




San Francisco, Silicon Valley, and Ireland

lose connections between Ireland and the Bay Area were established in the nineteenth century and have flourished continually ever since. While building their new lives on the Pacific Coast, many immigrants cherished memories and participated actively in religious and social organizations that nurtured and prolonged their Irishness. Irish interest, identification, and support, frequently backed by financial contributions, were particularly strong during the era of Ireland's struggle for political independence. Acknowledging the importance of the Bay Area as a critical Irish-American center in the United States, the Irish Free State founded a consular office in San Francisco in the 1930s. By analyzing previously untapped diplomatic records of Ireland's San Francisco consul, Dermot Keogh in the first essay provides a view of some of the dynamics in the local Irish-American community. The communications between the consul and Dublin also address international issues and local attitudes toward Ireland's controversial neutrality during the Second World War. The second essay deals with the more recent relationship between the Bay Area and Ireland—the economic and technological linkage between Silicon Valley and an invigorated and modernized Ireland. Tom McEnery, former mayor of San José and one of the architects of this dynamic and transformative relationship, reflects on the origins of the new partnership and its ongoing significance to Irish Americans and Ireland.



Diplomatic Snapshots

The Irish Consul in San Francisco, 1933–1947*

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This article is based on a review of Irish consular reports from San Francisco during the 1930s and 1940s. It covers the posting of Matthew Murphy who opened Ireland's consular office in 1933 and remained there until his transfer to Buenos Aires in 1947. This study seeks to provide a series of snapshots of life in San Francisco in those years as perceived through the eyes of the consul. Matt Murphy's reporting style was descriptive rather than analytical. Nonetheless, the range of his interests is reflected in a standard of reporting that compares more than favorably with those Irish diplomats in comparable posts at the time. This article highlights a series of themes in the reporting. It focuses on the manner in which Murphy reported Irish America. It traces Irish involvement in local politics and the role played by the Irish societies in the political process. This piece looks at the range of contacts the consul had with the political and journalistic world. It traces Murphy's attempts to keep in close contact with the Hearst newspaper chain in an effort to get favorable coverage of Ireland particularly during the war years, and on the way in which Dublin was kept informed about changing Irish-American opinion during the war. In the course of his work in San Francisco, Murphy met many people, and he chronicled the life and times of a number of leading Irish-American politicians. What follows is not intended to be, nor could it be, a detailed evaluation of the many themes outlined above. This article is impressionistic. It provides what I have termed, "photographs" or "snapshots" of the 1930s and 1940s.

As the other articles in this volume demonstrate, from the middle of the nineteenth century, the city of San Francisco has been a significant center of Irish political and economic power. The pio-

*At the outset, I would like to express my debt to my colleague Dr. Robert McNamara who, at my request, surveyed the files on which I have based this article. My thanks also to Professor James P. Walsh for providing me with notes on people mentioned in the consular reports. He kindly read a version of this article in draft and filled in many necessary details omitted from the original reports.

neering work of Professor James P. Walsh has done much to chronicle the multifaceted role of the Irish in the building of the Bay Area.¹ As was the case with Irish immigrant communities worldwide, the Bay Area Irish community took a keen interest in Ireland's independence struggle, and it was logical that once Irish independence was achieved that San Francisco would be the site of a consular office for the newly independent country.

In the early months following the setting up of Dáil Éireann in 1919, the clandestine Irish government harboured ambitious plans for the development of an extensive diplomatic service once the state had been recognised internationally. However, despite the best efforts of Dáil Éireann "envoys," in Europe, the United States, Canada, Latin America, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand to ensure that the clandestine Irish state was recognized as being independent from Britain, prior to the establishment of the Irish Free State in 1922, formal recognition came only from the newly formed Soviet Union. Once the new state was established, the civil war and limited resources obliged the Cumann na nGaedheal government, led by William T. Cosgrave, to suspend plans for a wide diplomatic network, although the Minister for External Affairs, Desmond Fitzgerald, never ceased to value the central importance of diplomatic representation in helping to establish internationally the concept of an independent Irish identity.

Following international recognition of the new State in 1922, the new Irish government set out to play an active role in the British Commonwealth and in the League of Nations. At the bilateral level, between 1922 and 1924, President Cosgrave and Mr. Fitzgerald chose to set up resident diplomatic missions in what were considered to be only the most essential places. London and Washington, D.C., were the first to receive resident Irish envoys, Ireland becoming the first of the Commonwealth countries to set up an independent mission in the U.S. capital. Progress was slow in the development of the Irish diplomatic service during the 1920s. The overdue expansion of the diplomatic service came finally in 1929 with the opening of residential missions to France, Germany, and the Holy See. Further missions were opened in Madrid in 1934 and in Rome in 1938.

This was in line with a foreign policy objective of the new government to signify Ireland's independence through the rapid extension of its diplomatic service abroad. The motivation was both practical and ideological. The nationalist philosophy of Cosgrave and his government emphasized the need to utilize all available symbols to establish the independent identity of the state, a state that although still a member of the British Commonwealth was independent in all substantial respects. In keeping with this policy, in 1922 Professor T. A. Smiddy was posted to Washington, D.C., where he was soon appointed the first Irish Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary. He held that position until 1929 when Michael McWhite replaced him.² Neither proved to be particularly effective representatives of the Free State government, better suited to the ceremonial side of their jobs than to the world of high diplomacy. They gave speeches and attended dinners. But neither really penetrated the inner core of Capitol Hill politics.

It was quite impossible to serve the needs of the Irish communities across the United States from Washington alone. The new Irish government did not consider it appropriate that citizens of the Irish Free State should have to continue to use the British consular service in cities like New York, Boston, Chicago, and San Francisco. The British had a chain of eighteen consular postings in the United States. However, the economic situation in Ireland made it a necessity for many Irish Americans to rely on one of the eighteen British consular offices in the United States. An Irish diplomatic report on the situation noted in 1932:

We have taken away the very comprehensive service of the British and we have put very little in its place.

We have two alternatives:

1. To use the British Consular Service in places where there is no Saorstát Office; this is quite impracticable, and cannot be considered.
2. To establish such Consular offices in the USA as will afford a reasonably adequate service to Irish nationals. This does not mean that we need to set up offices wherever Great Britain is established. A lesser chain of services will prove adequate. We require an office on the Western coast at San Francisco, one at Chicago and possibly one in the Southern States.³

The task of opening up an Irish consular service in the United States largely fell to Matt Murphy. He was from Dublin and probably joined the diplomatic service shortly after the foundation of the Irish Free State. He was first posted to the United States about 1924. It is likely that he served first at the Irish legation in Washington, before opening the Irish Consulate General in New York in 1925. He was later responsible for setting up the Irish consulate in Boston, and in January 1933, in Chicago. When a new consulate was to be opened in San Francisco in April 1933, Murphy was again entrusted with the task. At that point, he had been working as a diplomat in the United States for nine consecutive years. Given the range of responsibility invested in Murphy, he was obviously held in high esteem by his superiors at headquarters, and by successive Irish Ministers for External Affairs, including Eamon de Valera who kept Murphy in San Francisco from 1933 until 1947.

The small Irish consular network, largely set up by Murphy, complemented the work of the Irish embassy at Washington. New York, Boston, Chicago, and San Francisco became important listening posts for Irish envoys. Matt Murphy, the first to be appointed Irish Consul to San Francisco was, according to the *San Francisco News*, the “chief commercial groundbreaker for the Irish Free State in the USA and had opened the first consular office in New York, then Boston and in Chicago. Now he will do it again here.”⁴ He was accompanied, readers were told, by his German wife, Baroness Olinda Von Kap-herr, who he had first met in the German embassy in Washington and again when she gave a violin recital in New York.⁵ They had been married four years and had one son.⁶ She had studied with the Hungarian Franz Von Vecchay and with Professor Joachim Schuster. Further details about the background of the consul’s wife emerged in the *San Francisco News* on 30 June 1933. The same paper also covered the arrival by ship in San Francisco of Baronin Alfred Von Kap-herr of Mecklenburg. The wife of a Prussian colonel, she had come to see her grandson according to the press headline. Murphy’s sister-in-law, Baroness Felicitas Von

Kap-herr accompanied her mother. The local press turned out in force to meet the distinguished visitors as they disembarked. Murphy was driven to meet his in-laws by the mayor of San Francisco, Angelo J. Rossi, who was also on the quayside to meet the German nobility when they stepped ashore. At an informal press conference, Murphy's sister-in-law pointed out that Adolf Hitler's policies were designed to centralize the twenty-five German political parties without affecting normal life in the country. She noted further that the arrival in power of the Nazis had not greatly changed life in her country. Stores continued to do business and most things seemed much the same as before. In response to a question about the persecution of the Jews, she replied that those who suffered had been mostly Jews who had entered Germany after the war. Their Jewish friends had not been affected.⁷

It would be rash to draw any political inferences from the above comments about the links of Murphy's family to Nazism and to anti-Semitism. It may be gathered that the Kap-herr family were sympathetic to the political changes in Germany; however, it is difficult to discern from the available evidence the attitude of the Murphy couple to the developing events in Germany. But through his wife, the Irish consul was in the fortunate position of being able to move much more freely in German-San Franciscan circles throughout the 1930s. Moreover, the Murphy household became a well-known center for musical evenings in the city, with Mrs. Murphy giving a number of public recitals to critical acclaim.

During his fourteen-year posting, Murphy came to know Bay Area society and politics very well. He was a very active consul whose style of reporting, while on occasions somewhat disappointing, was comprehensive and informative. Eamon de Valera, as Minister for External Affairs between 1932 and 1948, appears to have taken a particular interest in the reports from San Francisco. He had many personal friends in the area from his time "on the road" in 1919-1920 as a revolutionary and propagandist for Irish nationalism. There is evidence that a number of reports from the consul were read to him at a time between operations in the 1930s when his eyesight was particularly poor.⁸

As the person charged with opening the consulate, Murphy was obliged to do everything from scratch. He had first to find offices and to employ local staff. He then had to make contacts with his fellow consuls, call on the local political leaders, visit the governor in Sacramento, and meet the local Catholic hierarchy and clergy. In addition, Murphy had to establish links with the network of Irish-American societies that proliferated not merely in San Francisco but also in Los Angeles and San Diego. When the Irish consul in New York, W. J. B. Macaulay, carried out an informal inspection of the only Irish consulate on the West Coast in 1936, he was most positive in his assessment: "Mr. Murphy's relations with the other members of the Consular Corps, including the British Consul General, appear to be very satisfactory. He was President of the Consular Society for two years and declined re-election. A Consular officer transferred from San Francisco to New York had already told me of the prominent part occupied by Mr. Murphy among his colleagues. As most countries are represented at San Francisco by a Consul General, Mr. Murphy must be regarded as having a certain disadvantage to overcome because of his lower rank."⁹ He continued,

For this reason, and also because of the position which he has established for himself generally, I recommend that when Mr. Murphy is being transferred to another post, the transfer be so arranged that his successor will arrive at San Francisco before Mr. Murphy leaves and so have the advantage of being introduced by him. Such good pioneer work has been done that every effort should be made to preserve the advantage gained. In a city of the size of San Francisco (634,000) the members of the Consular Corps have an opportunity for playing a more important part than would be possible in larger cities. It must be said, however, Mr. Murphy has taken full advantage of the opportunity.¹⁰

But this report somewhat understates the difficulty of the challenge facing Murphy when he first arrived in San Francisco.

Shortly after he came ashore in the city in mid-April 1933, Murphy reported that he had secured offices at 681 Market Street at a rent of \$110 per month, "which is about \$30 below the normal rent for such space." He added,

I beg to report my arrival in San Francisco on Monday morning the seventeenth at six am. I have located myself and family at the Cathedral Apartment Hotel, California Street, until such time as my furniture arrives, and that I can find a suitable house. I called on Mayor Angelo J. Rossi in the afternoon and received a very cordial welcome from him on behalf of himself and the citizens of San Francisco. Later he escorted me to the City Council chambers, where the Board of Supervisors was considering the Tax Moratorium Bill. The business was suspended while the Mayor introduced me, and announced that the Irish Free State had appointed its first Consul to the Pacific Coast, and that the opening of a Saorstát Consulate was a source of profound gratification to the people of San Francisco. I replied in appropriate terms, and received very generous applause. Other members, including Mr. Andrew Gallagher, also replied, and their remarks were very gratifying.

