

## STAFF REPORT

Date: Wednesday October 18, 2023  
To: Honorable Members of the Visual Arts Committee  
From: San Francisco Arts Commission, Civic Art Collection Staff (Mary Chou and Allison Cummings)  
Re: Intent to Install Bust of Mayor Edwin May Lee, and Historical Documentation Pertaining to the Removal to Storage of the James D. Phelan Commemorative Bust Currently Located at San Francisco City Hall

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## PROPOSAL

ArtCare, a 501(c)3 organization, has raised private funds to gift a bust of the late Mayor Edwin May Lee (1952-2017) to the City and County of San Francisco for display in San Francisco City Hall. ArtCare and the family of Mayor Lee, in coordination with the Mayor's Office, the City Administrator and the Arts Commission, have proposed replacing the bust of James D. Phelan with a commemorative bust honoring Mayor Lee, the City's 43<sup>rd</sup> mayor and first Asian American mayor. This bust would be done in a similar style and be placed upon the existing sandstone plinth. The text on the front of the plinth would be covered by a plaque honoring Mayor Lee. This work would be fully reversible as recommended by The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties. The design of the Lee bust and plaque will be brought to the Arts Commission at a later date for review and approval.

In May 2023, the Monuments and Memorials Advisory Committee completed its extensive review of the Arts Commission's guidelines for the disposition of commemorative artworks and published their final report. This report calls for the Arts Commission to be proactive in its approach to remove artworks from public display that "uphold the tenets of white supremacy, patriarchy, and/or colonialism." Given James D. Phelan's persistent and successful efforts to legislate racial discrimination, and for the direct harm caused to communities of color in San Francisco, the Arts Commission now seeks to remove the commemorative bust of James D. Phelan from City Hall and place it into secure fine arts storage.

Precedent for this action exists in other areas of the city. In 2017, the University of San Francisco renamed Phelan Residence Hall because of Phelan's racism. In 2018, Phelan Avenue was renamed to Frida Kahlo Way by the City of San Francisco. (Phelan Avenue was actually named for James D. Phelan's father, also named James Phelan, however, due to James D. Phelan's vehement support of racist, xenophobic and anti-immigration policies, it was determined the name should be changed.) Also in 2018, The San Francisco Foundation, which had a visual arts award named after James D. Phelan, made the decision to remove his name from the award. Additionally, China Beach on the northern edge of the San Francisco Peninsula had been previously named for James D. Phelan who had helped the state purchase the beach in 1933. When the ownership of the beach was passed from the state to the federal government in 1976, it was promptly returned to its original name, due to Phelan's support of the Chinese Exclusion Act and other anti-Asian policies.

It is intended that the bust of Phelan would be removed from the pedestal to identify the location of the existing pins that currently secure the bust to the pedestal. The bust of Lee would then be designed and fabricated so that the pins that secure the Lee bust to the pedestal do not overlap the pins of the Phelan bust. With this process, it is anticipated that the pedestal would not have bust for a period of 6 – 12 months to allow for time to complete the design and fabrication of the Lee bust.

Artwork: *James D. Phelan (1861-1930), 1936*  
Artist: Haig Patigian (1876-1950)  
Medium: Bronze and sandstone  
Dimensions: 115 x 32 x 23 ½ in. / 9 ½ ft. (H) x 2 ½ ft. (W) x 2 ft. (D) / Weight (bust) Approx. 300 lbs. / Weight (sandstone pedestal) Approx. 800 lbs.  
Credit Line: Collection of the City and County of San Francisco  
Location: Public Display : Civic Center : City Hall : 1<sup>st</sup> floor, Goodlett lobby : District 6  
Accession #: 1937.3

#### **DESCRIPTION AND INTENT OF MONUMENT**

Inscription: "Placed by Friends In Appreciation James D Phelan / Native of / San Francisco / 1861 1930 / Mayor of / San Francisco / 1897 1902 / United States / Senator / 1915 1921 / Patriot / Philanthropist / Patron of Arts / And Letters / Happy in / Tireless Service / To City State / And Country / His Achievements / Live"

The bust was installed in April 1937 at the eastern entrance vestibule to City Hall, in a niche on the east side of the building. The monument honors James D. Phelan and was a gift to the city by his supporters. The purchase price of the monument is unknown. The bust was created by artist Haig Patigian and is installed directly opposite the bust of former Mayor and Governor of California, James Rolph Jr., which Patigian also created. Both busts share the same materials, aesthetic, and proportions.

The Arts Commission accepted the gift and approved its installation at City Hall on April 2, 1937 by resolution:

April 2, 1937: Full Commission Meeting

Resolution No. 218-1937S:

"Whereas a bust designed by Haig Patigian to the late Governor Rolph to be placed in the northeast niche of the vestibule of the City Hall and a bust of James J. Phelan to be placed in the southeast niche, has been submitted to the Committee of Painting and Sculpture and which has received their favorable recommendation.

Be it Resolved: That the Art Commission of the City and County of San Francisco at its regular meeting held on April 2, 1937, does hereby accept said recommendation and tentatively approves the bust together with its location.

Upon motion duly made, seconded and carried, said resolution was unanimously adopted."

The symbolic impact of the location of the *James D. Phelan* commemorative bust is significant. Located within the entrance of City Hall in a custom niche created by the architects of the building, both the Phelan and Rolph busts hold positions of prominence in the overall design of the building. The sculptures are architecturally integrated by design unlike the other commemorative busts located elsewhere in the building.

#### **ABOUT THE ARTIST**

Haig Patigian was an Armenian-American sculptor born in 1876. He spent most of his career in San Francisco and most of his works are located in California. The Oakland Museum of California includes a large number of his works in its collection. Patigian's father immigrated to the United States in 1888, settling in Fresno, California. In 1891 his family joined him.

Haig Patigian's art career began as an apprentice in a sign painter's shop in 1893 and he opened his own shop three years later. He moved to San Francisco in 1898. In 1900 he began work as an illustrator for the evening newspaper *SF Bulletin* and enrolled at the Mark Hopkins Institute. Largely self-taught, his first sculpture "The Unique Soul" was put on display at the Press Club and was immediately celebrated in local newspapers.

In 1905 he was hired to create a statue of assassinated President William McKinley for the town of Arcata. After the 1906 Earthquake and Fire, Patigian traveled to Paris for a year to study and practice. He exhibited at the Paris Salon. He returned to San Francisco in 1907, and married Blanche Hollister in 1908. They had two children.

He was selected to create the sculptural works for the Palace of Machinery at the Pan Pacific International Exposition in 1914, and then continued to receive steady commissions after that exhibit. His bust of President Hoover was placed in the White House in 1929.

Additional works by Haig Patigian in the Civic Art Collection:

- 1910 Luisa Tetrizzini Plaque on Lotta's Fountain
- 1917 Frederick Funston bust in City Hall
- 1922 General Pershing statue in Golden Gate Park
- 1926 Abraham Lincoln statue outside City Hall
- 1928 Edward Robeson Taylor bust in City Hall
- 1932 Volunteer Fireman Memorial in Washington Square, North Beach
- 1936 Busts of James Rolph and James D. Phelan for City Hall
- 1941 William Ralston Monument on the Marina Green

Other notable works by the artist:

- 1915 *Electricity, Imagination, Invention and Steam*; four sculptures at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition (PPIE).
- 1920 Sculptural pediment at the entrance of 600 Stockton, formerly the Metropolitan Life building, now a Ritz-Carlton hotel. The building architect was Timothy Pflueger.
- 1931 *Thomas Starr King* statue in the Capital Building in Washington D.C., one of the two statues each state is allowed to display in the Capital. (It was replaced in 2009 by a statue of Ronald Reagan, and moved to Sacramento, the grounds of the California State Capital.)
- 1934 Department of Commerce Building sculptural pediment, Washington D.C.

During WWII, when metal for statues was scarce, Haig Patigian turned to watercolors. Many of his works during this period are in private collections as well as clubs in San Francisco. The artist died in 1950.

#### **ABOUT THE SUBJECT**

James D. Phelan was born in San Francisco in 1861, studied at University of San Francisco and received a law degree from University of California, Berkeley. He was left a large fortune by his father who was the richest man in California when he died in 1892. Not interested in business pursuits, he became a political leader and a patron of the arts.

Phelan was Mayor of San Francisco from 1897-1901. He was elected after he campaigned for civil service reform and an end to government corruption. During his tenure, Phelan successfully led the adoption of a new city charter in 1900, separating the executive and legislative divisions of city government.

Phelan was elected as a United States Senator representing California in 1915 and served until 1921. He was the leader of California's Democratic Party from late 1890's through the 1920's.

As a proponent of beautification and the City Beautiful movement, Phelan contributed to decorative fountains, monuments and statues across the city and encouraged others to do the same. The movement was inspired by the Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893, and emphasized classical, monumental architecture and symmetrical relationship among buildings. Phelan took the lead in securing the Burnham Plan of 1905, which resulted in the current design of the Civic Center.

Phelan believed the city could only be great if it used its wealth to "develop the fine and useful arts and sciences to an unparalleled degree". He preached the virtues of honest, open and effective government, and was a staunch anti-corruption advocate.

Phelan focused much of his attention in office on securing San Francisco's infrastructure. As mayor he promoted bond issues for a new sewer system, city hospital, parks and schools. He advocated for government operation of

essential utilities. In one of his earliest speeches (1889) he drew attention to the dangers of monopolistic utility companies. In 1901, as a private citizen, he applied for the right to use the Hetch Hetchy Valley as a reservoir to prevent it from falling into the hands of speculators, then transferred his claim to the city in February 1903, playing an important role in bringing the Hetch Hetchy Project to reality. Then in 1906, as a private citizen, he incorporated the Municipal Street Railways of San Francisco to acquire existing streetcar franchises when they became available and later transferred them to the city.

After the Earthquake and Fire in 1906 he was chosen to be the president of the San Francisco Relief and Red Cross Funds, and it was to him that President Theodore Roosevelt personally sent the \$10,000,000 collected for the relief of the fire victims.

While James D. Phelan was a shrewd politician and is credited for helping San Francisco emerge from a period of being known as “one of the most corrupt cities in the nation”, his views were elitist, anti-labor, and racist.

Phelan is remembered for his persistent stoking of the “Yellow Peril” race controversy, and his early political career was marked with anti-Chinese rhetoric. The Chinese Exclusion Act was passed in 1882, and again in 1892. The legislation was limited to 10 years in duration and was up for renewal in 1902. Phelan wrote “Why the Chinese Should Be Excluded” in 1901, supporting the legislation, stating “The Chinese, by putting a vastly inferior civilization in competition with our own, tend to destroy the population, on whom the perpetuity of free government depends. Without homes and families; patronizing neither school, library, church nor theatre; law-breakers, addicted to vicious habits; indifferent to sanitary regulations and breeding disease; taking no holidays, respecting no traditional anniversaries, but laboring incessantly, and subsisting on practically nothing for food and clothes, a condition to which they have been inured for centuries...” In the aftermath of the Great Earthquake and Fire of 1906, Phelan advocated for the relocation of Chinatown to Hunters Point, an initiative that ultimately failed.

“He considered people of color as incapable of being assimilated, culturally or physically, and therefore saw them as a threat to the cultural values he sought to promote through beautification and his patronage of the arts. He vehemently opposed immigration from Asia, and favored the segregation and disenfranchisement of peoples of color already here.” [14] In an interview with the Boston Sunday Herald from June 1907, Phelan stated in reference to Japanese immigration, “But California is white man’s country, and the two races cannot live side by side in peace, and inasmuch as we discovered the country first and occupied it, we propose to hold it against either a peaceful or a warlike invasion.” [21]

In 1912, Phelan wrote that “This is a whiteman’s country ... We cannot make a homogeneous population out of people who do not blend with the Caucasian race.” [14] While in Washington D.C. he declared on the floor of the U.S. Senate that African Americans were “a non-assimilable body, a foreign substance.”

Phelan’s major antagonism was reserved for immigrants from Japan, who he argued “will destroy American civilization as surely as Europe exterminated the American Indian.” His campaign slogan in the 1920 Senatorial Election was “Keep California White.” He lost the election, but then spearheaded the Japanese Exclusion League of California, a lobby group that influenced the 1924 Immigration Act barring further Japanese settlement completely. This legislation contributed greatly to the decline of US and Japanese relations in the following years, leading up to World War II.

Despite his contributions to San Francisco’s economic and industrial growth, James D. Phelan's white nativist ideology has caused controversy and remains his legacy. Phelan never married and had no known children – he died in 1930 at his estate in Saratoga.

## SUPPORTING DATA (BIBLIOGRAPHY)

Please see attached additional documentation which includes news articles and academia, descriptions of property name changes undertaken by other agencies, historic documents from the commission, letters of support, etc.

1. Link to the Monuments and memorials Advisory Committee's Final Report:  
[https://sfartscommission.org/sites/default/files/documents/SF\\_MMAL\\_Final\\_Report\\_07\\_2023.pdf](https://sfartscommission.org/sites/default/files/documents/SF_MMAL_Final_Report_07_2023.pdf)

### ENCLOSED:

2. Intent to Donate Letter from ArtCare, dated September 28, 2023
3. Letter from Norman Yee, dated September 27, 2023
4. Letter from the Japanese Cultural and Community Center of Northern California, dated September 28, 2023
5. Letter from S. Osborn Erickson, dated September 28, 2023
6. Renaming Phelan Residence Hall, ASUSF Resolution 15-17-01.
7. Resolution renaming Phelan Avenue, between Flood Avenue and Ocean Avenue, to "Frida Kahlo Way." Board of Supervisor Resolution Number 189-18, Adopted June 19, 2018.
8. Phelan Ave. gains support for name change, by Melody Yan for The Guardsman.
9. San Francisco's China Beach: The ERAS Tour, Park Conservancy.
10. The Re-Renaming of SF's China Beach: Honoring Immigrants, Rejecting White Supremacy, by Mark Fiore May 5, 2021.
11. Board of Supervisors Minutes August 1930, authorizing a memorial to James D. Phelan, Resolution Number 32994.
12. Arts Commission Minutes April 1937, accepting the Phelan bust and its placement in City Hall, Resolution Number 218-1937S.
13. James D. Phelan Bust is Unveiled, SF Examiner April 4, 1937.
14. List of artworks by Haig Patigian catalogued in the Civic Art Collection under the Arts Commissions jurisdiction.
15. Finding Aid to the James D. Phelan Papers, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
16. Mayor James Phelan, Historical Essay, by Robert Cherny, 1994. Excerpt in FoundSF.
17. 'Keep California White' – James D. Phelan and the 'Yellow Peril' Race Controversy, by Mark Phelan. *History Ireland*, August 2018.
18. James D. Phelan, Densho Encyclopedia.
19. James Dual Phelan (1861-1930), Biography, The Museum of the City of San Francisco.
20. The Ideal San Francisco, by James D. Phelan for the *San Francisco News Letter*, 1897.
21. Chinese Colony at the Foot of Van Ness, The Plan to Remove Celestials To San Mateo County is Opposed, *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 27, 1906.
22. Why the Chinese Should be Excluded, by James D. Phelan, (Excerpt) November 1901.
23. Why the Chinese Should be Excluded, by James D. Phelan, *The North American Review*, November 1901.
24. The Situation in San Francisco, by James D. Phelan, *New York Evening Post*, June 1, 1907.
25. Rejoices at the Fall of Schmitz in 'Frisco: Says Jap Trouble is Only Labor Question, Will Not Tolerate Invasion of California Even if it is Peaceful, James D. Phelan interview with the *Sunday Herald*, Boston. June 16, 1907.

# ArtCare

— FRIENDS OF THE —  
SAN FRANCISCO ARTS COMMISSION

September 28, 2023

Mr. Ralph Remington  
Director of Cultural Affairs  
City & County of San Francisco 401  
Van Ness, Suite 325 -  
San Francisco, CA 94102

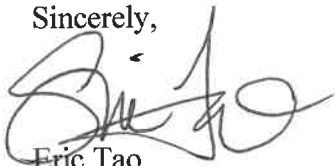
Dear Mr. Remington:

ArtCare, a nonprofit organization, would like to present as a gift to the City of San Francisco a life size bronze portrait bust depiction of Mayor Edwin Mah Lee, the 43rd Mayor of San Francisco. We hope for it to be displayed on the pedestal on which the Mayor Phelan bust currently occupies.

Jonah Hendrickson, a highly regarded local artist who specializes in life-sized bronze sculpture and busts, will create the artwork. The artwork is estimated to be valued at \$100,000 which includes fabrication, artist fee, bronze plaque, and a maintenance endowment. The artwork has been fully funded through private donations to ArtCare.

We are delighted to offer this opportunity to posthumously commemorate Edwin Mah Lee, the first Asian American Mayor of San Francisco, and his important legacy.

