published this book with no ostensible ulterior motive, other than to recommend that everyone "with a sound liver and an untroubled mind"[45] take this drug to experience its effects.

The idea of 'being'-- as in, one does not need to find meaning in worldly things, one can simply be -- is enhanced after consumption of psychedelics. "The mind was concerned, not with measures and locations, but with being and meaning."[46] When asked about time, Huxley responded, "There seems to be plenty of it."[47] Huxley then goes on to describe the natural state of mind is the Mind at Large, "out brain is the eliminative part of consciousness, filtering out overwhelming amounts of useless facts so our body can be focused on survival."[48]

LSD, or mescaline in Huxley's case, removes the Mind at Large and allows for the brain to view the world without its restrictive filter. Huxley goes on to describe the effects and impressions of his trip with four key points:

(1) "The ability to remember and to "think straight" is little, if at all, reduced."

(2) "Visual impressions are greatly intensified and the eye recovers some of the perceptual innocence of childhood, when the sensum was not immediately and

[45] Aldous Huxley, *The Doors of Perception*. (New York: Harper Perennial, 2009), 21.
[46] Aldous Huxley. *The Doors of Perception*, 20.
[47] Aldous Huxley. *The Doors of Perception*, 21.
[48] Aldous Huxley. *The Doors of Perception*, 20.

automatically subordinated to the concept. Interest in space is diminished and interest in time falls almost to a zero."

(3) "Though the intellect remains unimpaired and though the perception is enormously improved, the will suffers a profound change for the worse. The mescaline taker sees no reason for doing anything in particular and finds most of the causes for which, at ordinary time, he was prepared to act and suffer, profoundly uninteresting. He can't be bothered with them, for the good reason that he has better things to think about."

(4) "These better things may be experienced (as I experienced them) "out there," or "in here," or in both worlds, the inner and the outer, simultaneously, or successively. That they are better seems to be self-evident to all the mescaline takers who come to the drug with a sound liver and an untroubled mind.[49]"

Within these four points, one can see the key tenets of the Counterculture expressed by Huxley. Under LSD, no longer is the brain there to help a person understand "out there" because there is now a whole other world – "in here" – to focus on. The survival instincts that humans have developed are apparently reduced and the mind becomes more introspective. Psychedelics also reduce the amount of filtering that occurs in the brain, allowing one to experience common phenomena as if it were the first time.

The far-reaching implication of psychedelic drugs was not lost on Huxley. He goes on to state that all drugs should be allowed for consumption in the hopes that

[49] Aldous Huxley. The Doors of Perception, 22.

those who consume harmful drugs will change to ones that harm less. All drugs were "Doors in the Wall," and that they should all be allowed to open.[50] Huxley then promotes the Native American Church, and he denounces Western religion in that it does not incorporate 'toxic' substances into the church, as this practice is widespread in other religions. The West, according to Huxley, suffers from this lack of experimentation, noting that all sorts of professionals could use and study psychedelics, and how that lack of experimentation leads to a narrow view of how one learns about the world:

> "To be enlightened is to be aware, always, of total reality in its immanent otherness—to be aware of it and yet to remain in a condition to survive as an animal, to think and feel as a human being, to resort whenever expedient to systematic reasoning. Our goal is to discover that we have always been where we ought to be. Unhappily, we make the task exceedingly difficult for ourselves."[51]

The access to certain books helped illuminate and expand the minds of many soon to be hippies. The power of literature has already been shown to help create alternative communities with the Beatniks of North Beach. City Lights Bookstore, founded by Lawrence Ferlingetti in 1953, served the hipster and the hippie in their quest for alternative literature and banned books.[52] One particular book helped galvanize this new community into action: *The Love Book,* by Lenore Kandel. It was banned by the city for being offensive and obscene, which led to

[50] Aldous Huxley. The Doors of Perception, 64.
[51] Aldous Huxley. The Doors of Perception, 78.
[52] See Fig. 4.1.

several arrests in many bookstores such as City Lights. That in turn brought to the fore the role of the state in censorship, with court cases being fought over the constitutionality of the book ban. Mike Muldoon Elder, who was arrested for selling *The Love Book*, received a not guilty verdict in November of 1966.[53][54] This experience was in no way limited to *The Love Book* or San Francisco, this was a nationwide phenomenon.

Other works of the Beat generation and those who came before that influenced the worldviews of this new counterculture. *The Doors of Perception, On the Road,* and *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest,* are just a small sample. Indeed, this generation read a lot more in general than their predecessors. The post-scarcity, post-war era allowed for an explosion of youth attending college. The percentage of youth going straight to college after high school increased from 13% to 30%. This generation was called the most educated in history and this robust education is a key figure in the Counterculture's formation. Helen Perry discusses this in her book, *The Hippies of the Haight.* Perry's first inclination that there was more to this new community than just being a temporary Bohemia rests on the education and literary knowledge of the population. She names specifically the works of J.R.R. Tolkien, *The Hobbit,* and *The Lord of the Rings,* and claimed that the hippies viewed themselves as the hobbits of the Shire. There were large, great, ominous, machinations being conducted by powers and entities of immense power, but the hobbits wanted nothing more than to live peacefully in their holes in the

[53] Hank Harrison. *The Dead*. (San Francisco: Archives, 1991.), 60.
[54] San Francisco Chronicle (San Francisco, California), November 27, 1966: 147. NewsBank: America's News

ground. A common piece of advice found on signs posted in the windows of homes around the Haight read: “Do not add to the street confusion this weekend. There may be busts. Be good little Hobbits and stay home.”[55]

The 1966 book *It’s Happening* (the title uses a pun from the new and old definition of happening)[56] is a visionary work, which noticed the changing trends in the younger generation before the Counterculture was at its height. The title is the answer to their own question “What’s Happening?” and it is the most concrete answer to be made in the work, because there is no simple answer to the question.[57] The authors knew there was an internal, psychological, cultural change going on in the youth. The dominant culture beforehand was heavily influenced by the original Europeans who inhabited this country, the fabled Protestant Work Ethic accompanied with judicious moderation. What replaced this paradigm is called the Social Ethic, which the authors define as an irreverent humanism preoccupied with experience, or living within the now, spontaneity, and tolerance. Some of their idols, some of who have already been mentioned, were Aldous Huxley, Allen Ginsberg, Gandhi, JFK, Castro, Richard Alpert, Timothy Leary, and Bob Dylan.[58] The book was written so early in the movement that Berkeley, not Haight-Ashbury, is said to be the center for the Counterculture in the Bay Area, and NYC is called the best place to acquire LSD, (Augustus Owsley Stanley had not yet become the Godfather of LSD). This book taps into the underlying causes

[55] Helen Swick Perry. *The Human Be-In*, 20.
[56] The new use of the word happening is typically a semi-organized event..
[57] J. L. Simmons and Barry Winograd*, Its Happening: A Portrait of the Youth Scene Today* (Santa Barbara, Cal.: Marc-Laird publication, 1968), 5.
[58] J. L. Simmons and Barry Winograd, Its Happening, 17.

of the Counterculture so well because it had not yet occurred. Education, Urbanization, and Mutually Assured Destruction, all led to a "spontaneous groundswell" of counterculture, instead of an organized revolt, which is how it was perceived by mainstream America.[59]

THE BEATNIKS AND THE NORTH BEACH SCENE

One cannot explain the history of the Counterculture, hippies, or the Haight-Ashbury without mentioning the Beatniks of North Beach. This bohemian group captured many of the social tendencies that had always been present in San Francisco. The relative isolation, congenial climate, and proximity to nature are all given as reasons why people who are looking for an alternative lifestyle flock to San Francisco, or why those born there become amenable to such ideas.

The Hipsters, Beatniks, or just Beats (all terms being generally interchangeable) of North Beach popularized the consumption of cannabis, which continued into the Hippie Counterculture Movement, but the drug that best represents this newer Hippie movement is lysergic acid diethylamide, also known as LSD or "Acid"

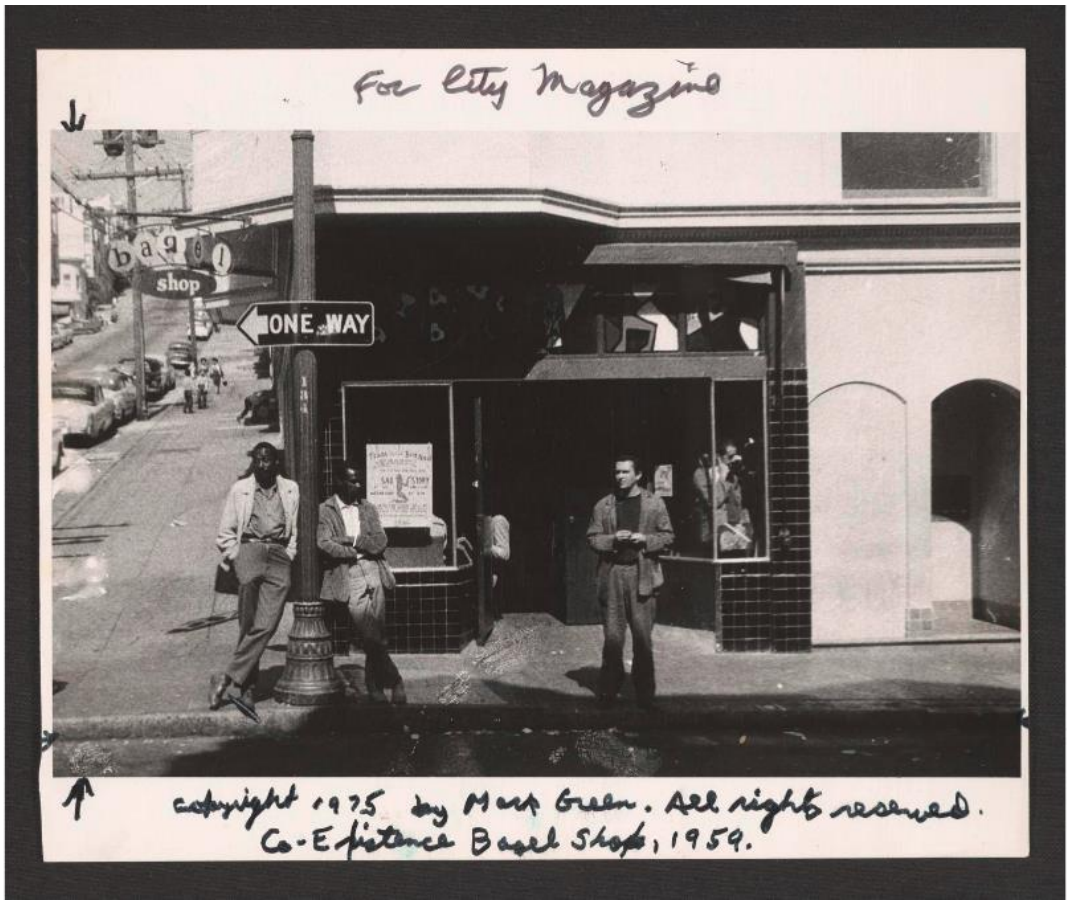
Bohemian-minded kids were interested in these mind drugs. They were also interested in traditional bohemian subjects such as art, psychology, pacifism, and exotic religions. The Beats derisively called some of them hippies (junior grade hipsters) and this name stuck. The Beats looked down on hippies as imitation bohemians who were only interested in getting stoned and having a good

[59] J. L. Simmons and Barry Winograd, Its Happening, 57, 63.

time rather than doing something serious.[60] Folkies were a younger subset of the Beats who idolized the power of folk music as a political tool. A lot of hippies were folkies who had followed Bob Dylan in his switch to electrified rock.[61]

In 1957, two books were published which identified North Beach as the epicenter the Beat movement. Allen Ginsberg's *Howl and Other Poems* and Jack Kerouac's *On the Road* challenged the norms and mores of mainstream American culture, specifically regarding race, sex, and gender. Within a year, young people were flocking to North Beach to experience the scene and challenge society's norms themselves. Similar bohemian enclaves were seen in Venice Beach, Los Angeles and Greenwich Village, New York City, which gathered people who wanted to live an alternative lifestyle and focus on art, such as painting, theater,

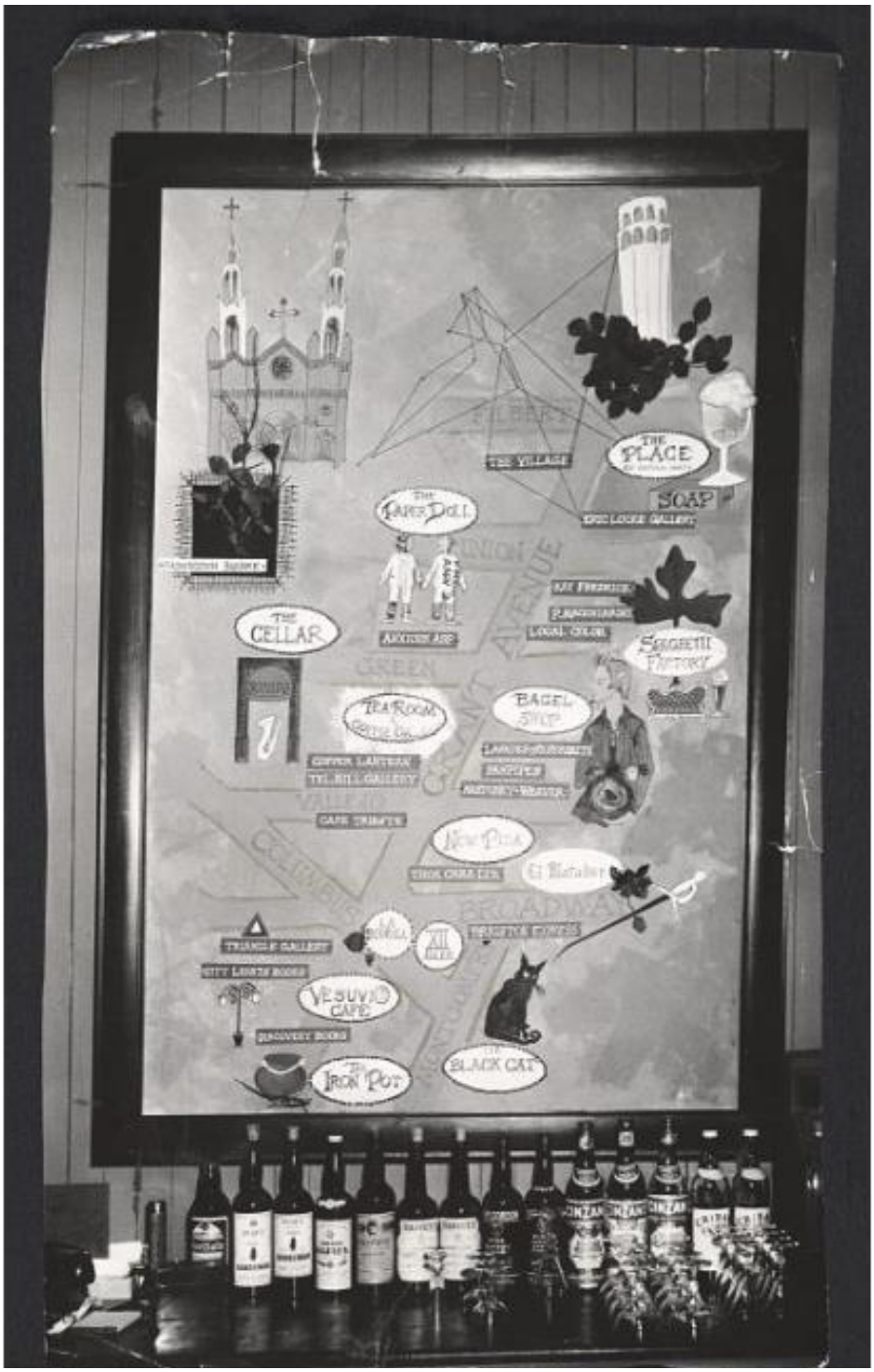
[60] Charles Perry. *The Haight-Ashbury: A History*. (New York, NY: Wenner Books, 2005), 5.
[61] Charles Perry. *The Haight-Ashbury*: *A History*, 6.



1.10 Co-Existence Bagel Shop, North Beach

music, poetry, fiction, and spoken word. North Beach, at the start of its fame, was the most densely populated area of San Francisco, known for its bars, cafes, nightlife, low rent, and ethnically diverse population.[62][63] This neighborhood makeup drew artists from around the world, and stayed under the radar before, during, and after World War II. Efforts to commercialize and expand the neighborhood were blocked in the mid-fifties, but the influx of young, white professionals continued to change the neighborhood. Certain sections of North

[62] Christopher Lowen Agee, *The Streets of San Francisco: Policing and the Creation of a Cosmopolitan Liberal Politics, 1950-1972* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2016), 41.
[63] See Fig. 1.10 & 1.11.



1.11 A North Beach Map with popular Beatnik stores

Beach saw rents rise by 92% during the 1950s. Investigative reporters soon took to the streets of North Beach and began to document how this enclave of bohemia

functioned. Most of their reports were negative, calling North Beach "an embarrassing underworld of drugs, sex, and fake bohemianism."[64] The press soon looked for stories to justify these characterizations.

The deaths of Connie and Albert Sublette proved to be the perfect justification that the lifestyle of the Beats caused violence and unrest. Connie was a resident of North Beach and part of the Beat culture. She was murdered in an alley in the Haight-Ashbury neighborhood on her way to visit her ex-husband. The press did not focus on the typical, racially charged angle of an innocent white woman being raped by a violent Black man. Instead, the press focused on Connie's lifestyle and alleged promiscuous behavior, implying her lifestyle choices caused her death.[65]

On the other hand, the increase in tourists visiting these bohemian enclaves shows that a large portion of white, middle class America saw the Beats as an entertaining playground. Gray Line bus tours added a route into North Beach to satisfy the demand to view the Beats in their natural habitat.[66] Distinctions were made between the "weekend beats" and the "hardcore beats" where someone could be in the scene without being of it.

Another non-fiction work came out in 1957 and identified what a hipster is and why they act. *The White Negro* by Norman Mailer explains:

> The American existentialist – the hipster, the man who knows that if our collective condition is to live with instant death by atomic war… then the only

[64] Christopher Lowen Agee, *The Streets of San Francisco*, 46.
[65] Christopher Lowen Agee, *The Dangerous Beat*
[66] Christopher Lowen Agee, *The Streets of San Francisco*, 50.

> life-giving answer is to accept the terms of death, to live with death as immediate danger, to divorce oneself from society, to exist without roots, to set out on that uncharted journey into the rebellious imperatives of the self.[67]

The existence of Beats in several cities around the nation sparked a debate on vagrancy laws. These were often used as catch-all charges, whereby simply existing on the street was enough for a policeman to arrest someone. A policeman on his beat had absolute discretion as to how he would treat citizens on the street. The San Francisco Police Department (SFPD) cracked down on the Beats with an iron fist. In 1958, several Democrats won elections in the city and state, and this spawned a desire for oversight of the SFPD and how they conducted themselves. The *San Francisco Chronicle* also changed its tune and started advocating that the Beats' Constitutional rights were being infringed upon by SFPD officers.[68] Another set of marching orders for the SFPD that came under scrutiny was its interference with any interracial activities. Sections of North Beach were either becoming blighted or gentrified, and this increased the Black population in the neighborhood. The role of Black people in the Beat movement was often downplayed and not mentioned in the mainstream press, even though they often sought out Black cultural activities such as blues and jazz. Also, inviting a "Spade" to dinner was a common way to show solidarity with the Black community.[69]

---

[67] Bruce M. Harrah-Conforth, "The Rise and Fall of a Modern Folk Community: Haight-Ashbury, 1965-1967," (1990).
[68] Christopher Lowen Agee, The Streets of San Francisco, 57.
[69] Christopher Lowen Agee, The Streets of San Francisco, 57.

By 1960, increasing tourism inflated land values in the area and soon an exodus of Beats occurred. In a matter of a few years, little of the original Beat scene would remain, but folks still flocked to the neighborhood, helping to eliminate the experience they sought. A journalist at the *Chronicle,* Ron Fimrite wrote in the fall of 1963 that North Beach was "about as Italianesque as Oslo, as Bohemian as Las Vegas."[70] With North Beach a shadow of its former bohemian self, the beats dispersed to other areas of the city.

The Beats were overrun in North Beach; the bohemian enclave transformed into an expensive tourist trap full of strip clubs. Focus shifted from North Beach to Berkeley, where the Free Speech Movement and the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) garnered national attention.[71] It took the efforts of significant individuals to realize a new alternative community. Although unintentional, both Ken Kesey and August Owsley Stanley III, along with several others, contributed significantly to the early formation of the Counterculture Movement that made Haight-Ashbury their home.

KEN KESEY AND HIS MERRY PRANKSTERS

Ken Kesey and His Merry Pranksters helped form this new Counterculture in its nascent state. Ken Kesey is the author of *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest,* a best-selling novel, and an eventual film. He formed a small bohemian enclave in Palo Alto, near Stanford, at 52 Perry Lane. Intellectuals from the area would visit, drink wine, and smoke marijuana. A young Jerry Garcia even tried to enter one of

[70] Christopher Lowen Agee, The Streets of San Francisco, 60.
[71] Chapter Three discusses the SDS at more length.

these get-togethers and play his banjo. Soon, Kesey started trying psychedelics and other drugs, he became turned on and his interest in writing took a back seat to his desire to 'turn'[72] on others. Perry Lane was purchased by developers and all the houses on the street were demolished in July of 1963.[73]

Kesey did not move to another house. Instead, he purchased a 1939 International Harvester Bus and invited some of his friends from the Perry Lane days to go out on the road and turn on other people.[74] Kesey and Co. painted the bus in wild Day-Glo colors with a sign on the front that says "Futhur [sic]" and on the back, "Caution: Weird Load." His band was called the Merry Pranksters for the pranks they would pull on unsuspecting people. Kesey differed from Timothy Leary, ex-Harvard professor who edited the magazine *Psychedelic Review*, [75] in how to best turn someone on with LSD. The pranks usually involved dosing someone with LSD unknowingly, then thrusting them into strange and unexpected situations. Conversely, Leary believed in the importance of set and setting, whereby choosing who, where, and what you would experience while tripping[76] on LSD, one could reduce the chance of a bad trip and expand one's mind in a healthy way. They both agreed that LSD should only be used by one of sound mind and body. The Pranksters toured the nation, traveling to the 1964 New York World's Fair, and frequently spent time in San Francisco and Los Angeles. Kesey then

[72] This phrase appears frequently and is typically associated with trying LSD for the first time, but not exclusively. To turn someone on is to introduce them to Counterculture ideals. This phrase comes from Timothy Leary, who implored the youth of America to "Turn On, Tune In and Drop Out."
[73] Tom Wolf. *Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test*. (New York: Bantam, 1999), 12.
[74] Tom Wolf. *Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test*, 71.
[75] Charles Perry. *The Haight-Ashbury: A History*, 7
[76] Tripping is actively experience the effects of LSD and other Hallucinogens

started filming their travels and trip, in full color, to turn on the masses through film. He founded Intrepid Trips Inc, producing over 45 hours of film. The self-funded movie cost nearly $70,000 (chiefly from developing the color film) along with another $30,000 for food, gas, maintenance, and other expenses. This was offset by royalties from his book and an advance from his publisher for another book.[77] Kesey paid for everything his Pranksters needed, who typically numbered between ten to fourteen people. The film was never produced fully but did inspire others to follow a similar form.[78]

Kesey then purchased a house, 7940 La Honda Road, in an extremely rural area south of San Francisco. Kesey and his Pranksters became semi-settled, hosting parties on the bus and at his new home. On April 23, 1965 at 10:50 pm the police raided his La Honda home during a party. The police opened a bathroom door to find Kesey flushing several pounds of marijuana down a toilet.[79] He posted bail and awaited his trial date but did not stop his current lifestyle. Indeed, he expanded it.

As Kesey became more known, he met journalist Hunter S. Thompson who expressed his need to go to the Box Shop to meet with some Hell's Angels, and Kesey tagged along. The Angels were attracted to Kesey, not because he was a famous author or a friendly guy, but because he had just been arrested for marijuana. The Hell's Angels were California celebrities, known infamously for their crass, criminal, and aggressive behavior. Kesey invited them back to La

[77] Tom Wolf. *Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test*, 137.
[78] The film was sold decades later and eventually made into a movie in 2011.
[79] Tom Wolf. *Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test*, 151.

Honda for a three-day party and made a sign for them: "The Merry Pranksters Welcome the Hell's Angels. Saturday August 7, 1965."[80] The party was a massive success, reportedly because many Angels tried LSD for the first time. This party gave Kesey the original idea for his now-famous Acid-Tests. One of the most significant members of the Merry Pranksters was Neal Cassady, who inspired the character Japhy Rider in Jack Kerouac's *On the Road.*[8182] Kesey's house is still a private residence today, most recently purchased in 2011.

AUGUSTUS OWSLEY STANLEY III

Another key player in the development of the Counterculture and the success of the Acid Tests was Augustus Owsley Stanley III, also known as Bear. He can best be described as a psychedelic chemist and audio engineer. His first lab was set up at 1647 Virginia Street, Berkeley. A dropout of UC Berkeley, he and another chemistry major, Melissa, started making LSD and other drugs. His lab was raided on February 21, 1965, but all charges were dropped because it was still legal to create LSD. He moved to Los Angeles at 2205 Lafler Road, spent $20,000 to set up another lab and created 1.5 million hits of LSD over the next few months. His name was known wherever in the world people were taking acid. "Owsley acid" became synonymous with high quality. Through his success, he bankrolled the first acid rock band, The Grateful Dead. This sound and the drug made its way to England and clearly influenced the Beatles musical career. Indeed, the Beatles

[80] Tom Wolf. *Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test*, 168.
[81] Charles Perry. *The Haight-Ashbury: A History*, 13.
[82] Neal is referenced in the Grateful Dead song, "That's It For The Other One", "The bus came by and I got on, that's when it all began, There was Cowboy Neal at the wheel of the bus to never ever land."

also took the idea of buying a bus, dropping acid, and filming it from the Merry Pranksters to create the Magical Mystery Tour.[83] Hippies throughout the Bay Area would eagerly await Owsley's next batch of LSD. A hit cost $1-$2 and the high lasted far longer than other drug options.

Owsley did not just play a financial role in the Grateful Dead, he helped pioneer a litany of technological innovations for the band. This will be discussed more fully in Chapter 4, when describing the San Francisco Sound.

THE PUBLIC ACID TESTS

The first public Acid Test was on December 4, 1965 after a Rolling Stones concert at the Cow Palace. Kesey hosted a private acid test at his home a few weeks earlier. A local Boehme, called "Big Nig"[84], who knew some Pranksters, allowed them to host a concert in his spacious house in San Jose. No one seems to know or have written down the address. It is just listed as Big Nig's House. The third test (second public) was set at Muir Beach on December 11, 1965. Posters from this event still exist because of the forethought of Bill Kreutzman, drummer for the Grateful Dead, who preserved his copy.[85] Kesey had already met Jerry Garcia at his Perry Lane house and asked Jerry if his new band, The Warlocks (another band had already chose this name, so they soon changed to The Grateful Dead), wanted to play at his Acid Test. A strobe light was used and the effects

[83] Tom Wolf. *Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test*, 211.
[84] The author cannot find another name for this individual.
[85] See Fig. 1.12.

1.12 Muir Beach Acid Test Poster

were notably spectacular, as it was a new feature for most concert goers. The strobe was thought to mimic the effects of LSD without taking the drug.[86]

The Dead then hopped on the bus (this phrase is found in one of their songs – That's It for The Other One) and played at several more Acid Tests up and down

[86] Tom Wole. *Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test*, 237.

the west coast. Owsley continued to support the tests with his acid and money. Roy Seburn created lightshows to accompany the Dead's playing.

The next major set of events is known as the Trips Festivals. Stewart Brand is a biologist who quit his job to learn and study from the peyote cults of the Indian tribes in Arizona and New Mexico. He then founded an organization called America Needs Indians. The struggle with the government by Native Americans to perform their traditional practices with peyote resonated with the Pranksters and the new Counterculture as a whole, as they too were struggling with drug enforcement laws.[87] The Trips Festival was imagined as being a much larger acid test, not set in a house or a park, far away from civilization, or performed on a bus, but set in a proper venue with a higher level of production value. This was all with the same intent of turning people on or inviting them to hop on the now proverbial bus. Brand, the Pranksters and others made plans to hire Bill Graham, who was currently managing the San Francisco Mime Troupe, to set up the show.

The show was slated for January 21-23, 1966 at the Longshoremen's Hall, this was a much larger gathering in the middle of the city compared to previous shows. On paper, the concert was meant to simulate the LSD experience, without the LSD. Ken Kesey and his Merry Pranksters were scheduled to appear on Saturday, the second day of the festival. Unfortunately, Kesey's original drug charge at La Honda had made its way through the system and he was sentenced to six months of labor on January 17, 1966. Two days later, he was caught with 3.54 grams of marijuana, and a second drug offense meant five years in jail with no parole. Thus,

[87] Tom Wolf. *Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test*, 250.

Kesey began his flight to Mexico and became a fugitive of the law. The publicity from his sentencing likely had a positive effect on the attractiveness of the Trips Festival.[88] The Trips Festival grossed $12,500 and Bill Graham started hosting Trips Festivals weekly at the Fillmore. The biggest effect the festival had was to bring out all the people that were already turned on. The fractured groups of people who collected were impressed by their own numbers.[89] The Trips Festival was a seminal event in the formation of the Counterculture in San Francisco because it demonstrated how many former beats, folkies, hippies, artists, freaks, heads, and all other sorts of "turned on" people there were in the city. A new chapter of the Counterculture in San Francisco had begun.

Now the neighborhood was primed to become a new bohemia, maybe even greater than North Beach, and other individuals and groups were slowly coalescing around Haight-Ashbury. Two men, and their joint creation, energized and united this new movement which found its home in Haight-Ashbury, Kesey, Owsley, and the Acid Tests/Trips Festival

This chapter detailed the most critical factors that led to Haight-Ashbury's role as the epicenter of the Counterculture Movement. The physical and social developments of Haight-Ashbury created an environment that helped form an historically significant alternative community. Although the community had started to form slowly, the large gatherings such as the Acid Tests and Trips Festival revealed how widespread and popular the movement was. This brought

[88] Tom Wolf. *Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test*, 260.
[89] Tom Wolf. *Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test*, 263.

recognition by the media and those within the Counterculture that this movement was no fleeting thing. For the next few years, the Hippies of the Haight would capture the nation's attention and attempt one of the most significant socio-political movements of the twentieth century.

CHAPTER 2: HEALTH AND WELLNESS

As the Summer of Love approached and more youth flooded into San Francisco, the city tried to justify their fears of being overrun by using public health. On March 24, 1967, Good Friday, a massive health inspection was ordered for the Haight.[9091] On the first day, 691 buildings were inspected, 5-day warnings were issued to thirty-nine and only six were hippie pads.[9293] At the end of the inspection period, 1,400 buildings were inspected. Notices were handed out to sixty-five. Sixteen of the buildings housed hippies. The health director, Ellis D. Sox, had to admit that the situation was not as bad as previously thought.[94] This fear over public health would prove unfounded again after the Summer of Love ended. Another measure of public health germane to San Francisco was the suicide rate, which was much higher that other cities in America. Even though thousands of people flocked to the city for the summer, the suicide rate stayed the exact same as it did the year before. The young people journeying to San Francisco did not measurably contribute to the already high suicide rate that SF had. (This rate had been predicted to increase with this new population.)[95] Conversely, several significant contributions to healthcare and alternative lifestyles would happen in and around Haight-Ashbury.[96]

---

[90] Charles Perry. *The Haight-Ashbury: A History*, 164.
[91] "The health director with the amazing first name and middle initial was Ellis D. Sox." – Perry, 164.
[92] Charles Perry. *The Haight-Ashbury: A History*, 165.
[93] The most egregious health violation found in a hippie pad was a Digger butchering a deer at 848 Clayton.
[94] Charles Perry. *The Haight-Ashbury: A History*, 166.
[95] Helen Swick Perry. *The Human Be-In*, 176.
[96] I think the health inspection story is important to tell but does it belong in the introduction? If not where do you think?

Haight-Ashbury's efforts were part of a nationwide movement to improve physical and spiritual health. Several significant institutions, individuals and movements established themselves in the Counterculture community in Haight-Ashbury before expanding across the nation. The Haight-Ashbury was home to novel drug treatments and research, the first free clinic, the first health food store, and a renewed interest in the back-to-the-land movement. All of these contributions were part of a nationwide cultural shift, which brought a renewed emphasis on physical and spiritual health.

DRUG USE, ABUSE, AND ACCEPTANCE

As noted in Chapter 1, the use of LSD was akin to a rite of passage for the Counterculture. The earliest proponents of the drug, Ken Kesey and Timothy

2.1 Timothy Leary at the Human Be-In, with flowers in his hair.

Leary, both promoted the use of the drug, albeit, in different ways.[97] The popularization of LSD also led to the grouping of similar drugs called Psychedelics, such as LSD, Psilocybin (Magic Mushrooms), DMT, and MDMA.

Lysergic Acid Diethylamide (LSD) was "initially formulated by Dr. Albert Hofmann, a Swiss chemist, in 1938, LSD's consciousness-altering properties were discovered inadvertently by Dr. Hofmann five years later."[98] The government was interested in weaponizing certain drugs such as LSD, to be used as a non-lethal weapon to incapacitate armies en masse. The testing took place at the Edgewood Arsenal in San Francisco during the fifties. The research, conducted by James Ketchum, reached the conclusion that LSD was too unpredictable for use as a weapon.[99] The CIA used this research to begin their own experiment to see if LSD could be used as an interrogation enhancer, known as MK-ULTRA. Ketchum notes that the CIA's work was "shady and nefarious" which produced no significant findings.[100] At the same time as MK-ULTRA, non-government researchers were producing reports on medical uses of LSD and thousands of youth were taking the drug recreationally.

Humphry Osmond, the man who coined the termed 'psychedelic', was one of the early doctors to begin LSD research in the fifties. He believed LSD to be therapeutic and could help cure alcoholism. Around half of participants found it

[97] See Fig. 2.1.
[98] David E. Smith, Glenn E. Raswyck, and Leigh Dickerson Davidson. "From Hofmann to the Haight-Ashbury, and into the Future: The Past and Potential of Lysergic Acid Diethlyamide." (Journal of Psychoactive Drugs 46, no. 1 (2014): 3–10.), 3.
[99] David E. Smith, Glenn E. Raswyck, and Leigh Dickerson Davidson. "From Hofmann to the Haight-Ashbury," 6.
[100] Ibid, 6.

easier to quit drinking after taking LSD but relapsed soon after if no follow-up was made by the researches. Sidney Cohen conducted studies at UCLA to determine if LSD created an enhanced therapeutic benefit. By using a controlled clinical setting, the adverse drug reaction rate was less than 1% in a cohort of several hundred participants.[101] The research on LSD was promising: "A summary document by the US Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) reported that from about 1950 to 1965 'research on LSD and other hallucinogens generated over 1000 scientific papers, several dozen books, and 6 international conferences, and LSD was prescribed as treatment to over 40,000 patients'"[102] The initial research was primarily used to "gain insights into the world of mental patients and to assist in psychotherapy."[103] Unfortunately, LSD was made a Schedule 1 drug in 1970, ending all clinical research on LSD for the next thirty-five years.

The recreational use of LSD remained high after the research stopped. "In 2010, 32 million US residents reported lifetime use of LSD"[104] This has led to research on LSD in healthy subjects, which have already yielded novel results. One study found "LSD increased feelings of well-being, happiness, closeness to others, openness, and trust"[105] The illegalization of LSD on 10/06/1966 did not stop the denizens of the Haight from taking LSD.

---

[101] Ibid, 4.
[102]Sean J. Belouin, and Jack E. Henningfield. "Psychedelics: Where We Are Now, Why We Got Here, What We Must Do." (*Neuropharmacology* 142 (2018): 7–19.),9. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.neuropharm.2018.02.018.
[103] Matthias E. Liechti, "Modern Clinical Research on LSD." (*Neuropsychopharmacology* 42, no. 11 (2017): 2114–27.)
[104] Matthias E. Liechti, "Modern Clinical Research on LSD."
[105] Matthias E. Liechti, "Modern Clinical Research on LSD."

There is no doubt that the Counterculture played a significant role in the current perception of LSD and the state of research. The drug was used as a rite of passage into the Counterculture, and the recreational use of the drug developed new directions for academic research.[106] The Counterculture may also be partially responsible for the harsh criminalization of the drug because of its associations with a group that much of the country viewed unfavorably. While legally LSD and other Schedule 1 drugs could not be given to patients for clinical trials, Haight-Ashbury's recreational drug use provided plenty of subjects for medical staff to observe, treat, and document the use of several drugs. The Haight-Ashbury Free Clinic, located at 558 Clayton Street, was critically important for this medical research and treatment.

[106] The recreational use of LSD remains a rite of passage today for fans of Jam bands such as Phish, taking inspiration from the Grateful Dead and their role in the Acid Tests.

THE HAIGHT-ASHBURY FREE MEDICAL CLINIC

The Haight-Ashbury Free Clinic was initially formed to address the specific needs of the hippie community, but the scope of the clinic increased to address nearly all basic healthcare needs.[107] Still, the doctors documented the state of recreational drugs in the Haight meticulously, particularly in the first five years of the clinic, when the drug problem in the Haight was at high tide. The free clinic was and is a critical support system to the Haight-Ashbury neighborhood and its

2.2. The Haight-Ashbury Free Medical Clinic, 558 Clayton.

[107] See Fig. 2.2.

Counterculture residents. At the same time, the free clinic made significant contributions to drug addiction treatment research which led to national acclaim.