He continued,

All [San Francisco Irish] expressed great satisfaction at the establishment of a Saorstát Consulate in San Francisco, and said it was extremely difficult for the Irish in this city to understand that their interests could be taken care of by the New York Consulate General. There has been also an impression that the British Consul General had charge of our interests, in the absence of a Saorstát Consul, and I may mention here that I found a similar impression prevailing in Chicago on my arrival there.¹¹

Murphy was extremely busy during his first weeks in the city. He met the governor of California, James Rolph, Jr., and made contact with such leading members of the community as Monsignor John J. Rogers and Andrew Gallagher, a member of the Board of Supervisors: "The great unity I have found amongst the Irish of all sections in this city was, I understand, brought about by Father Peter C. Yorke and this is not the least important of his achievements. In this matter, San Francisco certainly leads the way for other large Irish centres, where unhappily there are still serious divisions. The general impression I gather from my conversations with all of the people on whom I have called is that there is a very wholesome national spirit amongst the Irish in San Francisco, and in California generally."¹²

Soon after his arrival, Murphy quickly came to enjoy privileged access to the well-known exponents of popular and high culture. For example, he traveled to Los Angeles where the Vice President

of MGM, Louis B. Mayer, took him on a tour of the studios. Murphy did not like what he was shown of Hollywood's depiction of Ireland. He wrote, "I was shown a setting for an Irish village, and was asked my opinion of it. I must say I found it hard to be enthusiastic about it, and pointed out where it was not a true picture of an Irish Village."¹³

In early 1935, Murphy met Count John McCormack and formed a highly unfavourable impression of him. He reported on 22 January 1935:

I had the pleasure of meeting (newly appointed) Archbishop John J. Mitty at the home of Monsignor Patrick L. Ryan, who is a close friend of Mr. John McCormack, and who gave a dinner in his honour when he gave his concert here last month. There were about sixteen clergy present, and Mr. McCormack and myself were the only laymen present. It was the first occasion on which I met Mr. McCormack socially. Frankly, I was not very impressed by him, and I don't believe he made a very good impression on either the Archbishop or the rest of the company. On every subject, even those pertaining to religion, which was discussed, Mr. McCormack appeared to have a point of view opposed to that of those taking part in the conversation. He did not disguise his ambitions to be American Minister to Dublin, and he also indicated that at one time he would have accepted the post of Governor General of the Irish Free State.¹⁴

While clearly comfortable discussing local politics and Irish-American cultural and political activities, Murphy was reticent to discuss international issues in his consular reports. He wrote expressing his reservations to the Secretary of the Department of External Affairs, Joseph Walshe, who replied on 30 April 1936: "I am directed by the Minister to thank you for your interesting report of the 16th instant dealing with the consular representatives in San Francisco. The Minister entirely approves of your decision not to participate officially in public discussions on international affairs."¹⁵ Such untoward caution may have lost the Irish diplomatic service an opportunity to use Murphy to a much fuller extent in reporting on international trends. The German nationality of Murphy's wife may also have been another reason why Dublin was inclined towards greater caution. But that is mere speculation. There is no evidence on file to show that concerns were ever expressed in that regard.

However, given the dramatic and controversial developments in Germany during the 1930s, it is not surprising that their impact was felt in the Bay Area and reported on by Murphy. For example, he reported on 20 November 1933 on a recent election to the Board of Supervisors. This had ended in defeat for the President of the Board, J. Emmet Hayden. The consul argued that that surprise outcome had been due in part to a controversy over German-day celebrations in the city. Following protests from Jewish representative associations, Murphy reported that Hayden had banned the flying of the swastika in the civic auditorium. Murphy was of the opinion that Hayden had lost because he had alienated the Irish-German lobby by siding with Jewish organizations in the banning of the flying of the swastika: "The United German and Irish Societies have a combined celebration in San Francisco every year, in the form of a Ball, and the events attending the German Day celebration and the City elections this year have indicated the power of the combined Irish and German vote in San Francisco. It is likely that German and Irish-Americans will combine on future important issues."¹⁶ It is not within the scope of

FIGURE 5-1 St. Mary's Cathedral, 1942: (front row, left to right) Supervisor Warren Shannon, Irish Consul Matthew Murphy, James Conlan, City Attorney John O'Toole, Judge Thomas Foley, Mayor Angelo Rossi, and Archbishop John J. Mitty. *Photo credit: San Francisco History Center, San Francisco Public Library.*



this article to pursue the relationship between Irish and German societies in San Francisco during the 1930s and war years, but it would be of great interest to the local historian to discover up to what year the combined ball was held in the city. Was it the case that Irish-German cooperation lasted until the United States entered the war? My interest in the history of the Jewish community in Ireland provokes another line of questioning.¹⁷ What was the working relationship between Irish and Jewish associations in the Bay Area during the 1930s and war years? Did the development of events in Europe bring about greater Irish support for Jewish societies and for the cause of Jewish refugees? There are only fragments of evidence in the consular reports to help the historian answer the above questions.

Not surprisingly, the impact of Irish political controversies on local Irish-American politics was regularly reported on by Murphy. On 2 April 1934, Murphy reported,

About a month before St. Patrick's Day each year, an annual convention of delegates from the Irish Societies of San Francisco is held in this city. Officers are elected for the following year, and resolutions are introduced relative to Irish affairs. I am informed that at the convention this year, resolutions were passed pledging full support of President de Valera in his present policies as regards Ireland. A member of the Pearse-Connolly Club proposed that a resolution be passed condemning the Saorstát Government's resort to the Coercion Act passed by the previous government, the suppression of *An Phoblacht*, and the treatment of political prisoners. No opportunity was afforded to the discussion of the resolution, which was put to an immediate vote, and received the support of only one member. Mr. Andrew Gallagher stated he did not agree with the operation of the Coercion Act in the Irish Free State, but he did not support the resolution. I understand the sole vote for the resolution was a gentleman named Caddern.¹⁸

As was the case here, Murphy sought in many of his reports to provide headquarters with a comprehensive picture of the struggles and changes in the leadership of the San Francisco Irish. A representa-

tive example of his coverage of such events was filed on 7 January 1935. The consul described a crisis in the United Irish Societies. He reported on a conflict between the above-mentioned Andrew Gallagher and Captain Michael Riordan, who later became Chief of the San Francisco Police Department. According to Murphy, one of the points at issue concerned the extensive use of illegal slot machines in the city. Riordan vigorously opposed that form of illegal gambling. Gallagher, in what Murphy saw as an attempt to strengthen his campaign, adopted a strategy described by the consul as follows:

It is stated that Mr. Gallagher later confided in certain delegates that he had received a very confidential communication from President de Valera, informing him that it was proposed to seek recognition of the Irish Republic by the American Government in the near future, and seeking his (Mr. Gallagher's) co-operation to this end, and asking him to do everything possible to preserve unity amongst the Irish in San Francisco. His opponents doubted that he had received such letter, and when they endeavoured to obtain information on the subject, were informed that it was "very confidential." The general opinion in Irish circles is that Mr. Gallagher will endeavour to use the Irish question to the fullest extent for local political purposes this year, which is considered a very critical one in his political career. It is clear that unless the unauthorised delegates are withdrawn from the Convention of the Irish Societies, that there will be a definite split, resulting in duplicated celebrations on St. Patrick's Day.¹⁹

Gallagher lost that particular battle, according to the consular reports, but his political career was far from over. Having lost his position on the Board of Supervisors in the 1935 elections, he continued to make serious allegations of corruption against the San Francisco Police Department. He went so far as to hire a detective to investigate those allegations, according to Murphy, and this turned up widespread corruption. Murphy reported on 12 June 1936:

From the enclosed clipping, it will be seen that all the principal offenders have Irish names. While only one is a native of Ireland, one often hears facetious remarks about the "lucky Irish Policeman." Intelligent people, however, are fully aware that it is the fault of the system of American City Administration, which makes such a state of affairs possible.

Mr. Andrew Gallagher feels very elated, and feels that his return as Supervisor is assured at the next election. It is generally known that Mr. Gallagher's chief grievance against Mayor Angelo J. Rossi is that the latter declined to give him the contract for the City's insurance business. In fact, Mr. A. J. Cleary, Chief Administrative Officer, told me so privately, adding that it would mean fifty thousand dollars for Mr. Gallagher.²⁰

Murphy followed up on 21 August 1936 with an analysis of the mayoral elections:

In my report N0.33/E/36 of the 31st July 1936, [not extant] of the tour I made recently of my consular district, I mentioned, *inter alia*, that a definite feeling of hostility towards the Jewish race existed in the Western States outside of California. In certain circles in San Francisco, there has been much criticism of the Administration on account of the number of Jews holding important posts. About the time of the last Mayoralty election, charges were made that the Mayor's campaign was financed by a prominent wealthy Jew named Mr. Herbert Fleischaker [sp. Fleishhacker]. Mayor Rossi owns a high-class floral business which is known to have been "in the red" for some years. It is stated that he is being kept

out of difficulties by Mr. Fleischaker [sp. Fleishhacker], who has insisted on the appointment and retention of Jews in high positions, such as that of City Controller and Public Administrator.²¹

The accuracy of such reports is a matter for the local historians of the Bay Area to determine and substantiate. But what is quoted above provided the Minister for External Affairs, Eamon de Valera, with the material on which he formed his opinions on that section of the Irish diaspora.

As war approached in 1939, Murphy appears to have been even more cautious in his contact and in his comments. However, one report showed that there were occasions when he had an opportunity to sample U.S. opinion on the likelihood of war in Europe. Murphy and his wife were the guests in April 1939 of the newspaper mogul, William Randolph Hearst. The report, dated 19 April, merits being quoted at length:

During my visit to Mr. William Randolph Hearst's estate over Easter Weekend, Mr. Hearst expressed himself very freely regarding the European crisis. He said it was criminal for President Roosevelt to meddle so much in European affairs, a course which he (Mr. Hearst) believed would eventually lead America into war. His remarks did not surprise anyone, as it is generally known that he is a very strong isolationist, at least as far as European affairs are concerned. Events have been moving so fast in Europe that it is difficult to keep up with editorial comment on a daily changing situation. Most dailies outside the Hearst chain roundly denounce the totalitarian powers, and leave no doubt as where their sympathies lie. The *San Francisco Chronicle*, independent Republican organ, published an editorial last month referring to Mr. Hitler as an international racketeer, and stating that the issue being civilisation, it was America's business, not Europe's alone.²²

Murphy reported further that the *Chronicle* was so pleased with the reaction of its readers that it reprinted the editorial alongside the editorial published on 12 April by the *Washington Post*, the content of which was approved by President Franklin D. Roosevelt. The *Washington Post* editorial dealt with Mr. Roosevelt's statement on leaving Warm Springs: "I'll be back in the fall if we don't have a war." Murphy, who enclosed both editorials for the Department of External Affairs, explained that Hearst had made a violent attack on the editorials referred to in his chain of papers throughout the country.²³ Murphy continued,

Mr. Hearst read out for me a memorandum dealing with the European situation he had drafted for the guidance of the editors of all his American dailies. This gist of the memorandum was to the effect that there would be no European war. . . . Mr. Hearst expressed the opinion that democracies had proved themselves failures by placing [t]he control of Government in the hands of inefficient administrators, I believe he was referring in particular to the United States, as he is very bitter regarding the enormous taxes levied on big corporations in this country. He commented bitterly on the fact that the United States Steel Corporation had to pay over forty million dollars in taxes last year, and as a result showed a loss of over seven million dollars, leaving no dividends for the stockholders. He also instanced the case of the New York Central Railroad, which was compelled to pay taxes of over thirty four million dollars, and operated at a loss of twenty million dollars. Mr. Hearst can see nothing but disaster resulting from such a state of affairs.²⁴

Murphy was back for the 4 July holiday at the Hearst estate at Wyntoon, in Northern California. William Griffin, Editor and Publisher of the *New York Enquirer*, was one of the guests. Murphy reported on 14 July: "I beg to report that I was invited with my family to spend the 4th July weekend at the estate of Mr. William Randolph Hearst, Wyntoon in Northern California. Taking advantage of the double holiday, I accepted, and received a very cordial welcome from Mr. Hearst on arrival. Griffin [identified above] declared that Mr. de Valera is not making the best use of the opportunities presented by England's present difficulties. If Mr. de Valera is not careful, England will make a deal with Germany, and then the opportunity for Ireland to force England's hand will have passed and so on."²⁵ Murphy continued,

Mr. Hearst does not appear before 2:30 P.M. for luncheon, and always greets his guests very cordially, but does not care for long conversations. On several occasions I saw him walk away from Mr. Griffin. He gives any spare time he has to riding, swimming or tennis, and so he spent quite a lot of time with our family. Once I commended Mr. Griffin's success in enlisting for Ireland the sympathy and support of so many American legislators, but expressed regret that Mr. Griffin did not consider we were "going fast enough." Mr. Hearst jokingly remarked that we should not listen to "long distance fighters," and was loud in his praise of the political and economic progress made in recent years by the Irish Government. Mr. Hearst added that Mr. de Valera's statesmanlike policy had won many new friends for Ireland, and had brought around to our side many people who were formerly opposed to us, and that any reversion to the use of force, or countenancing in any way the bombings in England, would result in our losing our newly made friends. He summed up the situation by saying, "In these days of world tension, any country disturbing the peace is bound to be unpopular." He also recalled his trip to Ireland, and paid a flattering tribute to the kindness of our people. It appears that he took one of the first automobiles to Europe at a time when they were apparently unpopular, and he said that there were only two countries in which his car was not "hooted" or stoned. They were Ireland and Bavaria.²⁶