Sincerely,



Eric Tao  
ArtCare, Board Member

September 27, 2023

*San Francisco City Hall Preservation Advisory Commission  
City Hall, Room 408  
1 Dr. Carlton B. Goodlett Place  
San Francisco, CA 94102*

Dear Commissioners,

I would like to express my support for the proposal to install the bust of former Mayor Ed Lee (2011-2017), the first Asian American Mayor of San Francisco in City Hall. I further support the proposal to remove and replace the bust of former Mayor James D. Phelan (1897-1902), currently located inside City Hall on the south side of the Civic Center Plaza entrance with Mayor Ed Lee's bust. Mayor Phelan advocated for excluding Chinese from the United States and when he served as US Senator from 1915-1921, one of his reelection campaign posters contained the headline "Keep California White." The Arts Commission recently approved the Final Report of the Monuments and Memorials Committee, which is the result of a directive by Mayor Breed to review the monuments and memorials in the City's Collection. One of the results of this report is an amendment to the City's policies and guidelines, which includes as one of the criteria for removal of an artwork from the Civic Art Collection, if the work is judged to uphold tenets of white supremacy, patriarchy, and/or colonialism. We believe the proposed removal would be consistent with such findings. This proposal follows changes to other places in the City named after Phelan – a recent example is the 2018 SF Board of Supervisors approval to change the name of Phelan Avenue to Frida Kahlo Way, a change that I personally led as the supervisor of District 7 where the street is located. My activism with the street name change was inspired by the University of San Francisco's action to renaming of one of their buildings by removing Phelan's name from the building.

Please join the rest of us to support the replacement of a symbol of exclusion with a positive symbol of inclusion represented by Mayor Edwin M. Lee.

Sincerely,

Norman Yee  
Former member of the Board of Supervisors



September 28, 2023

San Francisco City Hall Preservation Advisory Commission  
City Hall, Room 408  
1 Dr. Carlton B. Goodlett Place  
San Francisco, CA 94102

Dear Commissioners,

On behalf of the Japanese Cultural and Community Center of Northern California (JCCNC/the Center), I am writing to support the proposal to install the bust of former Mayor Ed Lee (2011-2017), the first Asian American Mayor of San Francisco in City Hall. We further support the proposal to remove and replace the bust of former Mayor James D. Phelan (1897-1902), currently located inside City Hall on the south side of the Civic Center Plaza entrance, with Mayor Ed Lee's bust. Mayor Phelan advocated for excluding Chinese from the United States, and when he served as US Senator from 1915 to 1921, one of his reelection campaign posters contained the headline "Keep California White."

The Arts Commission recently approved the Final Report of the Monuments and Memorials Committee, which is the result of a directive by Mayor Breed to review the monuments and memorials in the City's Collection. One of the results of this report is an amendment to the City's policies and guidelines, which includes as one of the criteria for removal of an artwork from the Civic Art Collection if the work is judged to uphold tenets of white supremacy, patriarchy and/or colonialism. We believe the proposed removal would be consistent with such findings. This proposal follows changes to other locations in the City named after Phelan – a recent example is the 2018 SF Board of Supervisors approval to change the name of Phelan Avenue to Frida Kahlo Way.

In closing, I strongly urge you to support the approval of the proposal to remove the bust of former Mayor James D. Phelan and replace it with the bust of former Mayor Ed Lee.

Sincerely,

Paul Osaki  
Executive Director





## Renaming Phelan Residence Hall

ASUSF Resolution 16-17-01

**Whereas:** The University of San Francisco currently has a residence hall built in 1955 and named after former Mayor of San Francisco and USF Alumnus James Phelan; and

**Whereas:** Phelan was a major antagonist of Japanese immigrants who argued that they would "destroy American civilization as surely as Europe exterminated the American Indian." He also remarked on the floor of the U.S. Senate that African Americans were "a non-assimilable body, a foreign substance;" and

**Whereas:** In 1920, Phelan's campaign slogan for the Senatorial Election was 'Keep California White;' and

**Whereas:** SF Weekly named USF as a location "Where You Can Find Sites Named After Racist San Francisco Mayor James D. Phelan;" and

**Whereas:** Phelan Hall houses three living learning communities (Esther Madriz Diversity Scholars, Erasmus, and Gender Inclusive Housing) that focus on social justice and provide space for these identities to be included and celebrated; and

**Whereas:** USF prides itself on its commitment to its Jesuit values, and mission which include the moral dimension of every human choice, inclusive excellence, and social responsibility; therefore, be it

**Resolved by the Associated Students of the University of San Francisco Senate, representing all undergraduate students of the University:** That the university change the name of Phelan hall to a title that reflects the vision and values of our institution; furthermore, be it

**Resolved:** That in line with Catholic social teaching of a preferential option for the poor and historically oppressed, we urge a preferential consideration for names of people of color and historically marginalized people; furthermore, be it

**Resolved:** That after surveying our constituencies, the Associated Students have identified potential new titles for the building. Namely we suggest, Yuri Kochiyama Hall, Bill Russell Hall, Harvey Milk Hall, or Ollie Matson Hall.

**Submitted by:** Sean McCarthy, ASUSF Vice President of Advocacy

**Signed:** Tuesday, August 30, 2016

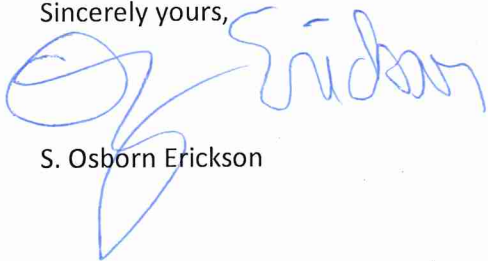
Shaya Kara, ASUSF President

September 28, 2023

San Francisco City Hall Preservation Advisory  
Commission  
City Hall, Room 408  
1 Dr. Carlton B. Goodlett Place  
San Francisco, CA 94102

I support with great enthusiasm the proposal to install a bust of former Mayor Ed Lee (2011-2017), the first Asian American Mayor of San Francisco, in City Hall. Mayor Lee was a great mayor and deserves to be honored in this fashion. Under Mayor Lee's leadership, the City passed important housing bonds which greatly increased the housing stock in San Francisco. Mayor Lee was also a thoughtful budget leader, implementing the first capital budgeting system for the City while he was City Administrator. He was also a stalwart advocate for all San Franciscans, implementing many programs to assist the unhoused and those with drug issues. He should indeed be honored with a bust placed in a prominent place in City Hall.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "S. Osborn Erickson". The signature is stylized and fluid, with a large initial "S" and "O" that loops around.

S. Osborn Erickson




**Addendum A**  
Phelan's Senatorial Campaign Material

Phelan, J. D. (1920). *Keep California White*.



**Save Our State from Oriental Aggression**



Japanese Population:	Japanese birth-rate in 18 agricultural counties: 12.3 per cent of all births
1916 41,800	In rural Los Angeles county: 35.4 per cent
1920 100,000	In rural Sacramento county: 49.7 per cent
Average Controlled by Japanese:	
1909 83,000 acres	
1920 438,000 acres	

**Keep California White**  
RE-ELECT  
**JAMES D. PHELAN**  
UNITED STATES SENATOR



Addendum B  
SF Weekly's New Article

Mojadad, I. (2015). Here's where you can find sites named after racist San Francisco Mayor James D. Phelan. *SF Weekly*. <http://archives.sfweekly.com>

NEWS

Like 0 Tweet G+1 0 Pin it

## Here's Where You Can Find Sites Named After Racist San Francisco Mayor James D. Phelan

By **Ida Mojadad**  
Wednesday, Apr 22 2015

Comments (3) ↓


Want see how impossible it is to avoid James D. Phelan's name in California? It recurs so often, you'd think it was a subliminal message.

**James D. Phelan Memorial Beach** (fixed)

Even after his death, Phelan was erasing Chinese immigrants from California. The small cove between Lands End and Baker Beach was said to have been a camp for Chinese fisherman in the 1800s and was dubbed China Beach. But because of the discriminatory legislation brought forth by Phelan and his cronies, the Chinese fishing community dwindled. When tCalifornia took ownership in 1933, it named the beach for Phelan in a giant slap to the minimal clout immigrants had at the time. More than 20 years later, the National Park Service acquired the property from the state and had the sense to change the name back.

**Phelan Hall – University of San Francisco**

Built in 1955, the university's first student residence hall stands at seven stories to welcome college freshman, while tipping its hat to its shady political alumnus. Phelan graduated with the Class of 1881 when it was still called St. Ignatius College.



[HTTP://THOMASNASTCARTOONS.COM/2014/COMING-MAN-20-MAY-1881/](http://thomasnastcartoons.com/2014/coming-man-20-may-1881/)  
*The Coming of Man*, published May 20, 1881. Illustrated by George Frederick Keller, *The San Francisco Wasp*.



### Addendum C

#### Explanation behind the Suggested Names Provided by the Associated Students

**Yuri Kochiyama** was a “prominent Japanese activist who was heavily influenced by her family's internment and advocated for reparations for internees”. She also “fought for racial equality and worked with political figures like Malcolm X”.

**Bill Russell** “Mr. Russell, USF's most famous Alum, and who largely, through his sports performance at USF, landing two national championships, and subsequent NBA legend (11 NBA Championship in 13 years) reflects the best of USF ideals, has no recognition on USF's campus. To name a building formerly dedicated to the memory of a man on record for his resentments toward racial minorities in San Francisco, after USF's most famous--and neglected African American Alum (while he is still alive), would be a generational legacy of this USF Senate.”

**Harvey Milk** was one of the first openly gay officials when elected to the San Francisco Board of Supervisors in the late 1970's. He is known as a LGBTQ+ activist. He was assassinated while in office along with San Francisco Mayor Moscone.

**Ollie Matson** “was one of two African American football players on the 1951 USF Dons Football team. As many know, 1951 was the last year for USF football. An undefeated team, USF was not invited to any bowl game, as two of our players were Black. Rather than accept a bid that required the two footballers to stay home, the entire football team did not attend, and so closed the season knowing they would not be renewed. Ollie Matson grew up in SF, attending George Washington high school prior to his time at USF. Not only play football, Matson joined a fraternity at USF, was also selected as an All-American, and inducted into the College Football Hall of Fame. Matson also won both a silver and a bronze medal at the 1952 Summer Olympics. Matson later played on several NFL teams and would eventually be inducted into the Pro Football Hall of Fame. Ollie Matson is an ideal name for a residence hall, as Matson was so heavily embedded in the school culture. As a member of the '51 Dons, Ollie Matson is a name that represents the values of USF, that social justice can be more important than winning a championship. While we no longer have a football team, the USF Dons will forever be a part of football lore”.

1 [Street Name Change - From Phelan Avenue to "Frida Kahlo Way"]

2

3 **Resolution renaming Phelan Avenue, between Flood Avenue and Ocean Avenue, to**  
4 **"Frida Kahlo Way."**

5

6 WHEREAS, Phelan Avenue is the name of the public right-of-way between Flood and  
7 Ocean Avenues; and

8 WHEREAS, Phelan Ave was named in approximately 1906 after James Phelan, the  
9 father of James Duval Phelan; and

10 WHEREAS, James Duval Phelan served as the Mayor of San Francisco from 1897 to  
11 1902; and

12 WHEREAS, James Duval Phelan ("Phelan") (1861-1930) served as a U.S. Senator  
13 from 1915 to 1921; and

14 WHEREAS, Phelan supported racist, xenophobic and anti-immigration policies; and

15 WHEREAS, Phelan supported the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 and the Immigration  
16 Act of 1924, which halted immigration from China and Japan to the United States; and

17 WHEREAS, Phelan ran unsuccessfully for a second term and during this senatorial  
18 campaign using anti-Asian rhetoric, such as "Keep California White" and "Save Our State from  
19 Oriental Aggression;" and

20 WHEREAS, Phelan supported laws banning interracial marriage between Asians and  
21 Caucasians; and

22 WHEREAS, In the 1970s, James D. Phelan State Beach was restored to its original  
23 name, China Beach, when the National Park Service acquired the land; and

24

25

1           WHEREAS, The City College of San Francisco's main campus, at Ocean and Phelan  
2 Avenues, was once named Phelan campus but was renamed the Ocean campus due to  
3 Phelan's racist legacy; and

4           WHEREAS, In 2017, University of San Francisco students successfully lobbied to  
5 rename the school's Phelan Hall to Burt A. Toler Hall, after an African-American alumnus; and

6           WHEREAS, Under the current Presidential administration, anti-immigrant, racist,  
7 bigoted and white supremacist rhetoric and acts of violence have drastically increased; and

8           WHEREAS, Across the country, public statues, parks, plazas, buildings and streets  
9 have been renamed to remove names that honored influential Confederate figures; and

10          WHEREAS, San Francisco remains a city that is founded on the principles of inclusion,  
11 tolerance and diversity; and

12          WHEREAS, San Francisco is proud to be a Sanctuary City that protects and supports  
13 our immigrants; and

14          WHEREAS, There is a local, national and international movement to publically  
15 recognize women in public offices and public places; and

16          WHEREAS, Supervisor Norman Yee's office conducted extensive community outreach  
17 starting nine months ago and formed a Renaming Committee for Phelan Avenue that involved  
18 residents and stakeholders to create a shortlist of names to replace Phelan Avenue; and

19          WHEREAS, The community voted on this list and elected to rename Phelan Avenue to  
20 Frida Kahlo Way, in recognition of her contribution to San Francisco art and culture; and

21          WHEREAS, Frida Kahlo was a queer, Mexican woman of color with disabilities; and

22          WHEREAS, Frida Kahlo is an internationally recognized painter; and

23          WHEREAS, Frida Kahlo was married to the famous muralist, Diego Rivera, whose  
24 world famous Pan American Unity mural is located on City College of San Francisco's Ocean  
25 campus; and

1           WHEREAS, Frida Kahlo's portrait is the one of the most widely recognized images in  
2 the Pan American Unity mural; and

3           WHEREAS, In 1930, Diego Rivera and Frida Kahlo first lived and worked in San  
4 Francisco when Rivera painted murals at The City Club of San Francisco and at the California  
5 School of Fine Arts (now the San Francisco Art Institute); and

6           WHEREAS, During this time in San Francisco, Frida Kahlo befriended San Francisco  
7 photographers, Ansel Adams, Imogen Cunningham, and Edward Weston, and also painted  
8 her "Frida and Diego Rivera" double portrait which is on display in the San Francisco Museum  
9 of Modern Art; and

10           WHEREAS, Diego Rivera and Frida Kahlo deepened their connection to San Francisco  
11 when Diego Rivera returned to the City in 1940 to paint the Pan American Unity mural at the  
12 Golden Gate International Exposition on Treasure Island (intended as a gift to City College of  
13 San Francisco), while Frida Kahlo visited and the couple remarried in San Francisco; and

14           WHEREAS, The Department of Public Works, in full compliance, with its regulations on  
15 street name changes, conducted its investigation on a street name change for Phelan Avenue  
16 between April 20 and May 21, 2018; results of such investigation are on file with the Clerk of  
17 the Board of Supervisors in File No. 180371, and are incorporated herein by reference; and

18           WHEREAS, The Board of Supervisors recognizes that the Department of Public  
19 Works, on behalf of the City, has taken all necessary actions to effect this name change,  
20 including fully complying with regulations regarding street name changes under California  
21 Streets and Highways Code, Section 970.5, which requires posted notice on the street for at  
22 least 10 days prior to the Board of Supervisors hearing on this resolution, Public Works Code,  
23 Section 423, California Government Code, Section 34091.1, and California Streets and  
24 Highways Code, Sections 970.5 and 5026; now, therefore, be it



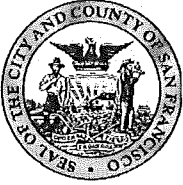
1 RESOLVED, That the Board of Supervisors hereby changes the name of Phelan  
2 Avenue to "Frida Kahlo Way" to recognize Kahlo's influence as a leader in the Latinx, feminist  
3 and the LGBTQ communities; and, be it

4 FURTHER RESOLVED, That the Board of Supervisors in accordance with  
5 Transportation Code, Section 2.2, directs the Municipal Transportation Agency to prepare  
6 street signs indicating both the new and former names of the street, with the new name "Frida  
7 Kahlo Way" in large letters, and the old name "Phelan Avenue" in smaller letters above or  
8 beneath the new name; and, be it

9 FURTHER RESOLVED, That both of the street names shall remain posted on street  
10 signs for five years, and then the street signs shall be replaced with signs indicating only the  
11 new street name, "Frida Kahlo Way;" and, be it

12 FURTHER RESOLVED, That in adopting this legislation, the Board of Supervisors  
13 does not intend to effectuate any change in City department jurisdictional control over the  
14 subject portion of "Phelan Avenue" to be known as "Frida Kahlo Way"; and, be it

15 FURTHER RESOLVED, That the Board of Supervisors directs the Clerk of the Board  
16 to promptly forward a copy of this Resolution to the County Surveyor in accordance with  
17 California Streets and Highways ,Code Section 5026, and that the County Surveyor include  
18 the new street name on the Official Map of the City.



City and County of San Francisco

Tails

Resolution

City Hall  
1 Dr. Carlton B. Goodlett Place  
San Francisco, CA 94102-4689

File Number: 180371

Date Passed: June 19, 2018

Resolution renaming Phelan Avenue, between Flood Avenue and Ocean Avenue, to "Frida Kahlo Way."