The drug problem in Haight-Ashbury was at dangerous levels in the months leading up to the Summer of Love, as a Park Police Station Lieutenant describes:

> "It's hopeless. There are too many kids, too many ineffective laws and too much dope for us to control. The Haight-Ashbury is now recognized as the spawning ground for multiple and habitual drug abuse for the entire nation… They have created the toughest law-enforcement problem we have ever known."[108]

The idea that access to healthcare is a right, not a privilege was fundamental to David E. Smith, M.D. He opened up the Haight-Ashbury Free Medical Clinic in the early summer of 1967, the Summer of Love. His first patients were admitted on June 7th, on the second floor of the building at the corner of Haight and Clayton.[109][110] Over 100,000 young people were expected to arrive in San Francisco over the summer. The city hoped that if no services were provided to this population, they simply would not arrive in the numbers predicted. The board of supervisors approved the mayor's resolution that hippies were unwelcome in San Francisco, insofar that the city would not provide any amenities for the incoming population.[111]

---

[108] David E. Smith, and John Luce. *Love Needs Care: A History of San Francisco's Haight-Ashbury Free Medical Clinic and Its Pioneer Role in Treating Drug-Abuse Problems*. (Little, Brown, and Co., 1971), 23.
[109] Richard B. Seymour, "The Haight-Ashbury Free Medical Clinic" (Journal of Substance Abuse Treatment 1, no. 2 (1984): 131-135), 131.
[110] San Francisco Chronicle (San Francisco, California), June 17, 1967: 1. NewsBank: America's News.
[111] Charles Perry. *The Haight-Ashbury: A History*, 191.

Although alcoholism and drug addiction were treated as separate issues, the growth of federal, state, and local institutions to treat both illnesses are closely intertwined. The Cooperative Commission on the Study of Alcoholism was formed in 1961 by the North American Association of Alcoholics Programs. The report by the commission was released in 1967, which described problems with alcohol the country faced and offered recommendations. The report was bleak, noting that forty states had already created some sort of alcohol treatment program but were woefully ineffective. A key recommendation in the report is to shift to the "medicalization of drug addiction via the expansion of drug-treatment services."[112]

In 1966, the Narcotic Addict Rehabilitation Act (NARA) was passed, allowing certain addict offenders to opt for treatment instead of legal punishment. Two years later the Alcoholic and Narcotic Addict Rehabilitation Act was passed, which provided funds for community-based treatment facilities. Indeed, thirteen pieces of legislation between 1963-1974 were passed which addressed alcohol and drug addiction. Federal funds for drug addiction treatment went from $28 million in 1969 to $386 million in 1973. The Comprehensive Alcoholism Prevention and Treatment Act of 1970 (also known as the Hughes Act) is, as its name suggests, the most comprehensive piece of legislation for addiction treatment and is the foundation for the present-day federal drug addiction treatment system. The act created a National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism, as per the recommendation of the Cooperative Commission. Nixon would bolster the federal

[112] William L. White, *Slaying the Dragon: The History of Addiction Treatment and Recovery in America.* (Bloomington, IL: Chestnut Health Systems/Lighthouse Institute, 2014.), 264.

treatment programs by focusing on drug use, which he termed "America's Public Enemy Number One." The Drug Abuse and Treatment Act of 1972 created Special Action Office for Drug Abuse Prevention (SAODAP) and the National Institute on Drug Abuse (NIDA). The Haight-Ashbury Free Medical Clinic was the first to receive a long-term grant by SAODAP, which allowed the clinic to become a model for others.[113]

The creation of such a massive federal network, which established treatment centers in every state and territory, was a response to a real and perceived problem in the country. The Free Clinic was created outside of these systems, in a messy patchwork of local institutions attempting to address the drug and alcohol addiction problems in their own communities. Most of these institutions did not survive, even with state and federal programs, the local services often were under-funded, under-staffed, and poorly organized. Free clinics throughout the country were modeled after the Haight-Ashbury progenitor, which gave fledgling clinics a successful model.[114]

Aside from providing medical care, the HAFC also allowed scores of researchers to visit the Haight and help the HAFC while producing dozens of reports. "The Amphetamine Research Project is in a unique position in San Francisco's Haight-Ashbury community, however. Since its inception, in June of

[113] William L. White, *Slaying the Dragon: The History of Addiction Treatment and Recovery in America.* (Bloomington, IL: Chestnut Health Systems/Lighthouse Institute, 2014.), 264-267.
[114] William L. White, *Slaying the Dragon: The History of Addiction Treatment and Recovery in America.* (Bloomington, IL: Chestnut Health Systems/Lighthouse Institute, 2014.), 267.

1968, the project has served dual roles of treatment and research."[115] Researchers from all over flocked to Haight-Ashbury and its free clinic to document the massive drug problems and develop solutions. The amount of drug addiction research published by Smith and the other free clinic doctors is vast and continues to receive attention today.[116]

---

[115] Roger C. Smith D. CRIM. "The World of the Haight-Ashbury Speed Freak" (Journal of Psychedelic Drugs, 2:2, (1969), 77-83), 77.
[116] Sheppard, Charles W., George R. Gay & David E. Smith. "The Changing Patterns of Heroin Addiction in the Haight-Ashbury Subculture", Journal of Psychedelic Drugs, 3:2, (1971): 22-30, DOI: 10.1080/02791072.1971.10471373

Sheppard, Charles W., David E. Smith & George R. Gay "The Changing Face of Heroin Addiction in the Haight-Ashbury," International Journal of the Addictions, 7:1, (1972): 109-122, DOI: 10.3109/10826087209026765

Silverstein, S J, and I S Handlesman. "A Retrospective Analysis of the Haight-Ashbury Free Dental Clinic." American Journal of Public Health 63, no. 1 (1973): 75–78. https://doi.org/10.2105/ajph.63.1.75.

Freudenberger, Herbert J. "The Free Clinic Concept." International Journal of Offender Therapy 15, no. 2 (1971): 121–33. https://doi.org/10.1177/0306624x7101500203.

Gay, Anne C., and George R. Gay. "Haight-Ashbury: Evolution of a Drug Culture in a Decade of Mendacity." Journal of Psychedelic Drugs 4, no. 1 (1971): 81–90. https://doi.org/10.1080/02791072.1971.10471790.

Gay, George R., and David E. Smith. "Development of Drug Patterns and Treatment Techniques in a Free Clinic." Journal of Social Issues 30, no. 1 (1974): 127–42. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.1974.tb00703.x.

Smith, David E., Lauren Kabat Linda, and Stuart Loomis. "Experiences of the Haight-Ashbury Free Medical Clinics Community Based Drug Rehabilitation Program." Journal of Psychedelic Drugs 6, no. 2 (1974): 243–51. https://doi.org/10.1080/02791072.1974.10471834.

Smith, David E., and Alan J. Rose. "The Use and Abuse of LSD in Haight-Ashbury." Clinical Pediatrics 7, no. 6 (1968): 317–22. https://doi.org/10.1177/000992286800700605.

Smith, David E., and Alan J. Rose. "Observations in the Haight-Ashbury Medical Clinic of San Francisco." Clinical Pediatrics 7, no. 6 (1968): 313–16. https://doi.org/10.1177/000992286800700604

Meyers, Frederick H. M.D., Alan J. Rose & David E. Smith M.D. "Incidents Involving the Haight-Ashbury Population and Some Uncommonly Used Drugs," Journal of Psychedelic Drugs, 1:2, (1968):139-146, DOI: 10.1080/02791072.1968.10524531

Newmeyer, John A. “Five Years After: Drug Use and Exposure to Heroin Among the Haight-Ashbury Free Medical Clinic Clientele.” Journal of Psychedelic Drugs 6, no. 1 (1974): 61–65. https://doi.org/10.1080/02791072.1974.10471506.

Smith, David E., and Charles M. Fischer. “An Analysis of 310 Cases of Acute High-Dose Methamphetamine Toxicity in Haight-Ashbury.” Clinical Toxicology 3, no. 1 (1970): 117–24. https://doi.org/10.3109/15563657008990106.

Meyers, Frederick H., Alan J. Rose, and David E. Smith. “Incidents Involving the Haight-Ashbury Population and Some Uncommonly Used Drugs.” Journal of Psychedelic Drugs 1, no. 2 (1968): 139–46. https://doi.org/10.1080/02791072.1968.10524531.

Shick, J. Fred E. M.D., David E. Smith M.D. & Frederick H. Meyers M.D. “The Use of Amphetamine in the Haight-Ashbury Subculture,” Journal of Psychedelic Drugs, 2:2, (1969): 63-76, DOI: 10.1080/02791072.1969.10524417

Shick, J. Fred E., David E. Smith M.D. & Frederick H. Meyers M.D. “Use of Marijuana in the Haight-Ashbury Subculture,” Journal of Psychedelic Drugs, 2:1, (1968): 49-66, DOI: 10.1080/02791072.1968.10524400

Smith, D E. “Runaways and Their Health Problems in Haight-Ashbury during the Summer of 1967.” American Journal of Public Health and the Nations Health 59, no. 11 (1969): 2046–50. https://doi.org/10.2105/ajph.59.11.2046.

Smith, Roger C. D. CRIM. “The World of the Haight-Ashbury Speed Freak,” Journal of Psychedelic Drugs, 2:2, (1969): 77-83, DOI: 10.1080/02791072.1969.10524418

Judd, Lewis J. and Arnold J, Mandell M.D. “A “Free Clinic” Patient Population and Drug Use Patterns” The American Journal of Psychiatry, 128:10, (1972): 118-122.

Lerner, Steven E. & Donald R. Wesson “The Haight-Ashbury Drug-Using Subculture and the MMPI Psychopathic Scale,” International Journal of the Addictions, 8:2, (1973) 401-402, DOI: 10.3109/10826087309057484

Schubart, Peter, David E. Smith M.D. & Robert Conrich “The Concept and Design of a Regionalized Health Facility for the Haight-Ashbury Subculture,” Journal of Psychedelic Drugs, 1:1, (1967) 113-116, DOI: 10.1080/02791072.1967.10524342
Polcin, Douglas L. “Reflections on Lost Opportunities at the Haight-Ashbury Free Clinic: Lessons for Progressive Non-Profit Organizations.” Journal for Social Action in Counseling and Psychology 1, no. 1 (2007): 29–39.

Smith, David E., Glenn E. Raswyck, and Leigh Dickerson Davidson. “From Hofmann to the Haight-Ashbury, and into the Future: The Past and Potential of Lysergic Acid Diethlyamide.” Journal of Psychoactive Drugs 46, no. 1 (2014): 3–10. https://doi.org/10.1080/02791072.2014.873684.

Smith, David E., and Richard B. Seymour. “Addiction Medicine and the Free Clinic Movement.” Journal of Psychoactive Drugs 29, no. 2 (1997): 155–60. https://doi.org/10.1080/02791072.1997.10400183.

Smith, David E. “The Evolution of Addiction Medicine as a Medical Specialty.” AMA Journal of Ethics 13, no. 12 (January 2011): 900–905. https://doi.org/10.1001/virtualmentor.2011.13.12.mhst1-1112.

The clinic treated the typical ailments of a poor, cramped city dwelling population, but the extensive hallucinogenic propensity of the patients also brought its own unique problems to the clinic. Bad trips from drugs such as LSD created a need for a large volunteer staff to help treat these cases. Instead of using drugs to sedate the bad trippers these volunteers, often personally experienced with hallucinogens, used techniques that required no other drugs. The simplest solution to a bad trip is to wait it out, so the clinic had a room just for people to come down from trips.[117] As the Summer of Love ended, most of the flower children left Haight-Ashbury, and those who remained switched to methamphetamines or barbiturates.[118]

The clinic hosted a standard medical section, a drug detoxification rehab and after-care section, a women's needs section, a training and education section, a rock concert emergency medical service section (starting at a Grateful Dead concert at Kezar Stadium in 1973), and an alcohol treatment services section. After providing 17 years of service (1967-1984), the 558 Clayton location served over

---

Wesson, Donald R. "Psychedelic Drugs, Hippie Counterculture, Speed and Phenobarbital Treatment of Sedative-Hypnotic Dependence: A Journey to the Haight-Ashbury in the Sixties." Journal of Psychoactive Drugs 43, no. 2 (2011): 153–64. https://doi.org/10.1080/02791072.2011.587708.

Gay, George R., John A. Newmeyer, Michael Perry, Gregory Johnson, and Mark Kurland. "Love and Haight: The Sensuous Hippie Revisited. Drug/Sex Practices in San Francisco, 1980–81." Journal of Psychoactive Drugs 14, no. 1-2 (1982): 111–23. https://doi.org/10.1080/02791072.1982.10471918.

[117] Inspiration for this technique may have come from the Psychedelic Shop, which had a 'bad trip' room in the back of the store.

[118] Charles W. Sheppard, David E. Smith & George R. Gay "The Changing Face of Heroin Addiction in the Haight-Ashbury," (International Journal of the Addictions, 7:1, (1972)): 109-122, DOI: 10.3109/10826087209026765.

600,000 people, a vast majority of whom would not have received any attention at all without the free clinic.[119]

In 1970, David Smith founded the National Free Clinic Council (NFCC) which provided a network for clinics to communicate develop programs. Treatment plans that were developed for each drug were adopted by hospitals all over the country. The Haight-Ashbury Free Medical Clinic was the first to receive a long-term grant by the SAODAP. The Haight-Ashbury Free Medical Clinic was the template for every other free clinic in the country, and hundreds of free medical clinics have opened since the first in Haight-Ashbury.[120]

In 1995, David E. Smith lectured on his career and the free clinic. He said the founding of the free medical clinic had its origins in the Civil Rights movement. Smith states, "The flower children cried "Make love not war" and we[121] responded "Love needs care."" The need for a free clinic in Haight-Ashbury was sorely needed. Addiction as a medical issue has become one of the largest growing fields in medicine, and the Free Clinic was one of the most successful local, grassroots institutions to address this problem. A free clinic is a philosophical concept as well as an economic one. Dozens of diseases can be linked to abuse of licit and illicit drugs. By treating the source of these diseases instead of the symptoms, Dr. Smith

[119] Richard B. Seymour, "The Haight-Ashbury Free Medical Clinic", 133.
[120] Richard B. Seymour, "The Haight-Ashbury Free Medical Clinic", 132.
[121] "we" in this case, is Smith and the other founding doctors of the Haight-Ashbury Free Medical Clinic.

found for every dollar spent on drug addiction treatment, $12 was saved in other medical costs.[122]

In 1973, Bill Graham asked the Free Clinic to provide medical care at a large outdoor concert featuring the Grateful Dead and Led Zeppelin. This gave Dr. George Gay, one of the Free Clinic doctors, the idea to create Rock Medicine the following year. Rock Medicine provides medical coverage at the largest venues in northern California, such as Levi's Stadium, Shoreline Amphitheater, and the Bill Graham Civic Auditorium. "More than 40 years later, Rock Med is still providing free, non-judgmental care and setting the standard in event medicine."[123]

The Haight-Ashbury Medical Clinic joined the Walden House, another free medical clinic, and is now called Health RIGHT 360. Presently, the organization covers thirteen California counties with a series of health programs that serve 38,000 people annually. Recently, the Haight-Ashbury location has intermittently closed down due to lack of funding, but its legacy is far reaching. The National Association of Free & Charitable Clinics has over 1,400 clinics in their database.[124] The Haight-Ashbury Free Clinic is one of the most significant Counterculture properties. The clinic is still in its original location, and it continues to service the neighborhood in the way it was originally conceived. Additionally, the clinic was successful, so much so that it became the model for all

[122] Smith, David E. "The 1995 Distinguished Lecturer in Substance Abuse." (*Journal of Substance Abuse Treatment* 13, no. 4 (1996): 289–94.), 290.
[123] "Rock Medicine: Non-Judgmental Event Medicine and EMS since 1973," Rock Medicine | Non-Judgmental Event Medicine and EMS since 1973, accessed May 1, 2020, http://www.rockmed.org/about)
[124] https://www.nafcclinics.org/.

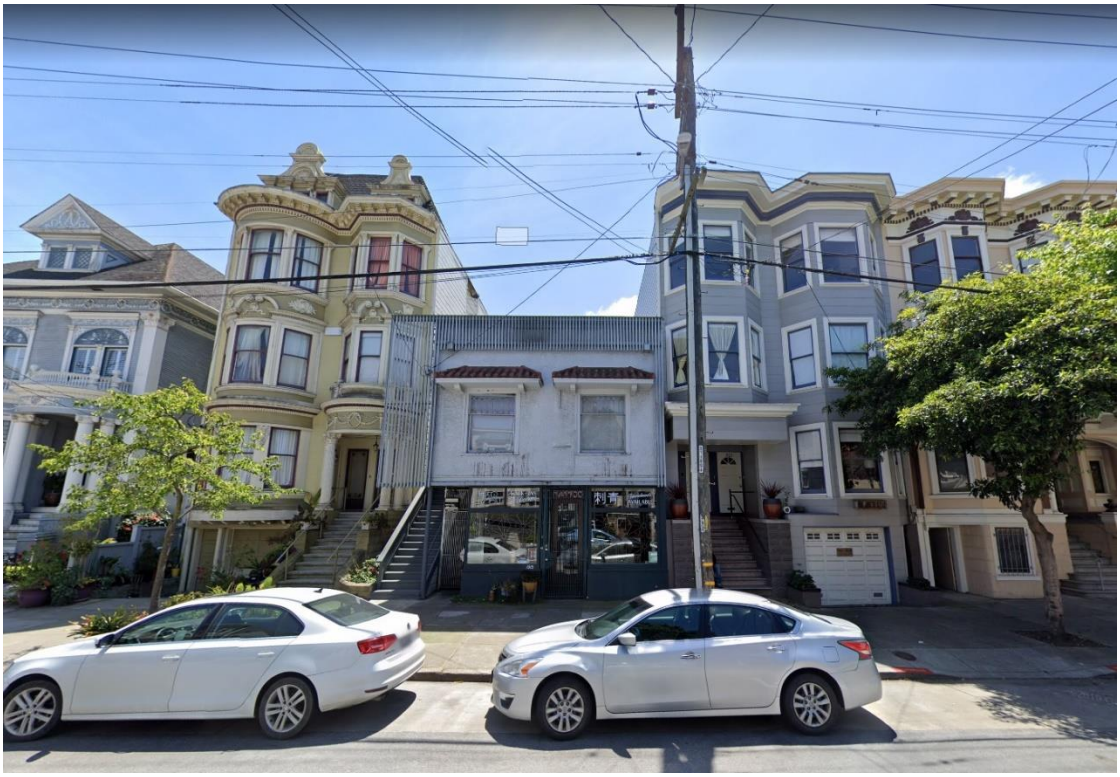
subsequent free clinics in the country. Finally, its role as a pioneer in drug addiction treatments ensures HAFC's legacy extends beyond the Counterculture and into the greater medical field.

NATURAL FOODS MOVEMENT

In modern American history, there were three distinct food reform movements. The first, called the Health Reform Movement, lasted from the 1820s to the 1890s. Focused in Boston and led by Sylvester Graham, the movement focused on good diet (whole-wheat bread, less meat and less alcohol), water, exercise, and fresh air. Next, the Health Foods Movement lasted from the 1890s to 1960s. Dr. John Harvey Kellogg coined the term "health foods" in 1892 and founded Sanitarium Health Food Co., the first health food company. The movement focused on the importance of vitamins and minerals. Hundreds of small mom-and-pop health food stores opened, starting in the 1930s selling various health foods as well as a host of vitamins and minerals in pill and powder form. In 1942, J. I. Rodale published *Organic Farm and Gardening,* which helped define the term organic as any crop grown without pesticide. By the 1950s, foods labeled "organically grown" could be found in American grocery stores. By the 1960s, the movement was split between the pills, powders, vitamins, and minerals group and the natural or organic food group. The third movement would expand upon the ideas of the latter group and reject the former. Starting in the sixties, it was called the Natural Foods Movement. The movement was characterized by the eschewing of products that used pesticides, insecticides, fertilizers, preservatives, stabilizers, white sugar,

processed grains, and other chemicals deemed unnatural. In addition to removing unnatural substances, the Natural Foods Movement introduced a bevy of new foods unfamiliar to the American diet, such as brown rice, soy sauce, sesame, various types of noodles, rice cakes, etc. The first major wholesaler of natural foods was Erewhon, based in Boston.[125] Natural food stores predate the first natural food wholesalers, though, and two of the earliest, most prominent natural food stores were located in or nearby Haight-Ashbury.

One of the first health food shops in the Haight was Far-Fetched Foods, opened in 1966. Jerry Sealund operated the store at 1915 Page (Extant) and quickly became well-known as an ethical, hip proprietor of healthy food.[126]



2.3 Formerly Far-Fetched Foods, 1915 Page

[125] William Shurtleff and Akiko Aoyagi. (*History of The Natural and Organic Foods Movement (1942-2020): Extensively Annotated Bibliography and Sourcebook*. Soyinfo Center, 2020.), 1-5.
[126] See Fig. 2.3.

Organic Gardening praised Sealund for operating the store as a commune, only taking $20 a week for his own expenses and stocking wholesome food. Before stores like Jerry's, a health food store typically sold vitamins, minerals, and other highly processed foods used for unusual diets.[127]

In 1965, Fred Rohe purchased Sunset Health Foods and renamed it to New Age Natural Foods at 1326 9th Ave (Extant). In his book, *The Complete Book of Natural Foods* (1983), Rohe claims that his store "served as a model for … 'hippie food stores.' It [Rohe's store] is credited as being the prototype natural foods store."[128] and became the precursor to the first natural food supermarket, which he opened in Palo Alto in 1970. He opened other locations in Santa Cruz and San Anselmo.[129] He teamed up with other health food merchants to create the Organic Merchants collective, to increase bulk purchases and lower costs.[130]

Sealund and Rohe founded their stores in a community that reflected the coming change to American palettes, thus allowing both of them to open their natural food stores before the Natural Foods Movement spread across the country. Haight-Ashbury was home to the first two health food stores in the nation, but the interest in eating whole, organic foods was not confined to just health food stores in cities. Indeed, the back-to-the-land movement would incorporate parts of natural foods movement and move it to the countryside.

---

[127] Warren James. Belasco, Appetite for Change: How the Counterculture Took on the Food Industry (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007), 96.
[128] Rohé Fred. *The Complete Book of Natural Foods*. (Boulder: Shambhala, 1983), Preface.
[129] Warren James. Belasco, Appetite for Change, 97.
[130] San Francisco Chronicle (San Francisco, California), December 31, 1971: 16. NewsBank: America's.

BACK TO THE LAND

The back-to-the-land movement was not a product of the Counterculture; it is an earlier movement that found like minds within the Counterculture. The origins of back-to-the-land in America is linked to agrarianism – "the celebration of agriculture and rural life for the positive impact thereof on the individual and society."[131] Drawing ideas from Thomas Jefferson and Henry David Thoreau, the movement gained momentum at the turn of the century because of the increased industrialization of society, organized labor, decreased individual efficacy, factories, and "the deterioration of the authority of traditional social institutions."[132] The back-to-the-land movement started as an effort to provide the average American a rationale to live an agrarian lifestyle again. The industrial, urban settings Americans lived in were detrimental to both mental and physical health, and the back-to-the-land movement was a superior economic, moral, and spiritual option for the American way of life. Bolton Hall is credited with starting the back-to-the-land movement in America.[133] Hall achieved prominence after publishing *Three Acres and Liberty* in 1907, he states "We want to check … needless want and misery in the cities, and this can be done by restoring the natural condition of living."[134] In 1910, he founded the unincorporated community of Free Acres in New Jersey. Similar to modern day community land trusts,

[131] David B. Danbom. "Romantic Agrarianism in Twentieth-Century America." (Agricultural History 65, no. 4 (1991): 1–12. https://www.jstor.org/stable/3743942.), 1.
[132] David B. Danbom. "Romantic Agrarianism in Twentieth-Century America." (Agricultural History 65, no. 4 (1991): 1–12. https://www.jstor.org/stable/3743942.), 2.
[133] https://earthsharing.org/library/leubuscher-frederic_a-remembrance-of-bolton-hall-1939/
[134] Bolton Hall. *Three Acres and Liberty*. (Norwood, MA: The MacMillan Company, 1918.), 2.

inhabitants own their homes but lease the land to the Free Acres Association who then pay tax to the local municipality. The community still exists today.[135] Even though Free Acres was a success and Bolton Hall was highly respected,[136] the back-to-the-land movement struggled to gain mass appeal. Hall expected the movement to catch on,[137] but if one was not independently wealthy and had an agrarian background, going back-to-the-land was a difficult task.

Born in 1887, Ralph Borsodi grew up in New York City and started working as an economist in 1908. Ralph Borsodi's father, William, was involved in the Single Tax movement[138] and a contemporary of Bolton Hall, so Borsodi was exposed to these ideas early on in his life. From 1920-1927, he lived on a small, seven-acre farm, called Dogwoods, in Rockland County, NY with his family. He wrote *This Ugly Civilization* in 1929 and *Flight From The City* in 1933, which expressed his anti-industrial, decentralist views and promoted an agrarian lifestyle while describing his experience living the rural life at Dogwoods.[139] Before The Great Depression, the back-to-the-land movement was mostly of interest to the intellectual elite, who sought to escape the drudgery of modern life, not leave it

[135] Actor James Cagney lived in Free Acres.
[136] Bolton Hall was offered the opportunity to run for Governor of New York late in his life, but he declined.
[137] Bolton Hall. *Three Acres and Liberty*. (Norwood, MA: The MacMillan Company, 1918.), 200
[138] The Single Tax movement, or Georgism is an economic ideology that views economic value derived from land should be equally distributed, while individuals own the value they produce themselves. Named after Henry George, this ideology sought to increase economic efficiency while incorporating social justice.
[139] David B. Danbom. "Romantic Agrarianism in Twentieth-Century America." (Agricultural History 65, no. 4 (1991): 1–12. https://www.jstor.org/stable/3743942.), 4.

completely.[140] The Great Depression caused a dramatic increase of interest in the back-to-the-land movement by the masses, and Borsodi was the most prominent proponent of it. Indeed, in 1929, there was an annual net-migration of half a million people from rural areas to cities. By 1933, the annual net-migration was still half a million but reversed direction. Borsodi gained a following of working-class Americans that Hall hoped for. For the next four decades, Borsodi would become the movement's most ardent supporter.

The Council of Social Agencies in Dayton, Ohio provided funds to create the Dayton Liberty Homestead in 1931, using *This Ugly Civilization* as a guide. The Dayton homesteaders invited Borsodi to advise them in 1932. Borsodi was adamant that homesteading should be self-sufficient, and any outside aid would undermine his ideals. Unfortunately, the Dayton homesteaders were in dire financial straits and beseeched Borsodi for help. Using his connections to the FDR Administration, Borsodi acquired $50,000 in New Deal funds for the Liberty Homestead.[141][142] Borsodi came to regret this decision, because the project was federalized in 1934 and "was agony trying to accomplish anything."[143] In 1934, Borsodi moved to Suffern, New York to found a new homesteading community.[144] Borsodi founded the School of Living on a forty-acre plot on Bayard Lane in north

[140] William H. Issel; "Ralph Borsodi and the Agrarian Response to Modern America." (Agricultural History 41, no. 2 (April 1967): 155–66. https://www.jstor.org/stable/3739870), 159.
[141] Section 208 of the National Industrial Recovery Act Title II had allocated $25 million to the President "for making loans for and otherwise aiding in the purchase subsistence homesteads."
[142] William H. Issel; "Ralph Borsodi and the Agrarian Response to Modern America." (Agricultural History 41, no. 2 (April 1967): 155–66. https://www.jstor.org/stable/3739870), 161.
[143] The Plowboy Interview - Dr. Ralph Borsodi. Accessed May 7, 2020. https://soilandhealth.org/wp-content/uploads/0303critic/Brsdi.intrvw/The Plowboy-Borsodi Interview.htm
[144] Borsodi's definition of homesteading differed from the Homestead Act's definition. To him, successful homesteads must form a community, instead of isolated 160-acre plots.

Suffern (now the Village of Montebello). The plot of land was split into two-acre plots for twenty families. The School of Living still continues to promote Borsodi's teachings, such as organic agriculture, community land trusts, cooperatives, and self-reliance.. In 1935, he founded the non-profit, Independence Foundation, which provided capital for land purchases.

When America became involved in the second world war, the back-to-the-land movement lost popularity. Borsodi continued to champion the homesteading movement and critique the centralized, industrial aspects of society. He published *Inflation is Coming* in 1943, criticizing the economic practices of the US wartime economy. Borsodi helped start *Free Acres* magazine, which ran from 1937-1947, and focused on integrating the many rural, agrarian, co-op, and Single Tax movements popular at the time. In 1968, he finished one of his final works, *Seventeen Problems of Man and Society,* which demonstrates Borsodi's transition into a more philosophical style of writing. His early works expressed the idea that civilization's physical development is flawed, and he extended that to Man's philosophy by which he lives. Borsodi's experience with the federal government caused him to be pessimistic of any large-scale government-run implementation of the back-to-the-land movement.[145] Of the seventeen problems in his book, "the most important problem in the world is the education problem."[146] Essentially, a lack of education prevents most Americans from going back to the land. This sentiment aligns with the back-to-the-land movement of the sixties and seventies,

[145] William H. Issel; "Ralph Borsodi and the Agrarian Response to Modern America." (Agricultural History 41, no. 2 (April 1967): 155–66. https://www.jstor.org/stable/3739870), 164.
[146] Borsodi, Ralph. *Seventeen Problems of Man and Society*. (Anand: Charotar Book Stall, 1968), 1.

whose reasons for going back to the land were more philosophical than practical or economic.[147] In 1974, *Mother Earth News* interviewed Borsodi in the final years of his life. The strong language used in the article demonstrates how influential Borsodi was within the back-to-the-land movement:

> "Dr. Ralph Borsodi is such a legendary figure in the back-to-the-land and self-sufficiency movement that many of today's "homesteaders" think he must have lived generations ago."[148]
>
> "…it's a pretty safe bet that Dr. Borsodi's name will be ranked with those of Plato, John Locke and Thomas Jefferson. For, if the earth is to endure another four centuries, it will only do so because whole societies embrace the less energy-intensive, less urbanized, less industrialized life to which Ralph Borsodi has dedicated every fiber of his being."[149]

The back-to-the-land movement found a new group of adherents in the Counterculture Movement. Moving to the more rural areas of Northern California was popular for many hippies who thought that their movement was unsustainable within the city. Other groups did not wholesale abandon the city but saw the benefits of incorporating rural areas into their sphere of influence, such as the Diggers with Morningstar Ranch. Borsodi's work gained many more readers during this time. In 1967, William H. Issel wrote an article in the Agricultural History Society about Borsodi's role in the movement. Issel earned his Master of

[147] Rebecca Kneale Gould. "Modern Homesteading in America: Negotiating Religion, Nature, and Modernity." (Worldviews: Global Religions, Culture, and Ecology 3, no. 3 (1999): 183–212). 189.
[148] The Plowboy Interview - Dr. Ralph Borsodi. Accessed May 7, 2020. https://soilandhealth.org/wp-content/uploads/0303critic/Brsdi.intrvw/The Plowboy-Borsodi Interview.htm
[149] The Plowboy Interview - Dr. Ralph Borsodi.

History at San Francisco State College, which was then located in the Lower Haight neighborhood. Borsodi never achieved the mass reconfiguration of society that he deemed necessary "if mankind is to achieve an adequate destiny,"[150] but, despite practical failings, Borsodi never relented on his ideals.

The revival of the back-to-the-land movement during the sixties and seventies is typically represented by the numerous rural communes dotted across the country. Morningstar Ranch is a well-known example of a rural homestead community in the Bay Area, Lou Gottlieb allowed the Diggers to live and work the land. Buckminster Fuller and the commune in Colorado, Drop City, has connections to San Francisco via Fuller and is architecturally significant for its use of vernacular geodesic domes. Most communes failed, with a few notable exceptions, such as Twin Oaks in Virginia and The Farm in Tennessee.[151]

The more significant contribution from this era is the bevy of publications to help educate and expand the movement. Obviously, there are several publications that deal with gardening, rural life, and other aspects of the back-to-the-land movement that predate the Counterculture Era, such as *Organic Gardening and Farming*, founded by Jerome I. Rodale in 1942. The publication has changed its name nine times, but it is still being published today, now called *Rodale's Organic Life*. Another notable example is Helen and Scott Nearing's *Living the Good Life,* published in 1953. In 1932, the Nearings 'dropped out' of society and moved to

[150] Borsodi, Ralph. *This Ugly Civilization*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1929, 6.
[151] Stephen Gaskin, founder of The Farm, was a confidant of Jerry Sealund, founder of Far Fetched Foods, and Gaskin even used the rear of Far Fetched Foods to hold night classes for the Experimental College, part of San Francisco State College.

farm in Vermont's Green Mountains. For twenty years, they rebuilt the soil, constructed buildings from native stone, grew their own food, cut their own wood, and wrote a book about it.[152] In 1949, Aldo Leopold wrote an article called "Land Ethic," which called for a moral responsibility to the natural world.[153] From Hall to Borsodi to Nearing,[154] the back-to-the-land movement had built a strong literary tradition, and this would be continued into the next decade with several more publications.

In 1970*, Mother Earth News,* was founded by John and Jane Shuttlesworth in Topeka, Kansas, which still publishes bimonthly issues today. The magazine calls itself "The Original Guide to Living Wisely", and with a circulation of over half a million, it is one of the most successful publications related to the back-to-the-land movement of the 1960s and 1970s. A notable publication from the Bay Area is Bill Kaysing's *The Ex-urbanites Complete & Illustrated Easy-Does-It First Time Farmer's Guide: A Useful Book.* The book is as comprehensive as its title is long. The book was published by Straight Arrow Books, the book division of Rolling Stone in 1971. Kaysing intertwined philosophy, poetry, history, and practical farming advice in his book, making it one of the most comprehensive resources to start homesteading. The book also includes an extensive bibliography of related sources.

[152] Ogden Publications, Inc. "Living the Good Life." Mother Earth News. Accessed May 29, 2020. https://www.motherearthnews.com/homesteading-and-livestock/living-the-good-life-zmaz77mazbon.
[153] "The Land Ethic." The Aldo Leopold Foundation, May 14, 2020. https://www.aldoleopold.org/about/the-land-ethic/.
[154] This is by no way a comprehensive account of all back-to-the-land works.

The Whole Earth Catalog was founded by Steward Brand in 1968. It was "a compendium of product listings, how-to diagrams, and educational ephemera."[155] Brand, a former biologist and Native American aficionado, helped organize the first Trips Festival, but his back-to-the-land publication would be his greatest contribution to the Counterculture. The need arose to provide a resource to help these new back-to-the-landers, and Brand's publication helped to fill this need.[156] The Whole Earth Catalog did not sell anything itself but gave product reviews and information about different items that might be useful to those pursuing an alternative lifestyle. The catalog also included essays and articles about this type of living. "Over the next four years, in a series of bi- annual issues, the Catalog ballooned to more than four hundred pages, sold more than a million-and-a-half copies, won a National Book Award, and spawned dozens of imitators."[157] The Whole Earth Catalog as it was originally produced, no longer exists, but that publication spawned the creation of many more contemporary publications and was one of the first proponents of the World Wide Web. "Among them were *CoEvolution Quarterly*, a journal focused on environmentalism; the "Whole Earth Software Catalog," a digitally oriented update to the original; the Hackers

[155] Anna Wiener, "The Complicated Legacy of Stewart Brand's 'Whole Earth Catalog,'" The New Yorker (The New Yorker, November 24, 2018), https://www.newyorker.com/news/letter-from-silicon-valley/the-complicated-legacy-of-stewart-brands-whole-earth-catalog).
[156] Fred Turner. "Where the Counterculture Met the New Economy: The WELL and the Origins of Virtual Community." (*Technology and Culture* 46, no. 3 (2005): 485–512. https://doi.org/10.1353/tech.2005.0154.), 487.
[157] Fred Turner. "Where the Counterculture Met the New Economy: The WELL and the Origins of Virtual Community.", 488.

Conference; the *WELL* (the Whole Earth 'Lectric Link), one of the earliest online communities; and a corporate-consulting outfit, the Global Business Network."[158]

The back-to-the-land movement hearkens back to a bygone past of American ideals. What separates and elevates the back-to-the-land movement of the sixties and seventies compared to its previous iterations is the enhanced importance of the moral and spiritual aspects of the movement. The wealthy elite that first championed back-to-the-land saw it as a personal rejuvenation, rather than a moral obligation to humanity. Even during the Great Depression, the choice to go back to the land was personal, for economic or spiritual reasons (the city is draining and unnatural for human life). It is only forty years later that the movement was used for holistic betterment of humanity and the environment. Additionally, the resurgent movement was not predicated by an economic collapse, suggesting that the choice to go back to the land was not decided because of financial dire straits. The 1980s saw the movement start to fade again, but the movement survived and started gaining momentum in the 1990s. "It [the back-to-the-land movement] may never be relevant to American society. It will always be relevant to the American mind."[159]

It is important to make a note at the end of this chapter on the importance of intangible culture when considering the significance of Haight-Ashbury's contribution to alternative healthcare and lifestyle. This chapter identified only a handful of properties within Haight-Ashbury that have any connection to the topics

[158] Anna Wiener, "The Complicated Legacy of Stewart Brand's 'Whole Earth Catalog,'"
[159] David B. Danbom. "Romantic Agrarianism in Twentieth-Century America." (Agricultural History 65, no. 4 (1991): 1–12. https://www.jstor.org/stable/3743942.), 12.

in this chapter and only one still operates as it did.[160] Far-Fetched Foods (1915 Page) is now a tattoo shop, and New Age Natural Foods (1326 9th Ave) is a brew-pub. Although there is a Whole Foods Market on Haight Street today, it is hardly indicative of the experience of shopping at one of these earlier natural foods store. Incorporating these important social movements with little historic fabric or integrity into a preservation plan for the Haight will prove difficult.

[160] Haight-Ashbury Free Clinic, 558 Clayton.

CHAPTER 3: POLITICS THROUGH ART

The Haight-Ashbury was home to a nontraditional political movement that sought change via the arts. By consciously choosing to behave differently against the mainstream cultural norms and mores, the Counterculture has subsumed many of its ideals into the mainstream American culture. Attitudes about drug use, gender roles, and sexual orientation manifested themselves in political discussions, where previously they were unheard of in the political landscape. The Haight-Ashbury acted as either a birthplace or a foster home for radical ideas that have now become mainstream topics of political debate.