Murphy reported that he had, as on the previous occasions, been given the places of honor. Hearst had insisted, he wrote, that

my wife and son remain on for the summer. He invited me to spend weekends with them whenever I could get away. As I am feeling the need of a vacation, after four years, I propose as the work permits, to take a few days local leave, at intervals during the season, so that I can avail myself of Mr. Hearst's kindness, and maintain the useful contact. I shall be only an over-night journey from the office, in case I am urgently required. I should add that I maintained the most friendly relations with Mr. Griffin, although his company was at times very trying. I corrected him quietly when his statements were obviously wrong, but made no effort to convert him, as I would prefer to leave that task to someone with a stronger constitution than I have. One of the male guests referred to him as a "Mountebank."²⁷

On 14 September 1939, Murphy described a visit to Governor Culbert L. Olsen in Sacramento. His primary purpose in making the journey was to explain about the last-minute cancellation of Eamon de Valera's planned visit to the United States due to the outbreak of war in Europe. Before arriving in the California capitol, the consul had phoned the Bishop of Sacramento, Robert J. Armstrong. They dined

together accompanied by a native of Kerry, Father Thomas E. Horgan. Both expressed their profound disappointment at the cancellation of the de Valera visit: "The Bishop and his guest were loud in their approval of Ireland's declaration of neutrality, and stated that the present European crisis had shown that our new Constitution had been adopted none too soon. The Bishop asked that I convey his greetings to *An Taoiseach*, and expressed the hope that he would eventually be able to visit California."²⁸

On 9 October, Murphy reported that many parts of California were "assuming a detached air, bordering on indifference as to the ultimate fate of Europe." The remainder of the report consisted of a discussion on the activities of the German consul and of German societies in San Francisco: "A feature writer of the *San Francisco News* reports that propaganda sheets are being sent from Hamburg to the San Francisco Irish, with a view to lining them up with Germany. I have not seen a copy of the circular, and have not met any Irish or Irish-American in San Francisco who received one." He added,

I attended a function held at the Golden Gate International Exposition, at which most of the Foreign Consuls in San Francisco were present, and gathered they were adopting the policy of avoiding discussing the European crisis with Americans. Captain Fritz Wiedmann, German Consul-General, appeared very nervous and depressed. It is generally known he was close to Reichsfuehrer Hitler when in Germany, and is reported to have always advised against taking any steps which would bring about war. It is also stated that Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop clashed with the Reichsfuehrer over Captain Wiedmann, and was responsible for the latter being sent to his present post. Captain Wiedmann is reported to have stated that his only hope now is his advice to his Chief proves to have been wrong. The Consul General has a very likeable personality, and has made, since coming to San Francisco, quite a number of friends whom he still retains. He has, however, kept very much to himself during the past month. The German American Bund is considered the official Nazi Party Organisation in the United States. I enclose report of its meeting held last week from which it appears it concentrated most [of] its energy against the Jews, the Democracies, and is working for American neutrality.²⁹

In the midst of the reporting on high politics, Murphy found the time to complain about his salary and allowances. This was to remain a serious problem for the consul during his posting in San Francisco.³⁰

Murphy reported on 11 April 1940 on a meeting that had been held on 31 March by the United Ulster Society, at Polk Hall in the Civic Auditorium building, San Francisco. The meeting was to protest against the partition of Ireland. Coverage of the meeting appeared on 6 April in the *San Francisco Chronicle*:

I was informed that prior to the meeting an endeavour was made by members of the IRA and the Knights of the Red Branch to have resolutions of protest sent to the Irish Government regarding the IRA prisoners and other kindred matters. They were informed in advance that permission would not be granted to introduce such resolutions, and that any person introducing a discordant note in the proceedings would be severely dealt with. The meeting went off very successfully, and there was no untoward incident. About a thousand people were present.

One of the artists, Mr. Edward McGovern, who was engaged to sing, after finishing his first song took a sheet of paper out of his pocket containing the IRA ultimatum to Lord Halifax, issued in Janu-

ary of last year. He read it out, but his voice did not carry, and no effort was made to stop him. The press representatives did not appear to understand what it was all about, and no reference was made of it in any of the press reports.³¹

This is one of the few occasions that Murphy chose to report on Irish revolutionary activity in the Bay Area, which he belittled the importance of when he did mention it.

In August 1940, Murphy attended a reception organised for the foreign consuls in San Francisco by the President of IBM, Thomas Watson. Murphy reported on 8 August that the owner and publisher of the *San Francisco Chronicle*, George Cameron was among those who were in attendance: "The latter is very pro-British, and is stated to be heavily subsidised from British propaganda funds. Only two weeks previously I had found it necessary to protest against unfavourable publicity regarding Ireland's present status in the European crisis, and succeeded in having a refutation of an article . . . published. Both Mr. Cameron and his wife went out of the way to be cordial with us, and Mr. Cameron even told the story about the Jew who advised the King to 'put the colonies in the Queen's name, in case of accident.'" ³²

The Minister for the Coordination of Defensive Measures, Frank Aiken, visited San Francisco in May 1941 as part of his tour of the United States. He was quoted in the Hearst-owned *San Francisco Examiner* on 8 May 1941 as saying that Britain was waging an economic war on Ireland. He also made it clear that Britain would only get bases if she seized them, and then she would have a war on her hands. Aiken, as Murphy reported, was received by the governor of California in Sacramento, the mayor of San Francisco as well as addressing the United Irish societies which greeted his address enthusiastically.³³

On 11 December 1941, Murphy reported San Franciscan reaction to the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour and the U.S. entry into the war. He wrote, "It would be putting it mildly to say that the citizens of San Francisco and the Bay Area were taken by surprise when hostilities with Japan broke out."³⁴

The Japanese involvement in the war was also the subject of a long report from Murphy on 9 January 1942:

In view of the relative proximity of the Pacific Coast to the Far Eastern war zones, as compared with other war zones, it is not surprising that reports of American Japanese conflict claim most of the space in the San Francisco daily press, and most of the attention of the residents of the Pacific Coast. For this reason, there has been very little publicity about Ireland. Shortly after hostilities broke out in the Pacific, and the United States was drawn into the European conflict, a few brief reports were published regarding our decision, to remain neutral. Mr. Hearst's *Examiner* was the only paper which reported the remarks of *An Taoiseach* regarding Ireland's special sympathy with the United States.

Mr. Chester Rowell, editor of the *San Francisco Chronicle*, pro-British organ, had an article entitled "Irish insistence on a theoretical neutrality." In that article, he stated, "If we (the United States) can use the ports of Western Ireland, the same number of merchant and naval vessels can transport twice the goods, at half the risk." The article did not arouse much interest or cause much comment as, to use a local expression, Mr. Rowell is regarded as a "crackpot," and is not taken very seriously.³⁵

Murphy explained that during the Christmas and New Year Festivities, he and his wife attended several large receptions. The consul was surprised that he had not been questioned more often about Ireland's position. Mr. and Mrs. Maurice Harrison, who were very prominent in San Francisco social circles, gave a reception:

A few questioned me as to what Ireland was doing in this war. I replied that we were not in the war, and would stay out of it unless attacked. I stated that the Irish people were naturally sympathetic with the United States in its hour of trial, but that being a small nation with serious problems of its own, Ireland could offer little beyond sympathy.

As regards our neutrality, I pointed out that anyone examining facts on our generous handling of the refugee problem, and on the export of food supplies, could hardly claim that our neutrality was a threat to Great Britain. I emphasized that any departure from our present plan would constitute a threat to Ireland too serious to be averted by the help of any outside power, however big. I found my friends appreciative for my explanation of our position, and left them satisfied that we were not a threat, or hostile to the United States, but, on the other hand, very sympathetic.

I have usually found Americans, irrespective of their origins, sympathetic towards Ireland. Of course, there are out here some very pro-British Americans whose Americanism is hardly perceptible. I avoid, when possible, discussing Ireland with them, as it would only lead to unpleasantness. From my experiences of such people, I believe that if confronted with the choice I should prefer to undertake the conversion of an English Tory.

A radio news broadcaster on Wednesday night reported that the acquisition of Irish bases by either England or the United States would be resisted by force because it was expected that the use of Eire's territory as a base to attack any belligerent would result in the destruction of Dublin in a few hours. Mr. Paul Mallon, Washington commentator, writing in today's *San Francisco Examiner* refers to President Roosevelt's statement that "he would take stations in the British Isles" and to the possibility of them being sought in Ireland. He adds that one reaction from Dublin was that the Irish would rather have American than British troops. Mr. Daniel Murphy, a native of Cork, Vice-President of the Crocker National Bank, and Judge William Prendergast, a native of Dublin, recently informed me that they were afraid that the *Leader* would harm Ireland's cause. I, of course, pointed out that the *Leader* was an American publication, and that we had no control or desire to control its policy. They hinted that it was in danger of being suppressed, but as the editorial policy has recently been toned down, I hardly think such drastic action will be taken.³⁶

But the columns of the *Leader* continued to cause offence to members of the Jewish community. At the end of the war, its persistent undercurrent of latent anti-Semitism was the subject of an official complaint. On 6 June 1945, Murphy reported to his superiors on representations made on behalf of the United Jewish Societies of San Francisco:

I was informed recently that Mr. Eugene Block, Secretary of the United Jewish Societies of San Francisco, called about two months [ago] on Deputy Chief of Police, Michael Riordan, President of the United Irish Societies here. He had under his arm a large batch of *Leaders*, going back six months, which he laid on Captain Riordan's desk and alleged that they contained material of anti-Semitic nature. Captain Riordan challenged him to produce one item in which the Jews were referred to. Mr. Block admitted that the Jews

were not mentioned as such, but that editorial attacks on Mr. Morgenthau, Secretary of the Treasury, had been frequent in the past, and were obviously inspired by race prejudice. Captain Riordan denied this, and stated that the *Leader* attacked even the President and other members of his cabinet, and that Mr. Morgenthau would get his share of criticism if the *Leader* felt such criticism was called for.

Mr. Block's main objection to the *Leader*, however, appears to be that it reprints articles from publications known to be anti-Semitic in their policy. The one singled out for specific complaint was *America Preferred*, a small journal published by W. Carl H. Mote, in Indianapolis, Indiana. A copy of the June 1944 issue of this publication is enclosed together with clippings from the *Leader* containing extracts from issues of *America Preferred*.

Mr. Block left Captain Riordan with the suggestion that as Irish here were "on the spot" because of the neutrality policy of their mother country, it would be in their interests "to play ball" with the Jews, or at least not to antagonise them. He indicated that they had a blacklist of San Francisco citizens who were "saying too much about the Jews."

I am informed that the blacklist is compiled on information supplied by an underground organisation. In some cases the employers of such persons are approached with the object of having them dismissed, and such approaches have achieved their object in some cases in which the employers, or owners of the concern, were Jewish.³⁷

This fragment may help sustain the view, to be investigated by other historians, that Murphy had allowed himself to lose objectivity when assessing issues involving members of the San Franciscan Jewish community.

Returning briefly to 1941, the Irish government requested all of its consulates to send annual reports back to headquarters. Murphy complied and provided the following review of the events in his area. Dated 31 January 1942, it read,

The outstanding political event during the past year was, of course, the involvement of the United States in the World War, which [will] be more appropriately commented upon by the Minister Plenipotentiary. It has, however, special repercussions on the Pacific Coast, on account of the latter's proximity to the Far East. As stated in previous reports, Americans in the Western States, from the beginning of the European War, maintained a more or less detached attitude towards the conflict, and this area was a stronghold of isolationism. On this coast, however, there has always been a fear of war with Japan, and also considerable dissatisfaction over the apparent lack of preparation in the Pacific area to meet such a possibility.

There are, of course, many Americans out here who have always argued that Ireland should be in the war, which, they claim is being fought to preserve democracy. They now argue that there is no reason why we should stay out of the fight against the "Yellow Peril." It would only further antagonise them to ask what protection they could give us if we did get involved.