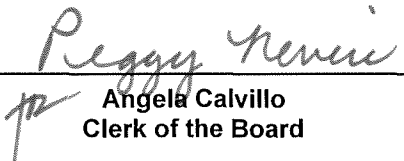
June 11, 2018 Land Use and Transportation Committee - RECOMMENDED

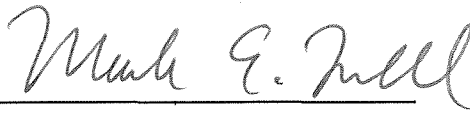
June 19, 2018 Board of Supervisors - ADOPTED

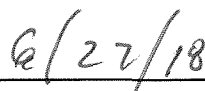
Ayes: 11 - Breed, Cohen, Fewer, Kim, Peskin, Ronen, Safai, Sheehy, Stefani, Tang and Yee

File No. 180371

I hereby certify that the foregoing Resolution was ADOPTED on 6/19/2018 by the Board of Supervisors of the City and County of San Francisco.

  
Angela Calvillo  
Clerk of the Board

  
Mark E. Farrell  
Mayor

  
Date Approved

# The Guardsman

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News

## Phelan Ave. gains support for name change

January 25, 2018 The Guardsman the guardsman, city college, Melody Yan

By Melody Yan

On the heels of an ongoing national effort to dismantle statues of controversial historical figures, a name-change campaign to replace Phelan Avenue at Ocean Campus is gaining momentum.

Faculty members Leslie Simon and Ann Wettrich are spearheading the effort to rename Phelan Avenue to Frida Kahlo Way. The campaign surfaced three years ago following disclosure that James Phelan, who served as mayor of San Francisco from 1897-1902, was anti-Japanese and anti-Chinese, and actively involved in the movement to restrict Japanese immigration.

The initiative to rename Phelan Avenue to Frida Kahlo Way began in the Introduction to Museum Studies class co-instructed by Simon and Wettrich. The course included a field trip to see Diego Rivera’s Pan American Unity mural housed in the Diego Rivera Theatre.

Kahlo, best known for her self-portrait paintings and long-time relationship with Rivera, is central to Rivera’s 10-panel fresco mural.

“She’s an iconic representation of the mural itself,” said Simon.

“In general, locally and nationally historical women are underrepresented when it comes to having monuments and buildings named after them. We thought it would be great to bring attention to a figure who was related to the Diego Rivera mural, and so it makes sense to call it Frida Kahlo Way,” said Wettrich.

To date, the name-change campaign has received unanimous support from the Associated Students, the Academic Senate, AFT 2121, and the Department Chair’s

### About The Guardsman

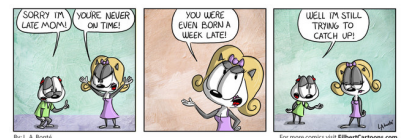
The Guardsman is a bi-weekly student newspaper. It was founded in 1935 by City College of San Francisco. If you are looking for past issues of The Guardsman pre-2000, try here <https://archive.org/details/citycollegeofsanfrancisco?&sort=downloads&page=2>

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Accepting writers, photographers, illustrators & designers [Contact Juan Gonzales for info](#)

### Filbert Cartoons

By L.A. Bonté  
(Click to enlarge)



Council.

"I feel like it is time for a change," said Tameem Tutakhil, Associated Student Council president. "There haven't been many streets that I know that are named after women. [Kahlo] was a revolutionary who has contributed a lot to history."

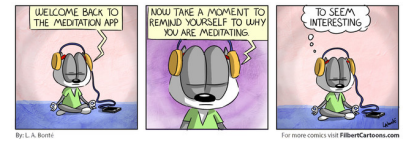
In order for the name-change to occur, the college, Riordan High School and the surrounding neighborhood must all be in support of the initiative. Once this is achieved, Supervisor Norman Yee said he would introduce a resolution before the San Francisco Board of Supervisors.

The cost to City College and Riordan High School would be minimal, as the city would pay for the new street signs.

In recent years, people have questioned maintaining statues and monuments of historical figures who held racist ideals.

"Some people will say that you're erasing history, but we're trying to make history more honest," Simon said. "Those who are removing confederate statues want to put them in museums and study them."

"I've taught about women in the arts for 25 years, and when I introduced Frida Kahlo to students they really embraced her," Simon said. "Chicano artists are reclaiming her. She suffered from disability, experiencing polio and infertility. She had a lot of obstacles in her life and yet she was resilient."

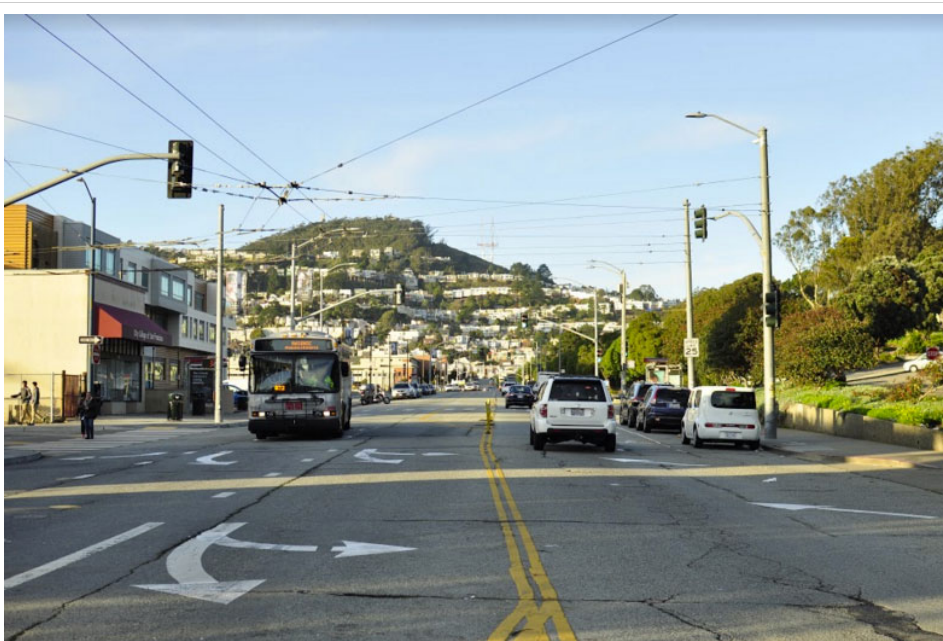


## @TheGuardsman Twitter Feed

**Twitter Sent An Error:** You currently have access to a subset of Twitter API v2 endpoints and limited v1.1 endpoints (e.g. media post, oauth) only. If you need access to this endpoint, you may need a different access level. You can learn more here: <https://developer.twitter.com/en/portal/product>

## About etc. Magazine

Etc. Magazine is written, edited, photographed and designed by students at City College of San Francisco. [Etc. Magazine Site](#)



Phelan Ave. named after former city major James Phelan in front of San Francisco Ocean campus may change its name to Kahlo Ave. after faculty members pushed the initiative to remove the current name. Jan. 19, 2018. Photo by Janeth R. Sanchez/The Guardsman.





Phelan Ave. named after former city major James Phelan in front of San Francisco Ocean campus may change its name to Kahlo Ave. after faculty members pushed the initiative to remove the current name. Jan. 19, 2018. Photo by Janeth R. Sanchez/The Guardsman.

← [Hammering out the details](#)

[On the last lap](#) →

#### 4 thoughts on “Phelan Ave. gains support for name change”



maria

March 16, 2018 at 12:40 pm

[Permalink](#)

is this finalized? is it possible to advocate for another name?



jim clifford

February 26, 2018 at 10:22 am

[Permalink](#)

avenue was named for his father. Fake news?



asdf1234576

March 13, 2018 at 8:31 am

[Permalink](#)

Oh, give me a break, Mister “The term’s been coined since 2016 and I’m still

absolutely oblivious to what ‘fake news’ is.”

An article that is close to entirely accurate is not “fake news.”

Yes, Phelan being named after his father an important distinction, but it’s one that numerous people had missed, including Supervisor Norman Yee himself.

You try putting out stories on deadline and when timeliness is crucial — there’s a clear reason journalism is considered the first draft of history.

Anyhow, better to be a journalist who gets 95% of an article correct than a troll who gets off on tagging any article with a single inaccuracy as “fake news,” and who clearly has no idea what fake news is. Piss off.



👤 asdf1234576

📅 March 13, 2018 at 8:36 am

🔗 Permalink

mainstream since 2016\*

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## SAN FRANCISCO'S CHINA BEACH: THE ERAS TOUR



The Golden Gate Bridge as seen from China Beach.

*Alison Taggart-Barone/NPS*

China Beach, the small, sandy cove nestled between Baker Beach and Lands End, isn't just a hidden gem, it's a prized jewel. Perfectly framing the Golden Gate, its shores have borne witness to countless histories, monumental comings and goings, and the everyday extraordinary, like a sunset over the mountain or a family gathering on the beach.

Which is why, informed by surveys of hundreds of beachgoers who shared their love for the cove "as-is," the Parks Conservancy and National Park Service began a 24-month long rehabilitation of the site in spring 2023. Included in the rehab project will be a refresh of the bathhouse and picnic terrace, and the completion of needed work on the infrastructure and retaining walls.

Importantly, public access to the beach will be maintained throughout the length of the project. This is, after all, a site for the people and a site that centers people: past, present, and future.

If you've ever visited China Beach, you know that before you begin the descent to its shores, you must pass a monument with Chinese characters carved into stone and a message of thanks to the early Chinese community of San Francisco. This is by design.

China Beach is named for some of the first Chinese immigrants to California and to this area, who began to arrive in 1849 during the Gold Rush. In 1981, Henry and Diana Chung donated the monument to honor the Chinese fishermen whose "efforts to supply the needs of a young city helped establish one of the area's most important industries and traditions."



The west arrival plaza at the bathhouse terrace will welcome visitors and will help to orient them for a day at the beach. The plaza will also feature comfortable seating, a foot wash station, interpretative elements, a preserved palm tree and historic flag pole.

*SWA group*

As early as 1850, discrimination was codified into law in the state, with the Foreign Miners Tax forcing many Chinese people out of the goldfields and back to the Bay where they became fishermen. By the 1880s, Chinese people made up 50% of all fishing crews. By the 1890s, discriminatory and Anti-Chinese laws once again negatively impacted the lives of Chinese San Franciscans, decreasing the number of Chinese fishermen in the Bay to 20% by the end of the century.

Former San Francisco Mayor James D. Phelan, who helped the state purchase the beach in 1933 and who the beach was named after during its time as a state beach, was a promoter of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 and other anti-Asian policies and sentiments. In 1976, ownership of the beach was passed from the state to the federal government, making it a part of the GGNRA. It was



promptly renamed, once again, to China Beach.

And now the story at China Beach continues, for waders, bathers, neighbors, new, and frequent visitors. The water has never been so inviting. Let's dive in.

---

 MARK FIORE: DRAWN TO THE BAY

## The Re-Renaming of SF's China Beach: Honoring Immigrants, Rejecting White Supremacy

By Mark Fiore      May 5, 2021

Save Article

I was aghast when I discovered that San Francisco's beautiful little pocket beach, China Beach, was once named after James D. Phelan. Who is Phelan, you ask? He was a virulently anti-Asian San Francisco mayor and U.S. senator in the early 1900s who campaigned for reelection on a "Keep California White" platform.

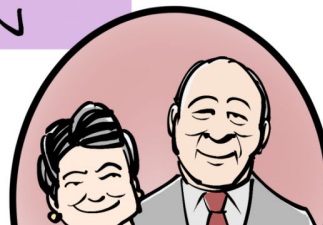
In 1934, the California State Park and Recreation Commission voted unanimously to rename China Beach "James D. Phelan State Beach," partly because he helped finance the park.

It struck me as odd (OK, infuriating) that a place where Chinese people fished and camped on land formerly inhabited by the [Yelamu Ohlone](#) was, for over 40 years, named in honor of a guy who wanted to "keep California white." California turned the beach over to the National Park Service in 1974, which recommended changing the name back to China Beach.

Read the cartoon to learn about a more recent immigrant story that led to the big granite monument that's now at the beach, which honors the Chinese fishing community.



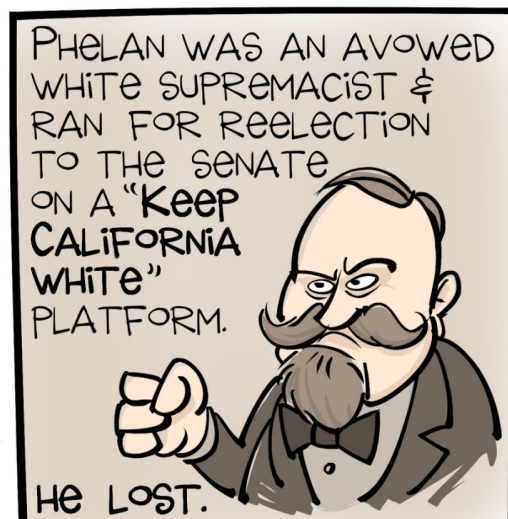
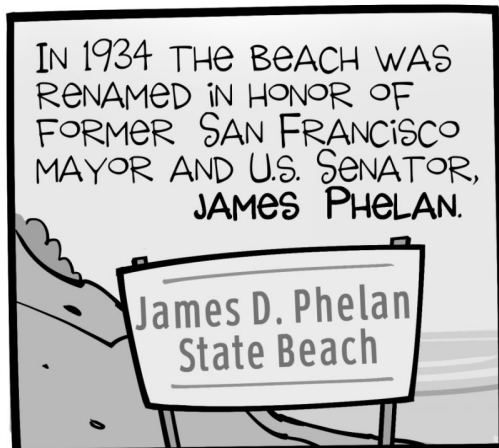
IN 1948 HENRY & DIANA CHUNG  
 MOVED FROM CHINA TO THE  
 U.S. AND, AFTER STRUGGLING  
 FOR YEARS CREATAD THE



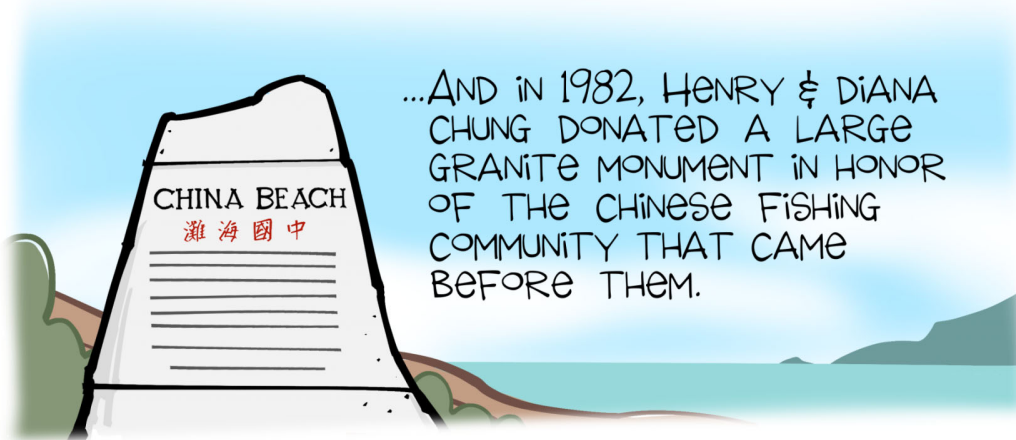
... HIS PARENTS, CREATED THE  
HUGELY SUCCESSFUL "HENRY'S  
HUNAN" RESTAURANTS  
IN SAN FRANCISCO.



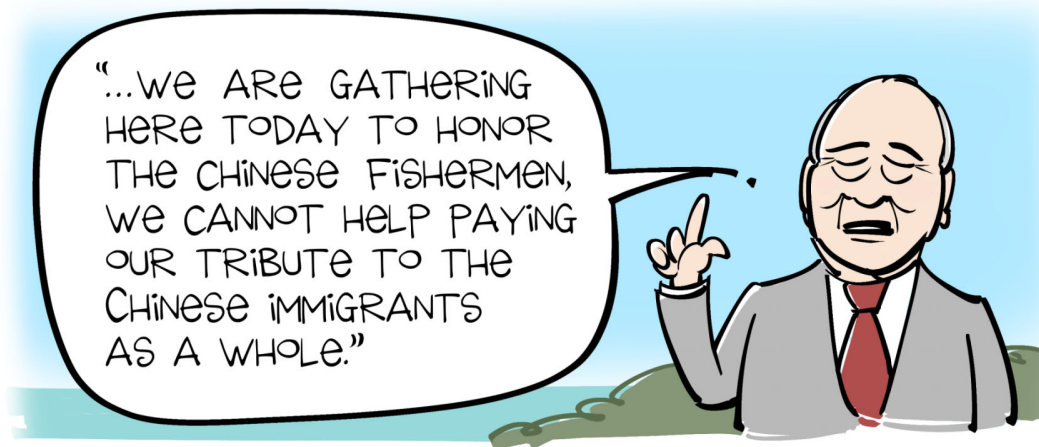
HENRY & DIANA'S DAUGHTER, SOPHIE FEGAN



AFTER OVER 40 YEARS OF BEING NAMED IN HONOR OF PHELAN, WITH THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE GOLDEN GATE NATIONAL RECREATION AREA, THE BEACH WAS ONCE AGAIN NAMED **CHINA BEACH**.



AT THE DEDICATION CEREMONY, HENRY CHUNG SAID...



WHEN I ASKED THE CHUNG'S GRANDDAUGHTER, MACKENZIE, WHAT SHE THINKS HENRY & DIANA WOULD SAY ABOUT "THE FAMILY ROCK" SITTING ON A SITE THAT ONCE HONORED A RACIST POLITICIAN, SHE SAID:





Sponsored

5464 and is known and designated as Ordinance No. 5464 of the City and County of San Francisco.