Helen Swick Perry succinctly describes the kind of new cultural values professed by the Counterculture:

> "But they have a clear compass for their main journey… to find a way for mankind, all of it, to survive by directly reforming the ethical values of the society at a personal, family, and neighborhood level." [161]

What sets the Haight-Ashbury apart from other contemporary political movements was its emphasis on using the arts to change politics. The other movements promoted engagement into the current political system, while groups, such as the Diggers, attempted to change the system by changing one's culture. This is arguably the most significant contribution the Counterculture has made on mainstream America culture, but it can be overshadowed compared to the more tangible aspects of the Counterculture. This chapter explains the origins of the Diggers, the beginnings of "Street Theater", comparisons to contemporary political

[161] Helen Swick Perry. The Human Be-In, 41.

movements, and the Diggers' impact on Haight-Ashbury, San Francisco, and the entire country.

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS) AND THE NEW LEFT

Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) formed from other socialist student groups in 1960. In 1962, the group officially adopted the Port Huron Statement as their founding document. The statement points out social and economic injustices in America and calls for a "new left" to form and seek political change. The statement specifically identifies universities as ideal institutions to implement political revolution.[162]

Two years later, the Free Speech Movement at the University of California Berkeley made the campus home to one of the first attempts at actualizing the ideals set forth the Port Huron Statement. Sit-ins and protests disrupted campus activities, most notably in Sproul Plaza, which essentially shut down the campus. The flurry of media attention Berkeley received from these demonstrations encouraged universities to redress student grievances in order to avoid becoming another 'Berkeley.'[163] In 1965, President Johnson massively increased US military presence in Vietnam and implemented the draft. Soon, New Left organizations across the country focused their attention to protesting the war. Johnson's decision to escalate the war made him become one of the biggest recruiters to the SDS. By the summer of 1967, SDS membership exceeded 30,000 with formal presences on

[162] Port Huron Statement, accessed June 3, 2020, http://www2.iath.virginia.edu/sixties/HTML_docs/Resources/Primary/Manifestos/SDS_Port_Huron.html)
[163] Kirkpatrick Sale, Students for a Democratic Society (New York: Random House, 1973), 172.

250 college campuses.[164] Kirkpatrick Sale claims in his comprehensive history of the group, "[By 1967], SDS was without question the largest, best known, and most influential student political group in the country."[165]

The SDS and other New Left organizations attempts to recruit hippies in the Haight had middling success. A group called the Diggers, which operated in Haight-Ashbury, pursued the same "general goal of freedom" as other political movements, but the Diggers' approach to implementing their vision differed greatly. The Diggers' "theatrical community-based innovations" to effect political change have their origins in avant-garde theater troupes earlier in the century.[166] These troupes incorporated political messages in their plays and often performed for free in public spaces. These "street theater" or "guerilla theater" tactics would separate the Diggers from other political groups in the Bay Area and have a significant impact on Haight-Ashbury and its Counterculture population.

THE SAN FRANCISCO MIME TROUPE

The Living Theater, founded by Julian Beck and Judith Malina, did not start as a political theater troupe, instead they focused on subverting theatrical convention. Located in Manhattan, the husband and wife duo disliked the pricy Broadway theaters and hosted their first play in a West End apartment in 1951. The intimate setting allowed for audience participation and attempted to alter their idea of what theater is. The Living Theater attracted leading figures in other arts, such as

[164] Kirkpatrick Sale, Students for a Democratic Society, 234.
[165] Kirkpatrick Sale, Students for a Democratic Society, 236.
[166] Bradford D. Martin, The Theater Is in the Street: Politics and Performance in Sixties America (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2004)), 88.

Jackson Pollock, Allen Ginsberg, and Lawrence Ferlinghetti. The first political production by the troupe was *The Connection* (1959). This highly improvised play focused on several heroin junkies waiting to get their fix in real time, the accompanying jazz ensemble would improvise along with the actors. Their next play, *The Brig* (1963) focused on military cruelty and continued the improvised, political direction of the troupe. The Living Theater's *Paradise Now* (1968) "laid the foundation for The Living Theatre's growing involvement with street theater."[167] The final act of the four and a half hour play began with the company leading the audience out onto the street – chanting "the theatre is in the street."[168] The Diggers, like The Living Theater, attempted to combine "counterculture lifestyles to a more transformative and oppositional political vision."[169] San Francisco's foremost political theater troupe continued to innovate on The Living Theater's political, improvisational, interactive methods.

In 1959, R. G. Davis founded the San Francisco Mime Troupe (SFMT).[170] The first meeting was at a church on Capp street in the Mission District. Davis was a professional actor first and foremost, but he quickly began incorporating more politically charged plays into their repertoire. By the time the Free Speech Movement began, Davis and his troupe were well on their way towards political activism.[171] By 1962, the SFMT started playing outdoors in Golden Gate Park and

[167] Bradford D. Martin, The Theater Is in the Street, 72.
[168] Bradford D. Martin, The Theater Is in the Street, 72.
[169] Bradford D. Martin, The Theater Is in the Street, 86.
[170] The SFMT practiced the ancient Greek and Roman mime acting, which includes song and spoken word. This is different from the modern, more common definition of mime, which is pantomime. Miming typically includes a farce and humor within the play, making it stand out from other types of theater.
[171] Michael William Doyle, The Haight-Ashbury Diggers, 51.

North Beach's Washington Square Park among other public venues.[172] The outdoor performances used "commedia dell'arte, the theatrical style of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Italian pantomime, to create highly original spectacles."[173] Davis allowed the New School, supported by UC Berkeley, to host classes in the summer of 1964. The SFMT then moved to a Loft at 924 Howard (Extant). They allowed the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) to use their space as an office, as well as San Francisco Newsreel, a radical filmmaking collective.[174]

R.G. Davis began developing 'guerilla theater' which, "was not intended to be a call to arms, but to a cultural revolt aimed at replacing discredited American values and norms" Guerilla theater was meant to shock audiences with topical social commentary through free plays given in public parks. Entertainment was no longer the primary concern. The plays often depicted lewd and inappropriate behavior, which soon attracted the attention of city officials. When the parks commission denied their park permit applications for being "obscene, indecent, and offensive", Davis responded with "We'll see you in the park and we'll see you in court." Davis believed that artists play a vital role in political movements, "The Job of the artist in politicos is to take leaps the politicos never take." [175]

Davis wanted a variety of artistic talents in his troupe, allowing people to join with little theater experience. The troupe had in its membership writers and poets

[172] Bradford D. Martin, The Theater Is in the Street, 90.
[173] Bradford D. Martin, The Theater Is in the Street, 90.
[174] Michael William Doyle, The Haight-Ashbury Diggers, 59.
[175] Michael William Doyle, The Haight-Ashbury Diggers, 49.

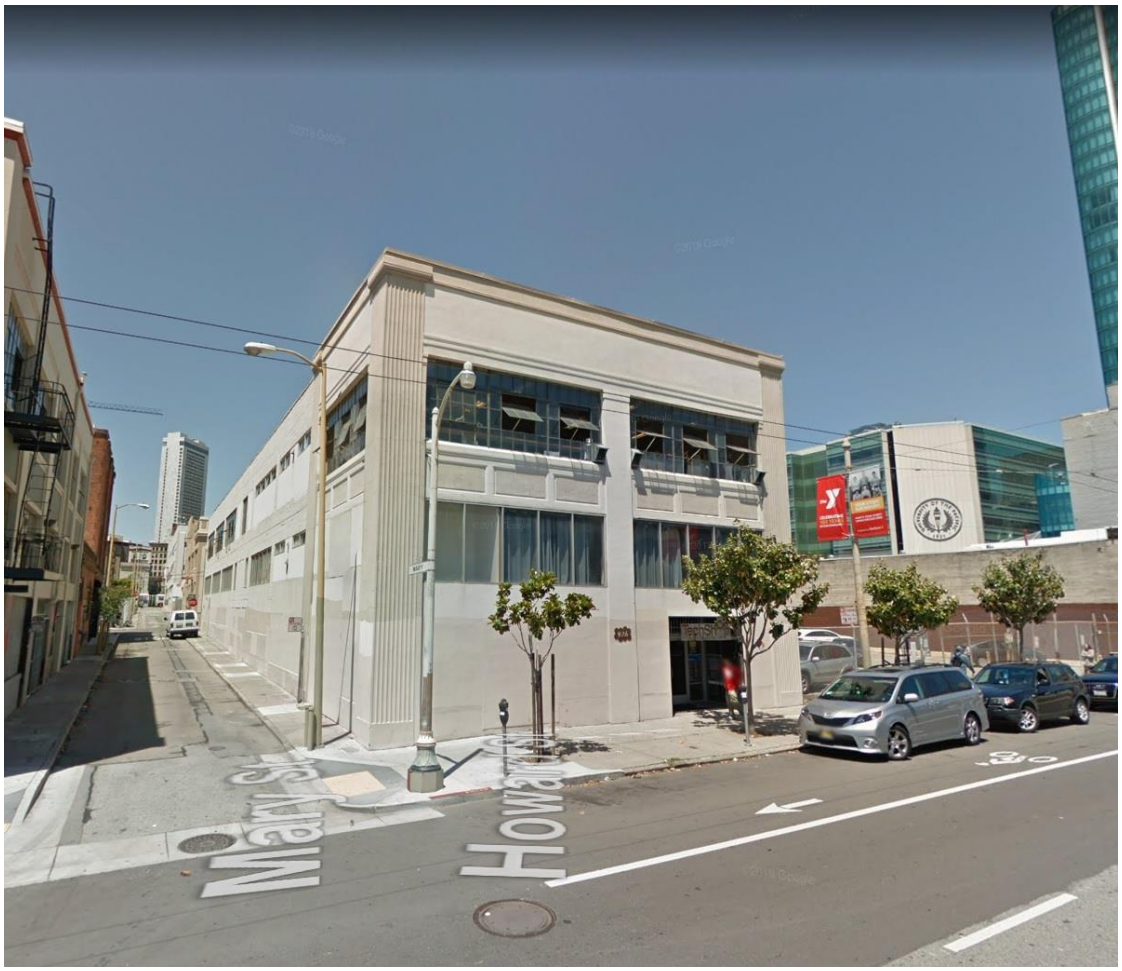
(Berg, Coyote, Grogan, Lenore Kandel, Bill Fritsch, Kent Minaut, Billy Murcott), dancers (Judy Goldhaft, Jane Lapiner), painters (Billy Jahrmarkt, Bryden Bullington), sculptors (Roberto La Morticella) printmakers (Karl Rosenburg), filmmakers, musicians, and others.[176]

The Lafayette Park Bust in August of 1965 is the most famous of these arrests and created, in Davis' words, "all sorts of mutants" which include,

> "the fostering of a countercultural group identity that would soon be centered in the Haight-Ashbury; the commercialization of acid rock dance concerts; the formation of the Diggers as an attempt to take the guerilla theater idea out of the domain of theater and use it to envision and construct an alternative society."[177]

Bill Graham had recently just become the manager of SFMT and saw the opportunity for increased publicity if they were to stage unsanctioned plays and become political actors as well as traditional ones. Graham used this free publicity and groundswell of support to host a benefit concert at 924 Howard to afford bail

[176] Michael William Doyle, The Haight-Ashbury Diggers, 126.
[177] Michael William Doyle, The Haight-Ashbury Diggers, 66.



3.1 924 Howard Street

for several arrests of SFMT members.[178] By far the largest bohemian gathering up to then, the support the SFMT showed to leftist groups paid dividends as they returned the favor. Estimates range between 1-2 thousand people showed up, much to the fire marshals' chagrin. Jefferson Airplane was using the Howard street loft as a practice space and played for free. The loft hosted the benefit concert, or variety show and brought together many of the key features of what would form the incipient Counterculture. The New Left, represented by the SDS had an office in the loft, acid rock bands practiced and played there. Bill Graham transitioned

[178] See Fig 3.1.

from the manager of the SFMT to one of the largest rock promoters in the country, light shows and experimental films were shown during the concert, Allen Ginsberg read poetry, even The Family Dog (the only other major acid rock concert promoter) showed up. The wide array of acts performed also led to the variety style acid-rock concerts that were popular in the coming months. Over $2,000 was raised, and most of the money went to the legal defense fees for the SFMT and Davis.[179] There was further pushback by the city, and it came in the form of annual allocation of funds to local arts groups, which the SFMT were denied their $1,000 they typically received.[180][181] The SFMT continued to operate, but Davis separated himself from all the offshoot groups he created, never deviating from his original vision of the troupe.[182]

THE ARTISTS' LIBERATION FRONT

In the summer of 1966, Davis helped to form another group called the Artists' Liberation Front (ALF). The SFMT hosted ALF's inaugural meeting in the Howard Street loft on May 10, 1966. Future Mayor Willie L. Brown and 85 other artists and supporters joined. Many troupe members and future Diggers were in attendance, along with a cadre of actors, writers, musicians, and artists, who were "avant-garde, more-or-less politically active."[183] Ralph Gleason from the

[179] Michael William Doyle, The Haight-Ashbury Diggers, 68.
[180] Michael William Doyle, The Haight-Ashbury Diggers, 81.
[181] San Francisco Chronicle (San Francisco, California), May 5, 1966: 1. NewsBank: America's News
[182] The SFMT is still around today and enacting change is one of the few things that has not changed in its 60-year history. "They are the oldest radical repertory theater in the nation and an enduring example of how Sixties' activists improvised a counterculture by combining art and politics" – Michael William Doyle, The Haight-Ashbury Diggers.
[183] Bradford D. Martin, The Theater Is in the Street, 90.

Chronicle also joined. Their initial statement, agreed upon by all attendees and formally adopted, states,

> "Centralization of culture dilutes artistic impact, separates the populace from their vital expressions and invites remote control and censorship. Funding of cultural activities should rest with the people rather than with oligarchic patrons."[184]

The ALF created a model that the Diggers and other groups would expand upon: "cultural activism aimed at redistributing public resources for decentralized, egalitarian purposes."[185] The first major accomplishment the ALF had was the creation of the Haight-Ashbury Settlement House (1004 Cole Street) in the fall of 1966.[186] Modeled after Progressive era institutions for assimilating urban immigrants, the HA Settlement House aimed to provide free arts education to all who desired.[187] The ALF then set up four community arts fairs in four neighborhoods in each weekend of October, 1966: The Mission District, Haight-Ashbury, Hunter's Point, and the Tenderloin district.[188]

[184] Michael William Doyle, The Haight-Ashbury Diggers, 82.
[185] Michael William Doyle, The Haight-Ashbury Diggers, 84.
[186] See Fig. 3.2.
[187] Michael William Doyle, The Haight-Ashbury Diggers, 85.
[188] Michael William Doyle, The Haight-Ashbury Diggers, 86.

3.2 An ALF Meeting in 1967

Ralph Gleason. from the *San Francisco Chronicle,* would note that these fairs established the concept of 'free fairs' which would be copied in other cities, as well as adapted into future free festivals and gatherings that would come to define this era. These fairs also helped further the ALF's primary goal, to "offset the myth that the standard city art commission really represented where artists were at." Rock bands frequently played at these free fairs and Eric Noble asserts that the first fair, October 1, 1966 was the first free outdoor rock concert in the Bay Area, which became a quintessential part of the Counterculture Era in the Bay Area and Haight-Ashbury in particular.[189] Ralph Gleason's positive words in the *Chronicle* and other writings were indispensable and the true value he provided to the

[189] Michael William Doyle, The Haight-Ashbury Diggers, 87.

Counterculture is almost incalculable. He predated the hippie era in SF, and through his legitimacy, he brought legitimacy to the Counterculture.[190] His words about the Diggers in his book *The Jefferson Airplane and the San Francisco Sound* (which is about much more than music and Jefferson Airplane) show his amenable attitude to all things hip: "The Diggers, a group of Haight/Ashbury residents who have their free food available for one and all daily at 4 p.m., represent the idealized, Tolstoian attitudes of this new generation, a true peace corps."[191]

OTHER DIGGER INSPIRATIONS

The formation of the Counterculture was not solely the work of groups in America. A Dutch group called the Provos, named after the Dutch word for Provocateurs, gave further inspiration for Counterculture groups, specifically the Diggers, to form. A week before the Diggers' founding, the first issue of the *San Francisco Oracle,* the preeminent and most influential paper of the underground press, copied an article from a London paper detailing the activities of the Provos. They were one of the first organized groups to protest against the ills of modern-day industrialization of their cities (chiefly Amsterdam) and populace. Their first protest took place during the marriage of Crown Princess Beatrix and the German, Claus von Amsberg, particularly for his association with the Hitler Youth program and his service in Wehrmacht. The group then went on to denounce the country's over reliance on automotive transport, attacking the congestion and air pollution

[190] Michael William Doyle, The Haight-Ashbury Diggers, 88.
[191] Ralph J. Gleason, *The Jefferson Airplane, and the San Francisco Sound* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1969), 37.

caused by said reliance. The connection to the Diggers lies in their next step, instead of just protesting for action by the state, they instituted the "White Plan", which advocated for more mass transit and placing bicycles, painted white, around

3.3 A Provo promotes their White Bike Plan

Amsterdam for free public use.[192]

The ultimate goal was to make Amsterdam automobile free. The Provos also staged 'cough-ins' to highlight the power and influence tobacco companies had

[192] See Fig. 3.3

over public policy. They started wearing all white to promote their environmental causes. The group split up when one of their leaders was elected to the Amsterdam Municipal Council, where factions formed over whether the group should strive to seek reform either within or outwith the standard political institutions.[193] The *Oracle* called for an equivalent group in the USA to form, and several future Diggers took notice.

Further developments in San Francisco provided more fodder for the Diggers to form. In late September 1966, a young black boy was shot and killed by police who suspected him of stealing a car (only after the shooting, did they confirm he did steal the vehicle) in the Hunters Point neighborhood. The previous summer, the Watts Riots shook the west coast and this incident seemed primed to spark more riots in other areas. Riots and looting soon spread to the Fillmore District, adjacent to Haight-Ashbury. Emmett Grogan and Billy Murcott, two future Diggers, pondered what to do while sitting atop their flat in the Fillmore. They at first saw two options, either join the riots or join the protests in Berkeley with the New Left. The men rejected both ideas, and they instead opted for a tertiary option: the gratuitous act. Through equal parts beg, borrow, and steal they would serve up free meals in the Golden Gate Panhandle Park.[194] The act of sharing food is a cornerstone in forming a community. The theatrical foundation of the Diggers come out in this act, to answer an outrageous act of violence with an outrageous act of kindness. This event occurred before the Diggers officially formed, but the

[193] Michael William Doyle, The Haight-Ashbury Diggers, 95-98.
[194] Michael William Doyle, The Haight-Ashbury Diggers, 103.

free food at the Panhandle would soon become one of the most recognizable gratuitous acts for the Diggers.

Another key reason for the Diggers to form as a group was the idea of prefigurative politics. Coined by historian Wini Breines, simply put, those who wish to enact social change should order their own lives in accordance with the values and conditions they hope to propagate to a larger community. One must "create the condition you described." Prefigurative politics was a way to infuse the ostensibly impressionable hip community in the Haight with a sense of purpose.[195] The nontraditional approach would hopefully turn on the nonpolitical population in a way that did appear to be traditional political action. This soon transformed into a much more familiar phrase of "Do your own thing", this phrase first appears around November 1966 from Emmett Grogan, he explains, "It urged one to activate instead of vegetate."[196]

THE DIGGERS AND THE FREE CITY COLLECTIVE

"In the fall of 1966, Berg, Emmett Grogan, Peter Coyote, Judy Goldhaft" and several others SFMT members, "broke away from the company to found a free-wheeling anarchist collective they called the Diggers." Davis was sharply critical of the potential success the Diggers would have. Davis and troupe were, at its core, a group of theatrical professionals.[197]

[195] Michael William Doyle, The Haight-Ashbury Diggers, 105.
[196] Michael William Doyle, The Haight-Ashbury Diggers, 106.
[197] Michael William Doyle, The Haight-Ashbury Diggers, 71.

The role of the hippies in San Francisco in inspiring the sixties Counterculture is well documented. Entire forests have been felled by authors trying to explain the social movements of the sixties. However, the critical importance of the Diggers and their unique role in the movement has often been forgotten, misinterpreted, or combined with other groups.[198] The Diggers believed they were not hippies or part of the New Left but shared the most in common with the Beats. The hippies were a larger population that the Diggers could guide into their improvised cultural revolt. The Diggers attempted to politicize personal behavior into what Michael Doyle calls, "acid anarchism."[199] The Diggers chose their name after the 16th century English group.[200]

The Diggers' goal was political in nature, but they were different in their approach to effecting change compared to groups in the New Left. Instead of staging protests and working within the already established political system, the Diggers attacked the cultural foundation of the state, for they believed the state was so corrupt that change through traditional political means would always be

---

[198] Michael William Doyle, The Haight-Ashbury Diggers, 1.
[199] Michael William Doyle, The Haight-Ashbury Diggers, 112.
[200] "DIGGERS, a small group of extreme radicals founded by Winstanley, who began digging the common at St. George's Hill, Surrey (1649)." "Opposed to physical force, they were easily suppressed by the army leaders. They held that the political revolution must be based on a social revolution, and wished to restore the land to the people" -- From A New Dictionary of British History
"And thus in love we have declared the purpose of our hearts plainly, without flatterie, expecting love, and the same sincerity from you, without grumbling, or quarreling, being Creatures of your own Image and mould, intending no other matter herein, but to observe the Law of righteous action, endeavoring to shut out of the Creation, the cursed thing, called Particular Propriety, which is the cause of all wars, bloud-shed, theft, and enslaving Laws, that hold the people under miserie."
"Signed for and in behalf of all the poor oppressed people of England and the whole world." Gerrard Winstanley, (et al) June 1, 1649"
Another similarity between both Digger groups is their literature, they both attempted to persuade larger groups to join their cause by publishing and propagating their written word.

ineffectual. They believed that, “Power need only be assumed by acting it.” Their political tools were wholly anti-political.[201] Doyle asserts that the Digger phrase,

> ““Do your own thing” meant that self-activating individuals, in fulfilling their own ends, would inexorably work on behalf of the community. The Diggers put themselves as role models of how this could be done.”[202]

The Diggers copied the old Diggers by trying to be ‘Levelers.’ They tried to supplant the rigid stratified hierarchy of modern society with a simpler, flexible, decentralized, horizontal set of social relations. They practiced this by trying to be as anonymous as possible within their group, never appointing a leader.[203]

A central tenet of the Diggers is the concept of ‘Free’.[204] Free, to Diggers, was an adjective to put before a noun that represented a fundamental need, service, or institution. The Diggers’ task was then to find a way make it so.[205] “Free” contained a double meaning for the Diggers, “implying not just a lack of economic motive, but that people acted through their own conscious volition, or “freely.””[206] The Diggers were most visibly recognizable by their free food handouts at the intersection of Oak and Ashbury at 4pm every day. The only indoctrination required to receive free food at their daily handouts in the Panhandle was to walk through a large square of yellow painted 2x4’s. This was the Free Frame of

[201] Michael William Doyle, The Haight-Ashbury Diggers, 2.
[202] Michael William Doyle, The Haight-Ashbury Diggers, 250.
[203] Michael William Doyle, The Haight-Ashbury Diggers, 137.
[204] Michael William Doyle, The Haight-Ashbury Diggers, 3.
[205] Michael William Doyle, The Haight-Ashbury Diggers, 4.
[206] Bradford D. Martin, The Theater Is in the Street, 90.

Reference, a symbolic threshold to invite anyone to see the world stripped of all preconceived notions.

> "Passing through the Frame of Reference symbolized abandoning conventional consumer-based society and fundamentally reconfiguring one's priorities, and it dramatized the countercultural notion of personal liberation as a prerequisite to transforming society."[207]

Around six hundred people were fed per day. Along with the free food, there was also a Free Store at several locations, most notably at 520 Frederick (extant), and 901 Cole (extant).[208] Also called, the Trip Without a Ticket, these stores offered goods and services at no cost. The Free Store is the only institutionally unaffiliated and non-commercial gathering place indoors for people to meet and exchange goods, ideas, and services. Doyle asserts that it constituted the nucleus of the alternative society the Diggers aspired to create out of the teeming Haight-Ashbury scene. They even contacted sympathetic physicians from UCSF Medical Center to provide free medical care.[209] Chester Anderson, a Digger, hosted a survival school in the store to inform new pilgrims on how to survive the Haight.[210]

In April of 1967, The Diggers started ramping up their free vision. They wrote a letter to the Mayor, demanding that they start using the several empty warehouses owned by the city. The Diggers wanted the warehouses to be

[207] Bradford D. Martin, The Theater Is in the Street, 99.
[208] The building has a corner storefront with plate-glass windows on two sides and a mezzanine balcony.
[209] Michael William Doyle, The Haight-Ashbury Diggers, 149.
[210] Michael William Doyle, The Haight-Ashbury Diggers, 150.

stocked with food and for the people to take what they need. They cited that there were several adequate state-owned structures throughout the city, and a massive food surplus. The Diggers then cite their own free store and its success, and that the city has the means to bring this idea to scale. Of note, not too long after this request, the USDA soon allocated federal warehouses to stock dairy products to distribute to low-income citizens for the Food Stamp program.[211]

On July 5, The Diggers rename themselves the Free City Collective (FCC).[212] The FCC added home deliveries to their free food program. This change was meant to encourage hippies to live collectively. This would also remove criticism by not giving food to people who are hungry voluntarily. This shows the change in the group's mission by their name change, the FCC was interested in spreading their values throughout the city and the world. The FCC also attempted to create a Free Bank, funded by 1% of proceeds from rock bands, dance halls, HIP (Haight Independent Proprietors), hippie friendly lawyers, industrialists, music companies, and anyone else willing to donate.[213]

On March 18, 1968, The FCC helped plan a conference at the Community Design Center at 215 Haight (Extant) and host the Free City Planning Conference. Brochures for the event said, "Invitation to Share a Vision /Bring an item of food for the buffet and any props you need to illustrate your vision of a Free City." Over 200 prominent people were invited to the conference.[214] Two weeks later, the FCC

[211] Michael William Doyle, The Haight-Ashbury Diggers, 195.
[212] Michael William Doyle, The Haight-Ashbury Diggers, 235.
[213] Michael William Doyle, The Haight-Ashbury Diggers, 295.
[214] Michael William Doyle, The Haight-Ashbury Diggers, 297.

hosted the Runaway Emergency Convention which attempted to address the issue of the overwhelming amount of youth runaways in the Haight. Glide Memorial joined and already tried to address the issue by opening the Huckleberry House for Runaways (42 Broderick, Extant) in the Haight.[215]

One of the last major events to send out the Haight spirit to the rest of the city was a summer solstice event on June 21, 1968, with five locations in San Francisco. The Panhandle, Washington Square Park, Port Smith Square, Turk Park, and Mission Dolores Park.[216] KSAN, KMPX, KPFA, and KQED all broadcast announcements about the event.[217] Peter Berg remarked the event was

3.4 50 Green Street, former KMPX studio

[215] Michael William Doyle, The Haight-Ashbury Diggers, 267.
[216] Michael William Doyle, The Haight-Ashbury Diggers, 334.
[217] See Fig. 4.4 & 4.5.

trying to “spread Haightness around the city.” Efforts to gather more than groups surrounding the Haight was made, including Black Panthers, Chinese youth gangs, and the Mission Rebels.[218]

3.5 211 Sutter, former KSAN studio

The FCC decided to split up when they noticed they were the leaders of the Haight and people looked to them for answers. They were not done with their jobs but were looking for new options separately.[219] Despite splitting up in mid-1968 the Diggers individually continued to further their efforts to counter American culture. The Diggers were responsible for developing two rural communes in early 1967. Both were located in Sonoma County.[220] The Diggers secured land to farm from Lou Gottleib, who owned the communal Morning Star Ranch.[221]

Many Diggers started forays into social ecology which came to be called bioregionalism to help extend their place-based cultural politics into a world-wide social movement.[222] Proponents of bioregionalism suggested the ideal human relationship with nature was to live consciously inside it – as a part of it, not apart from it.[223] This then evolved into a phrase called Life-place politics, which promoted the bioregion, or biome, as an alternative to the state as a source of an individual's identity. The Diggers that stayed in Northern California formed Planet/Drum and Planet Drum Foundation which helped with the Green City Initiative. Food Not Bombs continues the Diggers' legacy of free food distribution. Founded in 1980, the group has over a hundred chapters in North America and Europe. The San Francisco Chapter distributes food at the Stanyan Street entrance to Golden Gate Park, just a few blocks from the Diggers' free food location at Oak

[218] Michael William Doyle, The Haight-Ashbury Diggers, 337.
[219] Michael William Doyle, The Haight-Ashbury Diggers, 341.
[220] Michael William Doyle, The Haight-Ashbury Diggers, 423.
[221] Bradford D. Martin, The Theater Is in the Street, 89
[222] Michael William Doyle, The Haight-Ashbury Diggers, 425.
[223] Michael William Doyle, The Haight-Ashbury Diggers, 428.

and Ashbury.[224] While the individual accomplishments of the former members of the Diggers are noteworthy, the true significance of the Diggers is its contribution to the betterment of the Haight-Ashbury Counterculture community through direct-action and political theater tactics.

Charles Perry asserts that the Diggers were "the epitome of the avant-garde" and "has the most thoroughly worked out, conscious ideology of any group in the Haight."[225] The Diggers represent the greatest "synthesis of Davis' political art and avant-garde politics" and "played an essential role in the invention and dissemination of the Sixties counterculture."[226] The Diggers' success addressing the issues facing Haight-Ashbury relied on the "turning on" of several "straight" institutions to provide resources, which allowed the Diggers to expand and extend their free services to Haight-Ashbury.

TURNING ON THE STRAIGHTS

At every stage of the Counterculture Movement in Haight-Ashbury, 'Straights' – as in, non-hippies – and their institutions helped the hippies survive in the city. Helen Perry observed that the farther removed institutions were, the more intolerant they were of the hippies. Over time, the nearby institutions embraced the Counterculture more, while more removed entities started exacting punitive measures as their fear grew. The churches provided physical help by housing and feeding this quickly growing population. The Haight-Ashbury Neighborhood Council (HANC) defended the Counterculture by speaking up for them as a

[224] Bradford D. Martin, The Theater Is in the Street: Politics and Performance in Sixties America, 102
[225] Charles Perry. *The Haight-Ashbury: A History*, 259.
[226] Michael William Doyle, The Haight-Ashbury Diggers, 51.

positive influence in the city. The *San Francisco Chronicle* and other newspapers also played a critical role, exposing the Counterculture to a wider audience. The hippies were converting far more than the wayward, runaway son or daughter. The local institutions that upheld the neighborhood were the first to turn towards the hippies. Churches, HANC, and the *Chronicle* were convinced to aid the youth.

Several churches gave aid to the Counterculture. Father Leon Harris of All Saints Episcopal allowed the Diggers to use space in the basement for an office and access to their kitchen.[227] Members of All Saints left the church, blaming the hippies. Father Harris replied that a congregation of God's church "is not a private club that exists to make its members comfortable."[228] On September 3, 1966, All Saints hosted a concert and applied for a permit for weekly dance parties.[229] After the Diggers lost access to their Free Store locations, the basement of All Saints acted as an office for the Diggers who remained in the neighborhood. The church kitchen also allowed

3.6 1350 Waller, All Saints Episcopal Church.

[227] See Fig. 3.6.
[228] Charles Perry. *The Haight-Ashbury: A History*, 169.
[229] Charles Perry. *The Haight-Ashbury: A History*, 234.

Diggers to bake hundreds of loaves of bread per day to help with their daily feeds. Father Harris remained a staunch advocate for the hippies long after the Diggers ceased operation. Harris called the Diggers the "executive branch of the hippie movement."[230]

Howard Presbyterian Church at 1321 Oak[231] (Extant) put up homeless hippies in their basement.[232] Howard A. Rochford, sexton of Howard Street Methodist Episcopal Church (now a Baptist church) proposed a hip Christmas eve

3.7 1321 Oak Street, Howard Presbyterian Church

[230] Jonathan Kauffman. "Diggers Fed the Masses with 'Free' as Their Mantra." (SFChronicle.com. San Francisco Chronicle, March 10, 2017.) https://www.sfchronicle.com/entertainment/article/Diggers-fed-the-masses-with-free-as-their-10987583.php.
[231] See Fig. 3.7.
[232] Charles Perry. *The Haight-Ashbury: A History*, 196.

celebration. 200 guests attended and the pastor gave a sermon on Jesus "the outcast beatnik."[233] A "Liturgical Jazz Worship Happening" At Glide Memorial Church brought over 850 participants, many of them hippies from Haight-Ashbury. A Jazz ensemble played between sermons from Cecil Williams, and Lawrence Ferlingetti, the famous Beat poet, performed his poetry.[234] [235]

The biggest collaboration between the Diggers and a church was the Invisible

3.8 330 Ellis, Glide Memorial Church

Circus. The event was slated to take place at Glide Memorial Church on February 24-25, 1967.[236] The ALF and Diggers teamed up with Glide to create a 36-hour

[233] Michael William Doyle, The Haight-Ashbury Diggers, 279.
[234] San Francisco Chronicle (San Francisco, California), December 26, 1966: 2. NewsBank: America's News.
[235] See Fig. 3.8.
[236] San Francisco Chronicle (San Francisco, California), February 25, 1967: 2. NewsBank: America's News

Dionysian experience, with seven different rooms and activities. This would be the final event where the ALF would make any significant contribution. Richard Brautigan, Lenore Kandel, and Chester Anderson also helped organize.[237] With Glide Memorial's permission, the Diggers organized the circus, Stanley Mouse made posters for it, and Big Brother and the Holding company would perform Amazing Grace. Ron 'Pig Pen' McKernan, keyboardist and vocalist for the Grateful Dead, played the organ for the 11am Sunday Service. The circus started on February 24th at 9pm. After only 8 hours, 5,000 people showed up and the event turned into chaos. The event was canceled at four a.m. the following day. Drugs were banned but found their way inside the church. Then, reports of fornication on the altar steps proved to be too much for the church. A list of objections was published by the Communication Company[238] the following day: 1. Too many people 2. Pornographic films in the dining room 3. Burns and candle wax on the sanctuary rug, and 4. Beings being nude.[239]

As the Summer of Love approached, the new community implored city officials to prepare for the massive influx of people predicted to show up. The city believed that any official measure to aid this population would condone and encourage the behavior which they scorned. The city made an official stance that no preparation in any way would be made for the summer.[240] The city turned its back to the hippies by officially declaring that no aid would be given to people

[237] Michael William Doyle, The Haight-Ashbury Diggers, 167.
[238] This vernacular, rapid delivered publication is explained in Chapter 4.
[239] Charles Perry. *The Haight-Ashbury: A History*, 146.
[240] Helen Swick Perry. The Human Be-In, 23.

flocking to San Francisco for the Summer of Love. The Haight-Ashbury Neighborhood Council (HANC), which formed in 1960 and helped stop the Panhandle Parkway project, announced in April of 1967, a statement in defense of the hippies:

> "Haight-Ashbury is a state of mind as well as a geographic area. Almost accidentally, the area itself has become a focus of international attention … We think it irresponsible of local officials to raise the specter of bubonic plague or other pestilence on the strength of rumor alone…. Hippy culture is a native development, a product in part of the alienation that the young feel when the society has not made sufficient efforts to accommodate them."[241][242]

"I Was A Hippie", a weeklong series of front-page feature stories on the Haight, began running in the *San Francisco Chronicle* in February of 1967.[243][244] Features like these helped humanize the hippies that were often vilified by nation-wide press. Herb Caen attended a concert at the Fillmore on New Year's Eve and listened to Jefferson Airplane to welcome in 1967. The *Chronicle's* tolerant tone played a crucial role in shaping the Bay Area's attitudes toward the hippies. Sometimes, the *Chronicle's* adamant reporting about all hip activities ended up hurting efforts. The Diggers were about to open a free hotel at 272 6th (Not Extant) The Reno Hotel. The owner of the hotel was willing to lease the space rent free if the FCC performed necessary repairs totaling $30,000. The city saw the

[241] Helen Swick Perry. The Human Be-In, 23.
[242] *San Francisco Chronicle* (San Francisco, California), February 9, 1967: 5. NewsBank: America's News
[243] Charles Perry. *The Haight-Ashbury: A History*, 216.
[244] *San Francisco Chronicle* (San Francisco, California), May 15, 1967: 1. NewsBank: America's News

large article in the *Chronicle* and blocked the sale.[245] The hotel had 482 rooms and could support many more amenities. Chester Anderson called it "fatal media-poisoning."[246] One cannot ignore the positive role that the media played in fostering the Counterculture community and helped further these ideals into the mainstream American culture. It is hard to say what the significance of the Counterculture would be if it had just remained in the Haight with a small, local population, but the present reality shows a clear, significant influence on so many aspects of American culture today.[247]

Tourism to the Haight-Ashbury, for the straights to gawk at the hippies, began quickly as the hippie population increased. The Gray Line Bus Company created a "San Francisco Haight-Ashbury District 'Hippie Hop' Tour", which was called "the only foreign tour within the continental limits of the United States." The two hour tour of 'Hashberry' included a glossary of hippie terms.[248] The Hippie Hop tour was eventually canceled due to overcrowding, not from negative reactions to hippies or lack of interest on May 15, 1967.[249] The city stepped in to close streets and reroute bus routes from the horrific traffic Haight-Ashbury could experience at the peak of the Counterculture. Occasionally, the Haight attracted attention from celebrities visiting, or getting arrested. On July 11, 1967, famous ballet dancer, Rudolf Nureyev and partner Dame Margot Fonteyn were caught at 42 Belvedere

[245] San Francisco Chronicle (San Francisco, California), July 26, 1967: 1. NewsBank: America's News
[246] Michael William Doyle, The Haight-Ashbury Diggers, 242.
[247] Michael William Doyle, The Haight-Ashbury Diggers, 251.
[248] Charles Perry. *The Haight-Ashbury: A History*, 171.
[249] Charles Perry. *The Haight-Ashbury: A History*, 193.