Public attention on the Pacific Coast is so much centered on what is happening in the Far East that the European theatre of conflict seems far removed, and Americans here do not seem at present seriously concerned about the need for bases, either in Great Britain or Ireland. When the question of the "Irish bases" is raised by people, whom I meet officially or socially, our justification in keeping out of the world conflict as long as we are not attacked is fully explained. There is a natural sympathy for Ireland amongst most Americans, but many of them are frank in forecasting that a prolonged war must eventually engulf the few remaining neutrals, including Ireland.³⁸

On 25 March 1942, Murphy reverted to an account of Irish-American politics in San Francisco. He spoke again of the defeat of Andrew Gallagher, who had been defeated a number of times in campaigns for the Board of Supervisors:

His defeat was mainly due to his linking up with [the] Mayor's political opponents, and to his attacks on the San Francisco Police Department. The latter brought about an investigation which exposed the fact that many of the police officers had very large bank accounts which they could not explain (one was over \$100,000). Following the findings of the investigating committee, several police officers were dismissed from the service. The Police Department and the Administration never forgave Gallagher who was defeated in every subsequent election in which he ran for office.

About twelve months ago Mr. Gallagher was appointed by the Federal Government to the post of Labour Conciliator in San Francisco, and it was assumed here that he obtained the post on the strength of his influence in Irish circles. On Palm Sunday of last year he presided over annual ceremonies held at the grave of the late Dr. Peter C. Yorke. When General [*sic*] [Frank] Aiken visited San Francisco, Mr. Gallagher headed the Committee to receive him on his arrival in this city. Since then I have not seen Mr. Gallagher, and I was surprised that his name was not mentioned in connection with any of the St. Patrick's Day celebrations. Yesterday, however, I learned the reason.

It appears that Mr. Gallagher recently invited to his house a group of persons prominent in Irish society circles. To the amazement of those who accepted the invitation Mr. Gallagher brought up the question of Irish ports. I was informed that Mr. Gallagher admitted that he called the meeting as the result of pressure from Washington that was very anxious that an effort should be made to line up the Irish in San Francisco in favour of Ireland leasing its ports to help the United States.

To quote my informant, "Mr. Gallagher without a blush suggested that the United Irish Societies should adopt a resolution favouring the lease of Ireland's ports to the United States for the duration of the war." I am informed that Father Henry Plunkett, one of those invited, "walked all over" Mr. Gallagher, and others having spoken their minds "walked out." The whole affair is the subject of much gossip in Irish circles, and I understand Mr. Gallagher's friends are very disappointed in him. Some of them are shocked. I shall probably hear more about the matter from some other source, and if the next version of what happened is substantially different I shall furnish a further report.³⁹

In his annual report for 1942, Murphy noted that the vast bulk of his 234 reports dealt with estate work, repatriating money to Ireland from deceased Irish Americans. He also gave figures for the number of Irish first generation in California and the neighbouring states which made up his consular district: Arizona, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming. The number of first generation Irish Americans had fallen from 52,489 in 1930 to 40,616 in 1940. The figures for second generation were also dropping massively from 209,442 to 158,840. He noted that the decreases could be explained by the virtual stoppage of immigration to the United States from Ireland during the previous ten years.

He also noted that many German, Italian, and particularly Japanese citizens had been ordered to move from the coastal areas of the United States, concluding in one section of his annual report, "It

is obvious, however, that many Americans take the attitude that Ireland not being with America is against it. Some of those Americans whether through jealousy of Irish influence in this country, or because of national or political prejudice, never did like us anyhow, and will likely use the present situation to smear Ireland at every opportunity.” On the question of anti-Semitism, his annual report provided the following picture:

There is a certain amount of anti-Semitism in this area and certain individuals, who are known to be definitely hostile to the Jews, have been the object of attention of the local Federal Bureau of Investigation officials. One attorney in Oakland admitted very frankly to one of those officials that he was anti-Semitic. Although informed by the official that such an attitude was un-American, the attorney maintained his stand, and said he had never done business with a Jew who did not try to swindle him. No action was taken against this gentleman, but should he ever have ambitions for a federal post he is unlikely to achieve them. The attorney is not of Irish origin, and it is noteworthy that in this area the Irish or Irish Americans do not as a body concern themselves with the Jewish question, and there is no open rivalry or antagonism between the Irish and the Jews. Recently, however, a circular, with under-mentioned lines typed on plain paper and in plain envelopes, was circulated by hand and by mail. One was addressed to this office

The lines are as follows:

The first American soldier to kill a Jap was Michael Murphy.

The first American soldier to sink a Jap ship was Colin Kelly.

The first American flier to bag a Jap plane was Edward O'Hara.

The first American Coast Guard to detect a spy was John Cullen.

The first American to get four new tires was Abie Cohen.

The circular caused considerable amusement, but it also caused annoyance in some Jewish quarters in which there has been an unusual display of nervousness since the war started, and fear is felt of anything which accentuates existing anti-Semitism. The first reaction was to blame the Irish for the dissemination of the circular. The Irish, of course, denied it and suggested that it was a British propaganda scheme to create bad feeling on the part of the Jews against the Irish. Captain Riordan, Deputy Chief of Police of San Francisco, and very prominent in Irish societies, considered the matter of sufficient importance to bring it up at the recent Convention of the United Irish Societies. A resolution was passed disassociating the Irish of San Francisco from the circular and paying tribute to the great part played by all Americans in the war effort of the United States.⁴⁰

Murphy continued to report on local politics throughout the war years. On 13 November 1943, he gave an account of the mayoral elections in San Francisco. Mayor Angelo J. Rossi, thirteen years the incumbent, was defeated thanks to the intervention of an Irish American named George R. Reilly. According to Murphy, the three-way race split the Irish Catholic vote and a Roger Lapham won:

Although Mr. Lapham is a high type [?] of American, there was much disappointment in Catholic and Irish circles that the Mayoralty has been lost to them. Many of the Irish, especially those in the city administration, are very bitter and say they will never forgive Reilly. They feel, and with much justification too, that the Mayor's defeat was solely due to Reilly's entrance into the Mayoralty race.

I believe the Irish have learned one important lesson from the campaign. They have controlled this city for many years, and will not regain their influence unless they find an Irish American candidate of at least as high a standard as Mr. Lapham, the Mayor elect.

There is no doubt that the citizens of San Francisco have felt that the time has arrived for the sound responsible business and professional elements of the city to enter the political scene and take the affairs of the city out of control of the political machine which has ruled it for so long. It is freely predicted that the San Francisco election of Mr. Lapham will have nationwide reactions and that other large cities in the United States will endeavour to break the political machines which have heretofore ruled them.⁴¹

Reviewing the year 1943, Murphy wrote on 27 January 1944 that the general interest of the public in the Western states was still focused on the Pacific theatre of war. He was of the view that many Americans believed that theatre of action could be more effectively dealt with if the European theatre did not make such demands on American manpower and resources. He added, "The indications that Poland, the Baltic States and Finland will be sacrificed in return for Russian support in Europe is the object of bitter comment and protest by the Hearst press which, on this coast, has a larger circulation than any other independent newspaper or group of papers. There are indications of an increasing undercurrent of feeling not exactly favourable to Great Britain." In relation to press and propaganda, Murphy told headquarters that he still received invitations to address various groups regarding the Irish position on the war in Europe but he had not "departed from the policy of refraining from making public addresses . . . after America entered the war." He added,

I believe this policy to be in our best interests. One is apt to run into extreme situations caused by cranks whose hostility, however unjustified would cause unpleasant publicity, or over-enthusiastic American supporters of Ireland who might draw comparisons reflecting on the wisdom of this country's war policy. Public appearances by me are fortunately becoming less necessary.⁴²

Five months later Murphy commented further on American attitudes towards Irish neutrality:

In my annual report for 1943, under the heading of "Press and Propaganda" I stated that: "Many of the severest critics of our neutrality here are softening in their attitude and refer to the Irish as being 'lucky' or 'smart' to have kept out of the conflict." Since then, we have had the exchange of notes between *An Taoiseach* and Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, regarding the Axis legation in Dublin. I have kept you informed, as far as possible, of the publicity in the press and the reaction of various prominent persons in this consular area. The first reports of the exchange of notes caused some alarm, as it appeared that something had been discovered in the way of a plot, which threatened the security of American troops in Ireland. Your emphatic denial of any such discovery and the numerous other statements which were carried in the press did a lot to relieve anxiety on this point.

Murphy concluded,

I am giving you this detailed report so that you may get as clear a picture as possible of the situation here, and what I am doing to put our case before the Americans. Frankly, I was quite worried when the first news of the American note came out. I am less disturbed now, but I cannot help feeling that the

crisis about the Axis Legation in Dublin was engineered to undermine Ireland's influence and prestige in the United States. It may succeed in certain circles, but I believe that the Americans as a whole are fair minded, especially when a matter is reasonably and not aggressively explained to them. I do not share the feelings of some people, both in Ireland and outside that we shall be without a friend abroad after the war. It would be over optimistic to believe that we shall not lose any friends because, no matter how the war goes, people everywhere will suffer, and we shall find some sufficiently blinded by disappointment and prejudice who will blame Ireland should victory be delayed, or if it is incomplete when achieved. One cannot help noticing some anxiety here regarding the slow progress of the war against Japan on all fronts. Many would like to see the United States withdraw from the European theatre of war to enable full concentration against Japan. There appears to be a growing dissatisfaction with the Administration, and the lack of optimism regarding the probably outcome of the coming invasion of Europe is quite noticeable.⁴³

Murphy described 1944 as the year of the "pressure crisis" over the demands to close down the German legation and the Japanese consulate in Dublin. Reporting on 26 January 1945, he wrote of the considerable publicity on the West Coast provoked by de Valera's refusal to comply with the requests from Washington and London:

All local editorial comments and news despatches were sent to the legation which was kept informed of local reactions to our attitude. Everything possible was done to counteract the mischievous and unfair propaganda directed against us. "Ingratitude to the United States," "Danger to American troops in Ireland," "Hampering of European Invasion Plans" were expressions which were used freely by sections of the press, and by individuals who had always been critical of our neutrality. I believe that the Hearst papers were the only ones which maintained editorial silence regarding our refusal to close the "Axis Legations" in Dublin. I was, however, able to make good use of two batches of cables which were sent to the Legation and relayed immediately to this office. They were the:

- (1) English and Irish Comments on the Exchange of Notes
- (2) Protestant, Catholic and Jewish Comments on the Situation

Batch No. (1) was received here on the 16th March 1944. I paraphrased and captioned them and sent them with a personal letter to Mr. William Randolph Hearst on the same day. On the 22nd March they were all published prominently in every Hearst newspaper in the United States.

Batch No. 2 was received by me on the 23rd March and sent to Mr. Hearst on the 24th March. They were likewise syndicated on the 3rd April in the same manner as the English and Irish press comments.

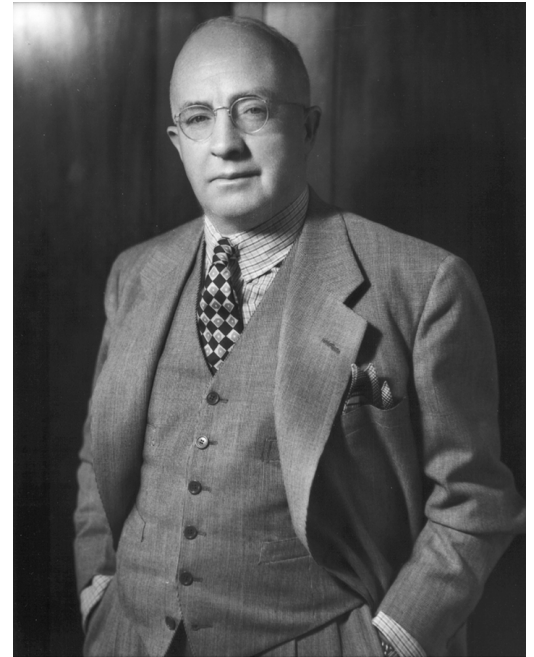


FIGURE 5-2 Matthew Murphy, First Irish Consul to California, 1933–1947. *Photo credit: Consulate General of Ireland, Western United States. The photograph was made available through the generosity of former Consul General, Dónal Denham, Irish Ambassador to Lithuania.*

I learned later from Mr. Clarence Lindner, who is Managing Editor of the "San Francisco Examiner" and a director of Hearst publications, that Mr. Hearst was very interested in what I had sent him and personally marked certain paragraphs for heavy print.