Section 2. That this ordinance shall take effect and be in force from and after its passage.

*Referred to City Planning Commission.*

#### **Citizens' Committee, Islais Creek Reclamation Project.**

Supervisor Gallagher presented:

Resolution No. \_\_\_\_\_ (New Series), as follows:

Resolved, That his Honor the Mayor be respectfully requested to appoint a citizens' committee to cooperate with the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce and the Board of Supervisors of the City and County of San Francisco and the Honorable Commissioners of the Islais Creek Reclamation District, for the purpose of appropriately celebrating the inauguration of the initial development of the reclamation of the Islais Creek swamp lands for industrial sites, under the auspices of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce.

*Referred to Streets Committee.*

#### **Citizens' Committee, Columbus Day.**

Supervisor Hayden presented:

Resolution No. 32993 (New Series), as follows:

Resolved, That his Honor the Mayor be respectfully requested to appoint a committee of citizens to properly celebrate Columbus Day, October 12, 1930.

*Adopted* by the following vote:

Ayes—Supervisors Andriano, Canepa, Gallagher, Havenner, Hayden, McGovern, McSheehy, Power, Roncovieri, Rossi, Shannon, Stanton, Suhr, Toner—14.

Absent—Supervisors Colman, Miles, Peyser, Spaulding—4.

#### **Citizens' Committee, Phelan Memorial.**

Supervisor Rossi presented:

Resolution No. 32994 (New Series), as follows:

Whereas, a most commendable suggestion has been made by his Honor the Mayor, James Rolph, Jr., in which is connoted the idea of the perpetuation of the memory of the late Senator James D. Phelan; and

Whereas, no citizen in the history of California has given more splendid and unselfish service to his city and his state than did the Honorable James D. Phelan; and

Whereas, moved by noble purposes and splendid ideals, as Mayor of San Francisco, he placed civic duty and public integrity on the highest plane; labored unceasingly for the beautification of this City; fathered the idea of the creation of its splendid Civic Center; adorned its streets and parks with many attractive monuments; inaugurated the movement for our great Hetch Hetchy water system and filed upon most valuable water rights in connection with the Tuolumne river and presented those rights as a gift to the City; was a patron of the arts and a friend and benefactor of the ambitious and struggling youth; a lover of the history of California, the State of his birth, and an admirer of the pioneers, its founders; and as United States Senator upheld the highest and noblest traditions of our country; and

Whereas, in his private life he was ever most generous in donations to all charitable and philanthropic projects; in rendering assistance to educational institutions, and made his home a place for dispensing the boundless hospitality of the State he so dearly loved; and by his last will showed his love for humanity by setting aside a fund of one

million dollars to aid the sick, distressed and helpless poor of San Francisco, without regard or distinction of race, caste or religious creed; therefore, be it

Resolved, That his Honor the Mayor of San Francisco is hereby authorized to appoint a committee of nine citizens of San Francisco to erect a memorial which will, in a fitting way, perpetuate the memory and deeds of one of California's greatest benefactors.

*Adopted* by the following vote:

Ayes—Supervisors Andriano, Canepa, Gallagher, Havenner, Hayden, McGovern, McSheehy, Power, Roncovieri, Rossi, Shannon, Stanton, Suhr, Toner—14.

Absent—Supervisors Colman, Miles, Peyser, Spaulding—4.

#### Commendation of Supervisors of Census.

Supervisor Rossi presented:

Resolution No. 32995 (New Series), as follows:

Whereas, the final official returns on the census of the City and County of San Francisco is well in excess of most sanguine expectations; and

Whereas, this gratifying result has been due to the intelligent and energetic work of the Supervisors of the Census, Senator Thomas Maloney and Mr. Felton Taylor, who fully cooperated with the Citizens' Committee, directed by Mr. Philip Fay, assisted by Mr. John O'Connell, secretary of the Labor Council, as secretary; the Registrar of Voters, Major Charles J. Collins, and the members of the office of the San Francisco Department of Elections, together with the former Registrar of Voters, Mr. Harry Zemansky, and Mr. William Benedict, member of the Board of Education; now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Board of Supervisors of the City and County of San Francisco does hereby applaud the excellent result and the complete accomplishment embodied in the official returns of the 1930 United States census for the City and County of San Francisco, and does hereby publicly commend, individually and collectively, all of the above-named officers who were directly responsible for the enumeration, and further expresses public thanks to each and every one of them and all others who participated in the work thus successfully terminated; and be it

Further Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be spread on the minutes of this Board and another copy be sent to the Chairman of the Citizens' Committee and to the Supervisors of the Census.

*Adopted* by the following vote:

Ayes—Supervisors Andriano, Canepa, Gallagher, Havenner, Hayden, McGovern, McSheehy, Power, Roncovieri, Rossi, Shannon, Stanton, Suhr, Toner—14.

Absent—Supervisors Colman, Miles, Peyser, Spaulding—4.

#### Charter Amendment, Compensation of Public Administrator.

Supervisor Shannon presented:

Resolution No. 32996 (New Series), as follows:

Whereas, investigations disclose that the Public Administrator and his attorneys have received in compensation for their work sums far in excess of the compensation ever paid to any other public official in the City and County of San Francisco; and

Whereas, in the County of Los Angeles and in the County of Alameda, and in other large centers of population throughout the United States, the office of Public Administrator has been placed on a strict salary basis, and the fees charged for services by said officials are paid into the treasury of the respective counties; and

I wish to say that I am gravely in doubt that the introduction of painted mural treatment to the walls of the public rooms of the City Hall would enhance the aesthetic values and not disturb the architectural character which seemed suitable at the time the building was constructed. It seems to me that any decoration of that description should be in response to an obvious decorative need, and not be done in order to find a place for the unrelated work of the painter.

These rooms, as you remember, we had conceived without the intervention of painted mural decoration, and I believe that such treatment at this time would adversely affect the unity of the scheme as a whole. In the particular instance suggested, the treatment is that of a mural texture which is not related to the walls and the openings. If a map motif is thought to be justified in this room for other than architectural reasons, in my opinion it should be related to the rest of the room by use of a limiting painted frame or border and the color scheme harmonized with the color tones of the existing room.

After my experience with the paintings in the Coit Tower, I am strongly of the opinion that any introduction of mural treatment should be very carefully controlled and studied in relation to the building as a whole, and that the sporadic introduction of patches of non-integrated wall treatment would be positively to the disadvantage of the building. This would not apply to the introduction of paintings which are carefully related to the architecture of the rooms in which they might be placed and which would not be essentially mural treatment.

(Signed) Arthur Brown.

The Commission was of the unanimous opinion that this matter be taken under advisement with the request that it be resubmitted in order to give the Art Commission more time for reconsideration.

The following Resolution was submitted by the Committee of Painting and Sculpture.

RESOLUTION NO. 218-1937S.

Whereas a bust designed by Haig Patigan to the late Governor Rolph to be placed in the northeast niche of the vestibule of the City Hall and a bust of James J. Phelan to be placed in the southeast niche, has been submitted to the Committee of Painting and Sculpture and which has received their favorable recommendation.

ROLPH  
AND  
PHELAN  
BUSTS.



BE IT RESOLVED: That the Art Commission of the City and County of San Francisco at its regular meeting held on April 2, 1937, does hereby accept said recommendation and tentatively approves the bust together with its location.

Upon motion duly made, seconded and carried, said Resolution was unanimously adopted.

REPORT OF  
CHAIRMAN OF THE  
MUSIC COMMITTEE:

In the absence of Commissioner Hayden, Chairman of the Music Committee, the Secretary read the following communication.

March 4, 1937

Art Commission of San Francisco  
City Hall-San Francisco

Gentlemen: Attention: J. Emmet Hayden  
Chairman, Music Committee

At the annual meeting of the Board of Directors of the Summer Symphony Association it was decided, by a unanimous vote, that a series of not less than six concerts should be given this season, which would supply employment and hold together the members of the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra during the summer months as has been the case during the past ten years.

We would appreciate your whole hearted support by purchasing from the Summer Symphony Association six concerts at a flat fee of \$250.00 per concert, the Association to take care of all expenses.

It may be possible that this amount can be made available from the 1936-1937 Tax Fund, which was voted by the public specially for the upkeep of the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra.

It this is not possible, we would like to be assured of this money from the 1937, 1938 Tax Fund.

Going back to the first years of our Association our beloved Thomas Boyle, who was then Auditor of our City, realized the importance and advantages of the Summer Symphony Concerts to the City of San Francisco and he assisted us in obtaining financial support from the City's Advertising and Publicity Fund.

# ANNIE LAURIE MEMORIAL TO BE SPEEDED

Civic and Social Organizations Join in Sweeping Movement to Honor Beloved Writer

Plans were underway last night for construction of a park memorial to Annie Laurie, beloved by thousands of San Franciscans as a columnist and feature writer of The Examiner.

### Meeting Called

The club called a meeting to appoint a committee for financing the project. The South of Market Boys, who claimed Annie Laurie as "mother" of their civic organization, announced immediate approval of the plan to commemorate the life of the woman whose heart was so wrapped up in the vital interests of San Francisco.

Annie Laurie, whose keen insight into the joy and tragedy of a great metropolitan city endeared her to Examiner readers of several generations, died last May. In private life she was Mrs. Winifred Black Bonfils.

### All Join Drive

Joining the North Beach Promotion Association in urging the civic memorial are the following organizations:

North Beach Merchants, Property Owners Association of North Beach, Columbus Civic Club, Victoria Colonna Club, League of Pen Women of California, South of Market Boys, Inc., South of Market Girls, Pi Chapter Study Club (Chinese Y. W. C. A.), Square and Circle Club, City and County Federation of Women's Clubs, Outdoor Art League, Central Council of Civic Clubs, Civic League of Improvement Clubs, Lincoln Grammar School Association, Booker T. Washington Center.

### Mother Follows Son in Death

HOLLISTER, April 3.—(AP)—Grief over the death of a son was believed to have caused the death of Mrs. Marie Indart, 97.

John Indart, widely known district cattleman, died two weeks ago. The family pioneered stock raising and maternally aided in the settlement of a large section of the county.

Mrs. Indart, born in the Pyrenees, came to this country seven years ago and lived continuously in the same house where she died. The funeral will be held Monday.

# JAMES ROLPH JR.

Portrait Dedicated



UNVEILING—Scene in City Hall yesterday when portrait of James Rolph Jr. by Arthur Cahill was unveiled. Left to right, Lewis F. Byington, who gave eulogy, Arthur Cahill, Leland W. Cutler, who presided, and Thomas Rolph, brother of late mayor.

# Ex-Mayors Honored

TRIBUTE IS PAID AT CITY HALL



UNVEILING—Scene in City Hall yesterday when portrait of James Rolph Jr. by Arthur Cahill was unveiled. Left to right, Lewis F. Byington, who gave eulogy, Arthur Cahill, Leland W. Cutler, who presided, and Thomas Rolph, brother of late mayor.

# JAMES D. PHELAN

Bust Is Unveiled



HONORED—Bust of James D. Phelan, former mayor, unveiled in City Hall rotunda. Left to right, John J. Sullivan, veterans' representative, Haig Patigian, sculptor who made the bust, and Lewis F. Byington. A bust of James Rolph Jr. also was unveiled.

## LAKE DRAGGED FOR SUICIDE

A suicide note tacked to a tree yesterday led Oakland police to drag the campus lake at Mills College.

The note, written on a piece of wrapping paper, said: "April 1. When you drain the lake you will find my body." On the other side was the message: "Dear Mother, please forgive me. This was the only way out."

It was signed Jane Darrow. Student records do not contain a Jane Darrow. Police are inclined to believe the note to be an April fool hoax.

## Admirer of Crosby Plans Suicide

HOLLYWOOD, April 3.—(Universal Service)—Bing Crosby, film and radio star, today was advised one of his admirers was going to commit suicide because the two could not become friends.

Decision to kill himself was reached by Fred Cross of New York City, according to a letter he wrote the actor which was just received.

Mailed March 30, the letter, one of many Cross has sent to the actor, said the writer had abandoned hope of becoming friends with Crosby because it "was not in the cards. I am going to eliminate myself by the time this letter reaches you."

In previous letters Cross explained he had been morose since the death of his parents, and that he would like letters of cheer from the singing actor. These were sent by Crosby's secretary, according to the studio where the crooner is under contract.

## COLORFUL CEREMONY HELD IN CITY HALL ROTUNDA

San Francisco yesterday honored two former Mayors—James D. Phelan and James Rolph Jr.—at ceremonies marking the unveiling and dedication of bronze busts of each and a portrait study of Rolph.

Several hundred attended the ceremonies in City Hall rotunda and heard Lewis F. Byington, representing Mayor Angelo J. Rossi, praise the late officials for their "tireless energy and unwavering devotion to city and State."

The busts are the work of Haig Patigian, widely known San Francisco sculptor. The portrait is from the brush of Arthur Cahill. Both artists were present at the unveiling and dedication.

### Tribute Paid

"James D. Phelan and James Rolph were lovers of America and all that America represents," Byington eulogized. "Both loved art and fine buildings and when a man loves these things it is a tribute to his character."

"James Rolph picked up the

work that James D. Phelan began and ably carried it forward. We owe this magnificent building to the efforts of James Rolph. Both Rolph and Phelan were exponents of civic virtue and for this we treasure their memories."

Byington dropped the veils from the busts and the portrait. When that of Rolph was revealed, Thomas Rolph, brother of the late Mayor and Governor, spoke briefly, thanking residents of San Francisco for the tribute to his brother's memory.

### Thanks Voiced

"On behalf of myself and the Rolph family I take this occasion to thank you. There is no more fitting site than the City Hall for this tribute, the City Hall for which he fought so long," Rolph said.

Leland W. Cutler, president of the Golden Gate International Exposition, presided at the ceremony. Occupying the speakers' stand were many city officials, policemen and firemen, and American Legion members. Among them were Fire Chief Charles J. Brennan, Charles W. Fay, Tom Riordan, O. K. Cushing, Col. Owen Albright, Patigian and Byington. Present in the assembly were Police Commissioner Theodore Roche and Chief William Quinn.

Flanking the speakers' platform were color guards composed of former members of "Jim Rolph's Own" 363rd Infantry.

**KILLED BY HORSE**  
GREENVILLE (O.), April 3.—(AP)—Enos J. Flory was crushed to death last night when the ailing horse he was treating fell dead upon him.

## Air Mail Rates Assailed

Discrimination Charged to I. C. C.

WASHINGTON, April 3.—(Universal Service)—Charges of "discrimination" by the Interstate Commerce Commission in setting air mail rates were made today by Senator McKellar, Democrat of Tennessee.

The accusation was made at a Senate hearing on a bill to place aviation regulation under the I. C. C. The measure is being vigorously opposed by the Commerce and Postoffice Departments.

### Rates Differ

McKellar told the committee: "The head of the Air Bureau of the Interstate Commerce Commission is exceedingly and unduly friendly to some airline companies."

The Tennessee asserted the commission permitted an air mail rate of 31 cents per airplane mile for United Airlines, although American receives only 28 cents and Transcontinental and Western Air only 24 cents "for similar service."

### 'Unfairness' Hit

Taking up the attack on the I. C. C., Karl A. Crowley, post-office solicitor, charged the commission with unfairness in rate hearings. He said postal attorneys were denied permission to cross examine auditors who testified at hearings on rate increases.

## CONTINUED Today Also MON.-TUES.-WED.

by popular demand A SENSATIONAL OFFER!! Special Discount Coupon 59c A Genuine Remington Pen 59c

**ATTENTION!** This is Remington's highest quality pen. DO NOT CONFUSE IT WITH CHEAPER GRADE PENS.

This Certificate and 50c entitles the bearer to one of our Genuine Indestructible Vacuum Fountain Pens. Visible ink supply. You SEE the ink. A Lifetime Guarantee by manufacturer with each pen.

GENUINE 14K GOLD-PLATED POINT

Price After This Sale \$3.50 59c

In our opinion there is no smoother writing pen. Matching Pencils 25c. Price of pencil \$1.50 after sale.

**Benatar** WHY PAY MORE? CUT RATE DRUGS CIGARS WINES LIQUORS 807 Market St. at 4th

## ENGINE SMOOTHNESS DEPENDS ON SPARK PLUGS



A smooth performing engine is an efficient engine. Champion Spark Plugs will smooth out the performance of your engine, increase the gas mileage and dependability. Re-vitalize your engine with a new set. They'll pay their cost in gas economy.

**CHAMPION** THE SPARK PLUG CHAMPIONS USE!

## KINDNESS IS REPAID

Gratitude Act Prompts Divorce

CRESCENT CITY, April 3.—Perry Hines was so grateful to an unidentified woman who "had been kind to him" that he took her aboard his yacht and let her live there for three years, Mrs. Olga Victoria Hines declared in a divorce complaint on file here today.

Charging Hines with mental cruelty, she alleged that last May she went aboard her husband's cabin cruiser, the Hauoli, moored at Pittsburg, Contra Costa County, and found a woman living there.

Hines told her, according to her complaint, that the woman had been kind to him three

### No Outstretched Palms

There's no tipping at San Francisco's hospitable Y. M. C. A. Hotel. But you'll find comfort and convenience aplenty. Attractive, immaculately kept rooms, a beautiful mattress on every bed, lots of hot and hot water, and a parking lot adjoining the hotel. Accommodations for men, women and families.