(extant) with marijuana, pornographic film, and an unknown substance.[250][251] Ads appeared in underground newspapers for The Hip Tourist Agency, which acted as travel agents for straights who wished to visit the Haight.[252] The Diggers impact on the Counterculture Community in Haight-Ashbury is hard to quantify, but the assistance offered by 'straight' institutions was absolutely critical in supporting the

3.9 42 Belvedere, center

neighborhood and the Diggers' actions helped to encourage that assistance, long after the Diggers officially broke up.

[250] Charles Perry. *The Haight-Ashbury: A History*, 217.
[251] See Fig. 3.9.
[252] Charles Perry. *The Haight-Ashbury: A History*, 202.

The Diggers' relative obscurity to the nation compared to other pillars of the Counterculture stems from their emphasis to act as arbiters of the Counterculture. The leaderless, action-oriented group helped the Counterculture to function in a cohesive fashion. They attempted to gather the disparate groups in and around Haight-Ashbury and enact socio-political change on a large scale. The Diggers, like all utopian groups, failed. San Francisco did not turn into a Free City, the movement did not spread throughout the country, but their legacy is more of a ripple, instead of the tsunami they imagined. Their legacy is not to be found in the Diggers themselves, but the dozens of groups that were founded by former Diggers, or the dozens of groups that persisted beyond the Counterculture Era with the help of the Diggers. It is without a doubt that the political change through art employed by the Diggers did change American culture in myriad ways. They were the heart and soul of the Counterculture. They tried to solve all the problems ailing the hippies in Haight-Ashbury, especially housing and hunger. They opened free stores and facilitated communication and interaction with groups outside the Counterculture. By focusing their efforts on improving the Counterculture community in Haight-Ashbury, the Diggers created a legacy that reaches far beyond the corner of Oak and Ashbury. They pioneered a new form of political activism while making tangible, concrete contributions to the health and welfare of the Haight-Ashbury neighborhood.

Doyle asserts,

> "I maintain that the counterculture succeeded in articulating an alternative vision for American society and in mobilizing the resources necessary for

realizing that vision in certain congenial niches throughout the country. What I find particularly fascinating is that this amorphous movement was able to survive – if not exactly thrive – by pursuing issues more related to social and cultural change rather than to political change as it is conventionally understood. The legacy of this accomplishment is especially worth scrutinizing further if we are to understand the prominent, contentious place that cultural politics has assumed in our contemporary public discourse."[253]

Michael William Doyle, The Haight-Ashbury Diggers, 386.

CHAPTER 4: ARTS, ENTERTAINMENT, COMMERCE

The previous chapters discussed aspects of the Counterculture Movement that sought to either grow, maintain, protect, or guide the Hippie community in and around Haight-Ashbury. Through these inward efforts, groups, such as the Diggers and the Haight-Ashbury Free Clinic, helped foster a community that would contribute significantly to myriad aspects of popular culture. This chapter describes some of the more significant outward contributions made by groups and individuals associated with Haight-Ashbury and the Counterculture, but it is in no way a comprehensive account of all cultural contributions within this time and place.

First and foremost, the San Francisco Sound is one of the most recognizable and significant aspects of the Counterculture, and American music was forever changed because of it. Next, the poster art created for the rock concerts in and around San Francisco revolutionized the field, elevating the rock poster from simply information to a work of art. Additionally, the Counterculture was home to alternative forms of media and entertainment, such as newspapers and comics. Even though the Counterculture maintained a decidedly anti-consumerism, anti-capitalism slant, Counterculture ideas affected several aspects of business. Examples include, new types of stores to cater to the needs of the Counterculture, new products created by Counterculture businesses, and the contributions of Howard Luck Gossage to the field of advertising. Finally, the Counterculture was responsible for pioneering a novel form of gathering, the “Be-In”, which

represented the ideals of the Counterculture and helped propagate their message to a larger audience.

THE SAN FRANCISCO SOUND

"Rock is a way of life—international and universal. Not even the deaf are completely immune. (In the land of the dark / the ship of the sun / is driven by the grateful dead)"[254]

The San Francisco Sound was a response, or by-product, of the synesthetic experiences that helped form the music. The significance of the Sound is that it cannot be separated from the other performance/ritual aspects of the rest of the Counterculture. The music was not alongside or accompanying the Counterculture. It was integral to it. Common trends within the San Francisco Sound that set it apart from rock and roll music from previous eras are a greater emphasis on instruments rather than vocals, pioneering technical innovations, an overall larger size of band, and a larger role for instruments that were either sparsely featured, or not featured at all. It was not uncommon for many of these bands to play songs that lasted more than twenty minutes with the same amount of lyrics as a three-minute song. The Grateful Dead's "Dark Star" runs just over two minutes on its studio version, but live versions of "Dark Star" typically last well over twenty minutes. There are live versions of "Dark Star," "Turn on Your Lovelight," and "Playing in The Band" that go beyond the forty-minute mark.

[254] Chester Anderson, Oracle #6.

The most important musical characteristic that distinguish the San Francisco Sound from other subgenres of rock and roll is the emphasis on improvisation with a wide array of instruments. The San Francisco Sound was more egalitarian. Drums, bass guitar, and keyboards did not play in prescribed rolls, but operated on a more jazz-like quality where each musician could experiment and explore different techniques and sounds. The keyboard was a rare instrument in rock groups before the San Francisco Sound, and drums and bass began acting as the drivers of the song instead of the lyrics. The guitar became the star role as the importance of the lyrics subsided.[255][256] The Grateful Dead, Jefferson Airplane, Big Brother and The Holding Company, Quicksilver Messenger Service, Great Society, Country Joe and the Fish, and the Charlatans all featured two guitarists in their band. The Grateful Dead were by far the most tech-savvy band and their innovations in sound technology are legendary.

The San Francisco Sound does not originate in Haight-Ashbury or even San Francisco, but a small Nevada mining town called Virginia City. Founded during the Comstock Lode silver rush, the community, already had a population of exotic, "psychedelic" individuals. Members of the Native American Church, whose religious practices involves ingesting peyote, had collected there. Folkies and other like-minded individuals congregated and decided to start a saloon. Don Works, Chan Laughlin, and Mark Unobsky came up with the idea when they were stranded by a blizzard and spent several days getting stoned and playing Risk.

[255] Bruce M. Harrah-Conforth, "The Rise and Fall of a Modern Folk Community: Haight-Ashbury, 1965-1967," (1990).
[256] *Haight-Ashbury: The Beat of a Generation*. Ytinifni, 2014.

There was no other nightlife in town, and folk musicians often came through during the summer on their way to West Coast cities.[257]

The Red Dog Saloon opened on July 29, 1965. A major quasi-restoration project took place beforehand to bring the building back to its 1860s glory. A plank sidewalk, period-correct roof, and the quintessential swinging saloon doors were all installed before the opening. Antique shops in San Francisco were pilfered to enhance the interior of this new, Wild West saloon.[258] Even the bartenders and waitresses wore striped shirts with sleeve garters and bodices and net stockings, respectively. When the sheriff arrived on opening night to check it out, the doorman checked his pistol at the front desk. This saloon hosted a new band called the Charlatans, which never had much commercial success, but are now credited as being the first band to play what is now known as the San Francisco Sound.[259]

In February of 1966, Bill Graham quits as manager of the SFMT, noting differences in their approaches in philosophy and financial interests. Graham was an entrepreneur first and foremost, and he found it hard to be a manager for a group that was too principled to make money. Graham saw the new culture and the politics of the SFMT as separate and ultimately counter-productive when combined. According to Peter Berg (SFMT member and future Digger), Graham wanted to 'present a new culture as a venue," and "as an entrepreneur he could purvey more new culture than we as political activists could conceive or

[257] Charles Perry. *The Haight-Ashbury: A History*, 8.
[258] Charles Perry. *The Haight-Ashbury: A History*, 10.
[259] Charles Perry. *The Haight-Ashbury: A History*, 11.

commit."[260] Graham saw the potential of "over-the-counter-culture" while Berg and other soon to be Diggers saw the potential of this new group of "non-political defectors from mainstream society" to form no-stage, participative theater, also known as the "benefit crowd." This is because most of these performances promoted a cause to raise money.

Chet Helms at 1090 Page (extant) sponsored cheap concerts and began gathering bands who wanted to play for this new community, including Big Brother and the Holding Company, and The Warlocks (Grateful Dead).[261] Helms continued to hold concerts and another promoter, one more focused on profit entered the scene. Bill Graham saw the economic potential of this new music scene in San Francisco. Graham hosted concerts and other events at the Fillmore (1806 Geary[262], extant) then the Fillmore West (10 S Van Ness, extant), while

4.1 The Fillmore, 1806 Geary

[260] Michael William Doyle, The Haight-Ashbury Diggers, 70.
[261] Charles Perry. *The Haight-Ashbury: A History*, 36.
[262] See Fig. 4.1.

Chet Helms hosted similar ones at the Avalon Ballroom (1268 Sutter, extant).[263][264]

In the 1960s, 70s, 80s and early 90s, no band from the San Francisco Sound had a more devoted following than The Grateful Dead. The 6-piece band played over 2,000 shows in that time frame, and a dedicated fan base that traveled almost continuously to see their ever-changing show. It is not uncommon to find a "Deadhead" that has been to over 1000 shows. The followers were considered by some a direct descendant of the Counterculture community formed in the Haight-Ashbury, where the band lived in its formative years. In Jack McDonough's, *San Francisco Rock: The Illustrated History of San Francisco Rock Music,* he asserts that "People believed that if you *understood* the Dead and its notions of randomness, abandonment, group mind, mathematics, and sounds, then you could understand the gestalt of the entire San Francisco scene [the Counterculture]."[265] The Grateful Dead appealed to the masses of the Hippie culture like few others had. The experience that was a Grateful Dead show embodied everything about the movement, from free love and music, to a bartering system for all goods and services. The fan base "literally" became a working, moving community that was by and large self-sufficient.[266]

The community of Deadheads is one of the most obvious and concrete contemporary connections from the Counterculture to the present day. The

[263] Charles Perry. *The Haight-Ashbury: A History*, 61.
[264] The Fillmore and Avalon were both mentioned in The Grateful Dead song "Alligator", "Burn down the Fillmore, torch the Avalon."
[265] Jack McDonough. San Francisco Rock: *The Illustrated History of San Francisco Rock Music*. (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1985), 134.
[266] Richard Bret Campbell, A Sense of Place: Examining Music-Based Tourism, 23.

Grateful Dead's thirty-year touring career is infused with many of the same ideas and practices found in Haight-Ashbury during the peak of the Counterculture. Their accomplishments range from the creation of a genre of music (the jam band), concert sound quality, live recording, and alternative business practices. These three significant contributions either occurred in San Francisco during the peak of the Counterculture or were influenced by the Counterculture. Furthermore, the Dead and other bands performed live FM/AM simulcasting, sometimes broadcasted on television with quadraphonic broadcasting. Their innovations in recording live music led to the Dead filing for patents as well as developing the fabled Wall of Sound. The Grateful Dead and the other SF bands have always been charity bands, performing more benefits and free concerts than any other in history.[267] When The Grateful Dead, The Allman Brothers, and The Band played in 1973 at Watkins Glen, NY, over 600,000 fans showed up for one of the largest rock concerts in history, the Summer Jam. This equals to one in every 400 Americans at the time.[268]

The Grateful Dead are hugely significant for their contributions to concert sound and recording technology. With help from their LSD-dealing scientist and friend, Augustus Owsley Stanley, the Dead were on the cutting edge of sound technology. The Dead were more concerned with their live concert sound than their studio sound, and the Dead allowed audience members to tape their shows. These two qualities made it possible for the Dead to greatly advance these two

[267] Hank Harrison. *The Dead*, 8.
[268] Richard Bret Campbell, *A Sense of Place: Examining Music-Based Tourism*, 24.

technologies. Their quest to be the loudest rock band came to fruition in 1973 when Owsley helped build the Wall of Sound, the single largest home-made sound system ever built and the largest sound system ever at the time it was built. Weighing 75 tons, with a crew of twenty-four to operate and move the system, the Grateful Dead were the best sounding live band, in terms of sound quality, in the world. There are a bevy of technical innovations that allowed for such a huge system to have such high quality, such as each amp only transmitting one instrument, local sound adjustments, speakers set behind the musicians, and multiple microphones per musician. This allowed the system to operate on "26,400 Watts of continuous (RMS) power, producing in the open air quite an acceptable sound at a quarter of a mile and a fine sound up to five or six hundred feet, where it begins to be distorted by wind. A sound system could get the same volume from half as much power, but it wouldn't have the quality."[269] Now to record the high-quality sound that the Grateful Dead had produced, a woman of unquestionable talent arose. Betty Cantor grew up with a particular talent to math and science, she wrote a paper about LSD in her junior year of college and then decided to travel to San Francisco to try it out. She ended up at 710 Ashbury and was immediately welcomed by the Dead. She also spent time with other bands and groups in the Haight, but by 1968 she was dating Bob Matthews who was the current recording technician. She ended up working as an engineer and producer of Dead studio and

[269] Light into Ashes, "1974: Wall of Sound Technical Specs," 1974: Wall of Sound Technical Specs, January 1, 1970, http://deadsources.blogspot.com/2012/12/1974-wall-of-sound-technical-specs.html).

live recordings until 1981. Her soundboard[270] recordings became famous for their quality, and to the multitudes of Deadheads trading tapes with each other, a 'Betty Board' was the best you could acquire. May 8th, 1977 was a blustery, cold night in Ithaca, New York. Inside Barton Hall, on the campus of Cornell University, The Grateful Dead played an excellent show. The Betty Board for that show was selected to be part of the National Recording Registry by the Library of Congress. Twenty-five recordings are added every year to be permanently preserved for their contribution to "the richness of the nation's audio legacy."[271] The accompanying essay to the recordings nomination continues, "May 8 is among the most collected, traded and downloaded concerts by any band ever." This is according to Grateful Dead historian Blair Jackson. "That's not hyperbole, either. The original, pristine recordings of this show started circulating among tape collectors shortly after the concert and quickly became a favorite of everyone."[272]

The money made from this music was reinvested into the community because the bands were so involved with community within the Haight. Jefferson Airplane (130 Delmar then 2400 Fulton, extant), The Grateful Dead (710 Ashbury, extant), Janis Joplin (112 Lyon, extant) with Big Brother and the Holding Company (625 Polk, extant), Graham Nash (737 Buena Vista West), Jimi Hendrix

[270] Where the recording device is plugged into the sound system instead of recording with a microphone.
[271] "About This Program: National Recording Preservation Board: Programs at the Library of Congress: Library of Congress," The Library of Congress, accessed March 18, 2020, https://www.loc.gov/programs/national-recording-preservation-board/about-this-program/?dates=2002-2099)
[272] "2011: View Registry by Induction Years: Recording Registry: National Recording Preservation Board: Programs at the Library of Congress: Library of Congress," The Library of Congress, accessed March 18, 2020, https://www.loc.gov/programs/national-recording-preservation-board/recording-registry/registry-by-induction-years/2011/)

4.2 Several SF rock bands outside 710 Ashbury

(1524 Haight), and others all lived in or near the Haight.[273] The Haight Theater (1702 Haight, not extant) was a failed movie theater. It was the first homosexual theater in the city and then became an Assembly of God Church. Three partners purchased the theater and planned to turn it into a dance hall. The legal capacity of

[273] See Fig. 4.2.

the hall was greater than both the Avalon and Fillmore. Quicksilver Messenger Service, Big Brother and the Holding Company, and Augustus Owsley Stanley III all donated funds for this conversion. The San Francisco Central Building Permit Bureau had never approved a conversion from a theater to a dance hall before, although the reverse was common. Other permits and inspections came few and far between.[274] So, the bands that formed the San Francisco Sound gathered together to create a music venue at the heart of Haight-Ashbury. The music venue is the only building type that is no longer found in the Haight. The Straight Theater is one of the most significant losses to Counterculture associated structures within the Neighborhood.

The San Francisco Sound was largely created by bands that lived inside, or spent substantial time in, the Haight-Ashbury. They performed in venues scattered all across the city, but their homes were in or near the Haight. The San Francisco Sound put simply, prefers the moment to the artifact.[275] The success of the San Francisco Sound bands was explicitly tied to the Counterculture, and as the social movement fragmented in the late sixties and early seventies, so did the music scene. Bands disbanded, such as Jefferson Airplane, the Beatles, and Creedence Clearwater Revival. The deaths of Janis Joplin, Jimi Hendrix, and Ron "Pig Pen" McKernan further affected the music scene. Additionally, the scene suffered the same fate as the greater Counterculture because of the city's resistance to its growth. Compared to Nashville's embrace of country-western music, San

[274] Sherri Cavan, *Hippies of the Haight*, 83.
[275] Bruce M. Harrah-Conforth, "The Rise and Fall of a Modern Folk Community: Haight-Ashbury, 1965-1967," (1990).

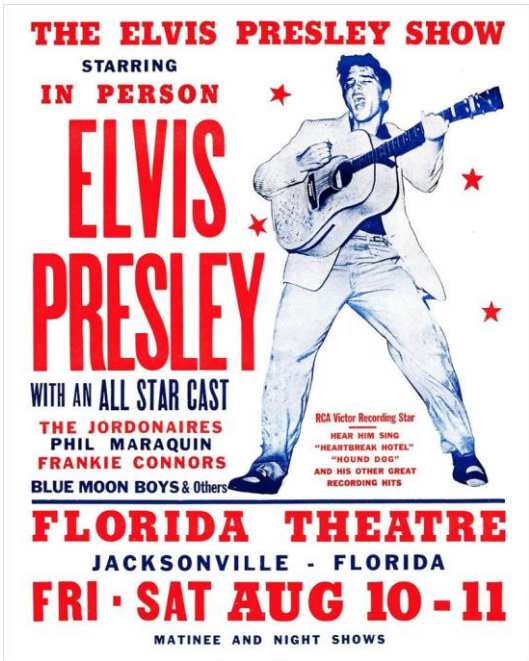
Francisco made no major efforts to maintain and promote their native music scene, allowing it to slowly degenerate. The San Francisco Sound's significance in the history of rock and roll is often downplayed because of its brevity, which shows a failure to recognize the major contributions the scene made to myriad aspects of American culture. Arts and music often reflect society, but the San Francisco Sound was a crucial part of the Counterculture and helped effect social and cultural change, making it an arbiter of social change, rather than a reflection.[276]

THE ART OF ROCK

Rock and Roll posters are extremely popular souvenirs for concert goers today. The poster was often a disposable piece of paper used for advertising purposes. The illustrated poster as we know began in the 1860's. Posters were distinguishable from artists prints by two characteristics: the combination of a large image or images and words that served to provide basic information, and the need to be suitable for mass reproduction.[277] The poster remained relatively

[276] In McDonough's comprehensive account of the scene, *San Francisco Rock,* the author admits that he was unable to document and write about every significant individual and group. The wealth of musical talent that coalesced in the city was simply too extensive. The San Francisco Sound is deserving of its own Historic Context Statement.

[277] Peter Golding, and Barry Miles. *Rock Graphic Originals: Revolutions in Sonic Art from Plate to Print 55-88*. (London: Thames and Hudson, 2018.), 20.



4.3 A typical Elvis poster

4.4 The Red Dog Saloon

unchanged through the twentieth century. Artists such as Elvis or the Beatles or had posters with large, block lettering and a picture of the artist(s).[278][279]

The psychedelic poster was an attempt to convey the experience and hallucinations that accompanied psychoactive drugs. The Seed Poster is regarded as the first psychedelic poster, which publicized the first concert at the Red Dog Saloon with the Charlatans playing.[280][281]

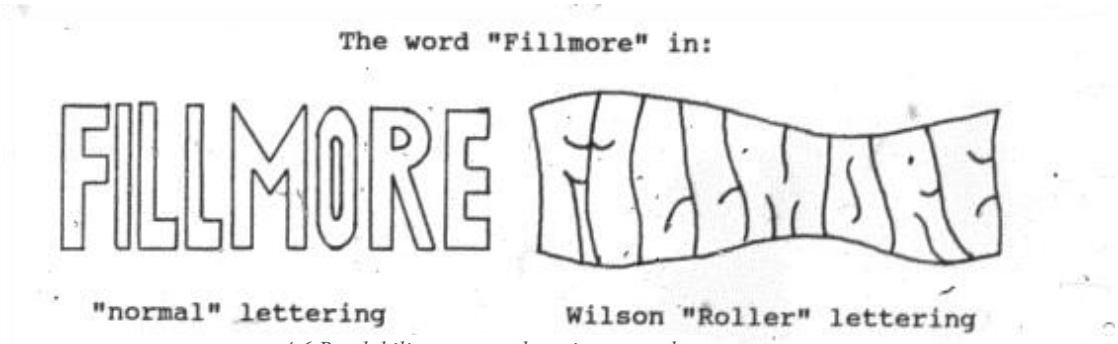
There were two primary patrons for psychedelic posters, The Family Dog Collective (which sponsored the concert and poster for the first concert at Red Dog Saloon), which hosted concerts at the Avalon Ballroom[282], and Bill Graham, who set his concerts at the Fillmore. They sponsored posters for each concert they held. The first

---

Peter Golding, and Barry Miles. *Rock Graphic Originals:* 22.
[279] See Fig. 4.3.
[280] Peter Golding, and Barry Miles. *Rock Graphic Originals*, 20.
[281] See Fig. 4.4.
[282] See Fig. 4.5.

4.5 The Avalon Ballroom, 1268 Sutter

hippie concerts, such as the SFMT benefit concert at 924 Howard (Extant), the third acid test at Muir Beach, and the first Trips Festival all had posters. They soon became regarded as art. Typically, a San Francisco rock poster could include cartoon drawings, blob lettering, decorative borders, dingbats, vivid coloring. [283][284] The words also became art as they changed shape, size, and orientation, so fascinated crowds would sit and stare at the posters for a long time to decipher their meaning.[285] The posters became so popular as art pieces that they were constantly being removed from public places by admiring fans. As the rock music



4.6 Readability was not the primary goal.

[283] Peter Golding, and Barry Miles. *Rock Graphic Originals,* 21.
[284] See Fig. 4.6.
[285] Peter Golding, and Barry Miles. *Rock Graphic Originals*, 25.

scene continued to grow in San Francisco, the poster artists became Counterculture celebrities in their own right.

There were several artists that made posters for concerts and other happenings in the city, but the most famous were the San Francisco Five: Stanley Mouse, Alton Kelley, Rick Griffin, Victor Moscoso, and Wes Wilson.[286] The San Francisco Five were also known as the Berkeley Bonaparte.

Stanley Mouse was born in Fresno, CA in 1940. He grew up in Detroit and began his art career by spray painting cars. In 1965, he moved to San Francisco and met his future collaborator, Alton Kelley. Mouse created artwork for Janis Joplin, Steve Miller, Jimi Hendrix, The Rolling Stones, and the Beatles.[287] Mouse is most well-known for his work with the Grateful Dead, specifically the Skeleton and Roses poster for the Grateful Dead/Oxford Circle concert, September 16-17, 1966. Searching for inspiration, Mouse perused a 1913 translation of the Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam by Edward Fitzgerald, illustrated by Edmund Sullivan. Sullivan's illustration of Quatrain #26 inspired Mouse and Kelley to create their poster.[288] The Skeleton/Skull and Roses symbol is one of the most recognizable symbols for the Grateful Dead, along with the skull and thirteen pointed lightning

[286] Peter Golding, and Barry Miles. *Rock Graphic Originals,* 28.
[287] "Stanley Mouse," artnet, accessed June 14, 2020, http://www.artnet.com/artists/stanley-mouse/.
[288] "Roots of the Grateful Dead," | Dead Roots, accessed June 14, 2020, http://deadroots.net/.

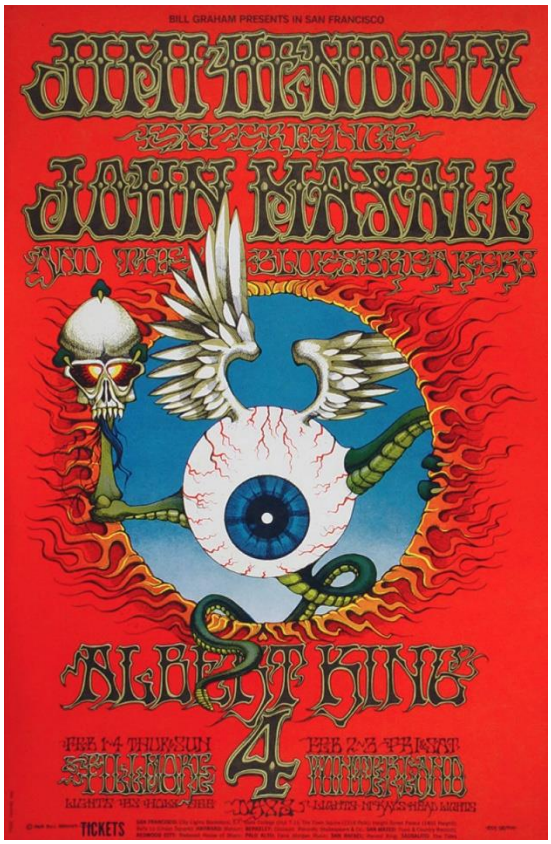
4.7 & 4.8 Mouse and Kelly's famous poster on the left, and Sullivan's original on the right.

bolt symbol, known as a "Stealie."[289] Mouse's artwork has been featured in the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, the Boston Museum, the Louvre, the Victoria and Albert Museum, and the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame. Mouse still creates artwork today; his work can be viewed at www.mousestudios.com. Stanley Mouse and Alton Kelley moved in to 715 Ashbury (Extant) to work on their poster art, soon forming a partnership called Kelley-Mouse Studios. With continued success, they moved to a larger location at 74 Henry (Extant). [290] Mouse and

[289] See Fig. 4.7 & 4.8
[290] Peter Golding, and Barry Miles. *Rock Graphic Originals,* 24.

Kelley made 150 artworks between 1966-69.[291] Later, Mouse and Kelly designed a series of T-shirts, called Monster Company.[292]

Rick Griffin was born in 1944 in Los Angeles. After graduating high school in 1962, he left home for San Francisco. On his way, he flipped his truck and severely damaged his eye. This served as inspiration for his most famous symbol, the flying eyeball. His first job was as an illustrator for Surfer Magazine, but he soon went back to school, at the Chouinard Art Institute (now Cal Arts). Griffin was first introduced into the Counterculture by attending the Watts Acid Test in Los Angeles on February 12th, 1966. Griffin's early work used a slab serif style font, now colloquially known as Wild West font.[293] His first two posters, an art show at the Psychedelic Shop and the Human Be-In, featured this font. Griffin's "Flying Eyeball" BG-105 poster for a 1968 Jimi Hendrix concert is his most sought-after work, incorporating vivid colors, Wild West font, and his flying eyeball.[294] Griffin, like other poster artists, became great friends with several San Francisco bands, such as the



4.9 The "Flying Eyeball" BG-105 poster

[291] Peter Golding, and Barry Miles. *Rock Graphic Originals*, 49.
[292] Charles Perry. *The Haight-Ashbury: A History*, 290.
[293] "Biography," Rick Griffin Designs, accessed June 14, 2020, https://www.rickgriffindesigns.com/biography.
[294] See Fig. 4.9.

Grateful Dead. Griffin designed a poster that was so loved it became the cover art for their third album, Aoxomoxoa (Ox-Oh-Mox-Oh-Ah).[295] The album title is a palindrome, and the artwork is symmetrical. Griffin began his career writing comics for *Surfer Magazine*, and he returned to this art form when he joined Robert Crumb's Zap Comix. Griffin continued to create art for bands into the eighties, such as The Cult. Griffin died in an auto accident in 1991, his last work was for "The City" a San Francisco based magazine.[296]

Victor Moscoso was born in Spain in 1936. His family emigrated a few years later to avoid the Spanish Civil War. His family settled in Brooklyn, and Moscoso attended Yale under the tutelage of Joseph Albers. He moved to San Francisco in 1959. Moscoso eventually got a teaching position at the Institute of Art, which plugged him into the burgeoning psychedelic art scene.[297] Moscoso also became involved with Zap Comix along with Griffin. After the sixties, he moved on to album covers, notably for

4.10 A Family Dog poster by Moscoso

[295] "Biography," Rick Griffin Designs.
[296] "Biography," Rick Griffin Designs.
[297] See Fig. 4.10

Herbie Handcock, Jerry Garcia, Bob Weir, and the Steve Miller Band.[298]

The Print Mint was both the most popular rock poster store and the first publisher and distributor of underground comics in the Bay Area. In December of 1965, Don and Alice Schenker founded The Print Mint on Telegraph Avenue in Berkeley. Initially, the shop framed pictures, sold posters and art reproductions, but the store began publishing and distributing rock posters for the Avalon and The Fillmore venues. In December of 1966, The Print Mint opened a second location at 1542 Haight (extant). The store was so successful it became a center for Countercultural information and activities. A year later, the building was sold, and The Print Mint would not return to San Francisco. The Print Mint was center of the poster scene in San Francisco, but after its San Francisco store closed, it played an important role in the burgeoning underground comics market.

The appreciation of the posters continued to grow as they were being shown in galleries as art in their own right. The Joint Show premiered at the Moore Gallery, in which poster artists participated and created work specifically for the gallery. Kelly, Mouse, Moscoso, Griffin and Wilson all created oil paintings for sale as well as copies of their concert posters. High-society folks enjoyed viewing the art and smoking joints on the balcony, knowing that the police would not hassle this upper-crust assembly.[299] Joint Shows became a frequent attraction for the upper

[298] Grafik, "Victor Moscoso," Grafik, accessed June 14, 2020, https://www.grafik.net/category/archive/victor-moscoso
[299] Charles Perry. *The Haight-Ashbury: A History*, 218.

class to view the Counterculture from a safe distance. The Joint Show helped propel the poster artists to celebrity status in their own right.[300]

"What we came up with out of the rubble was 20th Century teenage hip Americana. It's electrical folk art" – Stanley "Mouse" Miller.[301] The legacy of the rock posters, just like that of the San Francisco Sound cannot be removed from the community and culture that created it. From the beginning to end the posters were a product of a conversational process of different members of the same community. The posters brought artist and audience together. The posters created communal sentiments and experience. The act of interpreting and reading a poster was a common act throughout the Counterculture. Today, the posters continue to sell on auction websites and poster stores. Founded over 20 years ago, SF Rock Posters & Collectibles is located in the heart of San Francisco at 1851 Powell Street. The store includes posters from all different types of music and genres. The two highest priced posters are both from San Francisco and were made by members of the San Francisco Five. The first poster is for a Jefferson Airplane concert at the Fillmore, signed by the artist, Wes Wilson, listed at $18,000. The second poster is for a Grateful Dead concert at the Avalon, made by Mouse and Kelly and listed at $17,000. The highest-priced non-San Francisco Sound poster is for a Pearl Jam concert and is listed at $6,000. According to an employee, about 2/3rds of the store's business is related to the psychedelic poster era, and previous auctions have had individual posters go for $50,000-$60,000. A major reason that

[300] Grafik, "Victor Moscoso," Grafik.
[301] Bruce M. Harrah-Conforth, "The Rise and Fall of a Modern Folk Community: Haight-Ashbury, 1965-1967," (1990).

these posters sell for so much is that they designed to be disposable. They were printed on paper and posted to bulletin boards and light poles. It is because of the psychedelic poster's popularity that concert posters today act as souvenirs instead of advertisements.

THE SAN FRANCISCO ORACLE AND OTHER UNDERGROUND MEDIA

One of the most significant contributions of the Counterculture was the impact it had on creating small-scale, independent newspapers, often referred to as underground press. Haight-Ashbury was home to the founding of the underground press which spread to hundreds of other American cities. The *San Francisco Oracle* is by far the most famous and significant publication in the region. "There were two visible handles on the symbolic kettle of the Haight as it boiled its way into history. They were held by the Diggers and by the Oracle. But the Diggers and the Oracle represented different philosophies and lifestyles."[302]

In early 1966, Allen Cohen imagined a magical newspaper with rainbows bouncing on and off the page. This dream would eventually manifest in the *San Francisco Oracle.*

> "I wanted the content of the Oracle to cover two aspects of our new culture: to provide guidance and archetypes for the journey through the states of mind that the LSD experience had opened up, and to invent and examine the new social and cultural forms and institutions that we needed to make the world align with our vision. No small order!"[303]

[302] Allen Cohen "The San Francisco Oracle: A Brief History," 43.
[303] Allen Cohen "The San Francisco Oracle: A Brief History," 40.

The *Oracle* was founded with an initial loan from the Thelin Bros. This eventually led to other donations and loans from several other hip institutions, individuals, and rock bands. Even Bill Graham contributed $1,000. The paper helped organize and inform the incipient hippie population with notices for gatherings and concerts: "The back page of Oracle #1 had the announcement for the first public outdoor rock concert. The concert, which was called the Love Pageant Rally, was performed on October 6, 1966."[304]

The *Oracle* also followed the same trend as the 'poster as art' movement and often included beautiful artworks by local artists: "A large, detailed pen-and-ink drawing by Bruce Conner occupied the entire centerfold of Oracle #2. This is the first use of the whole centerfold for a work of art."[305] As the Counterculture and the Haight continued to grow so did the *Oracle:* "by the time of seventh Oracle, it had become a worldwide newspaper, with letters from around the world, even Turkey. It was no longer a local paper with a need to post local events.[306]"

With the increase in popularity came a concurrent increase in size and profitability. Starting with only 3,000 copies for the first issue, the paper grew by issue #4 to 15,000. Issue #5 more than doubled to 50,000, and by #7 it was over 125,000 copies. Each copy of the *Oracle* was typically read several times, making readership well over half a million. Copies of the *Oracle* were sent to New Zealand, Vietnam, India, Prague, and Moscow, just to name a few locations. On

[304] Allen Cohen "The San Francisco Oracle: A Brief History, 39.
[305] Allen Cohen "The San Francisco Oracle: A Brief History, 40.
[306] Charles Perry. *The Haight-Ashbury: A History*, 160.

the streets of San Francisco and Berkeley, copies would be given to beggars to sell for their own benefit.[307][308]

4.11 A woman selling issues of the Oracle

At their office in 1371 Haight (extant), the employees of the *Oracle* adopted a new printing technique, either called flow-color or split fountain inking. This allowed the paper to be colored in rainbow. Allen Cohen's dream of a newspaper filled with rainbows came true.[309] Many already existing underground papers started including more cultural and aesthetic features."[310] Within five years after the *Oracle* was founded, "Every major city, most universities or university towns (at least five hundred in all), and about five hundred high schools would have underground or alternative papers…"[311] By the end of the sixties, San Francisco had nineteen underground papers. These included, *The Black Panther, Deserted Times, Eyes Left, Good Times, Haight-Ashbury Free Press, Haight-Ashbury Movement, Haight-Ashbury Love Street, Haight-Ashbury Tribune, Leviathan, The Movement, New SOS News, Open Process, The San Francisco Oracle, People's World, Planet People, San*

[307] Allen Cohen "The San Francisco Oracle: A Brief History," 45.
[308] See Fig. 4.11
[309] Charles Perry. *The Haight-Ashbury: A History*, 141.
[310] Allen Cohen "The San Francisco Oracle: A Brief History," 61.
[311] Allen Cohen "The San Francisco Oracle: A Brief History," 61.

Francisco Dock of the Bay, San Francisco Express Times, VDRSVP, Vanguard/The Needle, Free City Press, Mojo Navigator.[312]

The many publications eventually gathered together to form the Underground Press Syndicate (UPS). Their statement of purpose was "to warn the "civilized world"" of its impending collapse, through "communications among aware communities outside the establishment" and by attracting the attention of the mass media.[313] UPS attempted to recognize and record the activities, and to critique in fashion that would allow for a transition, and save "dying cities."

The first UPS conference was held on Easter 1967, in Michael Bohen's boat. "Some of the participants included Art Kunkin of the *Los Angeles Free Press,* Allan Katzman and Walter Bowart of *EVO,* Max Scherr of the Berkeley Barb, and representatives of Detroit's *Fifth Estate*, Chicago's *Seed*, Mendocino's *Illustrated Paper*, Austin's *Rag*, and a few other papers."[314]

Underground newspapers published many underground comics through the sixties, but none of them became popular outside of their local area. The Underground Press Syndicate allowed for comics to appear in several underground newspaper across the country. Patrick Rosenkranz asserts in his comprehensive work, *Rebel Visions: The Underground Comix Revolution 1963-1975,* that

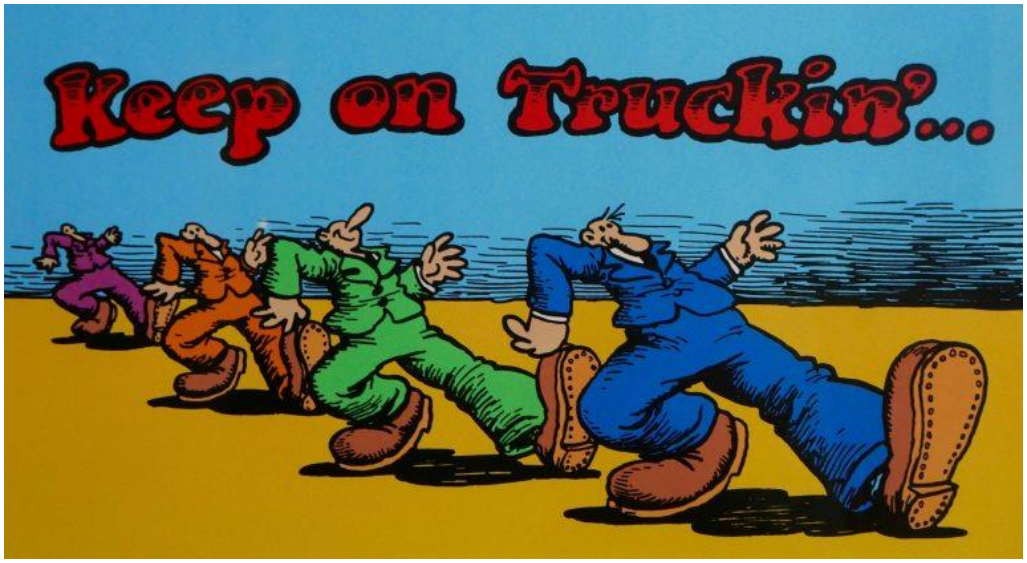
[312] Bruce M. Harrah-Conforth, "The Rise and Fall of a Modern Folk Community: Haight-Ashbury, 1965-1967," (1990).
[313] Allen Cohen "The San Francisco Oracle: A Brief History," 62.
[314] Allen Cohen "The San Francisco Oracle: A Brief History," 62.