But Murphy noted that the rapid progress of the war in Europe had diverted attention away from Ireland:

If Ireland is mentioned at all, it is in the sense that "we knew what we were doing when we kept out of the mess," and suggestions are often made that we must have had a very accurate knowledge of the complexities of European affairs when we remained neutral. I believe that those who feared that Ireland would be considered ungrateful to America, and that we would be considered anything but a true friend of the United States can from now on set their minds at ease. Mr. Hearst, in his personal column in the "San Francisco Examiner," of the 20th February, 1942, which of course appeared in all his papers in this country, referred to Ireland as the "only unselfish friend that the United States had left in Europe." I believe that opinion will be more generally shared by people in this country as time goes on.⁴⁴

Murphy's reports on the end of the war and the immediate post-war period in San Francisco contain little of interest. However, one report filed on 16 March 1945 is of some historical interest:

There are only five other consuls here whose countries are neutral, Sweden, Switzerland, Spain, Portugal and Argentina, and we adopt a uniform policy of abstaining from functions purely of a United Nations character. I avoid all functions purely of an Empire nature, and attend functions only to which the Consular Corps as a whole is invited. As a result, I see little of my British colleague . . . but when I happen to meet him he is always very cordial. After an engagement at the Fairmount Hotel, we met Mr. Godfrey Fisher, the British Consul General, who also lives there, and he pressed us to accompany him to his apartment. As Colonel Oldham was leaving the next day, I left him to converse with Mr. Fisher and I, in turn, conversed with his wife and a lady house guest from Canada. Mrs. Fisher switched to the subject of Ireland, about which she claims to know everything there is to be known, especially Dublin, where, she says, she lived for many years as a pupil at Alexander [Alexandra] College. Her opening remark was about the Associated Press despatch from London in the "San Francisco Examiner" hinting that Ireland might be invited to the coming United Nations Conference at San Francisco. "I do hope," she said, "that even at this later hour you will declare war, and come in so that we can have a united Empire Front at the Conference." I said I had seen that article but called her attention to the admission in the article that Ireland had contributed to England's economy by supplying considerable manpower and food. She said she had heard all about that long ago, but that a united front was most important. I pointed out that our constitutional position entitled us to freedom of action, and that our people had unanimously decided upon the policy of neutrality. I also added that it was my belief that this war had brought about a better understanding between the people of our two countries, and that when the last political problem between the two countries was settled the understanding would be complete. Assuming correctly that I was referring to partition, Mrs. Fisher said that it was nonsense to expect the people of the North to join us. She had travelled all over Ireland and knew how entirely different the Northerners were from the Southerners, and stated she was sure they would never come in with the South, having an undying loyalty to the Empire. My mentioning that at least half a million

people in the North had another preference did not convince her. At this stage, her husband, feeling that his wife had said enough joined the conversation. Mrs. Fisher explained that being part Irish herself she felt she could be frank with the Irish Consul. She endeavoured to make up for her indiscretions by assuring me that she felt very badly about Ireland always getting a “black eye” out here. She insisted that she always stood up for us, and assured Americans that she knew more about Ireland than Irish American politicians who were so free in their discussions of Ireland without knowing anything about it. Having “got the floor” again, Mrs. Fisher indicated her annoyance at Irish-Americans generally. This was the only thing she said which gave me any satisfaction, as it confirmed what I have observed during the past year, namely that the publicity campaign initiated against us at the outbreak of the war had failed, and that any friends we have lost by “breaking the Empire front” will be more than replaced by those Americans who will have gained a better understanding of Ireland.⁴⁵

Murphy continued to report on the fact that many Americans on the West Coast were generally confused “and vehemently deplore the ‘mess’ into which this country has been brought.” He wrote in his annual report for the year 1945:

Some frankly declare that the late President [Roosevelt] will go down in history as the one who exposed this country to its greatest dangers. The principal charges levelled by them at the late President are that he sold the country out to labour, and brought the nation into a war in which it should have had no part and worst of all, sold the country out to Russia and Great Britain when it was in a position to dictate a reasonable democratic policy for the countries it set out to save. The masses, however, still revere the memory of the late President, and regard him as the emancipator of the American worker.

During the first few months of 1945 there was little reference to Ireland in the local press, but there was a general outburst at the end of hostilities when it was reported that *An Taoiseach* had called on the German Minister in Dublin to convey the condolences of the Irish Government on the death of Herr Hitler. This and the confused reports regarding the flying at half-mast of the Swastika over the Irish Legation at Lisbon were the signal for bitter attacks by the press and radio on our neutrality policy. I received numerous telephone calls at the office and my home, and had to listen to much abuse of our country and its policies. A few seemed to understand our point of view, but others were very abusive, and the general public reaction towards Ireland was bad, and would have remained so for some time were it not for Mr Churchill’s bitter attack on *An Taoiseach*. That attack and *An Taoiseach*’s reply “pulled the coals out of the fire” for us, as many of our severest critics softened their attitude, and it seemed to suddenly dawn upon them that we had good reasons for remaining neutral.

Murphy, however, warned that it would be imprudent for any future Irish government to place so few resources at the disposal of a consulate as important as that of San Francisco. He claimed to have managed through his personal contacts with Randolph Hearst over the past five years to get “our answers to unfair propaganda to a large section of the American public.” But he felt that it would be a great tragedy “if another crisis should find a consular area of this size staffed only by an underpaid and under-ranked official with the sole help of one underpaid stenographer.” He warned Dublin that the “possible extent of such a tragedy will be more apparent when consideration is given to the number of staff and agencies maintained in this area by our nearest neighbour during the crisis just ended.”⁴⁶

Murphy left his posting in San Francisco in 1947, when he was posted to Buenos Aires. His final report from San Francisco, dated 10 November 1947, describes in detail the warmth of the farewell banquet given to both himself and his wife.

I beg to report that I was tendered a farewell banquet by the United Irish Societies on Sunday, the 26th October. It was one of the most pleasant functions I ever attended. The Chairman of the Day was Mrs. Millie Owens Callanan, who is President of the Ulster Irish Societies. Mr. James Purcell, well-known attorney at law, was toastmaster, and Captain Michael Riordan, recently appointed Chief of Police, was the speaker. I was particularly pleased about the latter's prominent part in the proceedings as he is one of the most successful Irishmen who ever came to San Francisco. He is a very effective orator, and is a staunch supporter of Ireland's cause, especially in the anti-partition drive. His appointment as Chief of Police was hailed by every section of the press. The retiring Chief was well liked and very capable, but Captain Michael Riordan was always regarded as the "brain" of the San Francisco Police Department.

My wife and son were also at the speaker's table, and my son was asked to say a few words. Although he got no notice, he did quite well and his tribute to California and what San Francisco had done for him in education and in the sports field and to the many friends he made was very much appreciated by the guests.

Before I was called on to reply to the speaker's remarks, I was presented with a beautiful brief case, and an order for a combination radio phonograph set valued at \$500.00. I was told in advance that I would be presented with a farewell gift, but I did not expect that much generosity. The dinner itself was excellent and cost \$5.50 per head. It was held in the Comstock Room of the Palace Hotel, which is generally used for groups of about two hundred. It was expected that I was leaving here early in November, and in view of the short notice given and the fact that it was held on a Sunday night and considering the price charged for the dinner, I was surprised that so many people gathered for the banquet.

I took occasion in my remarks to pay special tributes to our good friends, Father Ralph Hunt (protégé of Father Peter C. Yorke), Mr. Joseph Mellot (editor of Yorke's weekly, *The Leader*) and Captain Michael Riordan (attorney, police chief, community activist).⁴⁷

Murphy had been in San Francisco since 1933 and he had been working as a diplomat for nine years before that. The warmth of the banquet given to him upon his departure was evidence that he had been a popular consul. During his fourteen years in the city, four of those when the United States was at war, Murphy had provided Dublin with a series of snapshots of the political, cultural, and social life of San Francisco and had reported on the international situation in the 1930s and 1940s as perceived from the Bay Area. Murphy had followed Irish-American politics with some care and had reported on the activities of Irish associations on the West Coast. He had made friends with people in political, journalistic, and cultural life. In particular, he claimed to have influenced William Randolph Hearst to provide sympathetic coverage of Ireland's foreign policy position during the war. That claim may be determined by further research. But, in essence, the Murphy reports from San Francisco provide a hitherto unused source for historians of the Bay Area who are primarily interested in Irish America. The social historian of Irish America may also find the many files relating to disposal of property

of great interest. But the interest in those sources ought to have a much wider appeal. Historians who wish to trace the inter-ethnic history of San Francisco may find Murphy's reports very useful. There is material for the ecclesiastical as well as the political historian. The sources used in the writing of this article may not change dominant historical interpretations of Bay Area history. But each historian working with a particular specialist interest in mind will find them an indispensable source. For some they will merely provide footnotes, but others may find the reports of substantial importance, sufficient to be regarded as a major historical source for the task in hand. Murphy may not have been the best diplomat of his generation, but he was certainly hard-working, conscientious, and insightful. He, too, merits more than a footnote in the writing of Irish diplomatic history.

Notes

1. See the Bibliography for works by James P. Walsh.
2. Dermot Keogh, *Ireland and Europe 1919–1989* (Cork and Dublin: Hibernian University Press, 1990), 27.
3. Note on Consular Work in the USA and the Question of Extension of Services, 27 April 1932, National Archives of Ireland (NAI), D/FA, 19/18.
4. *San Francisco News*, 17 April 1933.
5. See *San Francisco Chronicle*, 17 April 1933, clipping in NAI, D/FA, 19/51, 1933–1936.
6. See file of Confidential Reports, NAI, D/FA, 19/51 1933–1936.
7. Confidential Reports, NAI, D/FA, 19/51 1933–1936.
8. Joseph Walshe to Murphy, 30 April 1936, NAI, D/FA, 19/51, 1933–1936.
9. New York to Secretary Department of External Affairs (DEA), 8 June 1936, NAI, D/FA, 19/101.
10. New York to Secretary Department of External Affairs (DEA), 8 June 1936, NAI, D/FA, 19/101.
11. Matt Murphy to Secretary DEA, 3 May 1933, NAI, D/FA, Confidential Reports, 19/51, 1933–1936.
12. Matt Murphy to Secretary DEA, 3 and 6 May 1933, NAI, D/FA, Confidential Reports, 19/51, 1933–1936.
13. Matt Murphy to Secretary DEA, 22 April 1933, NAI, D/FA, Confidential Reports, 19/51, 1933–1936.
14. Matt Murphy to Secretary DEA, 22 March 1935, NAI, D/FA, Confidential Reports, 19/51, 1933–1936.
15. Walshe to Murphy, 30 April 1936, NAI, D/FA, Confidential Reports, 19/51, 1933–1936.
16. Matt Murphy to Secretary DEA, 20 November 1933; he also reported on 19 April 1934 that an IRA attempt to run the annual ball of the United German and United Irish Societies was defeated. See NAI, D/FA, Confidential Reports, 19/51, 1933–1936.
17. See Dermot Keogh, *Jews in Twentieth Century Ireland—Refugees, Anti-Semitism and the Holocaust* (Cork, Ireland: Cork University Press, 1998). This book was the subject of a lecture which I delivered in 1998 to a meeting of the Irish Literary and Historical Society of San Francisco, organized by Patrick Goggins.
18. Matt Murphy to Secretary DEA, 2 April 1935, NAI, D/FA, Confidential Reports, 19/51, 1933–1936.
19. Matt Murphy to Secretary DEA, 7 January 1935, NAI, D/FA, Confidential Reports, 19/51, 1933–1936.
20. Murphy to Secretary DEA, 12 June 1936, NAI, D/FA, Confidential Reports, 19/51, 1933–1936.
21. Murphy to Secretary DEA, 21 August 1936, NAI, D/FA, Confidential Reports, 19/51, 1933–1936.
22. Murphy to Secretary DEA, 19 April 1939, NAI, D/FA, Confidential Reports, 219/8, 1939–1944.

23. Murphy to Secretary DEA, 19 April 1939, NAI, D/FA, Confidential Reports, 219/8, 1939–1944.
24. Murphy to Secretary DEA, 19 April 1939, NAI, D/FA, Confidential Reports, 219/8, 1939–1944.
25. Murphy to Secretary DEA, 14 July 1939, NAI, D/FA, Confidential Reports, 219/8 1939–1944.
26. Murphy to Secretary DEA, 14 July 1939, NAI, D/FA, Confidential Reports, 219/8 1939–1944.
27. Murphy to Secretary DEA, 14 July 1939, NAI, D/FA, Confidential Reports, 219/8 1939–1944.
28. Murphy to Secretary DEA, 14 September 1939, NAI, D/FA, Confidential Reports 219/8, 1939–1944.
29. Murphy to Secretary DEA, 9 October 1939, NAI, D/FA, Confidential Reports, 219/8, 1939–1944.
30. On 6 March 1940, he told his superiors that it was difficult to survive on his pay. As his wife was a professional violinist, he held musical evenings at his home and that proved to be costly. Moreover, his lowly pay hindered him in his position as President of the Foreign Consuls Society:

Although I am paid at the rate of £1 -\$4.70, my net emoluments amount to an average of about \$470 per month. Out of this, I have to pay \$150 rent, plus telephone, light and gas, and other household charges of an additional \$50 per month. It will be appreciated, therefore, what a small margin is left for the actual necessities, and what a serious drain it is on my emoluments to have to incur such representation expenses as above referred to. I have many times pointed out that when I was in New York as a second in charge, a representation allowance of £100 a year was sufficient, but that obviously such a figure was entirely inadequate when the whole burden of the representation, as head of an independent post, is thrown upon me, as it is in San Francisco.