Transient rates, \$1.25 single, start at...

Rates for permanent guests start at \$3 weekly.

Y. M. C. A. HOTEL

San Francisco 311 Turk Street ORdway 2312

## HIGH BLOOD PRESSURE

Thousands have been helped this simple DRUGLESS way

Doctors say it is no longer necessary to take depressing drugs to lower blood-pressure and relieve the associated symptoms of headache and dizziness. French physicians have discovered a new drugless method that gives great benefit. . . . Here are three things to do if you have high blood-pressure:

FIRST—Learn to relax and take life easy. Avoid worry and get plenty of sleep. SECOND—Watch your diet. Overeating tends to raise the blood-pressure. THIRD—Take genuine ALLIMIN Essence of Garlic-Parley Tablets regularly—following the specified doses and intervals stated on the package.

**WHAT GARLIC DOES** French doctors have proved that a dose of garlic lowers blood-pressure as rapidly as 10-15 minutes. . . . an hour, and that this effect may last as long as 24 hours. By repeating the dose at prescribed intervals, the blood-pressure may often be kept lower for a long time. As blood-pressure is lowered, in most cases, the associated symptoms of headache and dizziness are relieved so long as you continue to take the garlic.

**NO BAD BREATH** You don't have to eat garlic to get its full benefits. ALLIMIN Garlic-Parley Tablets contain the essence of these ingredients in processed and coated and accordingly free from objectionable taste and odor. Always ask for them by name ALLIMIN Essence of Garlic-Parley Tablets and accept no substitutes.

**HEADACHE AND DIZZINESS OFTEN RELIEVED** By taking repeated doses of ALLIMIN Essence of Garlic-Parley Tablets regularly at definite intervals, most sufferers from high blood-pressure find distressing headache and dizziness, at the same time, leaving their blood-pressure. Yet ALLIMIN contains no drugs of any kind. It acts by improving the condition, not by dulling the pain.

**MONEY BACK IF IT FAILS** You take no risk in buying ALLIMIN Tablets. Either they help you or you get your money back—every cent of it. If ALLIMIN fails in your case, the Owl returns every penny of the purchase price. All that we must know is that you get genuine ALLIMIN Essence of Garlic-Parley Tablets and take the entire box according to instructions on the package.

**ASK THE OWL** For ALLIMIN Essence of Garlic-Parley Tablets. Be sure to ask for them by name. The "Owl" logo is on the box containing 30 tablets. Price . . . 43c

## TAKE GOOD CARE OF YOUR EYES

**GLASSES** INCLUDING EXAMINATION ON EASY PAYMENTS No Money Down \$1.00 A WEEK NO INTEREST OR EXTRAS

**B. L. Babow O.D.** REGISTERED OPTOMETRIST OFFICES WITH **GENSLER-LEE** 818 Market Street, above Stockton Mission: G. A. KIEDAISCH, O. D., 2578 Mission St., near 22nd

1

Acc #: **1910.1**  
Artist: **Haig Patigian**  
Title: ***Luisa Tetrazzini (1874-1940) Plaque***

Date: 1910

Medium: Bronze

Dimensions: 18 x 30 x 9 in.

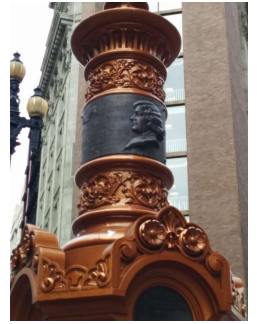
Collection of the City and County of San Francisco;  
Commissioned and placed in 1910 by the San Francisco

Credit Line: Board of Supervisors

Public Display : Market and Kearny St. : NE corner :

Location: District 3

Description A bronze plaque the curves partially around the colonnade of Lotta's Fountain bearing a portrait of the great Italian soprano and opera singer in low relief and an inscription which "memorializes Christmas Eve 1910 when she sang to the people of San Francisco on this spot."



2

Acc #: **1911.1**  
Artist: **Haig Patigian**  
Title: ***Raphael Weill (1837-1920) Plaque***

Date: 1911

Medium: Bronze

Dimensions: 22" in diameter

Collection of the City and County of San Francisco;

Credit Line: Commissioned for the Weill Monument

Location: Unknown

Description A bronze bas relief portrait of Raphael Weill

UNLOCATED

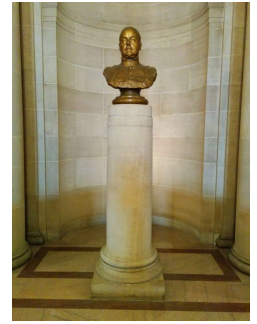


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3

Acc #: **1917.3**  
Artist: **Haig Patigian**  
Title: ***Frederick Funston (1865-1917)***  
Date: 1917

Medium: Bronze on concrete  
Dimensions: 112 1/4 x 30 1/4 x 30 1/4 in.



Collection of the City and County of San Francisco;  
Presented to the city of San Francisco by the school  
Credit Line: children.

Location: Public Display : Civic Center : City Hall : 1st floor, Van  
Ness lobby : District 6

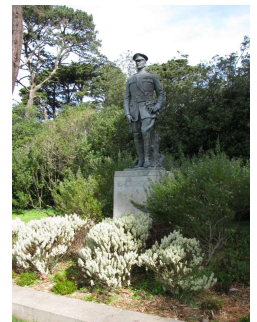
Description Gilded bust of Frederick Funston, Major-General of the U.S., who  
was an officer in the Cuban army until the outbreak of war with Spain  
in 1898, when he joined the U.S., eventually receiving the  
Congressional medal of Honor. He later campaigned against Villa in  
Mexico.

---

4

Acc #: **1922.1**  
Artist: **Haig Patigian**  
Title: ***General John J. Pershing (1860-1948)***  
Date: 1921

Medium: Bronze on granite  
Dimensions: 155 x 84 1/2 x 84 1/2 in.



Collection of the City and County of San Francisco; Gift of  
Credit Line: Dr. Morris Hertzstein

Location: Public Display : Golden Gate Park : Music Concourse  
Drive : near intersection with Bowl Dr. : District 1

Description A heroic figure of the Commander in Chief of the American  
Expeditionary Force in World War I. The figure stands in uniform with  
a crushed German helmet at his feet. Created from photographs, this  
is the only monument to Pershing in the United States.

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5

Acc #: **1926.1**  
Artist: **Haig Patigian**  
Title: ***Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865)***

Date: 1926

Medium: Bronze on granite

Dimensions: 131 x 70 1/2 x 81 in.

Collection of the City and County of San Francisco; Funds raised by popular subscription

Credit Line:  
Public Display : Civic Center : Polk St., by City Hall : District 6

Description: A bronze heroic figure of the martyred, 16th president, seated in a chair the back of which bears the presidential seal. Leaning forward, one hand on knee, he gazes downward. It is set on a granite base 5' high.



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6

Acc #: **1928.3**  
Artist: **Haig Patigian**  
Title: ***Edward Robeson Taylor (1838-1923)***

Date: 1927

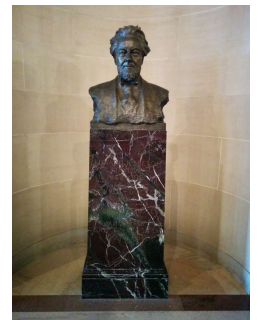
Medium: Bronze on marble

Dimensions: 84 1/2 x 27 1/2 x 17 5/8 in.

Collection of the City and County of San Francisco; Gift of James D. Phelan

Credit Line:  
Public Display : Civic Center : City Hall : 1st floor, Van Ness lobby : District 6

Description: A heroic bust of Edward Robeson Taylor on a granite shaft. Lawyer, doctor, and poet. Library trustee and Mayor of S.F. (1907-1910).



---

7

Acc #: **1933.41**

Artist: **Haig Patigian**

Title: ***Volunteer Fireman Memorial***

Date: 1932

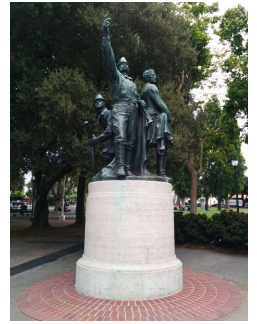
Medium: Bronze on marble

Dimensions: 204 x 96 x 96 in.

Collection of the City and County of San Francisco; Gift of  
Credit Line: Mrs. Lillie Hitchcock Coit

Location: Public Display : Washington Square : Columbus Ave.  
near Filbert St. : District 3

Description A heroic sized group of three firemen, one holding a supine woman,  
one kneeling with hose, and one pointing with outstretched arm. The  
monument was created to commemorate the Volunteer Fire  
Department of San Francisco, 1849-1866.



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8

Acc #: **1936.7**

Artist: **Haig Patigian**

Title: ***James Rolph, Jr. (1869-1934)***

Date: 1936

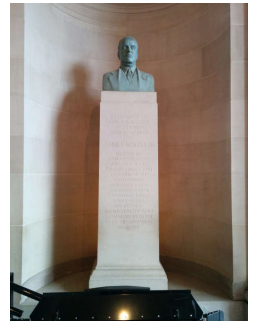
Medium: Marble on granite

Dimensions: 115 x 32 x 23 1/2 in.

Collection of the City and County of San Francisco;  
Credit Line: Purchased by the San Francisco Arts Commission for City  
Hall

Location: Public Display : Civic Center : City Hall : 1st floor,  
Goodlett lobby : District 6

Description Bust of James Rolph, Jr., Mayor of San Francisco from 1912-1931  
and Governor of California from 1931-1934.



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9

Acc #: **1937.3**  
Artist: **Haig Patigian**  
Title: ***James D. Phelan (1861-1930)***

Date: 1936

Medium: Bronze on granite

Dimensions: 115 x 32 x 23 1/2 in.

Collection of the City and County of San Francisco;  
Purchased by the San Francisco Arts Commission for City

Credit Line: Hall

Public Display : Civic Center : City Hall : 1st floor,

Location: Goodlett lobby : District 6

Description Heroic-sized bust of James D. Phelan, Mayor of San Francisco (1897-1950) and U.S. Senator (1915-1921). A generous patron of the arts, Phelan is responsible for a great part of the sculptural work spread throughout the city.



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10

Acc #: **1940.8**  
Artist: **Haig Patigian**  
Title: ***William C. Ralston (1826-1875) Monument***

Date: 1941

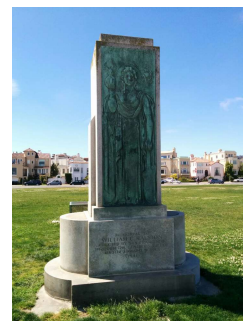
Medium: Bronze on granite

Dimensions: 168 x 108 x 72 in.

Collection of the City and County of San Francisco; Gift of  
Credit Line: Major Edward Bowos

Public Display : Marina Green Drive : between Fillmore  
Location: and Avila St. : District 2

Description Monument to William C. Ralston, financier and builder of the old Palace Hotel and California Theater. Through his bank (Bank of California) he helped develop California life and industry. On one side of the marble monument, a bronze medallion in relief depicts Ralston. On the opposite side, a life-size bronze relief shows a symbolic robed female figure of San Francisco, holding a sphere surmounted by a phoenix in one hand. Her other hand rests on the handle of an implement. The setting sun and a galleon are above the figure. Ornamental bronze fish or dolphins once bedecked the remaining two sides of the monument.





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## Finding Aid to the James D. Phelan Papers, 1913-1922 (bulk 1906-1930)

Guide written by History Associates, Incorporated.

The Bancroft Library

University of California, Berkeley

Berkeley, CA 94720-6000

Phone: (510) 642-6481

Fax: (510) 642-7589

Email: [bancref@library.berkeley.edu](mailto:bancref@library.berkeley.edu)

URL: <http://bancroft.berkeley.edu/>

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## Finding Aid to the James D. Phelan Papers, 1913-1922 (bulk 1906-1930)

### Collection number: BANC MSS C-B 800

The Bancroft Library

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Phone: (510) 642-6481

Fax: (510) 642-7589

Email: [bancref@library.berkeley.edu](mailto:bancref@library.berkeley.edu)

URL: <http://bancroft.berkeley.edu/>

Finding Aid Author(s):

Guide written by History Associates, Incorporated.

Finding Aid Encoded By:

GenX

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### Collection Summary

**Collection Title:** James D. Phelan papers

**Date (inclusive):** 1913-1922

**Date (bulk):** 1906-1930

**Collection Number:** BANC MSS C-B 800

**Extent:** Linear feet: 111.7 linear ft. 9 digital objects (14 images)

**Repository:** The Bancroft Library.

University of California, Berkeley

Berkeley, CA 94720-6000

Phone: (510) 642-6481

Fax: (510) 642-7589

Email: [bancref@library.berkeley.edu](mailto:bancref@library.berkeley.edu)

URL: <http://bancroft.berkeley.edu/>

**Abstract:** The James D. Phelan Papers, 1855-1941 (bulk 1906-1930), contain materials documenting Phelan's political career as San Francisco's Mayor and a U. S. Senator, his involvement in relief efforts following the 1906 San Francisco earthquake, his business and financial activities, and his philanthropic efforts. The bulk of this collection consists of correspondence. Other types of records include financial statements, insurance and tax forms, newspaper and magazine clippings, agreements, reports, notes, and published and unpublished writings by Phelan and others. Although the collection contains materials dating from 1855-1941, the bulk of the materials range from 1906-1930.

**Languages Represented:** Collection materials are in English

**Physical Location:** Many of the Bancroft Library collections are stored offsite and advance notice may be required for use. For current information on the location of these materials, please consult the library's online catalog.

### Information for Researchers

#### Access

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**Preferred Citation**

[Identification of item], James D. Phelan papers, BANC MSS C-B 800, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley

**Alternate Forms Available**

Digital reproductions of selected items are available.

A selection of digital images included are in the online Guide to the 1906 San Francisco Earthquake and Fire Digital Collection finding aid, and can be viewed at <http://oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/hb8779p2cx/>

**Related Collections**

**Title:** James D. Phelan Photograph Albums, 1902-1929,

**Identifier/Call Number:** BANC PIC 1932.001--ALB

**Title:** Mary Louise Phelan Papers, [ca. 1896-1930],

**Identifier/Call Number:** BANC MSS C-B 803

**Title:** Alice Phelan Sullivan Papers, [ca. 1904-1912],

**Identifier/Call Number:** BANC MSS C-B 804

**Title:** Noel Sullivan Papers, [ca. 1911-1956],

**Identifier/Call Number:** BANC MSS C-B 801

**Separated Material**

Photographs have been transferred to Pictorial Collections of The Bancroft Library.

**Indexing Terms**

The following terms have been used to index the description of this collection in the library's online public access catalog

Phelan, James D. (James Duval), 1861-1930--Archives.  
United States. Congress. Senate.  
Earthquakes--California--San Francisco.  
Fires--California--San Francisco.  
San Francisco Earthquake, Calif., 1906.  
Water-supply--California--San Francisco.  
California--Politics and government.  
Emigration and immigration law--United States--History.

**Administrative Information****Acquisition Information**

The James D. Phelan Papers were given to The Bancroft Library by Noel Sullivan in 1948 and Benjamin H. Lehman on November 5, 1958. Additions were made on August 22, 1990 by Peter E. Doyle of the Alice Phelan Sullivan Corporation.

**Processing Information**

Processed by History Associates, Incorporated in 2003.

**Biography**

James Duval Phelan, businessman, political leader, patron of the arts, and philanthropist, was born in San Francisco on April 20, 1861. He graduated from St. Ignatius University, San Francisco, in 1881 and studied law at the University of California, Berkeley. After college he traveled abroad for a year and a half, studying municipal governments and writing articles on his observations for various magazines and San Francisco newspapers. Influenced by his father, he gave up his early aspirations to become a lawyer or a writer and turned to a business career, first as his father's partner, and then as his successor in the banking business and as manager of the considerable estate which he had inherited.

James D. Phelan's parents were Irish immigrants. His father, James Phelan, came to California in 1849 and married his mother, Alice Kelly, in 1859. In 1870, Phelan's father established the First National Gold Bank, later known as the First National Bank of San Francisco, which was the first national bank in California and the second gold bank in the nation. Subsequent business ventures included the erection of the Phelan Building in 1881, assisting in the organization of the American Construction and Dredging Company for dredging the Panama Canal in 1882, and establishing the Mutual Savings Bank of San Francisco in 1889. In 1890, two years before his death, Phelan's father established a copartnership with his son comprising all of his business interests.

After his father's death, politics quickly claimed James D. Phelan's attention and he became actively involved in the battle for San Francisco civic reform. In the mid 1890s, San Francisco was one of the most notoriously boss-ridden, corrupt cities in the country. In 1896, the reform Democrats nominated Phelan for the office of mayor. With virtually no previous political experience, campaigning for an end to corruption, home rule, and civil service reform, he was elected, and twice re-elected. Despite the opposition of the party machines, he successfully led the campaign for the adoption of a new city charter in 1900, which separated the executive and legislative divisions of city government, called for election at large of supervisors, and gave appointive powers to executive decision. In 1901 Phelan stated, "the first administration under the new charter went into office with the purpose to serve the people and the people only." During his mayoral terms, he also worked for municipal ownership of public utilities,

public improvements, and beautification of the city. Phelan was also directly involved in the Hetch- Hetchy water dispute when in 1901 he proposed damming the Hetch-Hetchy valley to secure a source of fresh water for the city San Francisco. Phelan concluded his term of office in 1902, refusing to run a fourth time.