Crumb's creation would "set everything in motion" and "became the prototype and inspiration for the dozens of underground comic books that quickly followed."[315]

On February 25, 1968, Haight-Ashbury residents Robert and Dana Crumb, published the first edition of *Zap Comix* and delivered it to stores along Haight Street in a baby stroller. Robert had been working on the comic book for over a year, and word quickly got around about its subversive subject matter and graphic imagery. The word "Comix" has a disputed origin, but the first issue of *Zap Comix* popularized it as a term for underground comics. Rick Griffin and Victor Moscoso saw the first issue and were impressed enough to accept Crumb's invitation to contribute to the second issue. The first run of *Zap Comix #1* was published in the Crumbs' apartment at 1555 Oak. By the third printing, The Print Mint took over publishing and distribution. The Print Mint published comics previously, but after *Zap Comics,* it became their main business venture. The first six issues were constantly reprinted, and, by 1972, total sales reached a million units.[316] The Print Mint went out of business in 1978, but *Zap Comix* endures. The most recent issue was published in 2014, totaling seventeen. Victor Moscoso and Rick Griffin contributed to every issue (Griffin died in 1991).[317] The most famous comic strip

[315] Patrick Rosenkranz, *Rebel Visions: The Underground Comix Revolution, 1963-1975* (Seattle, WA: Fantagraphics Books, 2008), 65.
[316] Patrick Rosenkranz, *Rebel Visions: The Underground Comix Revolution, 1963-1975*, 123.
[317] https://comixjoint.com/zapcomix.html

is in the first issue. The "Keep on Truckin'"[318] comic shows off Crumb's unique "big foot" style and optimism, which has been copied and plagiarized into products such as bumper stickers.[319] "Mr. Natural had a bunch of sayings. One of them was 'Keep on Truckin',' which was the spirit of our song."[320] Says Bob Weir about the Grateful Dead song, "Truckin'." An important factor for underground comix's growth is the stifling atmosphere of the larger comic publishers. The Comic Code Authority was created by these publishers to self-censor content on comics, similar to the Hays Code for films. Crumb's earlier work with New York publishers was edited without his consent, which made him choose to only print underground comics from then on.[321] Comics were typically viewed as a product for youth, underground comics opened up an adult market for comics that would



4.12 Robert Crumb's "Keep on Truckin'"

[318] See Fig. 4.12.
[319] Zap Comix at Comixjoint.com, accessed June 14, 2020, https://comixjoint.com/zapcomix.htm.
[320]"Bob Weir Gives Fascinating Backstory on How 'Truckin'" Came to Be Thanks to the Dead's Travels," Relix Media, July 26, 2018, https://relix.com/blogs/detail/bob_weir_gives_fascinating_backstory_on_how_truckin_came_to_be_thanks_to_the_deads_travels/.
[321] Patrick Rosenkranz, *Rebel Visions: The Underground Comix Revolution, 1963-1975*, 72.

go on to shape the future of comic books. Crumb comics are some of the most prized in the world. In 2017, his cover art for the first issue of his comic *Fritz the Cat* sold for $717,000, the highest amount ever paid in America for a piece of comic art.[322]

Chester Anderson visited San Francisco for the New Year celebration of 1967 and ended up moving to the city ten days later. He moved to 406 Duboce (extant) after initially staying with the Family Dog and founded the Communication Company to provide a "quick & inexpensive printing service for the hip community." Anderson also promised to print whatever the Diggers desired in an up-to-the-second and immediately disposable form of newspaper, the opposite of the *Oracle*. He obtained a Gestetner 366 silk screen stencil duplicator, a Gestefax justified electronic stencil cutter, paper, colored ink, and an IBM typewriter.[323]

The second founding member of the company was Claude Hayward.[324] The Communication Company, or Com/co. was first formed during an event at Glide Memorial Church called *The Invisible Circus*, in which messages were sent out to every house updating people on activities within the church. The Diggers obtained two Gestetner copy machines and started publishing photos and text collages. The Gestetner company was so impressed with the collages that the Diggers were allowed to keep the machines. Word got out about Com/co. and Huey Newton, one

[322] "New Record Price for American Comic Art," ICv2, accessed June 14, 2020, https://icv2.com/articles/news/view/37554/new-record-price-american-comic-art.
[323] Charles Perry. *The Haight-Ashbury: A History*, 128.
[324] Charles Perry. *The Haight-Ashbury: A History*, 128.

of the founders of the Black Panther Party, approached the Diggers and Com/co. to produce the first three issues of the Black Panther Party newspaper.[325]

Com/co. lasted about six months. The flat at Duboce Ave. was expensive, so the machines were moved around to several locations, but production never reached the high seen in the opening months. Up to ten publications were created per day. Typically, each publication had 1,500 copies, but some runs reached 10,000.[326]

Com/co. ended by being subsumed by the Diggers, who used the rapid-fire communication system. The FCC (Free City Collective) officially acquired the Com/co. equipment and created the *Free City News*. The first issue featured poets David Meltzer, Michael McClure and Richard Brautigan.[327] The connections of Com/co. with modern social media communication is clear, but there was one difference: " the powers that be own the pipe through which the digital heirs of our papers communicate."[328]

Two major publications started in the Haight managed to last beyond the era. Stewart Brand's *Whole Earth Catalog, Co-Evolution Quarterly, and Rolling Stone*, formed October 18, 1967, with an initial investment of $7,500. Ten years later, *Rolling Stone* was the 27th biggest magazine in the nation.[329] Charles Perry was one of the initial writers for the now famous magazine.

---

[325] McKenna, Kristine, and David Hollander. Notes from a Revolution, 14.
[326] McKenna, Kristine, and David Hollander. *Notes from a Revolution*, 53.
[327] Michael William Doyle, The Haight-Ashbury Diggers, 260.
[328] McKenna, Kristine, and David Hollander. *Notes from a Revolution*, 16.
[329] Charles Perry. *The Haight-Ashbury: A History*, 291.

In short, Haight-Ashbury hosted several significant alternative publications that soon attracted nationwide audiences. Communication was essential for the Haight to maintain and direct the Counterculture. The *Oracle* spread Counterculture ideas across the world and helped influence the creation of hundreds of other underground newspapers around the country, and Com/co. facilitated effective, rapid communication within the Counterculture community. Additionally, prominent artists contributed to many publications, permitting their work to be seen by a much wider audience, allowing for the proliferation of other art forms, such as "comix" and poster art.

THE HIP AND THE BUSINESS OF BEING HIP

On September 7, 1965, the *San Francisco Examiner* published an article, "A New Haven for Beatniks," in which people are referred to as hippies. The Blue Unicorn coffee house (1927 Hayes, extant), one of the first 'hip' establishments in the area, was the focus of the article. The Blue Unicorn acted as the first headquarters for this growing hippie movement in the Haight. The business was originally on the 500 block of Frederick Street, but moved to its Hayes Street location by 1964. The coffee was cheap, and used books, art, music, chess, sewing kits, and free secondhand clothing were all available. The "Legalize Marijuana" (LEMAR) movement held meetings in the Unicorn. It was a place to hang out even if one had no money. One could wash dishes for a cup of coffee and mail was held for those who had no home address. On September 21, 1965, two weeks after the article appeared, health inspectors visited the Unicorn. They ordered the shop

to be more sanitary, and all nonfood prep objects were removed. The Unicorn opened up soon after, and The Haight gained some positive press to the Beat population in the city.[330] Another club, Haight Levels, opened on Haight Street during this month and brought more 'hip' people to the neighborhood.[331]

Ron and Jay Thelin, locals of Haight-Ashbury, took over the local Woolworth's from their father. After trying LSD, they began to mingle with the incoming hip crowd. Still entrepreneurs at heart, they found products that enhanced the psychedelic lifestyle for their store, which would become the first modern head shop, The Psychedelic Shop at 1535 Haight (extant). Drug paraphernalia, meditation aids, and home furnishings were all sold here. The modern term, head shop, comes from the slang definition of "head" that was popular during this time: if one is a "head" of something (acidhead, deadhead, etc.) they are particularly passionate about whatever word is put in front of head. This was a shop for heads of all types. Timothy Leary's book, *The Psychedelic Experience*, based on the *Tibetan Book of the Dead*, promoted 'set and setting' as an important factor when taking LSD. Thus, a place to create your perfect set and setting became a perfect store for many in the hip community.[332] The Psychedelic Shop installed bulletin boards for the community to post events and happenings. A publicly accessible room offered a quiet space to come down from a "trip." The shop quickly became a nexus for hip activities and served as a common meeting

[330] *San Francisco Chronicle* (San Francisco, California), September 25, 1965: 3. NewsBank: America's News
[331] Charles Perry. *The Haight-Ashbury: A History*, 19.
[332] Michael William Doyle, The Haight-Ashbury Diggers, 162.

spot for the neighborhood. The Thelin brothers represent the many hip entrepreneurs that typically structured their businesses to benefit the local community over personal profits.[333] They initially planned to sell stock at fifty cents a share so the community could have an ownership in the store.[334]

More new shops began to open up on Haight: The Hobbit Hole, The Bead Freak, New Reflections, Xanadu Clothes (1764 Haight, extant), Garuda Coffee Shop. At 1837 Oak (extant), the Shire School opened, a Summerhill type school with a democratic structure. The Shire school would soon move out of the Haight.[335]

Another shop was opened by an Iranian redhead, who called herself Love. She acquired a six-stool diner bar. Called Love Burgers (1568 Haight, extant), the

4.13 The Thelin Brothers outside their shop.

[333] See Fig. 4.13.
[334] Bruce M. Harrah-Conforth, "The Rise and Fall of a Modern Folk Community: Haight-Ashbury, 1965-1967," (1990).
[335] Charles Perry. *The Haight-Ashbury: A History*, 191.

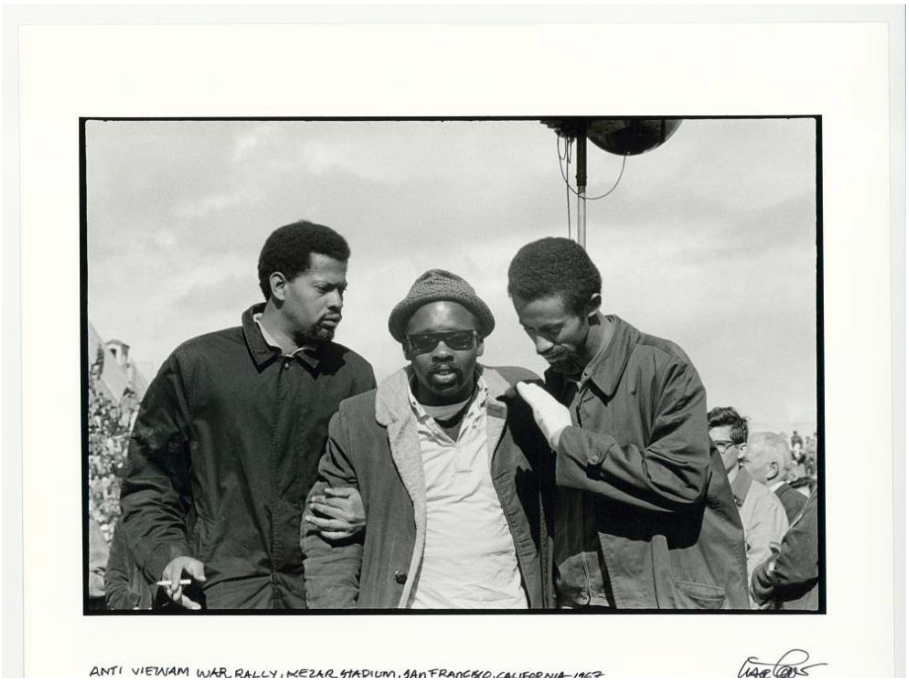
diner offered burgers at any price you could afford, even free.[336] During holidays the line would stretch three blocks.[337]

With the number of people being arrested, the need for legal assistance became obvious. Both California Hall (extant) and the Winterland Ballroom held benefit concerts for HALO, or the Haight-Ashbury Legalization Organization, led by Brian Rohan and Michael Stepanian.[338] Located at 719 Ashbury (extant), this group of lawyers provided free legal advice to anyone who needed it. Additionally, free legal assistance was given to several hip groups by Neighborhood Legal Assistance. The Diggers, Job Co-Op, H-A Settlement House, Krishna Temple (518 Frederick, extant), The Psychedelic Shop, and HIP all registered as nonprofit charitable organizations, many assisted by these legal organizations.[339]

4.14 1568 Haight, formerly Love Burgers, now an Irish pub.

[336] See Fig. 4.14.
[337] Charles Perry. *The Haight-Ashbury: A History*, 154.
[338] Charles Perry. *The Haight-Ashbury: A History*, 195.
[339] Charles Perry. *The Haight-Ashbury: A History*, 132.

Roy Ballard opened the Black Man's Free Store (likely not extant) at the corner of McAllister and Webster streets in the Fillmore District. Ballard was part of the San Francisco Congress of Racial Equality and helped found the San Francisco chapter of the Black Panthers. He observed the Diggers and saw their philosophy as a force for good in the city.[340][341]



4.15 Panthers at an anti-war rally at Kezar Stadium

Many of the hip merchants in Haight-Ashbury attempted to join the local merchant association, Haight-Ashbury Merchants and Improvement Association (HAMIA), in order to further integrate themselves in the neighborhood, but they were summarily rejected. The "straight" merchants were one of the most vocal groups that opposed the incoming hippie population, and they saw the hip merchants as competition. In response, the Thelin Brothers, In Gear (1580 Haight,

[340] Michael William Doyle, The Haight-Ashbury Diggers, 198.
[341] See Fig. 4.15.

extant), and Far Fetched Foods announced the formation of a new merchant association, Haight Independent Proprietors (HIP).[342] They scheduled a press conference at 1575 Waller (extant) to officially announce HIP's formation. HANC worked with the hippies and invited them to many council meetings to work out issues. The Print Mint (1542 Haight, extant) moved to the former Woolworth's the Thelin Bros father used to operate. Travis Rivers ran the store, who brought light shows to Texas and Janis Joplin to SF.[343]

The growing presence of both hippies and hip stores in the Haight caused local police to harass these groups on a near daily basis. On February 8, 1967, Howard Presbyterian Church hosted a meeting between the Diggers and the HIP regarding the latter's attempt to "level with" the local police precinct about harassment. The Diggers firmly believed there should be no compromise or debate with Police. This was the first major argument between hip groups in the Haight, and the Diggers saw themselves as Haight's soul and were often unyielding to compromises of any sort. The Digger's concept of 'free' conflicted with HIP, even though the stores made most of their money from tourists and already shared a large portion of their profits, which never amounted to much.[344] Despite the Diggers' reservations about HIP, their agenda was focused on aiding the Haight community. For example, their meeting after the Human Be-In was chiefly concerned with protecting hippies from police abuse. They planned to hand out police whistles to attract witnesses to police abuse. HALO lawyer, Michael

[342] Charles Perry. *The Haight-Ashbury: A History*, 108.
[343] Charles Perry. *The Haight-Ashbury: A History*, 112.
[344] Michael William Doyle, The Haight-Ashbury Diggers, 178.

Stepanian, requested jury trials for all forty-five arrested on the night of the Human Be-In for "clearly illegal" arrests. They planned to collect money for false-arrest suits to discourage such actions by police and generally make the Haight community cleaner and nicer.[345]

Haight-Ashbury Switchboard (1830 Fell, extant and 426 Schrader, extant) opened in June of 1967. Receiving over a hundred calls a day, the operators directed callers to the available amenities and services. The Switchboard was funded entirely by donations and helped link all the programs set up in the Haight and the rest of the city.[346] In the middle of the Summer of Love, the phones at the Switchboard rang 100 times per day.[347] The Switchboard lasted more than a decade after its founding, which makes it one of the longest lasting Counterculture institutions, outlasted only by the Free Clinic.[348]

Before the Castro neighborhood became the center for the LGBT community, Haight-Ashbury and its community welcomed this group. Donna Graves explains further in the LBGT Context Statement:

[345] Michael Mahoney, "A Hippie Plan to Foil the Fuzz" *San Francisco Chronicle* (San Francisco, California), January 17, 1967: 3. NewsBank: America's News
[346] Michael William Doyle, The Haight-Ashbury Diggers, 243.
[347] San Francisco Chronicle (San Francisco, California), July 10, 1967: 1. NewsBank: America's News.
[348] Charles Perry. *The Haight-Ashbury: A History,* 289.

"The Haight-Ashbury in the 1970s and 1980s also had numerous gay-owned retail businesses and restaurants that advertised in the gay press and were listed in gay directories. Those establishments also marked the neighborhood as a very gay-friendly area and helped attract gay residents. One example of an important LGBTQ business in the Haight-Ashbury area is Mnasidika clothing boutique, which was housed in the storefront at 1510 Haight Street[349] (extant) from 1965 to 1968."[350]

4.16 The Grateful Dead outside Mnasidika, located in the Doolan-Larson building, taken by Herb Greene in 1967

Located at 1510 Haight, in the historic Doolan-Larsen building, Peggy Caserta opened the hippie boutique Mnasidika in 1965. This store joined other hip businesses to form an important social network and information distribution center. Caserta also founded the store to attract 'gay girls' and is one of stores that made Haight a very welcoming neighborhood to the gay community. She was

[349] See Fig. 4.16.
[350] Donna Graves. (2016), 167.

romantically involved with Janis Joplin, and Janis was one of her first customers. Caserta would also be responsible for convincing Levi Strauss to start creating bell-bottomed jeans. Flared pants originated as a technical innovation to help British sailors keep their pant legs away from their shoes. Caserta noticed a hippie girl wearing jeans with a split in the side seam and paisley pattern triangle sewed into the fabric. She commissioned this hippie girl to create a dozen pairs. They sold out almost immediately. She approached Levi Strauss, and, with the help of a single employee, she ordered thirty jeans on credit. Bell bottom jeans were sold exclusively at Mnasidika through 1968. In 1969, Levi created the 646-bell bottom jean, and later versions of the design still remain in production today.[351]

Once the Counterculture grew to a critical mass, corporations began to change their advertising strategies to appeal to this new group of consumers. Paradoxically, the advertisements co-opted the anti-consumer attitude in order to promote consumption. Ralph Gleason called this Co-optation, which, he claims, stems from society's fear of young people so much so that it "does all that it can to train those it can control in its own image."[352] This theory asserts that the radical commercialization of hip-culture was not proof that the hippies were consumer and corporation friendly. Instead, it represents the "corporate state's" hostile action to control and subsume the Counterculture.[353] Myriad corporations used co-optation

[351] Tracey Panek, "Peace, Love & Bell Bottoms: Celebrating 50 Years of an Iconic Style," Levi Strauss & Co, October 3, 2019, https://www.levistrauss.com/2019/08/08/peace-love-bell-bottoms-celebrating-50-years-of-an-iconic-style/).
[352] Thomas Frank, *The Conquest of Cool: Business Culture, Counterculture, and the Rise of Hip Consumerism* (Chicago, IL: Univ. of Chicago Press, 2006), 16.
[353] Thomas Frank, *The Conquest of Cool,* 16.

of the Counterculture in their ad campaigns. AT&T ads quoted Bob Dylan lyrics, and Columbia Records used this rebellious catch phrase: "If you won't listen to your parents, The Man, or the Establishment, why should you listen to us."[354] Dodge started the "Dodge Rebellion" ad campaign with sex symbol Pamela Austin enticing prospective buyers to "break the sedan buying" to "eliminate Dullsville."[355] This phenomenon was noted by those within the Counterculture. Warren Hinckle, wrote in the underground newspaper, *Ramparts,*

> "In this commercial sense, the hippies have not only accepted assimilation…, they have swallowed it whole… if the people looking in from the suburbs want change, clothes, fun, and some lightheadedness from the new gypsies, the hippies are delivering – and some of them are becoming rich hippies because of it."[356]

Even if Co-optation's nefarious nature is overstated, the shift in advertising to incorporate Counterculture ideas clearly demonstrates that this movement significantly penetrated society's consciousness.

There was one notable outlier of corporate ad men that chose not to exploit the Counterculture's ideals, but to champion them and harness the power of advertising to further these lofty goals: Howard Luck Gossage. Gossage is called the Socrates of San Francisco, and he saw the same flaws in the cold, calculated,

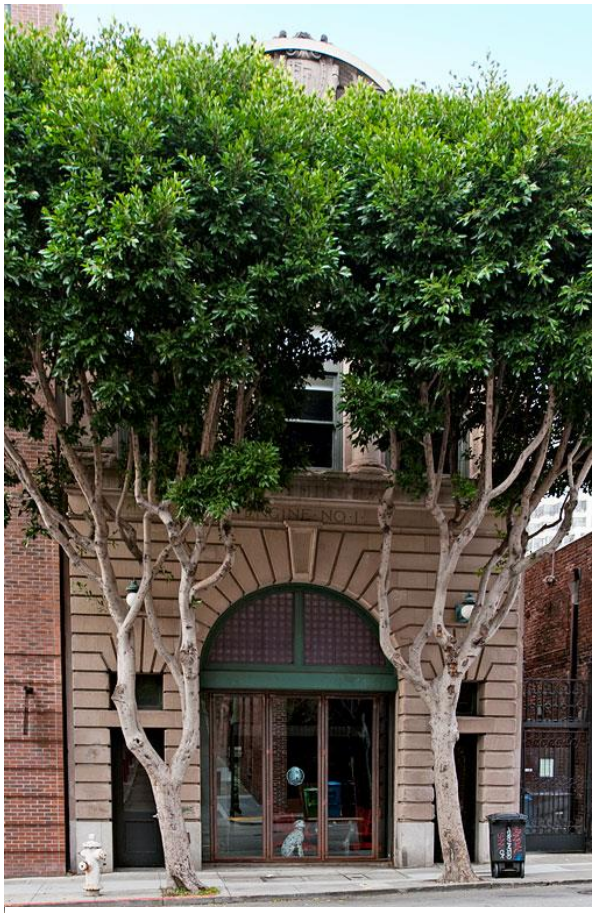
---

[354] Thomas Frank, *The Conquest of Cool: Business Culture, Counterculture, and the Rise of Hip Consumerism* (Chicago, IL: Univ. of Chicago Press, 2006), 16.
[355] "Dodge Rebellion," Dodge Promotional Brochure, accessed May 3, 2020, http://www.secondchancegarage.com/public4/rebellion.cfm)
[356] Thomas Frank, *The Conquest of Cool,* 16.

soulless style of advertising that the hippies saw in mainstream culture.[357] He created massively successful ad campaigns for a diverse array of organizations using unconventional methods that revolutionized the ad industry. He coined the term "interactive advertising," and used it to build communities around products and brands. With the advent of the internet, interactive advertising is more relevant than ever. According to Gossage's biographer, Steve Harrison, the most successful interactive advertising today comes from agencies that use Gossage as an inspiration.[358] He integrated multiple ad mediums to amplify his message. Gossage also criticized his field for lacking morals or ethics. He believed advertising should have a higher social purpose. His most famous advertisement was not selling a product but rallying support for a cause. The Sierra Club approached Gossage to create an ad campaign to block the damming of the Grand Canyon. The ads contained a holistic message about the environment and the destruction humans were responsible for. Officially called the Bridge Canyon Dam, this project was discussed for over fifty years. Starting in the twenties, various proposals were dismissed over the years, and in 1984 the plan was officially stalled. The proposal in 1968 was stalled due to overwhelming opposition by environmental groups and the general public. After this successful mission, the Sierra Club gained a bevy of new members and would become the foremost conservation organization in the nation.[359] While other ad men were eagerly trying to exploit the values of the

[357] "Howard Luck Gossage: 'The Socrates of San Francisco,'" The Beat Museum, October 28, 2014, https://www.kerouac.com/beat_event/howard-luck-gossage-socrates/.
[358] "SOFII · Howard Luck Gossage – the 'mad man' who changed the world", accessed June 14, 2020, https://sofii.org/article/howard-luck-gossage-the-mad-man-who-changed-the-world-1.
[359] "SOFII · Howard Luck Gossage – the 'mad man' who changed the world."

Counterculture, Gossage shared those values through his ads. The connection to the Counterculture and Haight-Ashbury is explained by Jeff Goodby, another biographer of Gossage, "Howard never seemed to judge or even acknowledge [the hippies.] Yet looking back, he seems more like them that unlike them, a tiny, laughing, downtown outpost of it all."[360] Although it is unknown if Gossage ever walked down Haight Street and commiserated with hippies, he did host some of the most prominent Counterculture figures in his own house. In 1958, Gossage purchased at auction the SFFD Firehouse #1 at 451 Pacific Avenue in the old Barbary Coast neighborhood.[361] Until his death in 1969, Gossage lived in the Old Firehouse and hosted John Steinbeck, John Huston, Joan Rivers, Jonathan Winters, David Brower, Buckminster Fuller, Marshall McLuhan, Tom Wolfe, Jerry Mander, Enrico Banducci, Herb Caen, Robert Scheer, Warren Hinckle, Neal Cassady and many others.[362] Gossage even hosted Ken Kesey for a few nights after his return from Mexico as an outlaw.

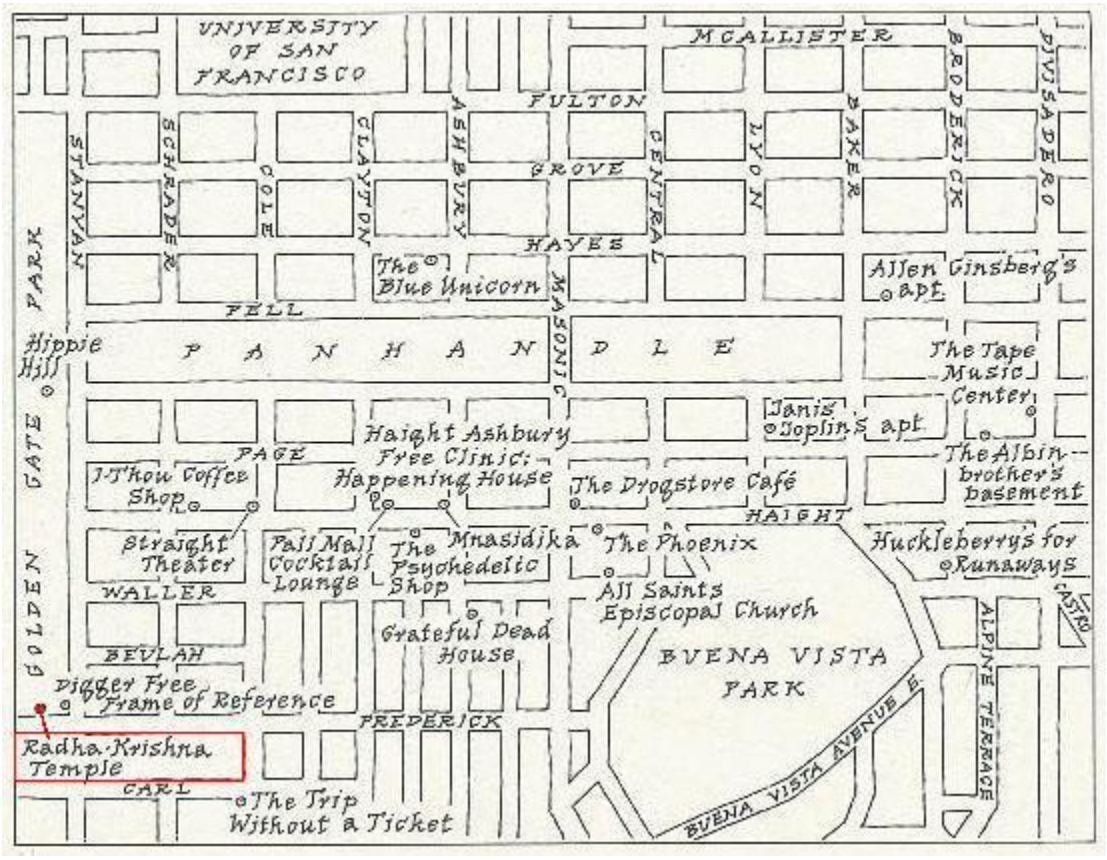


4.17 451 Pacific Ave. Old Firehouse #1 and Gossage's home.

[360] "SOFII · Howard Luck Gossage – the 'mad man' who changed the world."
[361] See Fig. 4.17
[362] "Howard Luck Gossage: 'The Socrates of San Francisco,'" The Beat Museum

Gossage used his incredible talent to co-opt the power of advertising to advance Counterculture ideas, while his contemporaries pursued the opposite.

The Counterculture community in Haight-Ashbury tried to reinvent society through cultural revolution. They did this in part by patronizing local business that shared their beliefs.[363] No original hip businesses still exist inside the neighborhood, but the makeup of shops and enterprises today suggest the influence they had. Additionally, there are clear contributions from the Counterculture



4.18 Contemporary map with prominent hip addresses

community to advertising and mainstream American fashion, showing that their legacy both made an impact at the local and national level.

[363] See Fig. 4.18.

THE IMPORTANCE OF GATHERING

Chapter 3 explained how institutions within Haight-Ashbury and San Francisco aided the Hippie community, and that institutions in close contact with the Counterculture we more likely to help. These institutions and individuals consistently interacted with Hippies because of their proximity to each other, but the Counterculture clearly made an impact on the social consciousness of the entire country. So, how was the rest of the country exposed to the Counterculture Movement? The media, including newspapers, magazines, radio, and television, was the primary vehicle for the dissemination of the Counterculture to a wider audience, albeit, with their own spin and interpretation. The actions that garnered the most attention and scrutiny by the media were the mass gatherings organized by prominent individuals within the community. Some of the most famous gatherings were focused on music: The Acid Tests, The Trips Festivals, Family Dog or Bill Graham productions at the Avalon and Fillmore respectively, Monterey Pop Festival, Altamont, and Woodstock are all significant events in the Counterculture. Almost all large gatherings in the Haight included music, but the bands joined other events because they were part of the Counterculture, not contracted to provide entertainment. Indeed, the most significant of these gatherings were those that had no specific purpose other than to "revel in each other's company in public."[364] What follows are summaries of several of the most significant gatherings that helped expose the significant contributions by the

[364] Michael William Doyle, The Haight-Ashbury Diggers, 202.

Counterculture in the preceding chapters and how the media, specifically the *Chronicle,* publicized them.

To begin, the entire Summer of Love was a gathering on a monumental scale with the same ethos as other, smaller gatherings. The Diggers, the Kiva, the Straight Theatre, the Church of One, the Family Dog, and the *San Francisco Oracle* formed the Council for the Summer of Love, which was to act as "a central clearing house for theatrical, musical and artistic events, dances concerts and happenings in the Haight-Ashbury district."[365][366] The most visible call to journey to San Francisco for the Summer of Love was Scott McKenzie's version of "San Francisco (Be Sure to Wear Flowers in Your Hair)", released May 13, 1967. The song reached the number four spot on the US Billboard 100 for four straight weeks.

The Love Pageant rally took place on October 6th, 1966, coincidentally the same day LSD was criminalized. The day was essentially a protest, but operated as a festival or gathering.[367] This rally was formed by the founders of the *Oracle,* Allen Cohen and Michael Bowen, and was protesting both the criminalization of LSD and the city itself for allowing police to crack down on the hippies and establish curfews. Thousands showed up in the Panhandle including Ken Kesey's entourage, The Grateful Dead and Janis Joplin provided entertainment, and a New

[365] Michael William Doyle, The Haight-Ashbury Diggers, 213.
[366] Here are some estimates of the Hippie population: Dr. David Smith of the Haight-Ashbury Free Medical Clinic estimated between 10,000-20,000 Hippies were living in the Haight in July 1967 with 700 arriving and leaving per day in the Summer of Love. In October of 1966, *The New York Times* estimated 4,000-5,000 hippies in the Haight. Charles Perry estimates at least 75,000 people passed through the Haight during the Summer of Love, based on Dr. Stephen Pittel who led the Haight-Ashbury Research Project.
[367] Michael William Doyle, The Haight-Ashbury Diggers, 121.

Declaration of Independence was read aloud, written by Allen Cohen: "We hold these experiences to be self-evident . . . that the creation endows us with certain inalienable rights that among them are: the freedom of body, the pursuit of joy and the expansion of consciousness."[368]

The pageant was joined by a contingent of the SDS, led by Jerry Rubin and a group of Black Panthers after their protest at city hall. These two groups decided to join the new anti-LSD law protest in order to raise awareness of their causes among the hippies.[369]

Other events in October of 1966 included the Acid Test Graduation by Ken Kesey and his Merry Pranksters, The Dance of Death at California Hall (625 Polk extant) by Quicksilver Messenger Service, and a Digger promoted event called "Full Moon Public Celebration of Halloween," which took place at the corner of Haight and Ashbury.[370] The Full Moon celebration was an attempt to take the public streets for the public. It resulted in the arrests of five Diggers, but over 600 people showed up and stopped traffic on Haight the entire night.[371]

On December 17, 1966, "The Death of Money/Birth of the Haight" event was that the first time the Hell's Angels worked with the Diggers. The San Francisco chapter of the Angels had already been mingling with Ken Kesey and his Pranksters. Many had tried LSD, and they were much more amenable to attending an event than their Oakland counterparts. Since they had been 'turned on' and

[368] Allen Cohen "The San Francisco Oracle: A Brief History, 39.
[369] Michael Grieg, "The Scene at City Hall" *San Francisco Chronicle* (San Francisco, California), October 7, 1966: 1, 14. NewsBank: America's News
[370] Michael William Doyle, The Haight-Ashbury Diggers, 124.
[371] Michael William Doyle, The Haight-Ashbury Diggers, 132.

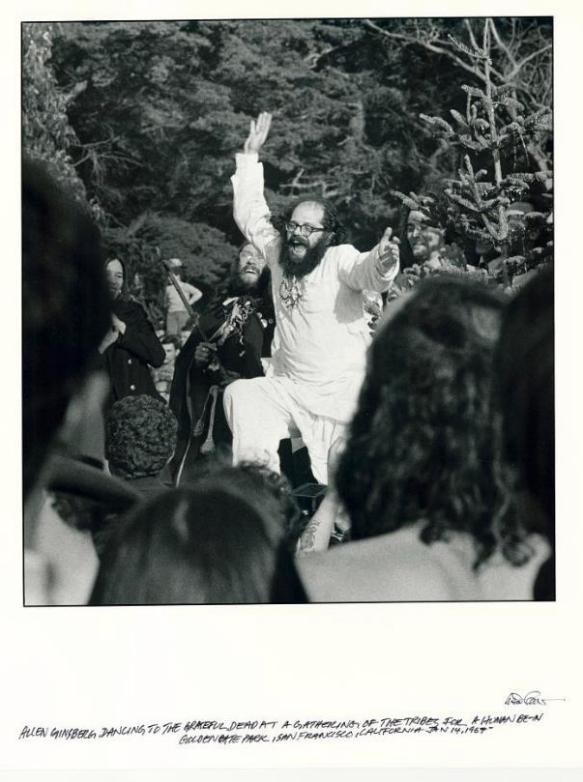
"rendered harmless," the Diggers saw an opportunity to form a partnership, especially because of the similarities the groups shared. The Angels were dropouts of mainstream society, loyal, not adverse to outrageous behavior, and refused to be intimidated. The parade was peaceful for several blocks, then two officers approached and remonstrated an Angel, Henry Kot, for allowing a woman to stand atop his motorcycle. "Chocolate George" Hendricks, was also arrested for trying to stop Kot's arrest by trying "to pull an officer out of the [paddy] wagon."[372] Within an hour of being booked, bail was paid for both Angels from donations facilitated by the Diggers.

In response, the Angels organized a free party for the Haight in the Panhandle. They chose the corner of Oak and Ashbury specifically because it is the same location the Diggers had been serving free food for months. They called it the New Year's Wail (also Whale, as whale steaks were served for food). Big Brother, The Dead, and others played for free. The Angels provided free beer, so nearly three thousand people showed up. Hippies with shoulder length hair and civil rights buttons mingled among Angels with Confederate flag patches and swastikas. The *Chronicle* captioned their picture of the crowd, "wild attire, loud music, and no trouble."[373] It was at the Wail where Chester Anderson, founder of Communication Company, decided to move to San Francisco. Two weeks later, the largest hip gathering in San Francisco took place.[374]

---

[372] "Haight Angels Jailed" *San Francisco Chronicle* (San Francisco, California), December 18, 1966: 1, 10. NewsBank: America's News
[373] David Swanston, "Angels Join the Hippies" *San Francisco Chronicle* (San Francisco, California), January 2, 1967: 1, 8. NewsBank: America's News.
[374] Michael William Doyle, The Haight-Ashbury Diggers, 156.