See Murphy to Secretary DEA, 6 March 1940, NAI, D/FA, Confidential Reports, 219/8 1939–1944.

31. Murphy to Secretary DEA, 11 April 1940, NAI, D/FA, Confidential Reports 219/8, 1939–1944.
32. Murphy to Secretary DEA, 11 April 1940, NAI, D/FA, Confidential Reports 219/8, 1939–1944.
33. Murphy to Secretary DEA, 11 December 1941, NAI, D/FA, Confidential Reports, 219/8, 1939–1944.
34. Murphy to Secretary DEA, 11 December 1941, NAI, D/FA, Confidential Reports, 219/8, 1939–1944.
35. Murphy to Secretary DEA, 9 January 1942, NAI, D/FA Confidential Reports, 219/8, 1939–1944.
36. Murphy to Secretary DEA, 9 January 1942, NAI, D/FA Confidential Reports, 219/8, 1939–1944. *The Leader* was founded by Father Peter Yorke and was edited by him until his death in 1925. During WWII, the paper strongly supported Irish neutrality and took a decidedly anti-British editorial line. It was inclined to reprint material gathered from isolationist and anti-Semitic American journals.
37. Murphy to Secretary DEA, 6 June 1945, NAI, D/FA Confidential Reports, 313/12, 1945–1958.
38. Murphy's annual report for 1941, NAI, D/FA, 219/22C.
39. Murphy to Secretary DEA, 25 March 1942, NAI, D/FA Confidential Reports, 219/8, 1939–1944.
40. Murphy's annual report for 1942, NAI, D/FA, 359/10.
41. Murphy to Secretary DEA, 13 November 1943, NAI, D/FA Confidential Reports, 219/8, 1939–1944.
42. Murphy's annual report for 1943, NAI, D/FA, 359/10.
43. Murphy to Secretary DEA, June 1944, NAI, D/FA Confidential Reports, 219/8, 1939–1944.
44. Murphy's annual report for 1944, NAI, D/FA, 359/10.
45. Murphy to Secretary DEA, 16 March 1945, NAI, DEA, Confidential Reports, 313/12, 1945–1958.
46. Murphy's annual report for 1945, NAI, D/FA, 359/10.
47. Murphy to Secretary DEA, 10 November 1947, NAI, D/FA, Confidential Reports, 313/12, 1945–1958.



San José—Silicon Valley and Ireland

TOM McENERY



In the front hallway of my home in San José, I have a trunk that measures four by five feet. Although it is empty, it carries the history of my family. In Ireland in 1898, a young woman in her early twenties packed all of her worldly possessions into that trunk and took a solitary, one-way voyage to a land of myth called California. Succeeding generations of her family would find many opportunities in that great place of hope. Yet her journey would never have begun if circumstances had been different; if only my grandmother—and the millions like her—had had a reason to stay home and an opportunity to build a life in the land of her birth.

Ninety years after my grandmother left Ireland, I was returning from an international seminar in Italy and had the opportunity to stop in Ireland, where a seminal event was about to take place. In the sprawling county of Kildare, west of Dublin, Silicon Valley's Intel Corporation, the world's largest microchip maker, was having what the locals call a "sod turning." This was to be its major European facility, and I had played a small part with the Industrial Development Authority of Ireland (IDA) in Intel's decision to locate in this Celtic outpost on the European fringe. The sun was unusually warm when I drove into the lush green countryside of Kildare. Ahead was tongue-twisting Leixlip, where assembled media and government officials were waiting for what was being billed as the economic announcement of the decade. Here was to be the largest foreign investment in Irish history, a massive \$2.5 billion wafer-fabrication plant, Intel's largest non-U.S. project, from where the Pentium chip would help revolutionize the world. Gordon E. Moore, co-founder, president, and CEO of Intel, and developer of "Moore's Law" on the growth of computing power, stood out among the luminaries of the Irish revival. The fact that we were all there that day put the imprimatur on what was to become the "most successful industrial policy in the world right now."¹

What was happening on that spring day in 1988, at Intel's site just outside Dublin, was not the end of that long saga, nor was it the beginning of the end. It was, however, the end of a new

beginning. It concluded a massive effort that involved the city of San José and Silicon Valley partnering with Dublin and the IDA, the most effective of Ireland's agencies.

Beginnings

Many years ago, long before San José became one of the largest cities in the United States through its well-known metamorphosis into the capital of Silicon Valley, the fabled land of innovation and entrepreneurship, this fertile valley of future venture capitalists and the Internet was a very different place. We stuffed peaches and pears into crates instead of placing Apple computers on children's desks. The wines of Paul Masson, Mirassou, and Novitiate were staples. The pace was slow, the mood relaxed. We relished our nicknames, "Valley of Heart's Delight" and "Blossom Valley." No one had heard of the World Wide Web, space stations, or an eBay auction. They were unconcerned with how much information could be squeezed onto a microchip or downloaded into their homes. They knew nothing of Moore's Law. San José was a different world from the amazing place it has become, but while it was the home of farmers and vintners, it was also a destination.

Many Irish came to this valley in the nineteenth century, and the names Fallon, Murphy, O'Connor, and Monahan are sprinkled liberally throughout San José's history. The culmination of early Irish success in the Santa Clara Valley was the fiftieth wedding anniversary of Martin Murphy, Jr., one of the "Irish Dons" of the new California, in the summer of 1881. He had preceded the ill-fated Donner Party by two years and built a great fortune in cattle and land. Up to ten thousand invited guests arrived by coach, horse, carriage, and train for the three-day celebration. It was the height of the age. Men and women like Murphy had played a major part in the development of the San José area.² Similarly, further north, at what would become the northern end of Silicon Valley, two successful San Francisco paint, oil, and putty merchants purchased in 1854 a substantial property in Santa Clara County that they named Menlo Park in recognition of their native village of Menlough, County Galway. By the end of the nineteenth century, Santa Clara County had a significant and prosperous Irish-American population, one that was to increase greatly following WWII as Irish Americans moved into the suburbs that were rapidly growing on the peninsula between San Francisco and San José.

The greater Bay Area and the future Silicon Valley surrounding San José had bestowed bountiful rewards upon these new immigrants. Yet few of them had the opportunity to return to the land of their birth, or influence the development of Ireland in any way, except through the cursory methods of supporting their families or cultural and nationalistic causes. But an opportunity would come with the dynamic confluence of the rapid rise of the semiconductor/computer industry in the San José region and Ireland's recognition that three and a half decades after the founding of the Irish Free State in 1921, the country remained mired in poverty, large-scale emigration, and a decided pessimism that only a radical and systemic economic, political, and cultural change could alter.³

For much of the twentieth century, Ireland was locked in a vicious cycle of rebellion, repression, and economic stagnation. Change was imperative and belatedly it did begin. The revival in Ireland that was undertaken beginning in 1958 corresponded well with the transformation going on in Santa Clara County. During the previous twenty-five years, economic policy in Ireland had been one of protectionism designed to safeguard the country's small farmers and small-scale industries. This policy was driven as much by social and political imperatives as economic ones. Economic policy was seen as a means of protecting the nation from the corrupting and modernizing influences of Britain and, to a lesser degree, America. Eamon de Valera, the Taoiseach (Prime Minister) for much of the period since 1932 and unquestionably the driving force behind economic policy, envisioned an Ireland of sturdy small-scale tillage farmers, a "self-sufficient, bucolic, Gaelic utopia."⁴ What he got instead was an insular, impoverished, culturally isolated, stultifying country, one in which the economic policies of successive governments reflected those of the nation's small farmers—extreme caution, suspicion of change, and a willingness to sacrifice to the Dublin train and the emigrant boat those who could not be supported on the farm. The population and emigration statistics tell the tale. In 1961, the population of the Republic of Ireland stood at a little over 2.8 million, a five percent decline since the founding of the state in 1921. Between 1926 and 1961, approximately 900,000 people had emigrated, forty-six percent of whom left between 1951 and 1961. In 1957 alone, fifty-four thousand people emigrated, the highest single year total since 1891 when the total population was sixty percent higher than it was in 1957.⁵

However, in 1958, following de Valera's retirement as Taoiseach, the Irish government embarked upon an economic, social, and cultural revolution of unprecedented proportions that within four decades would transform Ireland from a pre-industrial country to a post-industrial one, producing today's "Celtic Tiger." The program was detailed in a government report, *Economic Development*, written by Secretary of Finance T. K. Whitaker. It opens with an often-quoted censure of Irish economic policies: "After 35 years of native government people are asking whether we can achieve an acceptable degree of economic progress. The common talk amongst parents in the towns, as in rural Ireland, is of their children having to emigrate as soon as their education is completed, in order to be sure of a reasonable livelihood." He went on to proclaim that previous economic policies had been "unsuitable" and "ineffective," and that "the greatest fault" would be to continue with them.⁶ He proposed a planned economic development that should include the following:

1. The replacement of protectionism with free trade that would compel Irish industry and agriculture to compete.
2. The recognition that economic initiatives and improvements to the infrastructure alone would not be sufficient. Rather, Ireland must develop an indigenous entrepreneurial capacity, which would require improvements in education and health, along with the encouragement of initiative and enterprise.

3. The principal source of ideas and initiatives should come from the private sector, which should include foreign enterprise and technology.
4. The role of the government is to stimulate change through tax reduction and a reduction in government borrowing in order to free capital for investment in the economy.
5. The government should not set goals for the number of jobs to be created. "There would be nothing to be gained by setting up fanciful employment targets; failure to reach such targets would only produce disillusionment."⁷ Rather, self-sustaining jobs could only result from a complete restructuring of the economy.

Whitaker's plan welcomed the foreign investment that had been feared and discouraged previously, encouraged Irish industry to look to the export market rather than to the limited domestic one, and compelled the government to facilitate economic development, encourage risk-taking, and put its faith in the private sector, all radical rejections of previous policies. Ireland was to focus on attracting small to mid-sized industry that was clean, export-oriented with high-value added during manufacture, which would transfer the most sophisticated technology and would "harness the enthusiasm of the young and buttress the faith of the active members of the community."⁸

To implement this grand plan, the Irish government strengthened the role of the IDA, empowering it to attract multinational high-technology manufacturers with a set of tax incentives and with the appeal of an educated, English-speaking workforce with little history of labor unrest. Ireland's entry into the European Economic Community in January 1973 greatly enhanced its attractiveness to foreign investment by assuring that goods manufactured in Ireland, where wages were low, could be exported duty-free throughout the nine countries of the Community.⁹ Ireland's attractiveness to high-technology companies, many based in Silicon Valley, grew steadily, and these companies became and remain the foundation of Irish economic growth. That growth has had setbacks, especially during the 1980s when the country's economy was sluggish, inflation was high, unemployment escalated as manufacturing employment was almost halved, and Ireland's financial debt became unsustainable. But as the recession receded and the global economy became more buoyant, some improvement in Irish economic activity was recorded, prompted by a devaluation of the Irish pound in 1986 and a reorientation of fiscal policy to curb capital expenditure. The end of the 1980s saw some improvement in the output growth rate, unemployment began to fall, and both the inflation rate and the public sector deficit fell below the European average.¹⁰

From 1994 onwards, the performance of the Irish economy has been unprecedented, although it has not been unaffected by the economic downturn in high technology during the past few years. Nonetheless, the Celtic Tiger that Ireland has become in such a short number of years would not have been possible without the assistance of the Irish Americans of San José and Silicon Valley who found the opportunity to contribute to the development of their grandparents' homeland.

San José and Dublin

It was late in 1986 when the formal twinning of Dublin and San José occurred. Although outwardly the cities were quite different, the two peoples shared entrepreneurial spirits and imaginations that were uniquely similar. When the first official Irish delegation arrived in San José, it was led by the affable Bertie Ahern, then Lord Mayor, later to rise to ministerial rank and Taoiseach (Prime Minister), and the leaders of all the Irish constitutional parties. The successful inaugural event was a healthy sign of good things ahead. This was followed by a New York meeting at the Time Warner office in Manhattan, attended by Ahern (by then a minister in the Irish government), Dublin City Manager Frank Feely, and charismatic Lord Mayor Carmencita Hederman, together with developer Lew Wolff (who rebuilt much of downtown San José), other economic development officials, and me (mayor of San José). Also in attendance was Bill Claggett, head of our Economic Development unit. We immediately established internships in Silicon Valley companies and targeted a selected list of companies for investment in Ireland. Companies such as Hewlett Packard, Seagate, Intel, and Cypress were willing to work with the American Electronics Association and the Semiconductor Industry Association to help with the goal. We also decided to use all efforts to move Ireland's IDA office from Southern California to San José and base it at the Fairmont Plaza. This premier space was a gift from the people of San José to the people of Ireland, that is, "free of charge." It was to be the linchpin in the renewed efforts to encourage more inward investment for Ireland. From this vantage point in the best real estate in Silicon Valley, the IDA would be poised to pursue its target companies.