The San Francisco fire of 1906 called Phelan back into public service. He was chosen to be president of the San Francisco Relief and Red Cross Funds, a corporation, and it was to him that President Theodore Roosevelt personally sent the \$10,000,000 collected for the relief of the fire victims. Soon after the fires, Phelan wrote of the relief efforts in a letter to his uncle George on May 8, 1906, stating "Everybody is cheerful and working with the zeal of pioneers in a new land." Following the 1906 fires Phelan took an active part, with Rudolph Spreckels and Fremont Older, in the graft prosecutions. During this period he was also appointed President of the United Bank & Trust Company.

In 1912 Phelan actively campaigned for Woodrow Wilson, and in 1914, he entered the race for the U.S. Senate on the Democratic ticket. He won and became the first California Democrat to sit in the Senate since 1897. Phelan served as a Senator from March 4, 1915, to March 3, 1921, and was the chairman of the Committee on Railroads (Sixty-fourth Congress) and a member of the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands (Sixty-fifth Congress). Phelan was also involved in issues surrounding immigration and land ownership (especially anti-Japanese legislation). In 1920 Phelan ran for reelection but was defeated in the Harding landslide. He did not completely retire from political life, however. Serving as one of the California delegates to the 1924 Democratic national convention, he placed William G. McAdoo's name in nomination for the presidency of the United States, and he contributed frequently to the Democratic Party coffers.

After leaving the Senate, Phelan returned to San Francisco and devoted time largely to his business enterprises and to civic betterment work. Well known as a patron of the arts, he generously helped artists and writers and served as California's unofficial host, entertaining distinguished celebrities at his spacious country estate, Villa Montalvo, near Saratoga, California. His estate was built in 1912 and named after Garcia Ordenez de Montalvo, a sixteenth century Spanish author who first used the term "California" to describe a gold-laden island in his novel *Las Sergas de Esplandian*. Celebrity guests who visited his estate include Edwin Markham, Jack London, Ethel Barrymore, Thomas Marshall, and William Jennings Bryan.

In the early 1920s, Phelan also traveled extensively and contributed frequently to magazines, writing on a wide range of topics. In 1923 he published *Travel and Comment*, an account of his 1921-1922 trip around the world when he visited Hawaii, Japan, Korea, China, the Philippines, Malaya, Singapore, Ceylon, India, Egypt, Jerusalem, Paris, and London.

As one of San Francisco's most prominent citizens, Phelan was honored on many occasions. He served as vice president of the California Commission to the Chicago Exposition in 1893; regent of the University of California; trustee of the San Francisco Public Library; president of the Adornment Association; president of the Art Association; president of the Playground Commission; three-time president of the Bohemian Club; and president of the Hall Association of the Native Sons of the Golden West. Other honors include an honorary Ph.D. awarded by Santa Clara College in 1903; his appointment in 1913 as commissioner to Europe on behalf of the United States Government to support the invitation of the President to foreign countries to participate in the Panama Pacific Exposition; and his appointment in 1914 by the State Department under special authority of President Wilson, to investigate the fitness of the U.S. Minister to the Dominican Republic in Santo Domingo.

Phelan was on the board of directors of many institutions including California Pacific Title and Trust Company, California Pacific Title Insurance Company, First National Bank of San Francisco, First National Bank of San Jose, Mutual Savings Bank of San Francisco, Pacific Title Insurance Company, Real Property Investment Corporation, Sacramento-San Joaquin Stockholders, Security Bank and Trust Co., Bakersfield, United Bank and Trust Company, and United Security Bank and Trust. He was also involved in many local and national committees including the All-California Highways Campaign Committee; American Committee for Relief in Ireland; Bureau of Historical Research Committee of the American Irish Historical Society; American Red Cross, California Branch Executive Committee; Associated Charities of San Francisco Central Council; Reception Committee Chairman for California's Diamond Jubilee in 1925; California's Water and Power Ad State Campaign Committee; Citizens' Campaign Committee for Hetch-Hetchy Bond Election; Civic League of San Francisco Advisory Committee; Hetch-Hetchy Citizen's Advisory Committee; Japanese Exclusion League of California Executive Committee; St. Joseph's Hospital, San Francisco, Central Committee; and the Western Pacific Railway Company Reorganization Committee.

On August 7, 1930, after more than thirty years of supporting San Francisco's political and industrial development and artistic advancement, Phelan died at Villa Montalvo at the age of 69 after an illness of three months. He had two sisters, Mary Louis Phelan and Mrs. Frank J. Sullivan; one nephew, Noel Sullivan; and three nieces, Sister Agnes of Carmelite Convent, Mrs. Alyce S. Murphy, and Mrs. Richard E. Doyle. James D. Phelan never married.

Portions of the biographical sketch were excerpted from "Phelan Distinguished Son of City; Mayor of San Francisco Three Terms." *San Francisco Chronicle*, August 8, 1930.

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**Incoming Letters, 1881-1930** Subseries 1.1:




## Mayor James Phelan

### Historical Essay

by Robert Cherny

Save Our State from Oriental Aggression



<p>Japanese Population:</p> <p>1916 41,499</p> <p>1920 100,000</p> <p>Average Controlled by Japanese:</p> <p>1910 85,000 acres</p> <p>1920 186,000 acres</p>	<p>Japanese birth-rate in 18 agricultural countries: 42.9 percent of all births</p> <p>In rural Los Angeles county: 35.4 per cent</p> <p>In rural Sacramento county: 49.7 per cent</p>
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Keep California White  
RE-ELECT  
**JAMES D. PHELAN**  
UNITED STATES SENATOR

**James Phelan unsuccessfully ran for U.S. Senate in 1920. His campaign slogan in the in the 1920 Senatorial Election was "Keep California White."**

*Image: Bancroft Library*

### James Duval Phelan, January 4, 1897 -- January 8, 1902

Born in San Francisco in 1861, he grew up Catholic, studied at St. Ignatius College (now the University of San Francisco), and traveled extensively in Europe as a child and young man. His Irish-born father left him a fortune, but Phelan took little interest in what he once called "the sordid messes of business and trade." He saw himself instead as a political leader and patron of the arts. Aloof, cultured, and aristocratic, he served as mayor from 1897 to 1901, as one of California's United States senators from 1915 to 1921, and as the leader of the state's Democratic party from the late 1890s through the 1920s.

Phelan's vision derived in significant part from his readings in the classics and his travels abroad. Paris, Rome, and Athens, especially, figured prominently in his speeches—he loved to make speeches—by which he defined much of his vision. His vision was a complex one, including the built environment, city government, and social patterns.

### James Phelan in the 1890s, before he became Mayor.

*Photo: Bancroft Library*



Perhaps the best known aspect of Phelan's vision of the city was his commitment to beautification. He stands among the leading proponents of the City Beautiful, that turn-of-the-century movement committed to making cities more attractive places to live. Inspired by the Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893, the City Beautiful movement emphasized classical, monumental architecture and a harmonious, symmetrical relationship among buildings. Phelan adorned the city by contributing for decorative fountains, monuments, and statues, and by encouraging others to do the same. He never tired of promoting a plan to extend the Golden Gate Park **Panhandle** to the intersection of Van Ness and Market streets. But, for Phelan, such individual efforts needed an overall design to be most effective. Toward that end, he took the lead in securing the famous **Burnham Plan of 1905**.

While James Phelan bears major responsibility for bringing Burnham to San Francisco, his own vision of the city was more complex than the Burnham Plan. As president or director of several banking and insurance companies and owner of extensive city real estate, he was well aware of the economic life of the city. He shared the vision of San Francisco as economic capital of a Pacific empire and once called

San Francisco "the handmaid of commerce between the western shores of the United States and the lands facing the great Pacific ... the capital of an empire."

But Phelan saw the city as much more than an economic marketplace. Phelan believed that the city could only be great if, like Paris under Haussman, it used its wealth to "develop the fine and useful arts and sciences to an unparalleled degree." To Phelan, greatness also required that a city be "clean . . . and healthful; [and] that its children be properly instructed."

Phelan's vision of the city gave close attention to what today would be called the infrastructure. As mayor, he promoted bond issues for a new sewer system, city hospital, parks, and schools. The people, he thought, deserved efficient and effective public utilities—water, gas, electricity, and transportation—and, reflecting the **emergence of municipal progressivism**, he advocated government operation of essential utilities. He felt that the nineteenth-century pattern of granting franchises to private corporations to provide public utility services created an inevitable conflict between the corporations' need to make a profit and the public's need to receive necessities efficiently and at the lowest cost; efforts to regulate a monopoly, he warned, only led the monopoly to corrupt the political process. The late nineteenth century and early twentieth century had presented repeated examples of the corruption of city politics by utility corporations anxious to secure or protect their franchises; in one of Phelan's earliest speeches, in 1889, he drew attention to the dangers of monopolistic utility companies. For Phelan, the answer was obvious: the city should own all these utilities, thereby—he thought—reducing costs and eliminating corruption. Toward the end of his career, in 1922, he proclaimed that "I am now, and always have been, in favor of the public ownership of such utilities."

As a result in major part of his efforts Article XII of the new city charter that took effect in 1901 pledged that "It is hereby declared to be the purpose and intention of the people of the City and county that its Public utilities shall be gradually and ultimately owned by the City and County. Throughout his career, Phelan worked to realize the intent of Article XII, both as public official and private citizen. In July 1901, as a



private citizen, he applied for the right to use the **Hetch Hetchy** Valley as a reservoir to prevent it from falling into the hands of speculators, transferred his claim to the city in February 1903, and played an important role in bringing the Hetch Hetchy Project to reality. He continually advocated that the city should directly sell San Francisco citizens not only water (by buying out the privately owned water company) but also electrical power (by buying out the holdings of PG&E within the city). Similarly, Phelan in 1906, as a private citizen, incorporated the **Municipal Street Railways of San Francisco** to acquire existing streetcar franchises when they became available and later to transfer them to the City.

Phelan's vision of the city, it must be noted, contained clearly elitist elements. Pericles's beautification of Athens -- one of the models for his own vision—had been intended, Phelan claimed, to "render the citizens cheerful, content, yielding, self-sacrificing, capable of enthusiasm." Along with proponents of the City Beautiful, Phelan may have seen the monumental architecture of the movement as a means of refining public taste, prompting civic pride, and promoting respect for the state, especially among recent immigrants and among the working class. Daniel Burnham's justification for formal and symmetrical tree-planting reveals such a concern: "this amounts to a lesson of order and system, and its influence on the masses cannot be overestimated." In seeking election, Phelan solicited the votes of workers, but in choosing a Committee of 100 to make charter revision recommendations, Phelan appointed only four working-class representatives. The charter reforms he supported included strengthening the mayoral powers and instituting at-large elections of supervisors, which potentially reduced working-class representation. During the years from 1902 to 1911, he consistently opposed the **Union Labor Party**, which drew its electoral strength from workers. In all, Phelan's record suggests that he saw the political role of the working class as limited largely to electing men such as himself to govern.

Phelan's vision of a clean, beautiful, efficient city was also a city for whites only. He considered people of color as incapable of being assimilated, culturally or physically, and therefore saw them as a threat to the cultural values he sought to promote through beautification and his patronage of the arts. He vehemently opposed immigration from Asia, and favored the segregation and disenfranchisement of peoples of color already here. He cut his political eyeteeth on anti-Chinese rhetoric's and, in 1912, wrote that "This is a whiteman's country ... We cannot make a homogeneous population out of people who do not blend with the Caucasian race." While he declared on the floor of the U.S. Senate that African Americans were "a non-assimilable body, a foreign substance," his major antagonism was reserved for immigrants from Japan, who, he argued, "will destroy American civilization as surely as Europe exterminated the American Indian." His campaign slogan in the in the 1920 Senatorial Election was "Keep California White."

Phelan's vision of the city was complex. Phelan accepted the notion of San Francisco as seat of an economic empire, but added other elements to his vision: promotion of culture and learning, a monumental approach to civic beautification, efficiently-run and municipally owned public utilities, and a racially homogeneous society. Phelan borrowed elements in his vision from others and presented a vision that was widely shared. Significant elements in it became public policy—most notably, city ownership of its water and street transportation systems and the adoption of a few elements of the Burnham Plan, such as the civic center. In the end, however, the city failed to use the Burnham Plan as a comprehensive blueprint for a "San Francisco Beautiful," even when the 1906 earthquake provided a unique opportunity to do so; hopes for municipal ownership of gas and electrical systems failed against the political prowess of PG&E; and Asian exclusion and segregation ultimately gave way to more tolerant policies and practices.

—Robert Cherny, excerpted from *"CITY COMMERCIAL, CITY BEAUTIFUL, CITY PRACTICAL: The San Francisco Visions Of William C. Ralston, James D. Phelan, And Michael M. O'Shaughnessy,"* originally published in California History magazine, Fall 1994

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# ‘Keep California White’—James D. Phelan and the ‘Yellow Peril’ race controversy

Published in [20th-century / Contemporary History](#), [Emmigration](#), [Features](#), [Issue 4 \(July/August 2018\)](#), [Volume 26](#)

**The current boldness of racist groups in the United States reminds us that the history of minority rights in that great country is a troubled one.**

*By Mark Phelan*

For nineteenth-century Irish immigrants to the USA the path to acceptance and integration was difficult, with the result that prejudice and adversity are common themes in the diaspora discourse, including Hollywood depictions of the Irish in America. Yet populist racism appealed to elements of the Irish-American community also. This tendency was most common in frontier regions such as the ‘Gold State’ of California, where rapid economic development and perceived opportunity led to cultural diversity and concomitant xenophobia.

## **James D. Phelan’s background**



Above: James D. Phelan, mayor of San Francisco 1897–1902 and senator for California 1915–21.

Noted Irish exponents of 'white nativist' ideology included James D. Phelan (1861–1930), whose legacy is well established in San Francisco. Descended from a line of James Phelans (hence the distinguishing 'D', which stood for Duval), he had a privileged upbringing thanks to the commercial instincts of his father, an emigrant from Queen's County (Laois) who grew a small dry-goods business in Cincinnati into one of the great trading empires of his era. The elder James Phelan owed his fortune to the California gold rush of the mid-nineteenth century. Unlike the thousands of hopefuls who looked to strike it rich through prospecting, he decided to mine the miners themselves. Understanding that the wagon trails carried speculators with few belongings, Phelan senior borrowed heavily, kitted out several ships with suitable stock, and dispatched them from New York to San Francisco via Cape Horn. In this way he became the monopoly supplier to California's miners, making a stupendous fortune through profiteering in goods tailored to the infant gold industry. In time, the patriarch Phelan branched into real estate, banking and wholesale liquor, thereby becoming the richest man in California by the time of his death.

Equipped with a vast inheritance, James D. Phelan embarked on a high-profile political career that saw him serve as mayor of San Francisco (1897–1902) before graduating to Congress, where he sat as US senator for California (1915–21). As mayor of San Francisco, which was then the largest city on the western seaboard of the United States, James D. Phelan patronised the arts and preached the virtues of honest, open and effective government. A noted anti-corruption crusader of the day, he worked to secure public ownership of San Francisco's utilities, while also condemning what he perceived to be the extortionist demands of the Teamsters and other labour unions. At the time, lockouts and strikes were common in San Francisco, and Mayor Phelan took the side of the employers by assigning large numbers of city police to protect strike-breakers during periods of industrial unrest.

Phelan's identification with the employers paved the way for his controversial successor as San Francisco mayor, Eugene 'Handsome Gene' Schmitz. Of Irish extraction also (his mother hailed from Dublin), Schmitz claimed to represent the working poor, but in truth he oversaw a corrupt municipal regime that revolved around bribery and union jobbery. Phelan opposed him at every turn. Following the devastating San Francisco earthquake of 1906, he blocked unscrupulous officials in city hall from accessing relief funds provided by the American Red Cross. In addition, he advocated and funded an anti-corruption investigation that culminated in the conviction of Schmitz and his close ally 'Boss' Abe Ruef in 1908.

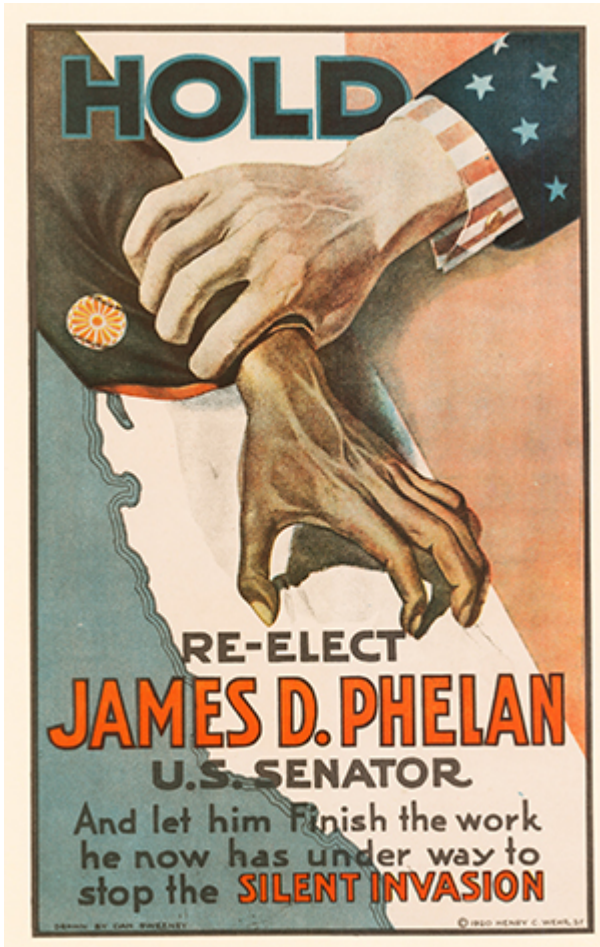
### **'Yellow Peril'**

Although Phelan's philanthropy and commitment to honest government were noble aspects of his public service career, he is chiefly remembered for his persistent stoking of the 'Yellow Peril' race controversy.