The Human Be-In, or The Gathering of the Tribes for a Human Be-In took place on January 14, 1967. The goal, as stated by the *Oracle* was to bring together the entire spectrum of the Counterculture. From the Berkeley college students of the New Left, wearing the clothes of the proletariat, to the hip community in the Haight, wearing cloth and colors of all types, and everyone in between, were all welcome. In attendance was a veritable "who's who" of the hip world: Allen Ginsberg, Timothy Leary, Lenore Kandel, Jerry Rubin, The Dead, Jefferson Airplane, Big Brother, Allen Cohen (editor of the *Oracle*), the Thelin Brothers and many more.[375] Kesey also went to the Human Be-In as the crowds were so massive he was relatively safe. He was interviewed by the *San Francisco Chronicle* saying, "I intend to stay in this country as a fugitive, and as salt in J. Edgar Hoover's wounds."[376] Estimates of total attendance are around 20,000 but could be upwards of 30,000. The



4.19 Allen Ginsberg dancing to the Grateful Dead during the Human Be-In.

[375] See Fig. 4.19.
[376] Tom Wolf. *Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test*, 366.

expected high attendance caused the promoters to shift the venue from Kezar Stadium to the Polo Grounds further west in Golden Gate Park.[377]

> "The scene that greeted new arrivals as they crested the last rise and looked down on the sunken field was mind boggling. A seemingly endless sea of people, tens of thousands. And all were present for a purpose too important for words.."[378]

The *Chronicle* published near daily articles about the Human Be-In until the end of January. The arrests of forty-five hippies on Haight Street, after the Be-In ended, made the frontpage, while a positive description of the event with a large picture of Lenore Kandel was on page three. The following day, another article on the same page included police and hippie reactions. Aside from the arrests for failure to disperse on Haight Street and sixty-nine parking tickets, the massive event was peaceful according to all accounts in the *Chronicle*. This amiable coverage by the *Chronicle* did upset some of its readers, as Merla Zellerbach learned:

> ""I protest your using your newspaper privilege to condone filthy, immoral dope users, degenerates of various kinds, rapists, thugs, criminals. In your article you seem to imply all these rats are living innocent people 'just having a good time.'…
>
> Please print this --- I'll bet you don't."

[377] Michael William Doyle, The Haight-Ashbury Diggers, 159.
[378] Charles Perry. *The Haight-Ashbury: A History*, 125.

Hobart Wilsen. S.F."[379]

Events and happenings started expanding beyond San Francisco as well. On the weekend of Easter Sunday in 1967, LA staged their first be-in, called a "love-in" and NYC hosted a be-in in the Sheep Meadow of Central Park. The Counterculture was spreading.[380] The First London psychedelic night club opened, called the Roundhouse. Chet Helms of the Family Dog was invited, and the SF liquid projection technique was introduced.[381]

The Summer Solstice Festival of 1967 officially began the Summer of Love. Around 1,000 hippies intermittently arrived at Twin Peaks before sunrise then proceeded through Haight Street to a field east of Polo Field at Golden Gate Park, joined by thousands more for a "giant psychedelic picnic."[382] Then a portion of the group walked east to the sea "to watch the sun set and moon rise." This gathering was front-page news for the *Chronicle* with not a single negative word.

On October 5, 1967, the "Death of Hippy [sic]/ Birth of the Free Man" procession started. It began at All Saints Episcopal (1350 Waller, extant) with a "Wake for Hippie". The event was set up by the Committee for Community, a collection of hip organizations, including the FCC, the Oracle, the Free Medical Clinic, Switchboard, All Saints, Housing Services, and other services. It had been exactly a year since the first Digger feeds. The next day, at dawn, they met at the

[379] "Merla Zellerbach," *San Francisco Chronicle* (San Francisco, California), January 25, 1967: 43. NewsBank: America's News.
[380] Michael William Doyle, The Haight-Ashbury Diggers, 201.
[381] Charles Perry. *The Haight-Ashbury: A History*, 139.
[382] Jack Viels, "Hippies Begin Their Summer of Love" *San Francisco Chronicle* (San Francisco, California), June 22, 1967: 1, 14. NewsBank: America's News

top of Buena Vista Hill and intoned the sacred Hindu symbol "OM" then carried a coffin, with the proverbial Hippie inside, down in front of the Psychedelic Shop. Offerings were made into the casket, the shops of HIP shut down for the day. The Birth of the Haight and the Death of Hippie events mark the high point of the Hippies in the Haight. Blame for the Death of Hippie was partially set upon the media. Their manic coverage, claimed the Committee, caused the explosion of the population in the Haight and also brought along bad actors that caused an increase in violent crime, hard(er) drugs, venereal disease, and the overall population of folks who were not fully committed to 'dropping out'. This also served as the time where the Free City vision was meant to be spread far and wide, no longer would the Counterculture be constrained by the Haight.[383]

Ron and Jay Thelin closed the Psychedelic Shop on October 6, with a sign saying, "Be Free" "Don't Mourn Me, Organize", "Nebraska Needs You More"[384] The final day of the event was meant to replicate the larger spreading out of the movement, where the hippies would range through the rest of the city and give their impression of what "Free Men" are supposed to be. By ranging outside the Haight this would represent the massive dispersal of hip people throughout the country that would occur in the coming years.[385] "The Haight-Ashbury may stand alone as one of the only examples of a group which consciously planned and executed its own cultural death and funeral."[386] The self-contained community was

[383] Michael William Doyle, The Haight-Ashbury Diggers, 245.
[384] Charles Perry. *The Haight-Ashbury: A History*, 244.
[385] Michael William Doyle, The Haight-Ashbury Diggers, 255.
[386] Bruce M. Harrah-Conforth, "The Rise and Fall of a Modern Folk Community: Haight-Ashbury, 1965-1967," (1990).

being swayed by the whims of outsiders. The population sought to reject factors it had no control over. Articles about the Death of Hippy ceremony were accompanied with more negative hip news.[387] The Grateful Dead were busted with drugs at 710 Ashbury, and Danny Rifkin, their manager, gave an impassioned speech at a press conference on the same day the ceremony started. Lou Gottlieb was found in contempt of court and fined for failing to bring Morning Star Ranch up to code. The ranch played a critical role in providing food for Digger handouts early on. The Grateful Dead would leave their Ashbury home early the following year.

Organized and unorganized gatherings were the most visible and important events in the Counterculture. They are used as bookends to the Counterculture Era, in Haight-Ashbury, San Francisco, and the United States. These gatherings attracted the attention of national media and the general public and acted as the face of the Counterculture. For millions of Americans, their first exposure to the Counterculture came from an account of these events by their respective newspapers and other media. The *San Francisco Chronicle* and the *San Francisco Examiner,* being the two largest papers for San Francisco, played an especially important role, not only in documenting these events, but doing so with little ostensible bias.

Indeed, this woefully inadequate account of the significant contributions to American history by the Counterculture community in Haight-Ashbury establishes

[387] Michael Grieg, "Death of Hippies" and Santa Rosa, "A Costly Ruling for Gottlieb's Hippie Ranch" *San Francisco Chronicle* (San Francisco, California), October 7, 1967: 2. NewsBank: America's News.

clear connections to numerous social, political, and cultural movements present today. The next chapter explores the development of Haight-Ashbury after the peak of the Counterculture Movement up to the present day and describes what aspects of the current neighborhood still retain either physical or social similarities to the Counterculture Era.

CHAPTER 5: HAIGHT-ASHBURY'S CONTINUED EVOLUTION

As Chapter 1 made clear, Haight-Ashbury is one of the best-preserved cable car suburbs in San Francisco and contains some of the best Queen Anne style architecture in the city. Much of this is due to the fact that the Haight has remained a working/middle class neighborhood with a commercial district (Haight Street) that primarily serves the residents of the neighborhood. Haight has maintained this status through conscious actions by its residents, who wanted the neighborhood to remain as such. The Hippies and Straights that remained in the neighborhood worked together to achieve this goal, primarily through the leadership of the Haight-Ashbury Neighborhood Council (HANC). HANC was formed to prevent the Panhandle Parkway project in 1960, as previously discussed, and their work continued beyond the Counterculture Era. Additionally, HANC joined a number of neighborhood groups in the city to address political issues. The neighborhood movement called attention to the perceived inequities of the city's political representation. So, not only did HANC and other groups fight to improve the quality of life in the Haight, they also greatly influenced the politics of the entire city.

Generally speaking, by 1970, the neighborhood was much quieter, the bulk of the hippies had been gone for a while, and with them, the criminal element that followed and exploited them. For more information on the interim period between the Summer of Love and the end of the decade, see Chapter 2. What follows is a mostly chronological account of the most significant efforts

made by HANC and other groups towards Haight-Ashbury's development after the Counterculture Era.

HELPING THE HAIGHT

HANC was well aware that its historic housing stock was a useful asset early on. In the same year HANC was founded, a historic house tour was created. The funds generated from these tours would go straight back into the community, funding projects and local schools.[388] HANC's first major achievement, which would directly protect its Victorian homes, was the successful downzoning of the entire district. In 1970, HANC joined other neighborhood groups and formed San Francisco Tomorrow, which sought "to save San Francisco from Manhattanization." The group wanted new development to be more scrutinized, especially by residents of the city. Individually, these groups could not convince the city to abandon all development plans, but together they had enough clout to temper the most ambitious development plans.[389]

Much of Haight-Ashbury was zoned R-4 or R-5, which allowed for apartments and taller structures. In order to discourage real estate development and absentee landlords, HANC gathered signatures and lobbied the city to rezone the neighborhood. The city agreed to rezone the neighborhood, citing the massive public outreach conducted by HANC and other groups as the primary reason for

[388] "Tour of The Haight's Old Homes" *San Francisco Chronicle* (San Francisco, California), June 4, 1970: 46. NewsBank: America's News.
[389] Scott Blakey, "A New Group 'To Save the City'" *San Francisco Chronicle* (San Francisco, California), March 19, 1970: 4. NewsBank: America's News.

the action. HANC gathered 1,800 signatures and had the approval of seventy-four percent of the property owners in the affected area.[390] Out of forty-six total blocks, only seven remained unchanged. All of the R-5 blocks were rezoned, and only twelve blocks were zoned for R-4 (many on Haight Street), while the rest were set to R-3 or R-3.5 (R-3.5 effectively grandfathers structures that would not be R-3 compliant, such as the few apartments built in the twenties). This was the largest down-zoning effort in city history. The true impact of this effort is difficult to understand, but it likely saved dozens of the Haight's iconic Queen Anne style homes and encouraged residents to improve their existing housing stock. One Haight resident in support of the down-zoning said, "A neighborhood can't rehabilitate itself if property is being held and allowed to deteriorate as a tax write-off…"[391] The actions of HANC mirror the actions taken by modern-day preservation commissions and council in cities and towns across America. HANC sought to preserve the neighborhood characteristics of Haight-Ashbury through political and social action, and in so doing, they also preserved the historic fabric of the neighborhood. Both hippies and straights were behind the downzoning for financial reasons as well, they figured that maintaining the existing homes would be one tenth the cost of demolishing and replacing the homes.[392]

---

[390] Gloria Vollmayer, "Trying to Save The Haight" *San Francisco Chronicle* (San Francisco, California), May 21, 1972: 200. NewsBank: America's News.
[391] "The City" *San Francisco Chronicle* (San Francisco, California), May 21, 1972: 202. NewsBank: America's News.
[392] "Dexter Waugh "The Haight Battles for It's Identity" *San Francisco Chronicle* (San Francisco, California), February 27, 1972: 4. NewsBank: America's News.

In 1972, HANC joined dozens of other groups to pass Proposition K, which would reopen two closed police stations, one of them being Park Station, Haight's local precinct. A full page ad ran every day for a week leading up to the vote.[393] Although the transient population in the Haight was leaving in droves, the Old Community, along with the more dedicated members of the Counterculture, stayed and fought against the growing problems facing the neighborhood. Similar to the fight against the Panhandle Parkway, the neighborhood was faced with the closing of the Park Police Station, which serviced Haight-Ashbury.

"Hippies from the Church of Good Earth, young white professionals and middle-class blacks representing the HANC, and a new generation of white officers speaking for the Police Officers' Association all took to the stage to protest Mayor Joseph Alito's decision to close Park Station".[394]

The station, along with a few others, closed in April of 1972.[395] This prompted a fierce response by those remaining in Haight-Ashbury, who formed an unlikely communion of disparate groups to form a force for the benefit of their community. This group was responsible for promoting community policing, fighting city-wide agendas that hurt their neighborhood, treating drug addiction as a disease, and decentralized neighborhood governments. In short, this effort showed that Haight-Ashbury is a bastion of cosmopolitan localist liberalism that opposed cosmopolitan

[393] *San Francisco Chronicle* (San Francisco, California), November 7, 1972: 12. NewsBank: America's News.
[394] Christopher Lowen Agee, *The Streets of San Francisco*, 213.
[395] San Francisco Chronicle (San Francisco, California), April 21, 1972: 2. NewsBank: America's News.

growth liberalism.[396] Proposition K won in a landslide. On July 8, 1973, just fifteen months since its closing, the Park Police Station, at 1899 Waller[397] (extant)

5.1 Park Police Station, 1899 Waller

in Golden Gate Park, reopened to serve the citizens of Haight-Ashbury.[398]

At the end of 1972, HANC joined 16 other neighborhood groups, which "urged more public hearings on revenue sharing and on the annual budget requests from city departments."[399] This trend continued throughout the 1970's, where HANC and other groups joined forces to push back against city policies they believed to be detrimental to their neighborhoods. By 1980, the power of the neighborhoods on city planning and permits was immense:

[396] Christopher Lowen Agee, *The Streets of San Francisco*, 214.
[397] See Fig. 5.1.
[398] San Francisco Chronicle (San Francisco, California), June 26, 1973: 2. NewsBank: America's News.
[399] "Neighborhoods Demand a Voice" *San Francisco Chronicle* (San Francisco, California), November 28, 1972: 39. NewsBank: America's News.

"It's possible to plan the building of a new building… which meets all the laws of the city and state and find yourself prevented by the neighborhood organization. It's even possible to be forbidden… because someone *thinks* the neighborhood organization will object."[400]

During this time, the largest group that could readily be identified as 'hip' in the Haight was the Good Earth Commune. In 1972, the commune was spread through 21 flats with 200 adults and forty children but would eventually grow to over 2,000 members and spread far beyond the Haight. The commune was adamant about maintaining the quality of life found in the Haight and worked with HANC on a number of issues to ensure this goal.[401]

Not all their efforts were successful though. In 1973, HANC attempted to fight the expansion of the UCSF dental school, citing increased traffic for the neighborhood. UCSF chose to ignore HANC's grievances and pushed forward with the project.[402] HANC also fought against the McDonald's restaurant at 730 Stanyan, right across the street from Golden Gate Park. Complaints about litter and incompatibility with the surrounding area fell on deaf ears. The structure is now slated for demolition in 2022 to make way for affordable housing, something HANC would have likely approved of in 1974.[403]

---

[400] *San Francisco Chronicle* (San Francisco, California), June 8, 1980: 262. NewsBank: America's News.
[401] Dexter Waugh, "Inside the Good Earth Commune" *San Francisco Chronicle* (San Francisco, California), September 17, 1972: 3. NewsBank: America's News.
[402] "UC Regents Bar Haight Residents" *San Francisco Chronicle* (San Francisco, California), March 16, 1973: 4. NewsBank: America's News.
[403] "A Future for Shipyard Here" *San Francisco Chronicle* (San Francisco, California), November 1, 1974: 3. NewsBank: America's News.

As early as 1970, efforts were made to revitalize the Haight. Acknowledging HANC's role as a representative group in the city, Mayor Alioto invited HANC to sit on the Fair Housing Planning Committee to help solve housing segregation problems in the city.[404] Additionally, Mayor Alioto formed the Mayor's Committee to Restore Haight-Ashbury. By 1974, HANC grew wary of downtown politicians interfering with Haight-Ashbury, so HANC sought Mayor Alioto's removal from office because he "repeatedly interfered in the internal affairs of this community by appointing friends and political allies of his – none of whom were residents of this neighborhood."[405] This trend would continue through the decade as the Haight's revival continued to draw attention from city politicians. For example, in 1977, the city planned to rehabilitate Upper Ashbury area dwellings, and HANC sued the City board for failure to file the proper environmental impact reports in order to protect lower-income residents and the character of the neighborhood.[406]

City documents suggest that the influx of a wealthier population into San Francisco allowed Haight Street merchants to sell to a larger clientele throughout the city. This unintended positive change in the neighborhood was joined by a city funded Rehabilitation Assistance Program (RAP) which was similar to Federally Assisted Code Enforcement (FACE). RAP was intended to preserve and maintain

[404] Fair Housing Committee's First Meeting" *San Francisco Chronicle* (San Francisco, California), April 17, 1973: 31. NewsBank: America's News.
[405] "Haight Group Seeks Ouster of Alioto" *San Francisco Chronicle* (San Francisco, California), October 1, 1974: 3. NewsBank: America's News.
[406] "Upper Ashbury Rehabilitation" *San Francisco Chronicle* (San Francisco, California), April 23, 1977: 9. NewsBank: America's News.

existing housing and a large swath of the Haight-Ashbury district was covered under RAP in 1974. With more money in the neighborhood and municipal dollars helping to repair Haight's housing stock, the old hippie haven was recovering from its hangover.[407] HANC feared receiving Rehabilitation Assistance Program funds because it may lead to rising rents which would price out its working class population.[408]

By 1975, the Haight, now distanced from the Counterculture Era for several years, had evolved into a similar neighborhood that preceded the invasion of the hippies. The streets were safer, the neighborhood remained racially and economically diverse. Houses were being purchased by middle-class families instead of real-estate speculators. The remaining hippies became yet another layer in the neighborhood makeup. The hippie institutions that remained, like the Free Medical Clinic and The Church of Good Earth Commune were concerned with the neighborhood as a whole instead of just the Counterculture element.[409] HANC involved itself in local politics by helping to organize a voter drive that planned to register 100,000 new voters in the city. The groups cited a disconnect between downtown politicians' agendas and those of the neighborhood residents.[410]

In 1977, wary of changes to the commercial district on Union street, Haight-Ashbury residents and HANC joined other neighborhood groups to discourage

[407] San Francisco Planning Dept. Greater Haight-Ashbury Cumulative Assessment Report, § (1984).
[408] Larry Liebert, "Haight Bickering Perils Housing Program" *San Francisco Chronicle* (San Francisco, California), April 16, 1974: 14. NewsBank: America's News.
[409] Beverly Stephen, "New Look in The Haight" *San Francisco Chronicle* (San Francisco, California), June 26, 1975: 20. NewsBank: America's News.
[410] "100,000 Goal in S.F. Voter Drive" *San Francisco Chronicle* (San Francisco, California), June 10, 1975: 16. NewsBank: America's News.

"overcommercialization" through zoning changes and limitations on liquor and restaurant licenses.[411]

HANC's ability to gather grassroots support for their agenda proved to be phenomenally successful, given that these neighborhood groups do not hold any actual political power. Indeed, HANC efforts did not simply focus on the betterment of Haight-Ashbury, the group also effected change at the citywide level.

THE FIGHT FOR THE CITY

HANC was "one of the major organizations in the district election movement." Starting in 1972, HANC fought for the first ballot measure to change the Board of Supervisors to be elected by district elections instead of a citywide vote. Traditionally, the board was elected by a city-wide vote, which in turn meant that the board was mostly made up of people from two wealthy neighborhoods and typically helped out business interests disproportionally. Proposition T was voted on in early November 1976. Prop T changed the election to a district-based system, where each Supervisor would be elected in eleven districts of equal population. Prop T passed with 115,192 "yes" votes to 104,524 "no" votes. A fuming Diane Feinstein, whose board seat was now in jeopardy, said many voters did not know what they were voting for, and "I believe it will be the end of

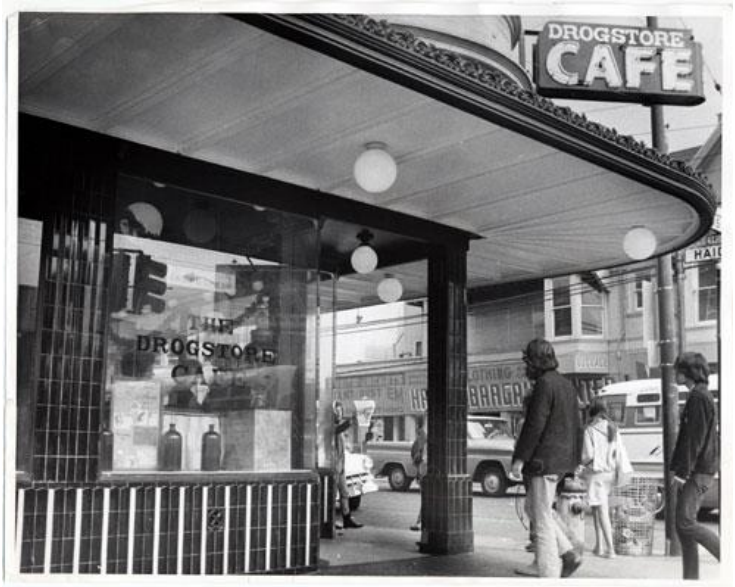
[411] Marshall Kilduff, "Shop Talk Stirs Neighborhoods" *San Francisco Chronicle* (San Francisco, California), December 14, 1977: 5. NewsBank: America's News.

mainstream government in San Francisco."[412] Feinstein would win the subsequent election, representing District #2. Indeed, all six incumbent Board members who ran in the first district election won. The first district election allowed the first gay man, black woman, single mother, and a left-liberal minority to be on the board. Harvey Milk was elected to District #5, which covers Haight-Ashbury down to Upper Market, as the first openly gay supervisor of the city and the third openly gay politician elected to any office in the United States. District #6, which includes most of the Mission District, elected Carol Ruth Silver, who aligned with Milk's progressive agenda. District #8 elected Dan White, who orchestrated the Moscone-Milk Murders on November 27, 1978. Dan White was described as a "fireman who ran on a strongly anti-crime platford [sic]."[413] White resigned his post the following year, citing the low pay for Supervisors ($9,600, annually), but he then unsuccessfully attempted to gain back his seat for the Eighth District. Additionally, White, being one of the more conservative supervisors, felt stifled by the growing progressive nature of San Francisco politics, specifically the implementation of racial quotas to the SFPD.[414] Harry Britt, another openly gay politician, was appointed to Milk's seat and won the following year's election for the Fifth District.[415] In the same election, the Board of Supervisors elected five women out of eleven total seats, the most in the history of San Francisco. Six months later, a

[412] Jerry Carroll and Dale Champion, "Prop T – It's a Whole New Ball Game" *San Francisco Chronicle* (San Francisco, California), November 24, 1976: 4. NewsBank: America's News.
[413] Jerry Burns "New S.F. District Supervisors – Six Incumbents Are Elected" *San Francisco Chronicle* (San Francisco, California), November 9, 1977: 1. NewsBank: America's News.
[414] "Dan White: A young man under pressure" *San Francisco Chronicle* (San Francisco, California), December 3, 1978: 12. NewsBank: America's News.
[415] "Feinstein Wins; Six Incumbents Lose" *San Francisco Chronicle* (San Francisco, California), December 16, 1979: 142. NewsBank: America's News.

single-issue election was held to repeal the district elections and resort back to citywide votes, called Prop A. Prop A passed by a razor thin margin of 1,600 votes (50.6% to 49.4%). Even with the return to citywide elections for the Board of Supervisors, the 1980 Board remained politically similar to the previous year, and the Board gained another woman member, making it a women majority board for the first time.[416] For the next two decades, San Francisco was the largest city in America to use citywide votes for their Board of Supervisors, instead of districts or wards. In 2000, the city voted for district elections again. The district elections, supported by the neighborhood movement, may not have revolutionized San Francisco politics, but it indelibly left a significant mark, particularly with the election of Harvey Milk and his subsequent assassination.[417]

THE EIGHTIES AND BEYOND



5.2 The Drogstore/Psalms Cafe, 1398 Haight

[416] Marshall Kilduff, "Women Now a Majority of the S.F. Supervisors" *San Francisco Chronicle* (San Francisco, California), November 7, 1980: 4. NewsBank: America's News.
[417] Christopher Lowen Agee, *The Streets of San Francisco*, 213.

The Psalms Café (1398 Haight, same location as the Drogstore)[418] closed at the end of 1979 and left a short note as to why: "It's no particular reason, but an entire situation. Smyle on."[419] The café was located at the northeast corner of Haight and Masonic. The last remaining 'hip' store that had direct ties to the Counterculture Era was now gone.

Haight's role as the epicenter for culturally focused politics continued well after the Diggers disbanded. The 1984 Democratic National Convention was to be held in San Francisco. In response, the San Francisco Hospitality Coalition, the Free Clinic, and HANC supported an "Unconvention" to be held at Golden Gate Park in protest against the DNC.[420] The request was denied, and protesters instead marched from the Moscone Center to the Hall of Justice, resulting in over 200 arrests. Many of the protestors came from a Dead Kennedy's concert which ended earlier in the day. Protestors spoke out against Democrats' links to big business, Reagan's proclivity for nuclear arms, and the Ku Klux Klan.[421]

In 1985, Haight-Ashbury was featured in a series called "Changing Neighborhoods" in the *Examiner*, which highlighted just how far the neighborhood had come from its low point in 1969. Property values consistently increased and new, wealthier clientele frequently shopped on Haight Street. To the residents of Haight, the "yuppies" entering Haight are just another group in a long list that have

[418] See Fig. 5.2.
[419] Charles Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury,* 299.
[420] "Hearing Today on S.F. Park 'Unconvention'" *San Francisco Chronicle* (San Francisco, California), May 15, 1984: 3. NewsBank: America's News.
[421] 1984 Democratic Convention Protests, San Francisco- newsreel https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3ZPSkQfzlqY

journeyed to the Haight, adding another layer to the social milieu of the neighborhood.[422] HANC continued to consistently fight any plan that would result in increased traffic within the Haight, such as the Kezar Stadium renovation in 1986 which planned to add parking for the local hospitals, while increasing the resident parking rates from $180 to $500 annually.[423]

On the former site of the Straight Theater, three storefronts and apartments above were built. In 1987, Thrifty Corp. obtained permission from the planning commission to take up all three store fronts for a Thrifty Jr. drug store. HANC fought against this decision, citing the chain's impact on local businesses.[424] Next year, the city and mayor ordered over forty 'homeless' people living in their vehicles to move from the streets surrounding the Panhandle. HANC pleaded with the city to construct more public restrooms and allow overnight parking to continue, mentioning that these people are solving the homeless problem by not sleeping in the streets and parks of the city. The mayor did order a temporary halt to police action after HANC's plea.[425]

Well into the twenty-first century, Haight-Ashbury retains its tolerant and progressive image, and the city as a whole has begun to embrace its Haightness. On August 1, 2002, Jerry Garcia Day was celebrated for the first time, hosted at the amphitheater in McLaren Park named after Garcia, the San Francisco Parks

---

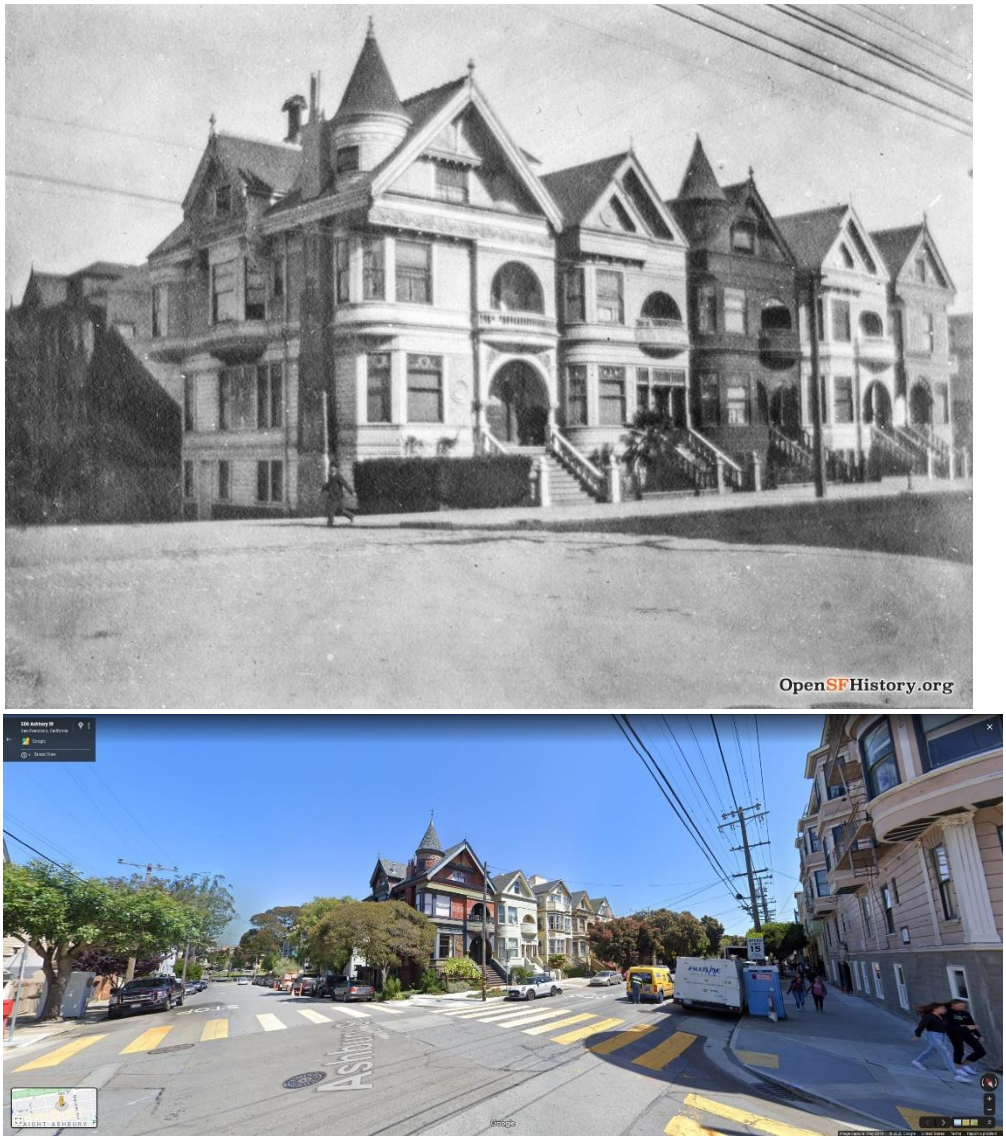
[422] Mildred Hamilton, "From Hippie to Yuppie" *San Francisco Chronicle* (San Francisco, California), February 10, 1985: 115. NewsBank: America's News.
[423] Evelyn Hsu, "Big Plans for Face-Lift at Kezar" *San Francisco Chronicle* (San Francisco, California), June 6, 1986: 5. NewsBank: America's News.
[424] J.H. Doyle, "Thrifty Gets Approval for a Location" *San Francisco Chronicle* (San Francisco, California), August 21, 1987: 39. NewsBank: America's News.
[425] Daren Garcia, "Haight Homeless Get Mayoral Reprieve" *San Francisco Chronicle* (San Francisco, California), January 14, 1988: 3. NewsBank: America's News.

Trust and the Excelsior Cultural Group stage events annually.[426] The entire city experienced an increase in the homeless population, and Haight-Ashbury was not immune. Even so, residents resisted efforts for harsher policing, such as enacting sit/lie laws that would give police permission to clear the sidewalks of the homeless. Instead, the community supported the very same tactic that HIP and other Counterculture groups (besides the Diggers) pushed for, community policing and foot patrols.[427]

The Haight-Ashbury neighborhood continues to emphasize its Counterculture history to the present day. Many community members tried to sustain Haight's hipness. In 2012, a documentary called *Haight-Ashbury: The Beat of a Generation*, includes interviews with many prominent people from all three themes of the Counterculture. Dr. Smith, Peter Coyote, Stanley Mouse, and dozens of musicians all participated. Also, business owners that are in the Haight as well as residents defended that there is still plenty of 'Haightness' in the neighborhood today. The people have changed, but the spirit remains. The Haight maintains a high level of historic fabric within its neighborhood. Compare old pictures with screenshots taken from Google Maps for an example of how intact many parts of

[426] Robert Selna, "Jerry Garcia Day – fans rock on" *San Francisco Chronicle* (San Francisco, California), August 3, 2009: 3. NewsBank: America's News.
[427] C.W. Nevius "It's time to get tough on toughs in Haight" *San Francisco Chronicle* (San Francisco, California), December 19, 2009: 3. NewsBank: America's News.

the neighborhood are.[428] Peter Coyote, a former Digger, opines on the legacy of Haight-Ashbury in the aforementioned film, "One of the fundamental misconceptions of the Haight-Ashbury was how serious people were, spiritually



5.3 & 5.4 Page and Ashbury

[428] See Fig. 5.3 - 5.6.

5.5 & 5.6 Waller and Cole

and politically, that the quest may have had a lot of wrong turns in it and a lot of mistakes but the quest itself was absolutely sincere."[429]

According to the 2018 American Community Survey, The Haight has more White people than the average in San Francisco. San Francisco is around 46%

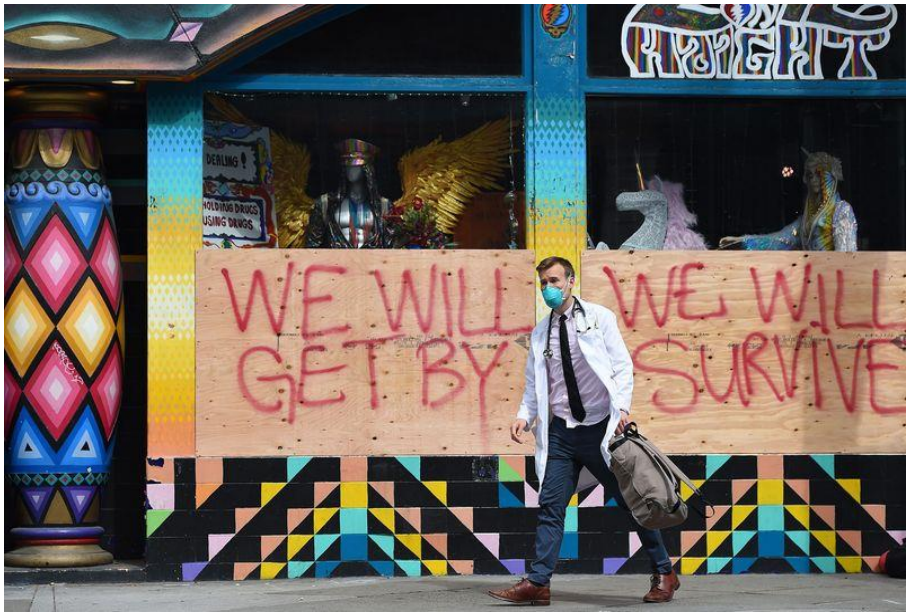
[429] Peter Coyote, Haight Film

White while the Haight, along with the Marina District and Noe Valley, are closer to the national average of 73%. The Haight does match the North and East parts of the city with its low owner-occupied rate of around 20-25%. The only place in the city with high owner-occupied rates is the Sunset District and the southern portion of the city. The Median Household Income remains on par with the rest of the city at around $140,000. The Median Gross Rent is around $2,000, which is higher than the cheapest parts of San Francisco, but much lower than some tracts that run upwards of $3,000. There is no Black household ownership in the Haight. Hispanic citizens are the only minorities performing better than the average in terms of home ownership in the Haight. The Poverty Status of the census tracts above and below the Panhandle is 10%. Family Households are just under 50% for the city, while 1/3 of the Haight's households have families. Over half the households in the Haight have non-family related roommates.

Perhaps one of the best examples of the Haight staying hip into the present day is from the on-going COVID-19 pandemic. Two members of the Board of Supervisors considered opening up Golden Gate Park for camping, to help the homeless population practice social distancing. This mirrors the largely unsuccessful efforts to open the park for camping during the Summer of Love – due to resistance from the same institution that is now promoting this practice.[430] Just as the Diggers set up in the basement of All Saints Episcopal and used their kitchen for their daily feeds, Food Runners, a non-profit focused on alleviating

[430] Trisha Thadani and Kevin Fagan, "Plan could put tents for homeless in parks" *San Francisco Chronicle* (San Francisco, California), April 30, 2020: A1. NewsBank: America's News.

hunger, has recently set up a kitchen at the Waller Center (1525 Waller) to bolster their operation, which mostly rely on food donations.[431] Finally, one picture captures all three themes existing on Haight street in 2020. A doctor from the Free Clinic walks to work past a psychedelic head shop, Love On Haight. The shop has responded to the city order of a partial lockdown by boarding up its shop windows with plywood. On the boards, the owner wrote some lyrics from the Grateful Dead's hit song "Touch of Grey". The lyrics were especially poignant considering the reason for the shutdown – "We will get by, We will survive."[432] Healthcare, the music, and community all together.[433]



5.7 Love on Haight, The Grateful Dead, and a Free Clinic doctor

[431] Justin Phillips, "Food Runners begins cooking meals" *San Francisco Chronicle* (San Francisco, California), April 21, 2020: A9. NewsBank: America's News.
[432] Bloomberg.com (Bloomberg), accessed March 22, 2020, https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2020-03-17/san-francisco-s-shelter-in-place-order-shows-u-s-what-s-to-come)
[433] See Fig. 5.7.

CHAPTER 6: PRESERVATION IN THE HAIGHT-ASHBURY

This final chapter establishes the current state of preservation in Haight-Ashbury. Preservation topics, such as Intangible Cultural Heritage and Integrity, play a significant role in recent preservation efforts in San Francisco, and any preservation effort for the Haight-Ashbury should take these into due consideration. Next, Haight-Ashbury properties already listed on the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) and demolished properties that have a direct link to the Counterculture are important foundations to conduct large scale preservation projects. Furthermore, other features beyond just physical buildings, such as parks and legacy businesses, play an equally important role and illustrate that citywide preservation efforts can help Haight-Ashbury. Finally, the vernacular and official preservation assets already present in the Haight-Ashbury, most notably, the tours, neighborhood plans, and literature that specifically address Haight-Ashbury's role in the Counterculture Movement will be critical for any future efforts.

INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE

UNESCO sets forth the most clear definition of Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) in the 2003 Convention: "the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills –as well as instruments, objects, artifacts and cultural spaces associated therewith—that communities, groups, and in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage."

There are certainly many aspects of UNESCO's definition of ICH that apply to the Haight and the Counterculture. Music, fashion, language, diet, and cultural spaces that define this group are relatively well known, or at least can be identified without too much previous knowledge. There are difficulties, though, applying ICH or TCP (Traditional Cultural Properties) to this group. The population that resided in the Haight is, for the most part, not currently living there. One of the key reasons why San Francisco has implemented (and proposed several more) cultural districts is in an effort to maintain the existing populations of cultural groups they deem at risk yet significant culturally. The hippies did not hang around long enough in the Haight to even be displaced. Haight-Ashbury provided a place for the Counterculture to grow, until it became large and mature enough to flourish beyond the neighborhood. Additionally, the cultural practices that define this movement are not in any great threat of disappearing. The San Francisco Sound has permanently left its mark on music. Universities are still the site of protests and activist groups. Health food stores seem to outnumber traditional grocers in certain parts of the country. Traditionally, cultural heritage assets are preserved because it allows for the continued practice associated with that asset and allow for people outside of that culture to be exposed to it. Instead, preserving assets in the Haight will not allow for the Summer of Love to repeat itself, but it will enhance this neighborhood's ability to act as a sort of pilgrimage site. Even during the Summer of Love, the Haight was still a functioning neighborhood with non-hip residents going about their day. People will not flock to the Haight to learn about

and experience a new culture, but to learn about the history of the aspects of the mainstream culture that found its origins in the Counterculture.