In San José, leaders in the Irish-American community leapt into action. Ray O'Flaherty, a long-time leader, consultant, and supporter of Irish causes, was perhaps the most active in the economic sector, with contacts in Silicon Valley and Dublin and long friendships with luminaries like Nobel Prize winner John Hume. O'Flaherty was an ideal point man. Others, like Deputy City Manager Dan McFadden, a man with both a doctorate and a bartender's flair, pushed things forward. Publican Johnny Hannegan and marketing genius Regis McKenna also lent support on many, many levels. Two other valuable co-chairs of the effort were Tom Hogan, an attorney, and Pat McMahon, an attorney and Balbriggan, County Dublin, native who also delivered an Irish reel at appropriate occasions. Other important contributors were Bob Hennessey, Maurice and Ann Webb, and Leslie Murdock, as well as our chief of security, Sgt. Danny McTeague, who never "lost an Irish VIP for over a day!" On the academic front, Professors Tim O'Keefe of Santa Clara University and Jim Walsh of San José State University rallied the forces of their institutions and forged many intellectual ties.

The Irish Network, a group of young, bright Silicon Valley engineers and designers founded in the mid-1980s, was an important element in the mix. Eschewing most religious or historical discussions, their interest was strictly business. Many of their members were born in Ireland and became an invaluable link between the two countries and cultures. Led by Martina Ni Dhomhnall, they were

able to “download” and “wire in” to many levels of Silicon Valley business. At a later date, these Silicon Fenians were the first generation of emigrants returning home to Ireland not with guns, but with a pot of intellectual gold. Working with the new entrepreneurs of Trinity College, University College Dublin, and Dublin City University, these key employees from American giants like Apple, Hewlett Packard, and Intel became the foundation of the Celtic Tiger, employing thousands and providing much additional value to the emerging Goliath on the Celtic fringe.

The San José office of the IDA was arguably its most successful, capturing over fifty percent of Silicon Valley’s mobile investment in the early 1990s. The net and continuing effect of much of this industrial policy is that by the late 1990s, Ireland had become the location of twenty-four percent of U.S. European manufacturing investments, and nearly fourteen percent of all foreign direct investment projects locating in Europe, even though Ireland accounts for just one percent of the European population.¹¹ This has led to the establishment of a significant cluster of related firms able to supply each other with services from development to distribution; it has also led to the creation of a pool of suitably skilled labor, still a further incentive for increased direct investment, allowing incoming firms to draw upon an established and integrated industry network.

Examples abound of Ireland’s preparations to ensure its place as a global leader, such as the creation of the Information Society Commission. Representing government, industry, and employees, the commission is charged with leading educational and practical initiatives to ensure that everyone in Ireland is equipped with the skills and knowledge needed to keep pace with Ireland’s digital future. One of the commission’s aims is to provide every person with access to information and services using the Internet and related technologies.¹² There is an old saying around St. Patrick’s Day that, on that day, everyone is Irish or wants to be! In economic terms, that old shibboleth has a new accuracy. There have been few greater economic turnarounds than that in Ireland’s recent history, and much of it found its brain trust in downtown San Jose’s IDA center and the good efforts of dozens of Irish Americans—a truly productive “circle of friends.”

Bytes for Belfast

In Belfast, the walls starkly stand. They are impossible to avoid, separating neighborhoods, streets, an entire city. This is a city in some ways more British than Britain and yet “more Irish than the Irish themselves.” Queen Victoria, orb and scepter in hand, sits commanding the front of the City Hall. Children play in the shadow of British Army facilities and shoppers in the Falls Road pass police stations that sprout antennas and electric equipment. Yet the people persevere.

Not far away, hunched with concentration over a computer keyboard in a run-down neighborhood of West Belfast, a young man taps out his messages, instantly exchanging views with a variety of people thousands of miles away, all around the globe. His contacts, chosen from a bulletin board



FIGURE 5-3 Tom McEnery at Mansion House, Dublin, Recipient of the Lord Mayor's Award from Michael Donnelly, 1990. *Photo credit: San José–Dublin Sister City Committee.*

on the Internet satellite link system, include students, university professors, and computer enthusiasts.

"I like to talk to others my age about how they see the world. What do they like? What are their dreams?"¹³ They exchange information about science, culture, and current events. The young man is one of several hundred young people who participate in Bytes for Belfast, a horizon-widening, ground-breaking project to put the power of computers into the hands of disadvantaged youth from the most troubled areas in the old center of this troubled industrial city. By introducing them to life on the information superhighway, Bytes is creating an environment for self-motivation in which young people undertake further training and education and thus prepare themselves for a job and a new life.

The Bytes project is modeled on "Playing to Win," a concept developed in the United States that has led to the creation of community computer centers for young people in the most challenged and deprived areas of several American cities.¹⁴ The Belfast version was sparked off by a conversation I had in a San José sidewalk cafe with Dr. Brian Mawhinney, a former education minister for Northern Ireland, member of the British Parliament, and later chairman of the Conservative Party in Britain. Then, two dedicated Northern Ireland government representatives, John McConnell and Peter Holmes, along with representatives of Apple Computer, joined us to plan a project. The idea germinated in 1992 and 1993 as they observed, studied, and learned during several visits to Silicon Valley.

The Belfast scheme is unique in that it offers no formal training or qualifications; instead, it is run on an informal, drop-in basis, allowing the participants to come and go as they please and generate their own enthusiasm in taking up opportunities elsewhere, hopefully obtaining jobs or professional

qualifications. According to my contact in the Education Department, Peter Holmes, who coordinated the project, “the Bytes idea is to empower through technology, to excite and intrigue unemployed 16- to 25-year-olds who have left school and left training.”¹⁵

There are now ten Bytes centers in the city, jointly located with community organizations, at the Ashton Centre, New Lodge Road; Glen Parent Youth and Community Group, Lenadoon; Worknet, Falls Road; the Rathcoole Community Group; and six others. They were established, beginning in late 1993, under a three-year \$600,000 pilot plan funded by the government through the Making Belfast Work scheme, one of the many comprehensive programs designed to target social needs in both the Catholic and Protestant communities. The computers (worth \$150,000) were donated by Apple. Each center is kept up to date and has seven computers with associated peripherals, scanners, CD-ROM drives, and laser and color printers. At this writing, the budget is nearly one million dollars and the project title has reverted to simply, “Bytes,” with its expansion to Derry and plans for other centers throughout Northern Ireland.

The long-term aim of replacing government funding by grants and donations from other sources is well on its way. A group of business leaders, led by Sir George Quigley, chairman of Bombardier-Shorts Ltd. and former chair of the Bytes program, is hard at work making sure this successful project is able to expand. The board includes industrialists, academics, community members, and bishops from the Church of Ireland and the Catholic Church, and has been established to direct the progress of the project in the most community sensitive directions. Without doubt, young people in the North are benefiting to a great degree and moving into productive areas of employment and increased opportunity. It is one more way for our San José–Silicon Valley–Ireland axis to bear fruit, Apples and others. Our valley stands for hard work and hope, and its ideas and technology have found welcome partners in the people of Northern Ireland.

IDA Clones

Following on the heels of the IDA in Silicon Valley, the Industrial Development Board of Northern Ireland (IDB) attempted to replicate their success. Using the good offices of Ray O’Flaherty, IDB achieved a great coup with the location of disc-drive-maker Seagate in the beautiful town of Derry. John Hume, the civil rights leader and Nobel Prize winner, was instrumental in building the relationships that resulted in such a success. Dr. Brendan Hegarty, the CTO of Seagate, was crucial to the effort that produced such a partnership. And Steve Lutz, the Seagate CEO, was willing to “think outside the box” and was a constant and consistent supporter of the controversial decision that resulted in this seminal facility. Senior politicians from both sections of the community, led by Deputy First Minister Seamus Mallon, came to San José to promote other economic relationships. Because of the endemic strife, Northern Ireland was a far more difficult sales job than the Republic, but such a mission emphasizes the renewed confidence in the future. No one can underestimate the difficul-

ties and problems of the peace process, but those of good will have their hands immensely strengthened by the presence of a stable, sound economic situation. As they warm to possibilities of a violence-free society, the men and women of peace and the business people are gaining the upper hand. Inward investment and development efforts are vital to the hope for a true and lasting peace in Ireland.

The Past Is Not Prologue

Ireland, which for 150 years has seen so many from among its best and brightest leave for greener economic pastures, recorded an unprecedented net immigration of 22,800 in 1998, boding well for the future. Of course, among these new arrivals are some former expatriates, entrepreneurs who made their money in U.S. technology and have come home to start their own businesses. “The Irish always want, consciously or subconsciously, to return home. It is almost genetic programming,” historian and author Tim Pat Coogan once told me. “Now they have the financial ability, Ireland has the jobs, and Aer Lingus has the routes.”¹⁶ The country is prepared: It has increased its “wired” population from five percent in 1996 to twenty-eight percent three years later, well ahead of Great Britain or Germany. The lessons of Silicon Valley have not been lost on the Emerald Isle.

In fact, one of the most successful of the Irish efforts, Enterprise Ireland, has successfully brought some coals, and products, to Newcastle. Starting in a small incubator space in a San José suburb, under the firm leadership of its director, Marina Donohoe, it has provided the needed infrastructure for Irish companies to move into the American market. Firms like Apion, Trintech, and Smartforce have had great success in the brave, new world of the Internet and the knowledge-based economy. The United States is now the number one market for Irish technological companies and remains one of the most important markets for other sectors. Investments by her companies have reached a staggering eighteen billion dollars. The Ireland to San José shuttle was much in demand during the nineties, and the product of these ventures is the future for the continued prosperity of the tiny island full of so much energy.

Michael Collins, the legendary founder of the IRA, accurately predicted long ago that a prosperous Ireland would be the only real chance for a truly free Ireland. He died long before that important event would occur. Certainly such a paradigm shift is an extremely rare event—and yet, it is happening right now. James Joyce, speaking for the many frustrated Irish, said that “history . . . is a nightmare from which I am trying to awaken,”¹⁷ but recently, and for the first time, history in Ireland is a chronicle of positive events.

Knowledge-based industries, electronics, computers, software, pharmaceuticals, and financial services are the future of Ireland. They offer jobs that fully exercise the capacities of those emerging from the education system. The interplay of sophisticated imported technology and modern management techniques together with a labor force of improving quality has resulted in significant gains

in total factor productivity in Ireland. Critical-mass industry clusters have formed in many of these segments, and the economic benefits in terms of sub-supply have spilled over their boundaries into the indigenous economy. Ireland is now second only to the United States in software exports that account for at least forty percent of the packaged software sold in Europe. “Technology,” Prime Minister Ahern told me, “has given a whole new generation hope in the future. We can build a new and better land.”¹⁸

There is no need to “seize the GPO” as the revolutionaries of 1916 did. The true revolutionaries today carry Palm Pilots on their belts and personal computers in their briefcases or backpacks. Today, the enemies are ignorance and hidebound tradition, and with them the Irish are ruthless. A global battle of epic proportions is being waged for the future—from the classrooms of India to the research and development centers of Silicon Valley—and the competition is no longer between monarchs of dubious lineage, but between those with brains and dreams. In Ireland, teachers, entrepreneurs, and business people—the purveyors of ideas and the disseminators of information—are the new leaders of the people. There is no need for the sword or the gun in the Ireland of today. There is no need for any young person, such as my grandmother, to go the long and lonely road to the immigrants’ ship.

Bay Area Irish Americans have helped to fight that battle, reflecting Ireland’s growing importance as a member of the international community and as a trading partner of great value. Our ties with Ireland will continue their historic advance beyond the sentimental St. Patrick’s Day link to a new stage of economic and social alliance. As Taoiseach Bertie Ahern said in San José on St. Patrick’s Day a few years ago, “The friendship of San José’s people and leaders in business and politics has been critical to the success of Ireland.”¹⁹ Our Dublin–San José twinning has proven durable and rewarding. And many here, descended from grandparents who arrived with a trunk, hope, and a dream for the future, have been able to make a contribution.

In Silicon Valley, we have recognized the increasing significance of Ireland as the gateway to the new Europe, and we have helped our own economy while we helped Ireland’s. The nation that has given so much to our little valley is once again forging ahead into the future with a solid relationship and firm friendships with the people of San José and Silicon Valley. Yet the most fitting commentary of all is simply this: Ireland is prosperous, hopeful, and free.