In Phelan's era, hostility to Orientals was a staple of cultural politics in America, with the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 targeting the 'coolies' who built the railroads and dug the mines. A vibrant 'Chinatown' dominated the centre of San Francisco, and its presence infuriated Phelan and other city fathers. Accordingly, they campaigned to relocate the Chinese to the county boundary, a location deemed to be less offensive to the white citizenry yet which still fell within the catchment area of municipal tax collectors. In the wake of the 1906 earthquake, Phelan and his fellow racists redoubled their efforts to transplant the Chinese, only to be defeated by opponents who valued the city's lucrative Oriental trade. In addition, the planned suppression of Chinatown prompted a formal intervention by the Chinese government, while logistical difficulties included prohibitive housing laws that acted against resettlement. Despite the best efforts of Phelan and his supporters, therefore, 'Chinatown' was rebuilt on the existing site, although western architecture superseded the eastern aesthetics of the pre-earthquake era.

Because of the Exclusion Act, inexpensive Japanese labourers steadily replaced the Chinese, with the result that Japan, which also menaced American minds because of its military prowess, became the chief bugbear of California's white nationalists. Phelan's home city was a hotbed of Japanophobia, with local schools imposing segregationist policies that embarrassed the national government, while the *San Francisco Chronicle* constantly articulated the cause of Japanese exclusion. For his part, Phelan subsidised the campaigners and defended their reasoning in Washington. A 1907 interview published by the *Boston Globe* summed up his attitude to the Japanese. 'As soon as Japanese coolies are kept out of the country', Phelan argued,

‘... there will be no danger of irritating these sensitive and aggressive people. They must be excluded because they are non-assimilable; they are a permanently foreign element; they do not bring up families; they do not support churches, schools, nor theatres; in time of trial they will not fight for Uncle Sam, but betray him to the enemy.’



Above: ‘Stop the silent invasion’—one of Phelan’s blatantly racist posters for his unsuccessful 1920 bid for re-election to Congress as senator for California.

The coalition priorities of the First World War, when the United States and Japan were military allies, temporarily quelled Yellow Peril hysteria. This hiatus was tactical rather than genuine, however, and with the Allied victory of 1918 Phelan and his fellow agitators reverted to form. After the war, Phelan published an explosive article titled ‘The Japanese Evil in California’ before contesting the 1920 Senate elections under the tasteless slogan ‘Keep California White’. In his writings and speeches, Phelan developed his prejudiced theory that the Japanese were unassimilable subversives, far more ‘dangerous’ to white America than Negroes, who apparently lacked the Oriental capacity for industry and discipline.

As a senator for the Democratic Party, Phelan fell victim to the Republican landslide of 1920. Electoral defeat did not temper his aversion to the Japanese, however. Collaborating with a fellow Irish-American agitator, Valentine McClatchy, he instead spearheaded the Japanese Exclusion League of California, a lobby group that influenced the 1924 Immigration Act, which barred further Japanese settlement completely. This legislation



contributed greatly to the corrosive climate that defined US and Japanese relations in the following years, and which presaged the eventual war that Phelan consistently predicted.

Phelan, however, did not live to see the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour (7 December 1941). Dying peacefully at his Saratoga villa in 1930, he left a substantial personal fortune and an enduring civic legacy symbolised by the numerous streets and buildings in San Francisco that bear his name. Recent events nevertheless suggest that the Phelan name may be subject to evolving restrictions. Last year the University of San Francisco renamed one of its major buildings owing to protests about Phelan's racism. As with the movement to rename/remove Confederate symbols in the South, the rebranding of Phelan Hall as the Burl Toler Hall (in honour of the first African American to be accepted as an NFL referee) speaks to the ongoing 'history wars' being played out across the increasingly contested American public space.

*Mark Phelan lectures in history at NUI Galway.*

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# James D. Phelan

<b>Name</b>	James Duval Phelan
<b>Born</b>	April 20 1861
<b>Died</b>	August 7 1930
<b>Birth</b>	San Francisco,
<b>Location</b>	CA

Banker, philanthropist, and politician. A wealthy mayor of San Francisco and U.S. Senator representing California, James D. Phelan (1861–1930) was also one of the leaders of the second wave of anti-Japanese agitation that culminated in the ending of Japanese immigration (/Immigration/) to the U.S. through the Immigration Act of 1924 (/Immigration\_Act\_of\_1924/).

## Contents

- 1 Reform Leader
- 2 Anti-Japanese Leader
- 3 For More Information
- 4 Footnotes

## Reform Leader

James Duval Phelan was born on April 20, 1861 in San Francisco to James Phelan and Alice Kelly Phelan. His father had been born in Ireland and made his way to San Francisco during the California Gold Rush, becoming a millionaire in the process. Young James grew up in an atmosphere of privilege and where his family's Irish heritage and Catholic faith were celebrated. He attended Saint Ignatius College, graduating in 1881 and attended Hastings School of Law before traveling in Europe for two years. Inspired by the great cities of Europe, he returned with a dream that San Francisco might be remade in their style.

He became a successful banker and, encouraged by *San Francisco Bulletin* editor Fremont Older, ran successfully for mayor in 1897 on a reform platform. By most accounts, he succeeded in curbing corruption and in streamlining city government. Believing that private ownership of utilities encouraged corruption, he promulgated a new city charter in 1898 that brought public ownership of utilities. But labor issues—most notably his authorization of police protection for strikebreakers in a massive 1901 strike—marred the latter part of his tenure, and he opted not to run again in 1901. His leaving office opened the door for the election of the corrupt Eugene E. Schmitz as his successor.

After leaving office, Phelan formed the Association for the Improvement and Adornment of San Francisco in 1904, sponsoring the development of a city plan for San Francisco. He also advocated and helped finance an investigation of corrupt city government that led to the conviction of Schmitz on extortion charges and his leaving office. Described by California historian Kevin Starr as "a smaller, dapper man, his beard well trimmed, his tailoring impeccable, a lifelong, very ardent and discreet wooer of the ladies," Phelan lived in the lavish Villa Montalvo mansion and was active in the San Francisco arts and social scene.<sup>[1]</sup>

He reentered the political arena in the 1910s, establishing himself as the "leader of the established Democratic organization in California from 1912 until his death in 1930," according to historian Robert E. Hennings.<sup>[2]</sup> He won election to the U.S. Senate in 1914, his victory ending a long Republican reign made possible by a split among the Republicans.

## Anti-Japanese Leader

Phelan's anti-Japanese credentials date back to his time as mayor, when he was a featured speaker at one of the first large anti-Japanese protests in California in 1900. In 1912, he supported Woodrow Wilson for president, but only after getting Wilson to commit to supporting Japanese exclusion. Phelan also supported alien land law (/Alien\_land\_laws/) legislation in 1913. He was an early adopter of the idea that Japanese immigrants were a danger because Japan represented a military threat to the U.S., the notion of the "yellow peril." Similar arguments would be raised as justification for removing and imprisoning Japanese Americans during World War II.

Since Japan was an ally of the U.S. during World War I, anti-Japanese activity cooled down for a while. But in 1919, Phelan's speech before a special session of the state legislature highlighting yellow peril rhetoric and pushing for Japanese exclusion was key in reinvigorating the movement. Phelan made Japanese exclusion one of the centerpieces of his senate reelection campaign, with the slogan "Keep California White."

Phelan's anti-Japanese philosophy was based on racism, but also on a grudging respect for the Japanese. It was because Japanese were "capable of taking the place of the White man" and could not "be treated as the negro," that they were a particular threat and thus dangerous.<sup>[3]</sup>

Though he was defeated in his 1920 reelection bid in the face of a Republican landslide, he continued to press for Japanese exclusion, largely in collaboration with wealthy retired publisher V.S. McClatchy (/V.S.\_McClatchy/). His efforts were vindicated by the passage of the Immigration Act of 1924, which banned Japanese immigration.

Phelan remained the de facto leader of the California Democratic Party through the 1920s, resisting entreaties to run for governor or senator in 1922 and 1924. Suffering health problems in the later years of the decade, he died at Villa Montalvo on August 7, 1930.

Authored by Brian Niiya (/Brian\_Niiya/), Densho

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## Footnotes

1. ↑ Kevin Starr, *Inventing the Dream: California Through the Progressive Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 242.
2. ↑ Robert E. Hennings, "California Democratic Politics in the Period of Republican Ascendancy," *Pacific Historical Review* 31.3 (August 1962), 268.
3. ↑ Roger Daniels, *The Politics of Prejudice: The Anti-Japanese Movement in California and the Struggle for Japanese Exclusion* , 2nd ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), 83.

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## James Duval Phelan (1861-1930)

James Duval Phelan was born in San Francisco, April 20, 1861. He was educated at St. Ignatius High School and graduated with an A.B. degree from the University of San Francisco in 1881, followed by a law degree from the University of California. However, he did not pursue a law career, but became a partner in the banking firm Phelan & Son, assuming responsibility of the First National Bank, the Mutual Savings Bank, and the Bank of Santa Cruz County upon the death of his father in 1892.

Without previous political experience, Phelan was elected Mayor of San Francisco for three two-year terms beginning in 1897.

In the immediate aftermath of the Great Earthquake and Fire, Phelan was an enthusiastic advocate of the plan to relocate Chinatown to Hunters Point.

He was president of the San Francisco Red Cross and Relief Corporation, and was designated by President Theodore Roosevelt as custodian of those funds, which amounted to nine-million dollars.

He was elected United States Senator in 1913 and served one six-year term. Senator Phelan died at his country estate Villa Montalvo, Montalvo, California, August 7, 1930.

In the aftermath of the earthquake, Phelan toured the United States in 1907 to assure capitalists that San Francisco was a safe place to invest money for the city's rebuilding.

Fear that the earthquake, and subsequent graft trials, were injurious to the city's reputation, he gave numerous interviews including one to the "New York Post" which laid out the causes of the graft investigations, and another to the "[Boston Herald](#)" where he articulated his rabid anti-Japanese views.



*James D. Phelan*

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## THE IDEAL SAN FRANCISCO By Mayor James D. Phelan

**Apart from the consideration of utility, there is much to be done to make San Francisco an ideal city. There are citizens utilitarian in their lives, as well as in their aspirations, and this class must be educated to an appreciation of the beautiful, before they will give their vote and support to any movement whose end is beauty.**



*James D. Phelan*

**This is not an easy task, when it is known that San Francisco cannot be metamorphosed without incurring municipal indebtedness, and that two-thirds of the electors are required by law to give their assent to the issuance of bonds.**

**The rough work of the building of a city has been successfully accomplished in San Francisco. The forest, as it were, has been cleared, the land has been tilled, the promise is abundant. We must bank on that. The circulation of the medium of exchange, if wisely directed it not necessarily waste nor extravagance, but new wealth is thereby made and prosperity invited.**

**San Francisco must act on the theory; that the future is on her side; there is no good reason to doubt it, and no progress can be made without it.**

**We are told that "the banks are full of money," but that improvements are not made, nor enterprises inaugurated, because the population does not warrant it; but business makes business. Certainly population will not come unless there are facilities for handling population, and inducements offered, nor can prosperity accept an invitation that is not sent.**

**"Capital is timid," but success comes only of courage. San Francisco is in the position of a young merchant, whose future depends on the clearness of his vision, the boldness of his enterprise, the steadiness of his hand. He borrows with confidence, knowing his ability to repay; he surveys the field in which he is to make his operations, and satisfies himself that it will yield abundant returns.**

**The old merchant, who has slowly accumulated his own capital, like some of the older cities, has no need to borrow money, nor any occasion to make extraordinary expenditures.**

**It is said in England that a national debt is a national blessing. I do not know what that means, unless it be that the proceeds of the debt are invested in public works of all kinds, by land or sea, and that the pride of the people is excited by the beauty and strength of their country, and they will therefore make sacrifices for its preservation and defense.**

To fight for one's country is only second to make one's country worth fighting for. Anything that can wed the people to the soil is a distinct national advantage; anything that will awaken the pride of the people in their city is a priceless boon.

With money San Francisco can reduce its death-rate by improved sanitation; it could possess its own public utilities, as water and artificial light, and save us the moral humiliation of perennial corruption, which dims our civic pride and embitters our political life.

It can make the streets afford pleasure to all who use them. It could, imitating Paris, Berlin and Vienna, wed our superb [Golden Gate] Park to the city, by connecting it with the business and residence portion by beautiful boulevards, green with foliage; and, by thus holding and attracting a large population, it would bring business and profit to every industry; for we know that the great capitals of Europe vie with each other in physical attractions, and that beauty has a marvelous money-making faculty.

Then would follow museums, galleries of art and theaters, until San Francisco, by reason of its remarkable meteorological advantages, would assume the position of the most beautiful city in America, and its population the most artistic and pleasure-loving, drawing to its realm myriads of strangers from year to year.

The influence of beauty would not be lost on the rising generation; and whereas we might at first have to import talent, thereafter our native population would be educated to such a degree of perfection by reason of its environment, that artists and musicians, and men and women of taste would be a distinguishing part of this now cosmopolitan, but then American community.

We are far enough away from the great cities of the East to develop an individuality, and that very remoteness makes it incumbent upon us to work out our own salvation.

San Francisco would be an ideal city when this fact is engrafted upon the minds of a majority of its people. A new charter, giving us a responsible government, without which honesty and efficiency cannot be secured, will serve to hasten the realization of "The Ideal City," which we all approve in the abstract, and yet for which so few were willing to seriously strive, and for which so very few are willing to pay. I have the utmost confidence, however, in its ultimate consummation.

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*San Francisco News Letter*  
Christmas Number, 1897

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### CHINESE COLONY AT FOOT OF VAN NESS THE PLAN TO REMOVE CELESTIALS TO SAN MATEO COUNTY IS OPPOSED

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The question of the future location of Chinatown was the subject of an animated discussion at the meeting of the general committee yesterday. The complete destruction of the Chinese quarter by fire has given rise to a hope that the Chinese quarter may now be established in some location far removed from the center of town, and James D. Phelan heads a movement to establish it at Hunter's Point.

The matter came up yesterday when Rev. Filben, chairman of the committee on the housing of the Chinese, reported that four or five blocks of vacant land at the foot of Van Ness avenue had been prepared, under the sanction of the Federal authorities, for the temporary accommodation of all the Chinese in the city. Dr. Filben said that adequate sanitary arrangements had been provided, and that the camp was well equipped in all respects for the comfort of all the Chinese now here or that may return from Oakland in the near future. He suggested that the civil and military authorities proceed at once to gather all the Chinese and establish them in one colony at the location.

Phelan objected strenuously to the concentration of the Chinese at the foot of Van Ness avenue. Although the place was designed merely as a temporary camp he said it would be extremely difficult to dislodge them if they once established themselves in that locality. Property owners would find, he declared, that it was an extremely profitable thing to house Chinese. He favored moving the Chinese at once to Hunter's Point. Dr. Filben, A. Ruef and others explained that the sole purpose in establishing the temporary camp at the foot of Van Ness Avenue was to get all of the Chinese together so that they might be moved more advantageously to permanent quarters when secured.



Gavin McNab

Garret McEnerney said: "I think it will prove difficult for the Chinese to get building permits from the Mayor and the Board of Public Works for the erection of any permanent structures at the foot of Van Ness avenue. I would like to buy a long pool on that."

Gavin McNab did not favor the establishment of the permanent Chinatown at Hunter's Point, which, he pointed out, was just across the line in San Mateo county. he said San Francisco needed the property taxes and poll taxes of the Chinese more than ever before, and did not believe the city could afford to entertain an Oriental city just outside its boundaries.

The proposition to gather all Chinese in the temporary camp at North Beach was finally adopted and a committee consisting of A. Ruef, James D. Phelan, Jeremiah Deneen, Dr. Ward and Dr. Filben was appointed to take charge of the question of the permanent location of the Chinese quarter.

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*San Francisco Chronicle*  
 April 27, 1906

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## The American Yawp Reader



### James D. Phelan, "Why the Chinese Should Be Excluded" (1901)

James D. Phelan, "Why the Chinese Should Be Excluded" (1901)

*James D. Phelan, the mayor of San Francisco, penned the following article to drum up support for the extension of laws prohibiting Chinese immigration.*

[The Chinese Exclusion Act was passed in 1882, and again in 1892.] The Exclusion Acts then passed were limited to ten years' duration. In May next the latest act will expire by limitation, and Congress will be asked to renew it, because, until now, Chinese exclusion has been regarded in diplomatic circles and elsewhere as the settled policy of the country. Has there been any change in the nature of the evil, or in the sentiments of the people? Certainly not on the Pacific Coast, where the lapse of time has made still more evident the non-assimilative character of the Chinese and their undesirability as citizens.