Intangible culture is relatively new to historic preservation and can be quite difficult to define, identify, and preserve. Fortunately, San Francisco already has established strategies to incorporate intangible culture with great success. One can draw from cultural districts in San Francisco and other efforts to preserve intangible culture around the country to look for guidance. Including intangible culture within the framework of any large-scale preservation project in Haight-Ashbury is of paramount importance for its ability to generate enthusiasm and allow for the greatest number of preservation tools possible for the city and neighborhood.

INTEGRITY

San Francisco Heritage notes that "the most controversial preservation standard is the 'integrity' requirement", in *Sustaining San Francisco's Living History.* Applying the integrity standard to places with social or cultural significance can be difficult, especially if the area has undergone great change.[434] The Haight provides a unique situation in applying association with a culture, or in this case, a counterculture, significant enough to be eligible for landmark protection. Most of the Cultural Heritage strategies such as the "Calle 24 SF" Latino Cultural District or "SoMa Pilipinas" Social Heritage District were built to

[434] Sustaining San Francisco's Living History: Strategies for Conserving Cultural Heritage Assets," (*San Francisco Heritage,* San Francisco. (2014)), 9.

preserve and protect an existing community from threats to physical buildings through landmark status and cultural activities.[435] The population that made the Haight the epicenter of the Counterculture Movement is no longer present. Indeed, the neighborhood is culturally significant because the population spread their ideas into the mainstream culture. Hence, the Haight's ability to grow beyond its borders caused the exodus of their population, and the cultural change to the wider population that happened after the exodus is what makes the Haight culturally significant. The Haight does not face the same kind of threat of demolition that other parts of San Francisco do, as there is no population to protect within the neighborhood. Those who view Haight-Ashbury as significant do so as a pilgrimage site. With this in mind, assessing the Haight's ability to convey its significance is not as simple as other cases. For example, none of the original hip stores along Haight street are still in business, but many of the same types of businesses exist as they did fifty years ago, especially head shops, a type of shop invented in the Haight. Rock and roll bands and poster artists no longer live here, but many of the places in which they lived and performed still exist. Despite the uniqueness of this situation, The author maintains that the Haight-Ashbury District, along with many individual structures within and outwith the district, retain enough integrity to convey their significance.

The City of San Francisco already has a Social Heritage Inventory Record which can be used to assess individual properties for their significance. This record

[435] Sustaining San Francisco's Living History, 10.

was used extensively for the Japantown Social Heritage Program and can easily be modified for a survey of Counterculture properties.

Nashville's Music Row is an excellent example of intangible culture in historic preservation. The buildings and recording studios along Music Row are chiefly recognized for their cultural production, and when certain sites were threatened with demolition, such as Studio A, a large, nationwide cohort helped to save the structure. Music is a clear similarity between San Francisco and Nashville in their cultural legacy. Music Row's preservation was helped by philanthropic efforts from individuals that had ties to the industry, not to mention the millions of country music fans across the country that helped direct media attention when demolition was threatened.[436] The threat of demolition is a common event that sparks a preservation effort. The Haight-Ashbury is relatively safe from demolition, for now. If any threats do arise, Nashville provides an excellent success story for preservation of intangible culture.[437]

The major difference between Nashville and San Francisco is that Nashville has made a concerted effort to retain its spot as the center of Country-Western music. A better example of historic designation for a defunct musical legacy is New York City's Tin Pan Alley. Five buildings were recently landmarked by NYC's Landmark Preservation Commission for their contribution to American music. The name refers to the constant sounds of pianos being made and played

[436] John Southern and Michael Andrew Tomlan. Beyond Bricks and Mortar: Music, Memory, and Preservation on Nashville's Music Row. (Cornell University Press, 2017.)
[437] John Southern's Master's Thesis, Beyond Bricks and Mortar: Music, Memory, and Preservation on Nashville's Music Row, discusses this more thoroughly.

which could be heard by anyone walking down the street. This is no longer the case, but Tin Pan Alley's contribution to popular American music, "often cited as the birthplace of American popular music for making sheet music available to countless American households," was so significant that the LPC still landmarked the properties for their association.[438]

NRHP NOMINATIONS/CITY LANDMARKS

The list of structures that are already either NRHP nominated properties or San Francisco City Landmarks, that have a direct relation to the Counterculture Movement is small. Updating nominations to include the relation to the Counterculture is a relatively straight forward process that can help expand the presence of the Counterculture in preservation. History does not stop, it is constantly being made, especially in structures that are already viewed as historic.

DOOLAN-LARSON BUILDING 557 ASHBURY: [439]

The Doolan-Larson Building is hugely significant to the Counterculture for both its location, at the intersection of Haight Street and Ashbury Street, and its association with hip-businesses during the period of significance, such as Mnasidika. The NRHP nomination notes this association but does not include as part of the criterion for nomination.[440][441] As previously mentioned, this building is the literal and figurative keystone for SF Heritage's future preservation efforts in Haight-Ashbury and will play an important role in the formation of any significant preservation project.

---

[438] "Press Release," LPC Designates Five Historic Buildings Associated with Tin Pan Alley, accessed July 1, 2020, https://www1.nyc.gov/site/lpc/about/pr2019/lpc-designates-five-historic-buildings-associated-with-tin-pan-alley.page.

[439] See Fig. 6.1

[440] Vincent Marsh, National Register of Historic Places nomination: Doolan, Larson Residence and Storefronts, San Francisco County, California: Marsh and Associates.

[441] "San Francisco's Doolan-Larson Building." San Francisco Heritage. (Accessed March 22, 2020. https://www.sfheritage.org/doolan-larson-building/).

6.1 Doolan-Larson Building, 557 Ashbury

WESTERFIELD HOUSE 1198 FULTON: [442]

The Westerfield House is already worthy of nomination for its pre-Counterculture history and architecture. The Eastlake style building was occupied by the Calliope Company in 1965, an underground movie, *Invocation of My Demon Brother*, was filmed in the house, and the Family Dog moved there in 1968, with the Grateful Dead and Big Brother visiting frequently.[443]

6.2 The Westerfield House, 1198 Fulton

[442] See Fig. 6.2
[443] Anne Bloomfield, National Register of Historic Places nomination: The William Westerfield House, San Francisco County, California.

PG & E SUB STATION J (WHISKY A GO GO) 568 SACRAMENTO: [444]

PG&E Substation J (568 Sacramento) is listed for its architectural features, but it was also turned into a music venue which hosted concerts for local rock bands, called Whisky A Go Go (not to be confused with the more famous LA locale). This fact is only mentioned as a brief line in the nomination but can easily be expanded to be included in the myriad venues in San Francisco that hosted rock concerts.[445]

6.3 PG & E Sub Station J (Whisky A Go Go), 568 Sacramento

[444] See Fig. 8.8
[445] Frederic C. Divine Assoc. Architects, National Register of Historic Places nomination: PG&E Substation J, San Francisco County, California.

CITY LIGHTS BOOK STORE, 261 COLUMBUS: [446]

City Lights Bookstore, founded by Lawrence Ferlingetti in 1953, served the hipster and the hippie in their quest for alternative literature and banned books. [447] The nation's first all-paperback bookstore, the store features an extensive and in-depth selection of poetry, fiction, translations, politics, history, philosophy, music, spirituality, and more, with a highly knowledgeable staff whose special book

6.4 City Lights Book Store, 261 Columbus

interests in many fields contribute to the hand-picked quality of what one sees on the shelves. "It is as if," says Ferlinghetti, "the public were being invited, in person and in books, to participate in that 'great conversation' between authors of all ages, ancient and modern." Recently, City Lights was in danger of closing down permanently because of the COVID-19 outbreak, but, through a grassroots funding

[446] See Fig. 8.9 & 8.10.
[447] San Francisco Landmark #228: City Lights Bookstore, accessed March 19, 2020, https://noehill.com/sf/landmarks/sf228.asp)

campaign, City Lights raised a half million dollars and has already reopened for business.[448]

SIGNIFICANT LOSSES

By far the most significant loss during this period was the Straight Theater (1702 Haight).[449] A former movie theater, then the first gay movie theater in the city was then turned into a dance/concert hall, funded by groups living right in the Haight. The Straight Theater was the only brick and mortar concert venue inside the Haight-Ashbury neighborhood during the sixties. There were plans to turn the Straight into a community center in the mid-seventies, but the plans were foiled by

6.5 The Straight Theater, 1702 Haight

[448] Mike Buhler "Learning from the San Francisco Legacy Business Program" Webinar, July 1, 2020.
[449] See Fig. 6.2.

a lack of funding and assistance from the city.[450] The Straight Theater was demolished in 1979.

The Winterland Ballroom, or just Winterland, lies outside of Haight-Ashbury, on Post and Steiner, but it was one of the largest rock venues in the city and became the regular venue for Bill Graham after the Fillmore West closed in

6.6 The Winterland Ballroom, 2101 Sutter

1971.[451] Before that, Winterland was used for the occasional concert that grew too large for the Fillmore West. The Grateful Dead performed dozens of times and recorded a video concert there in 1974. Martin Scorsese's, *The Last Waltz,* chronicled the final concert by The Band held at Winterland in 1976. The list of acts that performed at Winterland is innumerous and legendary.

[450] *San Francisco Chronicle* (San Francisco, California), May 18, 1979: 6. NewsBank: America's News.
[451] See Fig. 6.6.

THE PARKS

One important feature that led to Haight-Ashbury's role in the Counterculture Movement was its close proximity to several parks. Parks allowed for large gatherings, privacy, free events, and green space within the neighborhood. They are also mostly unaltered from the Counterculture Era. The sheer amount of park space that is considered part of the Haight allows it to easily be viewed as a cultural landscape, the physical features of the neighborhoods and parks have a direct connection to the neighborhood's role as the epicenter for the Counterculture Movement.

Buena Vista Park, officially San Francisco's oldest park, was founded in 1867.[452] The park boasts "one of the most expansive coast like oak forests remaining in San Francisco."[453] Indeed the abundant foliage was a key factor that made the park a popular 'cruising' spot for the LGBT population in San Francisco, Donna Graves explains further,

[452] See Fig. 6.7.
[453] "Buena Vista Park - Grassy Slope Views & Oldest Park in San Francisco," Golden Gate Park, January 7, 2017, https://goldengatepark.com/buena-vista-park.html.

"Cruising in Buena Vista Park in San Francisco's Haight-Ashbury neighborhood started as early as the 1960s and reached a peak in the 1980s. The activity became so popular in the early 1960s that the Haight-Ashbury Improvement Club convinced the city's Park and Recreation Department to cut down the shrubs."[454]

6.7 View from Buena Vista Park, 1886

The NRHP nomination for Golden Gate Park has many resources significant to the Counterculture listed within. Kezar Stadium, home to many gatherings and concerts, is included, but Hippie Hill, a gathering place for many events is unlisted. Notably, the Council for the Summer of Love met on the hill as well as its successor group, The Flame.[455] The Polo Grounds and the Panhandle section of the park hosted several official and unofficial Counterculture events mentioned in earlier chapters. The next update to the nomination should undoubtedly include the park's role in the Counterculture Movement.

[454] Donna Graves. (2016), 99.
[455] Douglas Nelson, National Register of Historic Places nomination: Golden Gate Park Historic District, San Francisco County, California: Royston Hanamoto Alley & Abey.

THE SHOPS

While no Hip shops or the HIP still exist in their current form, the present-day commercial corridor of Upper Haight Street reflects the types of shops that were common in the sixties more than it has at any other time between. There are head shops, cafes and coffee houses, libraries, bookstores, record stores, and restaurants with a focus on healthy food. One can even make a tangential connection with the Ben & Jerry's Ice Cream store at the corner of Haight and Ashbury, opened in 1990. This Vermont based ice cream company incorporates many of the ethical business practices championed by the HIP stores on Haight. The company also has an ice cream flavor called Cherry Garcia, a pun based on the lead guitarist and vocalist of the Grateful Dead, Jerry Garcia. This fact is especially relevant when trying to place Haight-Ashbury and the Counterculture within the context of ICH. There is no way to recreate the exact conditions of Haight-Ashbury between 1965-1968; it was a specific socio-economic-political situation. Efforts should be focused on recapturing the feeling of the neighborhood without needing to maintain the population that defined this era. Cicely Hansen, proprietor of Decades of Fashion at 1653 Haight, carries on the tradition of alternative and period fashion in the Haight. [456]

The Legacy Business Program was created "to recognize that longstanding, community-serving businesses can be valuable cultural assets of the City and to be a tool for providing educational and promotional assistance to Legacy Businesses

[456] *Summer of Love*, 55.

to encourage their continued viability and success."[457] All businesses that are thirty years old and have never been closed for more than two consecutive years can apply. Approved applications allow access to grants from the Legacy Business Historic Preservation Fund. From 2017-2018, The Legacy Business Program awarded seventy-two Business Assistance Grants for more than $600,000 total ($8,000 on average). Additionally, fourteen Rent Stabilization Grants were awarded for more than $160,000 total ($12,000 on average).[458] There are six legacy businesses in the Upper Haight Street Commercial District: Zam Zam (restaurant), Distractions (alternative fashion), Elite Sports Soccer, Escape from New York Pizza, FTC Skateboarding, and The Booksmith.[459] Distractions, at 1552 Haight, was founded in 1976 and sells Neo-Victorian/Steampunk wear and accoutrements. The Hippies of the Haight, especially early on, loved to wear Edwardian and Victorian clothes that they raided from thrift stores.[460] The Booksmith, founded in 1976, moved from 1746 Haight to 1644 Haight in 1985. The role of bookstores in the Counterculture is hugely significant, especially City Lights Bookstore and the *Love Book* controversy with the city. Bookstores acted as the battleground for First Amendment rights court cases. The Booksmith has been visited by many significant Counterculture icons, such as Hunter S Thompson, Allen Ginsberg, Timothy Leary, Peter Berg (Coyote), Grateful Dead members Phil

[457] "Office of Small Business," Legacy Business Registry | Office of Small Business, November 12, 2019, https://sfosb.org/legacy-business/registry)
[458] Mike Buhler "Learning from the San Francisco Legacy Business Program" Webinar, July 1, 2020
[459] "Office of Small Business," Legacy Business Registry | Office of Small Business, November 12, 2019, https://sfosb.org/legacy-business/registry)
[460] Barry Miles. *Hippie*. (London: Bounty Books, 2013), 30.

Lesh and Mickey Hart, and Lawrence Ferlinghetti.[461] The bookstore helps maintain the literary roots that helped form both the Beats of North Beach and the Hippies of the Haight.[462] The Legacy Business Registry can help the businesses along Haight Street, and there are several potential business that meet the thirty year requirement (or are very close to meeting) and maintain Counterculture characteristics that were prominent in the Haight in the late 1960s. Love On Haight (1400 Haight) is an artisan psychedelic fashion clothing store. They work with over 150 independent artists and are "dedicated to the revitalization of Haight Street by bringing back the color, creativity & consciousness that Haight street is historically known for."[463] The store donates part of its profits to fighting the homeless youth crisis, which was a major task for the hip institutions in the Haight during the end of the Counterculture Era (1968). The store specializes in tie-dye clothing, which was popularized by many groups within the Counterculture, such as the Grateful Dead, Janis Joplin, and Ken Kesey.

Another potential legacy business is Amoeba Records, founded in 1990, with the Haight location opening in 1997. Amoeba records is the largest independently owned record store chain in the nation. The 1855 Haight location is a converted bowling alley and has an absolutely staggering physical collection.[464] Many of the

[461] *San Francisco Chronicle* (San Francisco, California), May 16, 1988: 25. NewsBank: America's News.
[462] *San Francisco Chronicle* (San Francisco, California), December 11, 1985: 70. NewsBank: America's News.
[463] "About," Love on Haight, accessed March 21, 2020, https://loveonhaightsf.com/pages/about-1).
[464] See Fig. 6.8.

bands that formed the San Francisco Sound lived in the Haight and record stores help display the popularity of the music from this era.

Land of the Sun (1715 Haight) is a self-described 60s store and has been at the same location on Haight Street for 36 years.[465] Equal parts gift, clothing, and head

6.8 Amoeba Music, 1855 Haight

shop, Land of the Sun is a jack of all hip trades and helps keep the sixties vibe alive. These homegrown souvenir shops harken back to many hip stores that opened up on Haight street.

Tibet Stars (1707 Haight) is an Asian fashion accessories store that has been open for over 30 years. This store helps to represent the role eastern religions and culture affected in the formation of the Counterculture and how it influenced Hippie Fashion.

The Psychedelic Shop was the first head shop of its kind in the country. The Thelin brothers closed their shop in late 1967, but that first store helped inspire

[465] Land of The Sun, "60's Store, Variety Gift Shop, Family Owned," Land of The Sun, accessed March 21, 2020, https://landofthesun.com/).

hundreds of similar stores across the country. Many of the stores along Haight are at least partial headshops, typically with other Counterculture themed products as well. In just six blocks, there are at least ten head/smoke shops along Haight street.[466]

The Haight-Ashbury Street Fair, which occurs on the second Sunday of June every year, was founded by famous politician Harvey Milk. This event is the best contemporary re-creation of what Haight street was like during the Summer of Love, because it was common for Haight street traffic to come to a complete stop, due to a massive pedestrian presence. Today, the streets are closed during the street fair which somewhat resembles the anarchy of blocking traffic while still obeying city ordinances.

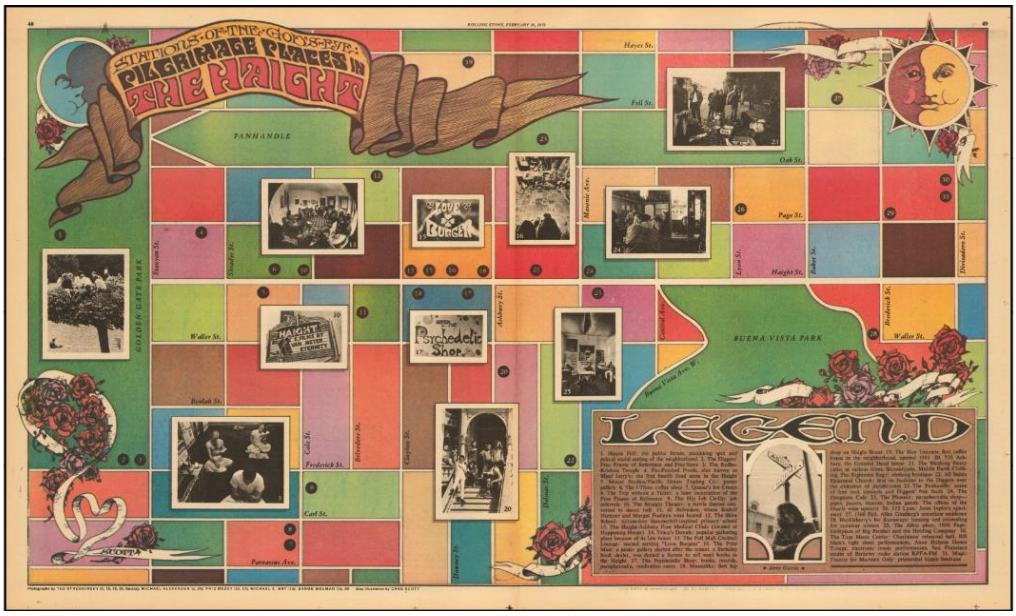
TOURS

There are several existing tours available in the Haight and surrounding areas. Some cover its architectural history, some cover its hip history, while some cover a mix of both. There is one paid tour with a guide that has been around since 1990 and covers a wide array of the neighborhood history and significance. The Flower Power Walking Tour is the oldest Haight-Ashbury walking tour and is run by Pam Brennan, a native of Haight-Ashbury and part of the Counterculture Era. The other guides of the Flower Power Tour all have first-hand Counterculture

[466] Sunshine Coast Smoke shop, 1312 Haight; Pipe Dreams, 1376 Haight; Goodfellas Gifts, 1432 Haight; Head Rush, 1448 Haight; Puff Puff Pass, 1467 Haight; Ashbury Tobacco Center, 1524 Haight; Distractions, 1552 Haight; Day Dreamz Smoke Shop, 1589 Haight; Cole Street Smoke Shop, 610 Cole; Haight Street Tobacco, 1827 Haight.

experience as well. SF City Guides offers free tours with three different guides.[467] Additionally, there have been several self-guided tours published in newspapers, newsletters, and books, where a proposed route is provided throughout the neighborhood with designated stops along the way.[468][469][470] Indeed, this tradition dates back to the Counterculture itself, when a tour was published in the *Chronicle* through western Golden Gate Park called the "hippie hill tour." The *Chronicle* reporter was guided through the park by writer Richard Brautigan, who did not self-identify as a hippie, but walked in the same circles.[471] Rolling Stone published another map of the Haight in 1976 as a way to identify significant hippie locations, a pilgrimage of sorts.[472] Then, in 1987, SF Heritage published a walking tour of Haight-Ashbury architectural history, with only a few paragraphs dedicated to hip sites.

[467] "Haight-Ashbury Tour Brings 1960s Feel," Our National Parks, January 2, 2015, http://www.ournationalparks.us/west/san-francisco-bay-area/haight_ashbury_tour_brings_1960s_feel_to_visitors/)
[468] Rand Richards. *Historic Walks in San Francisco: 18 Trails through the City's Past*. (San Francisco: Heritage House Publishers, 2014.), 138.
[469] "Pocket Guide to the Haight-Ashbury Summer of Love Walking Tour," *Pocket Guide to the Haight-Ashbury Summer of Love Walking Tour* (San Francisco, CA: Speedway Digital Printing, 2017))
[470] "Haight-Ashbury Map and Guide," *Haight-Ashbury Map and Guide* (San Francisco, CA: Rufus Guides, 2014).
[471] *San Francisco Chronicle* (San Francisco, California), June 4, 1967: 128. NewsBank: America's News.
[472] See Fig. 6.9.



6.9 Rolling Stone Haight Map, 1976

LITERATURE

Another common technique that typically accompanies walking tours and is quite popular in preservation include signage and literature. Signage is typically a permanent physical plaque located near sites of historic importance. Many of the locations in and outside the Haight may not be suitable for signage for a number of reasons. Many locations are in suburban neighborhoods where there simply is not space for permanent signs. Other locations are not significant enough to warrant an entire sign, and the cost of installing and maintaining such signs would be a challenge.

There are a few locations that may benefit from permanent signage: The Panhandle at Oak and Ashbury, as already mentioned, is a significant location in the Haight for its relation to the Diggers, Hell's Angels, and the many other events

that have occurred on or near that spot.[473] There is enough history to justify a sign, it would be on public property, and the sign would not violate any rights of way. Golden Gate Park proper also has several locations where a sign could conceivably be a public good. The Haight street entrance to the park is the primary location where one would enter the park from the neighborhood today and in the 60s. A general information sign would fit best at this location as the foot traffic is high

6.10 A typical weekend at the Panhandle in 1967

and no event occurred at this location of particular significance. Alvord Lake would also serve this purpose well, not known for anything in particular except as a popular hangout spot during the era, information for both the Haight and Golden Gate Park could be placed here. Hippie Hill (or a location with a view of said hill,

[473] See Fig. 6.10.

perhaps on Robin Williams Meadow) served as the ad hoc meeting spot for many events and also for the hippies who just wanted to 'be'. There is no paved path toward the hill but there are tell-tale signs of walking traffic on and around the hill. Kezar Stadium hosted myriad meetings for all things hip, it has undergone renovations since the Counterculture Era, but the overall aesthetic of the stadium is relatively similar, and its close location to the Haight makes it an easy spot to visit. The Haight street entrance to Buena Vista Park can serve as another general-purpose information sign. The most significant event at Buena Vista was the Death of Hippy [sic] event, which started at the top of the park. The entrance is quite open compared to the rest of the park with its century old oak trees creating a dense forest-like atmosphere. Between the Haight Street entrance to Buena Vista and the Haight Street entrance to Golden Gate Park is the backbone of the neighborhood, the Haight Street commercial corridor. Attaching signs at either end will be easily accessible to tourists and passersby and maximize the effectiveness of the signage. Lastly, the Polo Grounds, which served as the meeting point of the Human Be-In – quite possibly the greatest hip event organized in the era -- easily deserves individual recognition, for both its association with famous people in American history and for significant events in the course of American history. The polo grounds are massive and could easily support the installation of a sign as well as having enough historical information to display.

Literature, acting as supplementary information for guided and self-guided tours, as an accompaniment to signage, or as a singular product, is another option to help expand the current preservation tools for the Haight. Every existing self-

guided tour available already includes a modicum of additional information about the neighborhood and locations. This can be expanded and standardized as there is great variability among the tours. Information on the era in general, its significance, and building/site specific information is all useful and desired information. One of the most substantial pieces of literature for the entire history of the Haight and the Counterculture was created during the 50th anniversary of the Summer of Love by SF Free City Guides.[474] This brochure highlights both the architectural and cultural significance of the Haight, with a map of significant properties and detailed explanations of each of the structure's roles in the Haight's history. Another wonderful examples is the *Haight-Ashbury Map and Guide* made by Rufus Guides and authored by Katherine Powell Cohen, a city historian.[475] This strategy, combining maps and tours with accompanying literature, appears to be the best way to help continue to expand the interest in the Counterculture and the Haight. The information in this thesis, with maps and building descriptions can be used to create a master map of the Haight and the rest of San Francisco. The tours and guides are all created by private individuals. Efforts by the city or other preservation groups can lend an air of legitimacy and standardization to maps and tours of Haight-Ashbury.

Between 2011 and 2015, San Francisco Planning, San Francisco Municipal Transportation Agency, and the San Francisco Department of Public Works

[474] "Pocket Guide to the Haight-Ashbury Summer of Love Walking Tour," *Pocket Guide to the Haight-Ashbury Summer of Love Walking Tour* (San Francisco, CA: Speedway Digital Printing, 2017))
[475] "Haight-Ashbury Map and Guide," *Haight-Ashbury Map and Guide* (San Francisco, CA: Rufus Guides, 2014).

created the Haight-Ashbury Public Realm Plan Report. The report details efforts to improve key intersections and streetscape elements. The original list of improvements, made by the Haight-Ashbury Merchants Association (HAMA), that started the report included the creation of historic markers and pathways.[476] The report notes that the neighborhood still retains a bohemian ambiance, noting the unique character of the businesses and the ample vegetation. One of the five concepts discussed at community engagement meetings was the identity of the neighborhood. Emphasizing the history and the unique culture of the neighborhood was important to many residents.[477] Notably, the residents typically favored emphasizing all of Haight-Ashbury's history, not just what happened in the sixties.[478] The Counterculture history should be celebrated, not caricatured – "Artistic expressions of this culture hold special appeal."[479] Other ideas to celebrate Haight Street's identity include sidewalk history, wayfinding tourist signs, and a gateway arch. The intersections of Haight and Stanyan and Haight and Ashbury both had preservation treatments as high priorities. For Stanyan, a gateway arch into the park and public art were second and third in importance, respectively. For Ashbury, an intersection marker was the second most important element to improve the space.[480] For the creation of new signage, residents responded equally favorable to transit and points of interest signs. For expressions

[476] San Francisco Planning Dept., "Haight-Ashbury Public Realm Plan: Draft Report," § (2015), 2.
[477] San Francisco Planning Dept., "Haight-Ashbury Public Realm Plan: Draft Report," § (2015), 13.
[478] San Francisco Planning Dept., "Haight-Ashbury Public Realm Plan: Draft Report," § (2015), 18.
[479] San Francisco Planning Dept., "Haight-Ashbury Public Realm Plan: Draft Report," § (2015), 22.
[480] San Francisco Planning Dept., "Haight-Ashbury Public Realm Plan: Draft Report," § (2015), 28.

of identity, residents favored artistic elements and crosswalks equally, with sidewalk plaques coming in third and banners a distant fourth.[481] In the finished report, neighborhood identity markers are listed among the confirmed treatments for Haight Street. The intersection with Ashbury also has proposed bulb-outs to create a more pedestrian space with room to include "etched history fact band showcasing words, people, phrases unique to Haight, bronze history plaques showcasing moments throughout the neighborhood's history."[482] The report calls for a history plaque band at the Stanyan and Masonic intersections as well. HAMA and DPW are the lead agencies for the History Plaques along Haight Street.

Additionally, The Neighborhood Commercial Buildings Historic Resource Survey, conducted in the summers of 2014 and 2015, states:

> "This NCD zoning district [Along Haight Street, from Central Street to Stanyan Street] displays many high-style Victorian-era residences, residences-turned-commercial properties, mixed-use and commercial properties with largely intact storefronts that are associated with the LGBTQ history and counter-culture movement."[483]

The survey identified three different types of structures: The individual historic properties, properties that contributed to a "cluster" of buildings related by style or property type, and properties that did not appear historic at the time of the survey. Of all the commercial districts surveyed, Haight Street has the highest concentration of

[481] San Francisco Planning Dept., "Haight-Ashbury Public Realm Plan: Draft Report," § (2015), 30.
[482] San Francisco Planning Dept., "Haight-Ashbury Public Realm Plan: Draft Report," § (2015), 56.
[483] Haight Street Neighborhood Commercial District (NCD), San Francisco Planning Department § (n.d.), 1.

individual and "cluster" structures, with zero structures deemed to be non-historic. In the seven city blocks from Stanyan to Central, the only non-listed structure is the Chinese Immersion School, which is historic in its own right, but not a commercial property. The next best performing commercial corridor is on Fillmore Street from Bush Street to Jackson Street, with six contiguous blocks of individual or "cluster" structures. The other commercial corridors featured many non-historic properties interspersed throughout. Other neighborhoods surveyed include Pacific Heights, Richmond District, Sunset District, Noe Valley, Portola (Ulloa Street to 15th Ave), Balboa Park, and The Mission District (from Cesar Chavez Street to Randall Street).[484] This survey establishes the Haight Street Neighborhood Commercial District as one of the best-preserved commercial districts outside of the city's historic center. The existing documentation of Haight-Ashbury provides a robust foundation for future preservation efforts in the district that this thesis seeks to expand.

[484] "Planning Department," Neighborhood Commercial Buildings Historic Resource Survey | Planning Department, accessed May 16, 2020, https://sfgov.org/sfplanningarchive/neighborhood-commercial-buildings-historic-resource-survey)

CONCLUSION

"What remains inspiring about the hippies, for all their foolishness and narcissism, is that they tried to find out the answer. They pursued intense experiences for their own sake. As much as Cabrillo and Portola, they were explorers, but the terra incognita they ventured into was inside them. Forests have been sacrificed by people pondering the legacy of the sixties. What is the legacy of an epiphany? The societal impact of a vision? "How do I know if it will last? And if it doesn't turn out, who cares? The true motto for the sixties was Nietzsche's aphorism, "Not the intensity but the duration of high feelings makes high men.""[485]

The Counterculture and its most popular pilgrimage site, the Haight-Ashbury, provides a challenging and unique set of circumstances in which to assess historical significance. Similar to other areas of intangible social heritage, some preservation tools do not always work in an efficient manner. Forming any cohesive Social Heritage District, or a traditional NRHP District is difficult and may not be necessary. There is no great danger to either the culture, or the neighborhood it is associated with. 'Soft' preservation tools, which already exist in some form, can effectively maintain Haight-Ashbury as the pilgrimage site for those who wish to visit. The existing resources of walking tours and maps should be expanded and approved by a large official body, such as the National Trust or SF Heritage.

[485] Gary Kamiya. *Cool Gray City of Love: 49 Views of San Francisco*, 316.

This thesis is not comprehensive. There is still much to discover about the Counterculture, and, being just over fifty years old, it is still unclear how influential this cable car suburb was for the Counterculture Movement. One thing is clear, though, the hippies and their ideas are still ever-present. The Citywide Historic Context Statement for LGBTQ History in San Francisco took over five years to complete, while this master's thesis is limited to a little more than a year. Additionally, the author was only able to visit San Francisco for a total of eight non-consecutive days. So, between time and location, there is much more research to be conducted on this subject. The author relied on works that used extensive interviews as primary sources to make up for the lack of time afforded, but a true comprehensive effort should include first-hand interviews with the many surviving individuals and groups that feature so prominently in this thesis.

Additionally, choosing Haight-Ashbury as a geographic area of focus proved difficult. It is evident that many significant properties lie far outside even the most generous neighborhood borders. This remains true when one expands beyond the City and County of San Francisco. Significant sites of the Counterculture Movement are spread across the country, in cities and rural areas. Places in the Bay Area, Los Angeles, New York City, and other locales need research of their own in order to help form a comprehensive preservation effort.

Even still, the amount of information left out of this thesis that resides within the geographic boundary is staggering, leaving much more to do for future preservation plans. Regarding Chapter 1, the history of North Beach and the Beats deserves greater attention than this thesis provided, deserving of an equally

substantive treatment. The architectural history of Haight-Ashbury, although partially covered herein, is also worthy of a more thorough investigation. The author was unable to obtain an architectural survey conducted on Haight-Ashbury in 1975, which formed the basis of the San Francisco Heritage Spring 1984 Newsletter. Chapter 2 is lacking in its coverage of the religious aspects of the Counterculture, namely Eastern religions such as Hinduism and Buddhism. Additionally, Eastern cultural influences are markedly absent from this text and require due consideration and research in future endeavors. For Chapter 3, the influence of Berkeley, The New Left, and the SDS is not as complete as it deserves, given its wide-reaching impact on U.S. politics. Chapter 4, being the most expansive chapter in terms of scope, is lacking in several areas. Most significantly, the *San Francisco Oracle* takes center stage in the Underground Newspaper movement, when there are dozens of others that were skimmed over due to limitations. Furthermore, several different types of art were passed over in order to focus on Rock Poster Art, and only a few examples of the Counterculture's impact on business and commerce are explained. Finally, the San Francisco Sound only received a cursory treatment, given it is one of the most significant contributions made by the Counterculture. The Grateful Dead acted as my primary example of these contributions, but there are many more groups and individuals that were instrumental in the formation and promulgation of the San Francisco Sound. Several universities in California have extensive archives of Counterculture materials that the author was unable to access as well as the San Francisco Public Library archives. Since Chapter 5 essentially focuses on city and

neighborhood politics from 1970 to the present-day, this narrative should be extended further into the past to explain its development more fully. Chapter 6 should be expanded to include more property descriptions and possible treatments, more examples of preserving cultural heritage in other cities, and a more detailed description of the preservation and planning climate in San Francisco.

This thesis established the causes of the Counterculture Movement and the Haight-Ashbury's role in it, from city history to the foundational events and individuals that helped make Haight synonymous with Hippies. Next, three clear, distinct themes were used to organize the significant contributions made during the period. Finally, the planning and preservation efforts that occurred after 1970 are documented to establish the current preservation climate of the neighborhood along with any pending or proposed preservation efforts.

When conducting research for his dissertation, Bruce Harrah-Conforth feared that he would not be able to find the original members of the Haight-Ashbury community. Instead, he found the opposite, the community never died. The media focused its attention elsewhere, the physical remains of the Counterculture were scattered, "but physical proximity does not a community make."[486] A commitment to a shared belief system where a group can play out its "situational context" is the defining feature of a folk community. The folks of Haight-Ashbury created a community to order itself and find its destiny. This is a basic, fundamental human behavior, and that is why the spirit of Haight-Ashbury lives on far past the

[486] Bruce M. Harrah-Conforth, "The Rise and Fall of a Modern Folk Community: Haight-Ashbury, 1965-1967," (1990).

Summer of Love. Haight-Ashbury "was the dream of self, shared by a community, magnified by traditional resources, and focused through the temper of the moment."[487]

The Counterculture is sometimes viewed as a flash-in-the-pan event, fizzling out quickly and relegated to some back-corner of American history. This thesis, the author hopes, dispels such ideas, and establishes significant, concrete, contributions to American culture, history, politics, and even economics made by groups and individuals belonging to the Counterculture within Haight-Ashbury. The author maintains that Haight-Ashbury's contribution to the Counterculture Movement is massively significant, and its use as a pilgrimage site of the Counterculture Movement is clear proof that even today, a significant population of Americans (and beyond) hold Haight-Ashbury as a culturally significant geographic area. Because of this, national, state, and local historic preservation institutions should pursue any and all efforts that seek to maintain Haight-Ashbury as a culturally significant location for the Counterculture Movement.

"The spirit of the sixties, which is really just another way of saying the free spirit, lives on in the enriched lives of a million normal people. The site that epitomizes the hippie movement cannot be urban." The ultimate goal of the movement, purported by several members, was to leave Haight and San Francisco and become universal. So, picking a building, or structure, to represent the movement is folly. "Instead, walk through the Haight Street entrance to Golden

[487] Bruce M. Harrah-Conforth, "The Rise and Fall of a Modern Folk Community: Haight-Ashbury, 1965-1967," (1990).

Gate Park, pass by Alvord Lake, go under the roadway and sit upon Hippie Hill, gaze out over the meadow. Walk by the Children's playground, take a lap around Kezar Stadium, feel the open sky."[488]

[488] Gary Kamiya. *Cool Gray City of Love: 49 Views of San Francisco*, 317.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BOOKS

Agee, Christopher Lowen. *The Streets of San Francisco: Policing and the Creation of a Cosmopolitan Liberal Politics, 1950-1972*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2016.

Anderson, Terry H. *The Movement and the Sixties*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Belasco, Warren James. *Appetite for Change: How the Counterculture Took on the Food Industry*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007.

Borsodi, Ralph. *Seventeen Problems of Man and Society*. Anand: Charotar Book Stall, 1968.