Notes

1. Rob Norton, “The Luck of the Irish,” *Fortune*, 25 October 1999, 194. In June 2000, Intel announced a two billion dollar expansion of its Leixlip facility in order to manufacture the 300 mm wafer, the industry’s most advanced and Europe’s first such plan. This brings to \$4.5 billion Intel’s investment in Ireland. See Therese Poletti, “Intel to Invest \$2 Billion in Plant in Ireland,” *San José Mercury News*, 20 June 2000; “Intel Ireland to Expand: Intel Designates Irish Factory for 300 Millimeter Wafer Production,” <http://www.intel.ie/ireland/newfab/index.htm> (accessed 1 January 2001). Currently, Intel has 3,200 em-

- ployees on the Leixlip site. The facility was scheduled to be fully completed in early 2004.
<http://www.intel.com/ireland/about/thesite/index.htm> (accessed 19 May 2003).
2. Patrick J. Dowling, *California: The Irish Dream* (San Francisco: Golden Gate Publishers, 1988), 119–124; Kevin Starr, *Americans and the California Dream 1850–1915* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 191–192; Gabrielle Sullivan, *Martin Murphy Jr.: California Pioneer 1844–1884* (Stockton, CA: Pacific Center for Western Historical Studies, University of the Pacific, 1974), 25, 62–66.
 3. This confluence is summed up in Donald Jordan, “The Ireland–Silicon Valley Nexus,” *Journal of the West* 31 (April 1992), reprinted with two additional essays as Timothy J. Sarbaugh and James P. Walsh (Eds.), *The Irish in the West* (Manhattan, KS: Sunflower University Press, 1993), 79–84. A detailed discussion of the Irish economy during the post-independence period can be found in J. J. Lee, *Ireland 1912–1985: Politics and Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).
 4. Lee, *Ireland 1912–1985*, 187.
 5. W. E. Vaughan and A. J. Fitzpatrick (Eds.), *Irish Historical Statistics: Population, 1821–1971* (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1978), 3–4, 261–263, 266; Brendan M. Walsh, “Economic Growth and Development, 1945–70,” in J. J. Lee (Ed.), *Ireland 1945–70* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1979), 28.
 6. T. K. Whitaker, *Economic Development* (Dublin: Department of Finance, 1958), 5–6.
 7. Whitaker, *Economic Development*, 206–207.
 8. Whitaker, *Economic Development*, Appendix I.
 9. Renamed the European Union in 1993, there are now twenty-five members. It is anticipated that two additional members will join in 2007, bringing the population to nearly half a billion. <http://europa.eu.int> (accessed 11 May 2004).
 10. Paul Tansey, *Ireland at Work: Economic Growth and the Labour Market, 1987–1997* (Dublin: Oak Tree Press, 1998), 11–32.
 11. Noreen Heraty, “The Irish Labour Market in Perspective,” in Paddy Gunnigle (Ed.), *The Irish Employee Recruitment Handbook* (Cork, Ireland: Oak Tree Press, 1999), 40–42.
 12. Eugenie Houston, *Working and Living in Ireland*, 2nd ed. (Cork, Ireland: Oak Tree Press, 1999), 34–36.
 13. Interview with the author, July 1997.
 14. http://www.playing2win.org/finalweb_for_upload/html/history.html (accessed 23 May 2003).
 15. Interview with the author, June 1998.
 16. Interview with the author, July 1998.
 17. James Joyce, *Ulysses* (New York: Vintage Books, 1961), 34.
 18. Interview with the author, July 1997.
 19. Spirit of Ireland Dinner, San José, California, March 1999.

San Francisco's Robert Emmet Monument

TIMOTHY J. O'KEEFE



uring the summer of 1919, San Francisco had more than its usual reasons to celebrate its strong ties to Ireland. The city was to host the national convention of the Ancient Order of Hibernians and its Ladies Auxiliary, and thousands of delegates and members—intrepid “auto tourists”—were navigating the narrow roads west from the mining towns of Montana and Idaho. Excitement and expectations increased when it was announced that Eamon de Valera, the “President of the Irish Republic,” would visit San Francisco during the convention. Only recently sprung from a British jail by the daring work of Michael Collins and Harry Boland, de Valera, the highest ranking survivor of the rising in Dublin three years earlier, was touring the United States to raise funds for an independent Ireland. After considerable uncertainty about his itinerary, the Irish community in the Bay Area and the visiting Hibernians eagerly awaited his appearance. Irish flags waved over the St. Francis Hotel, and the Women’s Irish Education League flooded the city with handbills reprinting sympathetic editorials from San Francisco newspapers. “President De Valera,” proclaimed William Randolph Hearst’s paper, “*The Examiner* salutes you as the rightful president and head of your people and their free nation! God save the Republic of Ireland!”¹

The highlight of the convention and the most lasting memorial of de Valera’s tour to the Pacific Coast was to be the ceremonial unveiling of a monument to Robert Emmet in San Francisco’s Golden Gate Park. On Sunday afternoon, 20 July, surrounded by a crowd estimated by one extravagant report to number 60,000, de Valera dedicated the statue of the famous Irish patriot who had staged a gallant, if unsuccessful, uprising against English rule in Ireland.² Emmet had long been one of Ireland’s greatest revolutionary heroes and a romantic symbol of Ireland’s enduring struggle for freedom. His poignant speech from the dock before his execution had become not only a major weapon in the arsenal of nationalist oratory, but a standing challenge to ensuing generations of Irishmen. And now, in the tall slender figure of Eamon de Valera, many in the crowd believed they saw both the continuity of the revolutionary tradition

and the promise of its realization in a free Irish Republic. Standing before Emmet's bronze likeness, with the solemnity of a priest de Valera undertook the task of "laying at the feet of the dead the homage of the living." And with the shrewdness of a politician, he likened himself and his fellow revolutionaries of 1916 to the heroic Robert Emmet.

Although de Valera won the applause of his San Francisco audience, neither he nor the titular sponsors of the ceremony, the Ancient Order of Hibernians, had had anything to do with the memorial backdrop for the occasion—the monument to Robert Emmet. Behind the scenes was the fine controlling hand of James Duval Phelan, one of San Francisco's wealthiest and most distinguished sons. A former mayor, and now California's first popularly elected Senator in Washington, D.C., Phelan had personally originated the idea of the San Francisco Emmet monument and paid for it out of his own deep pockets. Phelan had a well-established reputation for artistic patronage and civic generosity. He had already supported a number of public monuments, including those honoring Admiral Dewey, President McKinley, the California Volunteers, and Father Junipero Serra. Now, with the Emmet monument, he combined artistic patronage with his equally famous championship of Irish culture and political freedom.

Phelan knew well the symbolic power of the memory of Robert Emmet. The San Francisco Irish had marked Emmet's birthday with an annual celebration since the 1870s. The history of the young rebel's gallant uprising in Dublin, his powerful speech, his barbarous execution, and the mutilation of his body by the English were a melancholy but treasured part of the patriotic legacy of Irish Americans. Some twenty years before the unveiling ceremony of 1919, Phelan had delivered the annual Robert Emmet Birthday Address at the Metropolitan Hotel in San Francisco. During that speech, Phelan justified the Irish struggle against unjust and tyrannical rule and proclaimed his personal belief in the principles for which Robert Emmet died. He noted that Emmet's death was "one of liberty's landmarks that we must preserve in our memories. . . ."³

In 1917, two years before the Golden Gate Park ceremony, Phelan had participated in the dedication of an identical statue of Robert Emmet in the National Museum in Washington, D.C. This statue, the gift of an Irish-American organization, was the work of the Irish immigrant sculptor Jerome Connor. Phelan was immediately impressed with the artistic merit of the bronze likeness of Emmet and its evocative symbolism. Using Emmet's death mask to model the patriot's face, Connor's statue captured Emmet in the act of delivering his famous speech from the dock. In Phelan's discriminating judgment, the statue was "wrought with great skill and is full of action."⁴ He immediately contacted the sculptor, commissioned him to cast a second statue for San Francisco, and paid Connor \$2500 for the replica.⁵

After arranging for its safe shipment to San Francisco, Phelan presented the statue as a gift to the Commissioners of Golden Gate Park. The park already contained monuments to the Ger-

FIGURE 5-4 Eamon de Valera at the Dedication of San Francisco's Robert Emmet Monument, July, 1919. *Photo credit: James P. Walsh Collection.*



man literary giants Goethe and Schiller, and the Spaniard Cervantes, and Senator Phelan considered it a fitting place for a memorial “representing another great nationality.” But for Phelan, the statue of the Irish hero had a wider appeal because Emmet was “especially dear to all lovers of Liberty.” With his own hand, the Senator drew pencil sketches of the exact location where he wanted the statue erected, and he commissioned his personal architect, G. E. Gottschalk, to design an appropriate granite pedestal for the Emmet bronze. Then, beginning with the Knights of St. Patrick, he sought out appropriate Irish organizations to participate in the dedication of his monument.⁶ The national meeting of the Ancient Order of Hibernians and their Ladies Auxiliary in San Francisco during July 1919 provided the perfect occasion for the public unveiling of the Emmet memorial.

Like the master orchestrator of events he was, Phelan made the last arrangements from a distance. He realized that de Valera’s presence at the official unveiling of his latest public benefaction would generate publicity and lend the occasion greater ceremonial and political importance. It could only serve to enhance the senator’s popularity among Irish Americans, which was something of considerable concern to Phelan at that moment. Phelan had decided to take a politically unpopular stand behind President Wilson and support the controversial Paris Peace Treaties ending the recent war. These treaties ignored the widespread Irish-American demand for the recognition of an independent Ireland, and their ratification was becoming an increasingly contentious political issue among voters.⁷ In early July, Phelan traveled to New York and met de Valera at the Waldorf Hotel. The Irish-American millionaire turned United States Senator and the Limerick mathematics teacher turned President of the revolutionary Irish Republic held an hour-long private conversation.⁸ Phelan delivered de Valera: the Hiber-


nians and the San Francisco monument committee could be assured that Ireland's new revolutionary hero would indeed be in San Francisco to unveil the memorial to the martyred Emmet.

As one San Francisco newspaper reported the morning following the dedication of the Emmet monument, "Pulsant patriotism was the order of the day."⁹ From the speaker's platform, de Valera's oratory attempted to keep pace with popular sentiment. He told his audience that he clearly detected in the statue the very embodiment of the true spirit of Robert Emmet, a real individual who had fought and died for liberty. And with considerable hyperbole he declared, "Here, facing your Golden Gate, you have erected a statue of liberty as glorious as that on your Eastern Coast in New York harbor."¹⁰

During the following decades, the Emmet statue, the first monument to an Irish hero to be erected in San Francisco, became a focal point for demonstrations by local Irish Americans. The annual observance of Emmet's birthday included a procession to Golden Gate Park led by kilted Irish bands, the laying of a wreath at the base of the statue, and the recitation of his speech from the dock.¹¹ For many years, the ceremony at the Emmet memorial remained a popular ritual celebration of Irish heritage, as well as an opportunity for expressing republican sentiment and continuing grievances over the partition of the Irish homeland. Today, in a city replete with impressive statuary, the Emmet memorial is not one of the most imposing public monuments, nor, perhaps, one with a claim to the greatest artistic merit. But it stands as a witness to San Francisco's close and enduring association with Ireland, and to the generosity of one of California's most gifted and politically adroit Irish-American sons.

Notes

1. Women's Irish Education League handbill, James D. Phelan Papers, Ireland and the Irish, Carton 22, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. The *San Francisco Examiner* editorial was dated July 19, 1919. See also *San Francisco Bulletin*, July 3, 1919, and *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 11, 1919.
2. *San José Mercury Herald*, July 21, 1919.
3. James D. Phelan, "Robert Emmet's Birthday Address delivered at Metropolitan Temple, March 4, 1899," Pamphlets in American History, CA 1190 (Sanford, NC: Microfilming Corporation of America, 1982) 3-16.
4. Phelan to John Mulhern, February 14, 1918, Phelan Papers, Box 12.
5. Phelan to Jerome Connor, April 15, 1919, Phelan Papers, Box 13. Yet another replica of the Washington original was later erected in St. Stephen's Green, Dublin.
6. Phelan to John Mulhern, February 14, 1918, Phelan Papers, Box 12. See also Monuments, Carton 22, for pencil sketch and architect's blueprints.
7. *New York Times*, June 27, 1919. By the autumn of 1919, President Wilson was considered so unpopular among Irish Americans that Phelan's local political advisor in San Francisco sent a



telegram warning the Senator to avoid accompanying the President on his planned trip to California. C. W. Fay to James D. Phelan, September 8, 1919, Phelan Papers, Box 52.

8. *New York Herald*, July 8, 1919.
9. *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 21, 1919.
10. *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 21, 1919.
11. See, for example, *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 6, 1950.