Borsodi, Ralph. *This Ugly Civilization*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1929.

Cavan, Sherri. *Hippies of the Haight*. St. Louis: New Critics Press, 1972.

Cohen, Katherine Powell. *San Francisco's Haight-Ashbury*. Charleston, SC: Arcadia Pub., 2008.

DAlessandro, Jill, Colleen Terry, Victoria Binder, Dennis McNally, Joel Selvin, and Ben van Meter. *Summer of Love: Art, Fashion, and Rock and Roll*. San Francisco: Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, de Young, 2017.

Frank, Thomas. *The Conquest of Cool: Business Culture, Counterculture, and the Rise of Hip Consumerism*. Chicago, IL: Univ. of Chicago Press, 2006.

Gleason, Ralph J. *The Jefferson Airplane and the San Francisco Sound*. New York: Ballantine Books, 1969.

Golding, Peter, and Barry Miles. *Rock Graphic Originals: Revolutions in Sonic Art from Plate to Print 55-88*. London: Thames and Hudson, 2018.

Grushkin, Paul. *The Art of Rock*. Artabras, 2015.

Hall, Bolton. *Three Acres and Liberty*. Norwood, MA: The MacMillan Company, 1918.

Harrison, Hank. *The Dead*. San Francisco: Archives, 1991.

Huxley, Aldous. *The Doors of Perception*. New York: Harper Perennial, 2009.

Kamiya, Gary. *Cool Gray City of Love: 49 Views of San Francisco*. New York, NY: Bloomsbury USA, an imprint of Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2014.

Martin, Bradford D. *The Theater Is in the Street: Politics and Performance in Sixties America*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2004.

McDonough, Jack. *San Francisco Rock: The Illustrated History of San Francisco Rock Music*. San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1985.

McKenna, Kristine, and David Hollander. *Notes from a Revolution: Com/Co, the Diggers & the Haight*. Santa Monica (Calif.): Foggy Notion Books, 2012.

Miles, Barry. *Hippie*. London: Bounty Books, 2013

Miller, Timothy. *The 60s Communes: Hippies and Beyond*. Syracuse, NY: Univ. Press, 2002.

Miller, Timothy S. *The Hippies and American Values*. University of Tennessee Press, 2012.

Perry, Charles. *The Haight-Ashbury: A History*. New York, NY: Wenner Books, 2005.

Perry, Helen Swick. *The Human Be-In*. New York: Basic Books, 1970.

Rohé Fred. *The Complete Book of Natural Foods*. Boulder: Shambhala, 1983.

Rosenkranz, Patrick. *Rebel Visions: The Underground Comix Revolution, 1963-1975*. Seattle, WA: Fantagraphics Books, 2008.

Sale, Kirkpatrick. *Students for a Democratic Society*. New York: Random House, 1973.

Simmons, J. L., and Barry Winograd. *Its Happening: A Portrait of the Youth Scene Today*. Santa Barbara, Cal.: Marc-Laird publication, 1968.

Shurtleff, William, and Akiko Aoyagi. *History of The Natural and Organic Foods Movement (1942-2020): Extensively Annotated Bibliography and Sourcebook*. Soyinfo Center, 2020.

Smith, David E., and John Luce. *Love Needs Care: A History of San Francisco's Haight-Ashbury Free Medical Clinic and Its Pioneer Role in Treating Drug-Abuse Problems*. Little, Brown, and Co., 1971.

Wachsberger, Ken. *Voices from the Underground*. East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 2011.

White, William L. *Slaying the Dragon: The History of Addiction Treatment and Recovery in America*. Bloomington, IL: Chestnut Health Systems/Lighthouse Institute, 2014.

Wolfe, Tom. *Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test*. New York: Bantam, 1999.

THESES/DISSERTATIONS

Campbell, Richard Bret, "A Sense of place: Examining music-based tourism and its implications in destination venue placement," 2011.

Doyle, Michael William. "The Haight-Ashbury Diggers and the Cultural Politics of Utopia, 1965-1968," 1997.

Harrah-Conforth, Bruce M. "The Rise and Fall of a Modern Folk Community: Haight-Ashbury, 1965-1967," 1990.

Southern, John, and Michael Andrew Tomlan. "Beyond Bricks and Mortar: Music, Memory, and Preservation on Nashville's Music Row." Cornell University Press, 2017.

Standish, Robert O., "A Reality Trip on The Freaks: A Historiography of The Counterculture of the 1960s." Humboldt State University, 2006.

PLANNING DOCUMENTS

Bloomfield, Anne, National Register of Historic Places nomination: The William Westerfield House, San Francisco County, California.

Frederic C. Divine Assoc. Architects, National Register of Historic Places nomination: PG&E Substation J, San Francisco County, California.

Graves, Donna. Citywide historic context statement for LGBTQ history in San Francisco, § (2016).

Marsh, Vincent, National Register of Historic Places nomination: Doolan, Larson Residence and Storefronts, San Francisco County, California: Marsh and Associates.

San Francisco Planning Dept. Greater Haight-Ashbury Cumulative Assessment Report, § (1984).

https://archive.org/details/greaterhaightash2819sanf/mode/2up

San Francisco Planning Dept. The Haight-Ashbury: A Brief Description of the Past, § (1972). https://ia801306.us.archive.org/14/items/haightashburybri00sanf/haightashburybri00sanf.pdf.

San Francisco Planning Dept. Haight-Ashbury public realm plan: draft report, § (2015). https://sfplanning.org/haight-ashbury-public-realm-plan#timeline

San Francisco Planning Dept. Upper Ashbury Rehabilitation Assistance Program: Environmental Impact Statement. § (1976)

Sustaining San Francisco's Living History: Strategies for Conserving Cultural Heritage Assets," *San Francisco Heritage* (2014)

WEBSITES

"2011: View Registry by Induction Years: Recording Registry: National Recording Preservation Board: Programs at the Library of Congress: Library of Congress." The Library of Congress. Accessed March 18, 2020. https://www.loc.gov/programs/national-recording-preservation-board/recording-registry/registry-by-induction-years/2011/.

"About This Program: National Recording Preservation Board: Programs at the Library of Congress: Library of Congress." The Library of Congress. Accessed March 18, 2020. https://www.loc.gov/programs/national-recording-preservation-board/about-this-program/?dates=2002-2099.

Ashes, Light Into. "1974: Wall of Sound Technical Specs." 1974: Wall of Sound Technical Specs, January 1, 1970. http://deadsources.blogspot.com/2012/12/1974-wall-of-sound-technical-specs.html.

Baker, David R. Alexander, Sophie. "San Francisco's Shelter-in-Place Order Shows U.S. What's to Come" Bloomberg.com. Bloomberg. Accessed March 22, 2020. https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2020-03-17/san-francisco-s-shelter-in-place-order-shows-u-s-what-s-to-come.

"Biography." Rick Griffin Designs. Accessed June 14, 2020. https://www.rickgriffindesigns.com/biography.

"Bob Weir Gives Fascinating Backstory on How 'Truckin'" Came to Be Thanks to the Dead's Travels." Relix Media, July 26, 2018.

https://relix.com/blogs/detail/bob_weir_gives_fascinating_backstory_on_how_truckin_came_to_be_thanks_to_the_deads_travels/.

"Buena Vista Park - Grassy Slope Views & Oldest Park in San Francisco." Golden Gate Park, January 7, 2017. https://goldengatepark.com/buena-vista-park.html.

"Dodge Rebellion," Dodge Promotional Brochure, accessed May 3, 2020, http://www.secondchancegarage.com/public4/rebellion.cfm)

Haight-Ashbury. Accessed February 27, 2020. http://www.edstephan.org/Brushes/drl.Stephan.Haight.html.

Haight-Ashbury: The Spare Change Tour! Accessed February 27, 2020. http://www.fringeunderground.com/haightashbury.html.

"Haight-Ashbury Tour Brings 1960s Feel." Our National Parks, January 2, 2015. http://www.ournationalparks.us/west/san-francisco-bay-area/haight_ashbury_tour_brings_1960s_feel_to_visitors/.

Harrington, Michael. "We Few, We Happy Few, We Bohemians: Esquire: AUGUST 1972." Esquire. Accessed May 3, 2020. https://classic.esquire.com/article/1972/8/1/we-few-we-happy-few-we-bohemians.

"Howard Luck Gossage: 'The Socrates of San Francisco.'" The Beat Museum, October 28, 2014. https://www.kerouac.com/beat_event/howard-luck-gossage-socrates/.

Grafik. "Victor Moscoso." Grafik. Accessed June 14, 2020. https://www.grafik.net/category/archive/victor-moscoso.

"Mayor's Office of Housing and Community Development." Preservation of Historic Residential Building in Haight-Ashbury Prevents Eviction | Mayor's Office of Housing and Community Development. Accessed February 27, 2020. https://sfmohcd.org/article/preservation-historic-residential-building-haight-ashbury-prevents-eviction.

"Neighborhood Commercial Buildings Historic Resources Survey." Neighborhood Commercial Buildings Historic Resources Survey | SF Planning. Accessed May 29, 2020. https://sfplanning.org/project/neighborhood-commercial-buildings-historic-resources-survey.

"New Record Price for American Comic Art." ICv2. Accessed June 14, 2020. https://icv2.com/articles/news/view/37554/new-record-price-american-comic-art.

Ogden Publications, Inc. “Living the Good Life.” Mother Earth News. Accessed May 29, 2020. https://www.motherearthnews.com/homesteading-and-livestock/living-the-good-life-zmaz77mazbon.

Panek, Tracey. “Peace, Love & Bell Bottoms: Celebrating 50 Years of an Iconic Style.” Levi Strauss & Co, October 3, 2019. https://www.levistrauss.com/2019/08/08/peace-love-bell-bottoms-celebrating-50-years-of-an-iconic-style/.

The Plowboy Interview - Dr. Ralph Borsodi. Accessed May 7, 2020. https://soilandhealth.org/wp-content/uploads/0303critic/Brsdi.intrvw/ThePlowboy-Borsodi Interview.htm.

Port Huron Statement. Accessed June 3, 2020. http://www2.iath.virginia.edu/sixties/HTML_docs/Resources/Primary/Manifestos/SDS_Port_Huron.html.

“Press Release.” LPC Designates Five Historic Buildings Associated with Tin Pan Alley. Accessed July 1, 2020. https://www1.nyc.gov/site/lpc/about/pr2019/lpc-designates-five-historic-buildings-associated-with-tin-pan-alley.page.

“Rock Medicine: Non-Judgmental Event Medicine and EMS since 1973.” Rock Medicine | Non-Judgmental Event Medicine and EMS since 1973. Accessed May 1, 2020. http://www.rockmed.org/about.

“Roots of the Grateful Dead” | Dead Roots. Accessed June 14, 2020. http://deadroots.net/.

Rosen, Laurel, and Sally McGrane. “The Revolution Will Not Be Catered / How Bay Area Food Collectives of the `60s Set the Stage for Today's Sophisticated Tastes.” SFGate. San Francisco Chronicle, August 6, 2012. https://www.sfgate.com/news/article/THE-REVOLUTION-WILL-NOT-BE-CATERED-How-Bay-Area-3304646.php.

“San Francisco's Doolan-Larson Building.” San Francisco Heritage. Accessed March 22, 2020. https://www.sfheritage.org/doolan-larson-building/

San Francisco - Haight-Ashbury - Golden Gate Park. Accessed February 27, 2020. http://www.geocities.ws/judcomp/sf3.htm.

San Francisco Landmark #228: City Lights Bookstore. Accessed March 19, 2020. https://noehill.com/sf/landmarks/sf228.asp.

"SOFII." Howard Luck Gossage – the 'mad man' who changed the world. Accessed June 14, 2020. https://sofii.org/article/howard-luck-gossage-the-mad-man-who-changed-the-world-1.

"Stanley Mouse." artnet. Accessed June 14, 2020. http://www.artnet.com/artists/stanley-mouse/.

"The Land Ethic." The Aldo Leopold Foundation, May 14, 2020. https://www.aldoleopold.org/about/the-land-ethic/

"Union Street in San Francisco: History." Union Street in San Francisco | History. Accessed February 27, 2020. https://www.unionstreet.com/history.htm.

Welcome to National Association of Free and Charitable Clinics | National Association of Free and Charitable Clinics. Accessed March 17, 2020. https://www.nafcclinics.org/

Western Front. Accessed February 27, 2020. http://www.chickenonaunicycle.com/Western Front.htm.

Wiener, Anna. "The Complicated Legacy of Stewart Brand's 'Whole Earth Catalog.'" The New Yorker. The New Yorker, November 24, 2018. https://www.newyorker.com/news/letter-from-silicon-valley/the-complicated-legacy-of-stewart-brands-whole-earth-catalog.

Zap Comix at Comixjoint.com. Accessed June 14, 2020. https://comixjoint.com/zapcomix.html.

JOURNAL ARTICLES

Barton, Stephen E. "The Neighborhood Movement in San Francisco." *Berkeley Planning Journal* 2, no. 1 (2012). https://doi.org/10.5070/bp32113201.

Belouin, Sean J., and Jack E. Henningfield. "Psychedelics: Where We Are Now, Why We Got Here, What We Must Do." *Neuropharmacology* 142 (2018): 7–19. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.neuropharm.2018.02.018

Buckley, James Michael, and Donna Graves. "Tangible Benefits from Intangible Resources: Using Social and Cultural History to Plan Neighborhood Futures." *Journal of the American Planning Association* 82, no. 2 (2016): 152–66. https://doi.org/10.1080/01944363.2016.1141663.

Cohen, Allen. "The San Francisco Oracle: A Brief History." *Serials Review* 16, no. 1 (1990): 13–46. https://doi.org/10.1080/00987913.1990.10763930.

Danbom, David B. “Romantic Agrarianism in Twentieth-Century America.” *Agricultural History* 65, no. 4 (1991): 1–12. https://www.jstor.org/stable/3743942.

Godfrey, Brian J. “Inner-City Revitalization and Cultural Succession: The Evolution of San Francisco’s Haight-Ashbury District.” *Yearbook of the Association of Pacific Coast Geographers* 46, no. 1 (1984): 79–91. https://doi.org/10.1353/pcg.1984.0004.

Gould, Rebecca Kneale. “Modern Homesteading in America: Negotiating Religion, Nature, and Modernity.” *Worldviews: Global Religions, Culture, and Ecology* 3, no. 3 (1999): 183–212. https://doi.org/10.1163/156853599x00162

Issel, William H.; “Ralph Borsodi and the Agrarian Response to Modern America.” *Agricultural History* 41, no. 2 (April 1967): 155–66. https://www.jstor.org/stable/3739870.

Kaufman, Maynard. “The New Homesteading Movement: From Utopia to Eutopia.” *Soundings: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 55, no. 1 (1972): 63–82. https://www.jstor.org/stable/41177836.

Liechti, Matthias E. “Modern Clinical Research on LSD.” *Neuropsychopharmacology* 42, no. 11 (2017): 2114–27. https://doi.org/10.1038/npp.2017.86.

Meyers, Frederick H. M.D., Alan J. Rose & David E. Smith M.D. (1968) Incidents Involving the Haight-Ashbury Population and Some Uncommonly Used Drugs, Journal of Psychedelic Drugs, 1:2, 139-146, DOI: 10.1080/02791072.1968.10524531

Schoenthal, Rebecca Kelley Young. “North Beach to Haight-Ashbury: Underground Artists and Community in 1950s San Francisco,” 2005.

Seymour, Richard B. “The Haight-Ashbury Free Medical Clinic.” *Journal of Substance Abuse Treatment* 1, no. 2 (1984): 131–35. https://doi.org/10.1016/0740-5472(84)90038-2.

Smith, David E. “The 1995 Distinguished Lecturer in Substance Abuse.” *Journal of Substance Abuse Treatment* 13, no. 4 (1996): 289–94. https://doi.org/10.1016/s0740-5472(96)00069-4.

Turner, Fred. “Where the Counterculture Met the New Economy: The WELL and the Origins of Virtual Community.” *Technology and Culture* 46, no. 3 (2005): 485–512. https://doi.org/10.1353/tech.2005.0154.

Yinger, J. Milton. “Contraculture and Subculture.” *American Sociological Review* 25, no. 5 (1960): 625. https://doi.org/10.2307/2090136.

FILMS

Haight-Ashbury: The Beat of a Generation. Ytinifni, 2014. https://www.amazon.com/gp/video/detail/B07FPZ7HDM/ref=atv_hm_hom_1_c_iEgOEZ_2_5.

NEWSLETTERS/GUIDES

“Haight-Ashbury Map and Guide.” *Haight-Ashbury Map and Guide*. San Francisco, CA: Rufus Guides, 2014.

“Pocket Guide to the Haight-Ashbury Summer of Love Walking Tour.” *Pocket Guide to the Haight-Ashbury Summer of Love Walking Tour*. San Francisco, CA: Speedway Digital Printing, 2017.

Richards, Rand. *Historic Walks in San Francisco: 18 Trails through the City’s Past*. San Francisco: Heritage House Publishers, 2014.

The Haight: History and Architecture, *Heritage Newsletter* Vol. XV No. I, April 1987, I-VIII.

NEWSPAPERS

San Francisco Chronicle (San Francisco, California). NewsBank: America's News.https://infoweb-newsbank-com.ezproxy.sfpl.org/apps/news/browse-multi?p=AMNEWS&t=favorite%3ASANFRANCHRONCURRENTHA%21San%2520Francisco%2520Chronicle%2520Current%2520and%2520Historical&action=browse

San Francisco Oracle Vol. 1 No. 10 Oct. D.D. Teoli Jr. A.C.: Daniel D. Teoli Jr. Archival Collection: Free Download, Borrow, and Streaming.” Internet Archive. Accessed March 17, 2020. https://archive.org/details/SanFranciscoOracleVol.1No.10Oct.D.D.TeoliJr.A.C.1/mode/2up.

APPENDIX

A complete list of Counterculture related properties in San Francisco

Address	Name	Type	Extant?	Theme
715 Ashbury	HALO Law Office	House	1	Misc.
558 Clayton	Free Medical Clinic	Amenity	1	Health
42 Belvedere	Drug Bust	House	1	Misc.
474 Frederick	37 Squatters found	House	1	Misc.
409 Clayton	Happening House	House	1	Culture
1020 Page	Orange Man story[489]	House	0	Misc.
1806 Geary	Old Fillmore	Theater	1	Culture
1535 Haight	Psychedelic Shop	Shop	1	Culture
1541 Haight	House of Richard	Shop	1	Culture
1510 Haight	Mnasidika	Shop	1	Culture
1452 Haight	The Blushing Pony	Shop	1	Culture
1377 Haight	Phoenix Art Imports	Shop	1	Culture
1542 Haight	Print Mint/Woolworths	Shop	1	Culture
1568 Haight	Love Burgers	Shop	1	Culture
1569 Haight	Tracy's Donuts	Shop	1	Culture
1736 Haight	I/Thou Coffee and Mouse Studios	Shop	1	Culture
1398 Haight	Drogstore Cafe	Shop	1	Culture
924 Howard	Digger spot	House	1	Politics
1927 Hayes	Blue Unicorn	Shop	1	Culture
1090 Page	Family Dog/Chet Helms house[490]	House	1	Culture
710 Ashbury	Grateful Dead House	House	1	Culture
Panhandle Oak/Ashbury	First Digger Handout	Park	1	Health
1575 Waller	HIP Press Conference	House	1	Culture
69 Carl	Society kids busted[491]	House	1	Misc.
520 Frederick	Digger place/Frame of Reference	Amenity	1	Politics
406 Duboce	Chester Anderson and Com/Co.	House	1	Politics
518 Frederick	Radha-Krishna Temple	Amenity	1	Health
639-645 Gough	Family Dog Houses	House	0	Culture
1350 Waller	All Saints Episcopal	Church	1	Misc.
1775 Haight	Tobacco's Digger House[492]	Shop	1	Politics
330 Ellis	Glide Memorial Church	Church	1	Politics

[489] A Resident at 1020 Page Street decided he was an orange, and bitterly resented it when people cast doubt on his orangeness—for instance, by asking him why an orange ate hamburgers. Perry, 278
[490] 1090 Page, Also a jam area and home to Quicksilver Messenger Service.
[491] Society kids busted, 50lbs of weed. Melinda Moffett and Stuart Erskine.
[492] Digger named Tobacco uses 1775 Haight to house homeless.[492]

848 Clayton	Digger Place	House	1	Politics
50 Green	KMPX studio[493]	Radio	1	Culture
728-732 Ashbury	Condemned after Health Inspection	House	1	Misc.
1773-1777 Haight	Condemned after Health Inspection	House	1	Misc.
609 Ashbury	Rainy Day Concert[494]	House	1	Culture
1830 Fell	H-A Switchboard	Amenity	1	Politics
842 Cole	HIP Job Co-op	Amenity	1	Culture
901 Cole	Trip without a Ticket/Free Shop	Shop	1	Politics
1418 Haight	Raff's Cafe	Shop	1	Culture
Frederick/Stanyan	House of Do-nuts	Shop	1	Culture
1580 Haight	In Gear (clothing)	Shop	1	Culture
1418 Haight	Wild Colors	Shop	1	Culture
408 Ashbury	24 people busted	House	1	Misc.
1702 Haight	The Straight Theater	Theater	0	Culture
409 Clayton	Happening House Diggers	House	1	Politics
625 Polk	California Hall	Theater	1	Culture
660 Great Highway	Great Highway	House	0	Misc.
1572 California	Light Sound Dimension	Shop	1	Culture
3138 Fillmore	The Matrix	Theater	1	Culture
1600 Holloway	SF State College	School	0	Politics
1725 Steiner	Winterland Ballroom	Theater	0	Culture
625 Polk	Big Brother and the Holding Company House	Shop	1	Culture
1836 Pine	Family Dog House	House	1	Culture
2125 Pine	The Family Dog Commune	House	0	Politics
719 Ashbury	Hell's Angels Headquarters	House	1	Misc.
2400 Fulton	Airplane House	House	1	Culture
2111 Pine	Pine Commune	House	0	Politics
1198 Fulton	William Westerfield House	House	1	Misc.
335 5th Ave	California Litho. Plate Co	House	0	Culture
523 Clay	Contact Printing	Shop	0	Culture
1790 Haight	Double-H Press	Shop	1	Culture
643 Merchant	East Wind Printers	Shop	0	Culture
74 Henry	Mouse Studios	Shop	1	Culture
1025 Sansome	Neal, Stratford, and Kerr	Shop	1	Culture
3159 16th Ave	Rapid Reproductions	Shop	1	Culture
41 Sheridan	Tea Lautrec Lithography	Shop	1	Culture

[493] Ralph Gleason mentioned listening to KMPX a lot in article about the Mime Troupe. 50 Green St added to Grey City Bus tour. Perry, 179

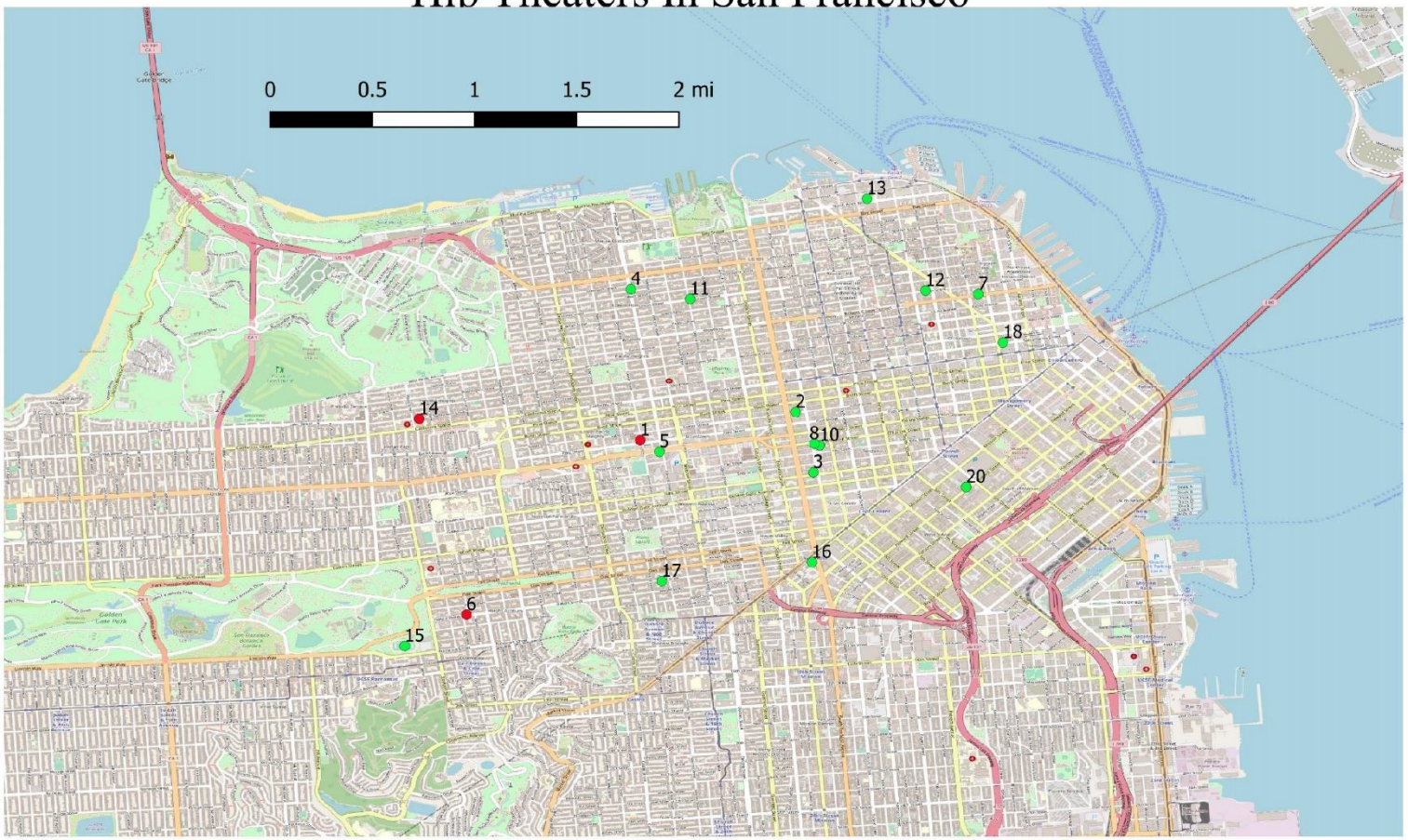
[494] Rainy Day Concert 609 Ashbury, 400 people, 50 arrests. 6-man phalanx used to clear streets. Perry, 184

523 Clay	West Coast Lithography Co	Shop	0	Culture
631 Clay	Anastasia's	Shop	0	Culture
417 Castro	The Bead Store	Shop	1	Culture
1671-1673 Haight	The Blushing Peony	Shop	1	Culture
1398 Grant	Changing Faces	Shop	1	Culture
261 Columbus	City Lights Bookstore	Shop	1	Politics
1175 Folsom	East West Musical Instruments Co	Shop	1	Culture
1300 Grant	Friedman Enterprises	Shop	1	Culture
1435 Grant	House of Nile	Shop	1	Culture
1452 Haight	Middle Earth	Shop	1	Culture
1315 Grant	Miki	Shop	1	Culture
1332 Grant	Passion Flower	Shop	1	Culture
1839 Divisadero	Third Hand Store	Shop	1	Culture
1318 Polk	The Town Squire	Shop	1	Culture
1764 Haight	Xanadu	Shop	1	Culture
478 Union	Yone	Shop	1	Culture
211 Sutter	KSAN studios	Radio	1	Culture
1371 Haight	Oracle Offices	House	1	Politics
321 Divisadero	SF Tape Music Center	Shop	1	Culture
Golden Gate Park	Alvord Lake	Park	1	Misc.
Golden Gate Park	Hippie Hill	Park	1	Misc.
141 Noe	Bindweed Press	Shop	1	Culture
3159 16th	Rapid Reproductions	Shop	1	Culture
10 S Van Ness	Fillmore West	Theater	1	Culture
335 5th	California Litho Plate Co.	Shop	0	Culture
1268 Sutter	Avalon Ballroom	Theater	1	Culture
42 Broderick	Clearing House	Shop	1	Culture
1994 Fell	Free Food Warehouse	Shop	1	Health
1899 Waller	Park Police Station	Amenity	1	Misc.
557 Ashbury	Doolan House	Shop	1	Culture
1524 Haight	Jimi Hendrix Red House	House	1	Culture
272 Sixth	Free Digger Reno Hotel	House	0	Politics
639 Santa Cruz Ave	Magoo's Pizza Parlor	Theater	0	Culture
924 Howard	Digger Spot/Calliope/SDS	H/T/A	1	Misc.
400 N. Point	Longshoreman's Hall	Theater	1	Culture
3767 Sacramento	The Firehouse	Theater	0	Culture
1111 California	The Masonic Auditorium	Theater	1	Culture
1898 Union	The Drinking Gourd	Theater	1	Culture
Golden Gate Park	The Bandshell	Theater	1	Culture
750 Vallejo	Keystone Korner	Theater	1	Culture
2600 Geneva	The Cow Palace	Theater	1	Culture

859 O'Farrell	The Great American Music Hall	Theater	1	Culture
430 Broadway	Mother's Nightclub	Theater	1	Culture
Buena Vista Park	Buena Vista Park	Park	1	Misc.
742 Arguello	Com/co. Second Location	Amenity	1	Politics
1321 Oak	Howard Presbyterian Church	Church	1	Misc.
895 O'Farrell	The Western Front	Theater	0	Culture
739 Page	Sokol Hall	Theater	1	Culture
501 Stanyan	McLaren Lodge	Amenity	1	Misc.
1837 Oak	The Shire School - Haight Location	School	1	Health
112 Lyon	Janis Joplin's Apt	House	1	Culture
1915 Page	Far-Fetched Foods	Shop	1	Health
815 Cole	Quasar's Ice Cream	Shop	1	Culture
1360 Fell	Allen Ginsberg's Part-Time Address	House	1	Culture
311 Divisadero	Magic Theater for Madmen Only	Shop	0	Culture
1849 Page	First Commune in Haight	House	1	Politics
730 Stanyan	Bob's Drive-In	Shop	1	Misc.
625 Shrader	Anne Rice O'Brien's Haight Home	House	0	Culture
Golden Gate Polo Fields	The Human Be-In	Park	1	Culture
Kezar Stadium	Concert Venue	Park	1	Culture
215 Haight	Haight Street Art Center	Amenity	1	Culture
254 Scott	Jack's Record Cellar (1951)	Shop	1	Culture
1855 Haight	Amoeba Records	Shop	1	Culture
616 Page	Charles Manson House	House	1	Misc.
1608 Haight	UFO Art Gallery	Shop	1	Culture
1629 Haight	Robert's Hardware	Shop	1	Misc.
858 Stanyan	House of Do-nuts	Shop	1	Culture
1004 Cole	Haight-Ashbury Settlement House	Amenity	1	Politics
1762 Page	First Free Store	Amenity	1	Politics
1525 Waller	Hamilton Methodist Church	Church	1	Culture
City Hall	Poetry Siege of City Hall	Park	1	Politics
15 Lafayette	Free Food Warehouse	Amenity	1	Politics
142 Central	Recording Studio	Amenity	1	Culture
635 Ashbury	Robert Cranston's Home	House	1	Misc.
737 Buena Vista West	Graham Nash House	House	1	Culture
130 Delmar	First Jefferson Airplane House	House	1	Culture
636 Cole	Charles Manson Residence	House	1	Culture
215 Haight	Community Design Center	Amenity	1	Politics
568 Sacramento	Whisky a Go Go/Old Sub Station J	Theater	1	Culture
426 Shrader	H-A Switchboard First Location	Amenity	1	Politics
855 Treat	SMFT Current Address	Amenity	1	Politics
1458 Haight	Haight Levels	Theater	1	Culture

Counterculture Properties

Hip Theaters In San Francisco

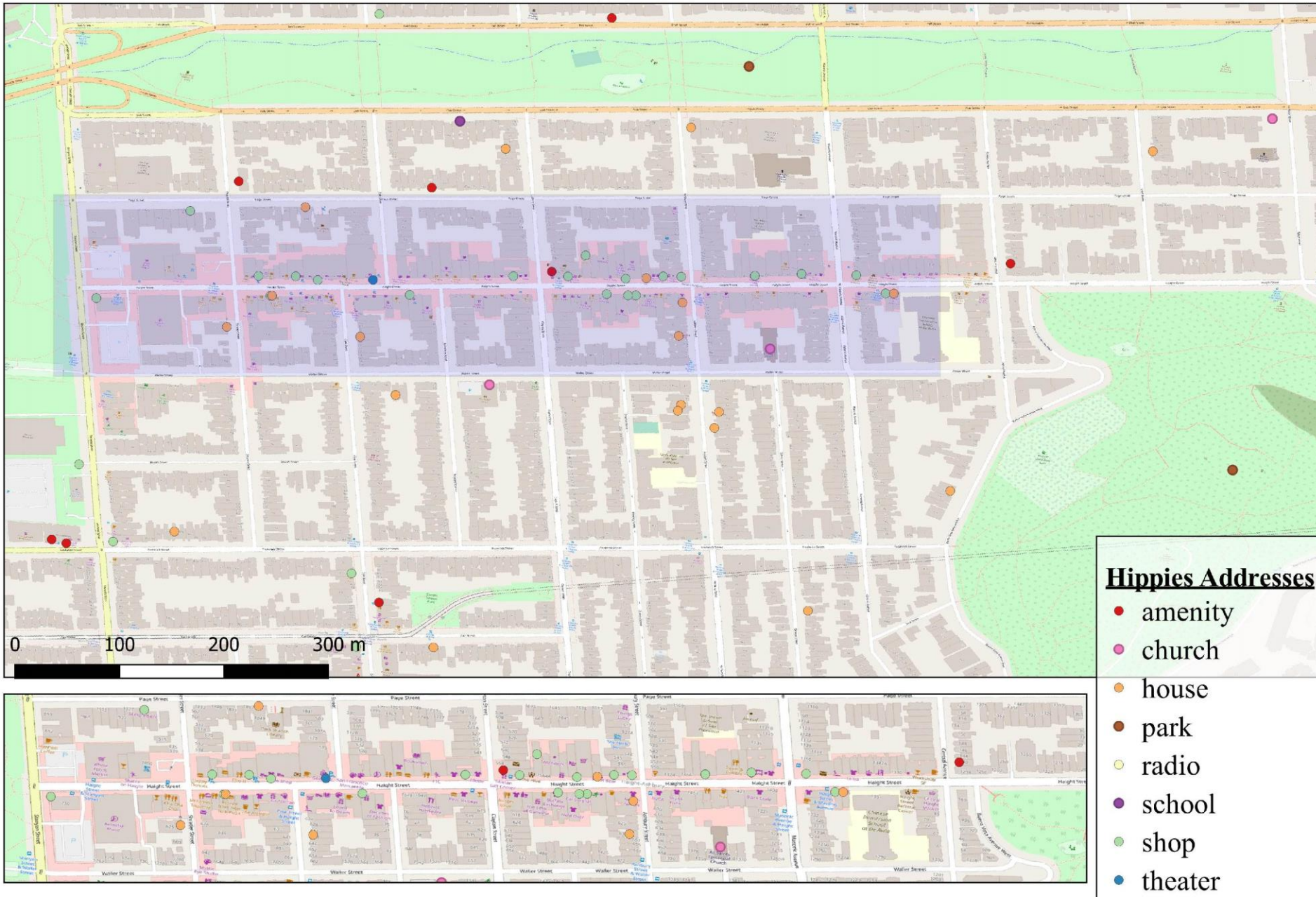


Theater Extant?

- No
- Yes

#	Address	Name	Extant?
1	1725 Steiner	Winterland Ballroom	No
2	1268 Sutter	The Avalon Ballroom	Yes
3	625 Polk	California Hall	Yes
4	3138 Fillmore	The Matrix	Yes
5	1806 Geary	Old Fillmore	Yes
6	1702 Haight	The Straight Theater	No
7	430 Broadway	Mother's Nightclub	Yes
8	895 O'Farrell	The Western Front	Yes
9	639 Santa Cruz Ave	Magoo's Pizza Parlor (not pictured)	No
10	859 O'Farrell	The Great American Music Hall	Yes
11	1898 Union	The Drinking Gourd	Yes
12	750 Vallejo	Keystone Korner	Yes
13	400 N. Point St	Longshoreman's Hall	Yes
14	3767 Sacramento	The Firehouse	No
15	Kezar Stadium	Kezar Stadium	Yes
16	10 South Van Ness	The Fillmore West	Yes
17	739 Page	Sokol Hall	Yes
18	568 Sacramento	Whisky a Go Go/Old Sub Station J	Yes
19	2600 Geneva	The Cow Palace (Not Pictured)	Yes
20	924 Howard	Calliope Warehouse Loft	Yes

OldAddresses

- A.J. Falvey
- Adolphe Lutgens
- Albert H. Larsen
- August Nordin
- Brooklyn Planing Mill
- Casa Madrona
- Charles J. Rousseau
- Cornelius Murphy
- Cox Brothers
- Coxhead & Coxhead
- Cranston & Keenan
- Crossways Apartments
- Cunningham & Politeo
- D. Emerson
- Daniel Einstein
- Edward J. Vogel
- Edward Swain
- Frank S. Van Trees
- Geilfuss & Son
- George W. Hinkel
- H. Peterson
- Henry P. Heagerty/ Martens & Coffey
- Hugh Keenan
- J. F. Schroder
- J. Van Husen
- J.A. Whelan
- J.B. Hall
- John Stierlen
- Joseph C. Newsom
- L. Landler
- M. J. Welsh
- Mary A. Fritz
- Maxwell G. Bugbee
- Meyers & Ward
- Monastery of Perpetual Adoration
- Newsom & Meyer
- Pieper
- Pottinger
- Robert Dickey Cranston
- Samuel Newsom
- San Francisco Home Building Company
- Shea & Shea
- Soule & Hoadley
- Thomas Vodden
- W.A. Lange
- W.H. Green
- Welsh & Carey
- William H. Lillie
- William W. Rednall

Significant Haight-Ashbury Addresses in the Counterculture