The Exclusion Act has been reasonably effective, although the Chinese, with more or less success, have employed their well-known cunning in evading its provisions by surreptitiously and fraudulently entering the United States. The law, however, has opposed a barrier to the great volume of immigration which threatened this country for many years prior to 1880....

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The influx having been checked, the danger to California has been averted, and, consequently, during the last decade industrial conditions indicate comparative prosperity; whereas it is well known that prior to the Exclusion Laws the State of California suffered acutely from labor troubles and business derangement. Unemployed men, hungry from want of work, marched the streets of the cities, inaugurated political parties, disturbed the peace of communities by riotous outbreaks which threatened at times the foundations of law and order; and these facts gave to James Bryce a fruitful theme for speculation on democracy in his excellent work, "The American Commonwealth." He devoted two chapters to the anti-Chinese crusade in California and looked upon it as a race, labor and political question, which sooner or later, unless solved, would menace American institutions. Accusations were made at that time, which Ho Yow repeats, that the opposition to the Chinese came from demagogues alone. To show the unanimity of the people, I may point out that the Legislature submitted by referendum the question of Chinese immigration to a popular vote. For Chinese immigration 883 votes were polled, and against Chinese immigration 154,638 votes. In the City of San Francisco, representing the wealth and intelligence and containing the skilled-labor organizations of the State, only 224 votes were cast in favor of the immigration and 41,258 votes against it. This result demonstrated clearly that the resident population of California, taking the broad ground of self-preservation, refused to suffer themselves to be dispossessed of their inheritance by Chinese coolies. That is what the verdict meant.

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A select committee of Congress, after investigating the question and taking testimony in California, reported in favor of Chinese exclusion, and that policy has been regarded ever since as a peaceful preventive of serious disorders affecting the body politic which would have inevitably ensued had the National Legislature failed to protect the white population of the country. ...

...



The Chinese, by putting a vastly inferior civilization in competition with our own, tend to destroy the population, on whom the perpetuity of free government depends. Without homes and families; patronizing neither school, library, church nor theatre; law-breakers, addicted to vicious habits; indifferent to sanitary regulations and breeding disease; taking no holidays, respecting no traditional anniversaries, but laboring incessantly, and subsisting on practically nothing for food and clothes, a condition to which they have been inured for centuries, they enter the lists against men who have been brought up by our civilization to family life and civic duty. Our civilization having been itself rescued from barbarism by the patriots, martyrs and benefactors of mankind, the question now is: Shall it be imperilled? Is not Chinese immigration a harm?

...

If the Chinese are admitted, whence are the ranks of the free population to be recruited? Who shall preserve our civilization and who shall fight our battles? The Chinese may be good laborers, but they are not good citizens. They may in small numbers benefit individual employers, but they breed the germs of a national disease, which spreads as they spread, and grows as they grow.

[Source: James D. Phelan, "Why The Chinese Should Be Excluded," *The North American Review* 173 (November, 1901).]

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← Rudyard Kipling, "The White Man's Burden" (1899)

William James on "The Philippine Question" (1903) →

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Why the Chinese Should Be Excluded

Author(s): James D. Phelan

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# WHY THE CHINESE SHOULD BE EXCLUDED.

BY JAMES D. PHELAN, MAYOR OF SAN FRANCISCO.

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WHEN Mr. Ho Yow, the Imperial Chinese Consul-General, asked, in the *NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW*, whether Chinese exclusion is a "benefit or a harm," the interrogation awakened a curious interest. The people most familiar with the subject were disposed to regard the question as not wholly serious. They recalled the patient investigation, full discussion and practically unanimous settlement which it received in 1882, and again in 1892, when Congress granted remedial legislation to cure an acknowledged evil.

The Exclusion Acts then passed were limited to ten years' duration. In May next the latest act will expire by limitation, and Congress will be asked to renew it, because, until now, Chinese exclusion has been regarded in diplomatic circles and elsewhere as the settled policy of the country. Has there been any change in the nature of the evil, or in the sentiments of the people? Certainly not on the Pacific Coast, where the lapse of time has made still more evident the non-assimilative character of the Chinese and their undesirability as citizens.

The Exclusion Act has been reasonably effective, although the Chinese, with more or less success, have employed their well-known cunning in evading its provisions by surreptitiously and fraudulently entering the United States. The law, however, has opposed a barrier to the great volume of immigration which threatened this country for many years prior to 1880. The statistics show that the whole number of Chinese in the United States has not materially increased within ten years, while the Chinese population in California has decreased. In 1880 the census revealed the presence of 75,132 Chinese in California; in 1890, 72,472, and in 1900, 45,641. In New York State there

were but 29 Chinese in 1870; in 1880 there were 909; in 1890, 2,935, and in 1900, 7,170. The Chinese in California have apparently emigrated to other States, and this will ultimately bring the question, in a practical way, before the people of the East.

The influx having been checked, the danger to California has been averted, and, consequently, during the last decade industrial conditions indicate comparative prosperity; whereas it is well known that prior to the Exclusion Laws the State of California suffered acutely from labor troubles and business derangement. Unemployed men, hungry from want of work, marched the streets of the cities, inaugurated political parties, disturbed the peace of communities by riotous outbreaks which threatened at times the foundations of law and order; and these facts gave to James Bryce a fruitful theme for speculation on democracy in his excellent work, "The American Commonwealth." He devoted two chapters to the anti-Chinese crusade in California and looked upon it as a race, labor and political question, which sooner or later, unless solved, would menace American institutions. Accusations were made at that time, which Ho Yow repeats, that the opposition to the Chinese came from demagogues alone. To show the unanimity of the people, I may point out that the Legislature submitted by referendum the question of Chinese immigration to a popular vote. For Chinese immigration 883 votes were polled, and against Chinese immigration 154,638 votes. In the City of San Francisco, representing the wealth and intelligence and containing the skilled-labor organizations of the State, only 224 votes were cast in favor of the immigration and 41,258 votes against it. This result demonstrated clearly that the resident population of California, taking the broad ground of self-preservation, refused to suffer themselves to be dispossessed of their inheritance by Chinese coolies. That is what the verdict meant.

A select committee of Congress, after investigating the question and taking testimony in California, reported in favor of Chinese exclusion, and that policy has been regarded ever since as a peaceful preventive of serious disorders affecting the body politic which would have inevitably ensued had the National Legislature failed to protect the white population of the country.

Public opinion is the most potent agency through which Congress can be influenced, and there is evidently now an organized

attempt being made, principally by high Chinese officials, to change the sentiment of the people. They strike at the national policy by acting through other channels than those of diplomacy. These officials have entered our political arenas, put petitions in circulation and directly addressed themselves to the voters. Therefore they must be answered, even at the risk of reopening an ancient feud.

The municipal authorities of the city and county of San Francisco have issued a call for a convention to memorialize Congress again on the subject, and on November 21st there will be a representative gathering of the people of California to voice the sentiments of the State.

Mr. Ho Yow, knowing the great demand there is in a new country for common laborers, has ingeniously taken the stand that the Chinese are not skilled and, presumably, are incapable of becoming skilled. Knowing also that skilled labor is organized and is always in the vanguard for the defence and protection of labor rights, he has endeavored to quiet its alarm by arguments of this kind. He thus appeals to the cupidity of the farmer and the orchardist, while he attempts to allay the fears of the mechanic. It is safe to say that his argument is a careful and studied presentation of the case. He attempts to meet the "accusers of his people" by granting with astonishing candor everything that they say. To quote him:

"I shall concede that the Chinese do in a sense work more cheaply than whites; that they live more cheaply; that they send their money out of the country to China; that most of them have no intention of remaining in the United States; \* \* \* that they do not adopt American manners, but live in colonies and not after the American fashion."

He then boldly says that on these accounts a condition is created which "is to the highest advantage of this country, and particularly to the highest advantage of those who oppose Chinese labor and at whose instance the laws were passed." He argues—as we have seen, fallaciously—that opposition to the Chinese was the work of "political demagogues"; and he further says that, after exclusion, the business of California on that account "dried up," and that trade with China fell off \$7,000,000 in two years. Ho Yow is evidently in error, because, after Chinese exclusion, trade with China steadily increased. The total imports and exports in 1880 amounted to \$27,999,482, in 1882 to \$31,762,313,

and in 1900 to \$38,130,000. Consul-General Goodnow says (Consular Reports for August, 1901) :

"The United States is second only to Great Britain in goods sold to the Chinese. \* \* \* The United States buys more goods from China than does any other nation; and her total trade with China, exports and imports, equals that of Great Britain (not including colonies) and is far ahead of that of any other country."\*

The exclusion of Chinese has had no appreciable effect on the trade between the two countries. The resident Chinese import for their own consumption dried fish, pickled vegetables and rice; and these commodities have not, according to the Custom House records, fallen off since 1881. Of course, the more Chinese there are in this country the more breadstuffs will be imported, but the commerce in silks and teas goes on irrespective of the presence or absence of a local Chinese population. The same is true of other imports.

The fact is, commerce is not sentimental. The Chinese Government, knowing the necessities of the situation, and being familiar with the fact that almost every country has imposed restrictions upon the immigration of Chinese coolies, does not regard our exclusion as necessarily an unfriendly act. Our other relations with China have been more than friendly and have been duly appreciated.

John W. Foster, in his "Century of American Diplomacy," dwells upon these cordial relations and says that, from the beginning of our political intercourse with China, we have discouraged all efforts on the part of Americans to engage in the opium trade, so injurious to the Chinese people and forbidden by Chinese law; that our Ministers have been instructed to inform the Chinese Government that citizens of the United States would not be sustained by their Government in any attempt to violate the laws of China respecting trade; and, when the Chinese Government paid the United States the sum of \$735,238 in satisfaction of the claims of its citizens against China, the United States in 1895

\*The United States Consul at Amoy reports that, in 1897, "the importation of American flour amounted to 312,000 pounds; in 1898, to about 3,250,000 pounds; and in 1899, to over 13,000,000 pounds."

The United States Consul at Che Foo writes that "in five years the value of merchandise known to be American increased from \$739,333 to \$2,171,669."

Consul-General Wildman reported from Hong Kong that "the gain in American case oil amounted to 21.473 tons, or 36.4 per cent."

Tobacco, beer, whiskey, wire, wire nails, kerosene, pig lead, timber, machinery, beef and hog products, leather, clocks and watches, fruits, nuts, butter and cheese have, according to Consul-General Goodnow at Shanghai, increased materially.

returned an unexpended balance of \$453,400 by Act of Congress. This unusual international proceeding was acknowledged by the Chinese representative with expressions of kindness and admiration for the United States, and with the assurance that "the friendly relations so long existing between the two countries will thereby be strengthened." The position of the United States in respect to the recent war in China has further inspired Chinese confidence in our good faith.

America, therefore, is at no disadvantage in dealing with China on account of the domestic policy of Chinese exclusion. At one time the Chinese Government was not in favor of the emigration of its people; but its modern statesmen know the great benefit of relieving the pressure of overpopulation.

The Chinese are not like other emigrants whose departure from the land that nurtured them in their helpless infancy and childhood is an irrevocable loss. The Chinese emigrant goes out a pauper and unflinchingly returns with a competency, and becomes a well-to-do member of the country in which, according to his religious belief, his bones must rest in order to insure eternal peace. This, indeed, is "territorial sectarianism," difficult to overcome, but some would ask America to assume the task.

But it is in the theory that the Chinese question is a labor question that Mr. Ho Yow seems to find his main reliance in advocating the abrogation of the exclusion laws. He argues that the opposition is inspired by the laboring masses; that the laboring masses are governed by labor unions; that labor unions are composed of skilled men in various trades and vocations, and that the Chinese are not skilled, and, therefore, are not formidable competitors. In fact, he says:

"The Chinese are wholly unskilled, and are in the main mere laborers or agriculturists. They could not under any circumstances be called to the places of strikers in skilled lines; so that, even from the standpoint of the labor unionist, the Chinese could do the labor unionist no harm."

I contend that this is not a mere labor question, nor a race question. It is an American question, affecting the perpetuity of our institutions and the standard of our civilization. But let us examine Ho Yow's allegations of fact.

For the most part the Chinese who have so far come to this country do menial work and manual labor; but they also exten-

sively engage in skilled employments. They work on railroads, in mines, in fields and orchards and forests, crowding out the white laborer everywhere on account of their willingness to work for a smaller wage. That is the experience of the West. As mere laborers, there is little to complain of in them; but for all purposes of citizenship their usefulness ends with their day's work; and whatever they are paid, they are paid too much, because they make no contribution by service or citizenship or family life to the permanent interests of the country.

The Chinese are to the last degree imitative. They have taken up the skilled work of our white population, and mechanically duplicate it. They are makers of cigars, shoes, shirts, clothing, women's underwear, overalls, children's clothes; they have acquired skill in dentistry and photography; they engage in journalism, commercial electricity, watchmaking, painting, brick-laying; they are carpenters, broom-makers, butchers, and in the culinary arts they particularly excel, supplanting white domestic servants.

In most of these trades and vocations they have unions which are well known in San Francisco. The Hong Tuck Tong, or Cigarmakers' Union, contains 1,500 members, who are employed throughout California. The Shoemakers' Union has 1,000 members. In Chinatown, San Francisco, evidences of their skilled labor are everywhere seen; and in the business streets of the city proper they have opened numerous stores in their own names, in which they sell their own products and especially women's and children's underwear. White sewing girls have been driven out of employment; and recently, on the advice of a large dealer in dry goods who promised support, a philanthropic gentleman assisted in the establishment of a factory for the employment of white girls exclusively, under the charge of a competent superintendent. After a few months' trial it failed, on account of the impossibility of meeting Chinese competition. The Chinese work day and night without cessation, subsisting on the most meagre food, and it is physically impossible for white women to turn out goods that will sell against Chinese prices in the open market. This is a very serious phase of the labor question on account of the small number of the fields in which women may profitably work.

Fruit canneries throughout California give employment to



boys and young women; but next door to the Consulate occupied by Ho Yow in San Francisco there is an extensive cannery, which is owned and operated by Chinese. They run the steam engines, they handle the cans and boxes made by Chinese boxmakers and carpenters; they pack the fruit; their tinsmith solders the cans. It has been known that when they are short of Chinese labor they employ white boys and girls, who work under conditions and amidst surroundings which deprive labor of a great part of its dignity.

The only municipal record kept of skilled employment is contained in the Assessor's report, which shows the Chinese are engaged in most of the local skilled industries. This report, ending June 30th, 1901, is as follows:

	Number.	Whites.	Chinese.
Cigar box manufactories.....	5	60	80
Broom manufactories.....	8	100	90
Cigar manufactories.....	321	500	800
Chemical works.....	6	100	40
Clothing manufactories.....	30	800	250
Fireworks manufactories.....	1	20	12
Fruit canning factories.....	11	2,500	350
Laundries (white, 139; Chinese, 151).....	290	1,600	850
Match factories.....	4	60	20
Shirt factories.....	40	800	700
Shoe factories.....	16	700	250
Woolen mills.....	1	125	20
Women's and children's underwear factories..	16	200	570

It is vain, therefore, to claim that Chinese are "mere laborers or agriculturists."

One thing certain is that when they come to this country they know little else than manual labor; but they soon acquire a skill which enables them to compete with the trained American workman. The Chinese in any considerable numbers are, consequently, a great potential danger to skilled labor.

But is the man who tills the soil to be supplanted by the non-assimilative Asiatic? Is husbandry to be abandoned to a servile class? Is land monopoly to follow industrial monopoly, and are large holdings, managed by overseers, to drive the farmers for employment into the cities, where Chinese labor will meet them and there deprive them of the opportunity to work? Pliny says that "large estates ruined Italy." The free population were driven into Rome by slaves, who were forced to cultivate the soil, and, deprived of honorable and useful employment, became the rabble, which finally compassed the destruction of the Republic.

Let it be granted, for the sake of argument, that the Chinese

are only common laborers and agriculturalists. Shall they be allowed to enter freely in unlimited numbers to stimulate development, or shall the development of the country be allowed to proceed with equal pace with the settlement of the country by a desirable citizenship? Ho Yow takes the coldly economic view. He modestly says the Chinese by increasing productiveness would open new fields which they themselves would be unable to enter. That is to say, the products of the mine and field would increase the business, for instance, of the transportation lines, the canning industries and the banks. That is very ingenious, but it is predicated upon segregating a servile class, and violently assuming that that class, or its more intelligent members, are incapable of taking up work which involves skill and management. Ho Yow, in this, proves too much.

The benefits accruing from the presence of a servile class, doing the rough work of a country, always belong, as in slaveholding days, to the few; and when it is considered that the Chinese are migratory and receive wages which they send out of the country, a parallel between the negro slaves and the Chinese coolies is only remarkable in this, that by any fair comparison slavery must be regarded as economically more advantageous to the State. The slaves worked for a comfortable subsistence, and did not drain the soil of its wealth by the exportation of "the wage fund," which was formerly appropriated by the slaveholder, and which, in any event, remained to enrich and develop the country. It is estimated that the Chinese since 1868 have exported from the United States \$400,000,000 in gold on this account alone.

Ho Yow says that the Great Wall of China was built to exclude robbers, who gave no return. Our Exclusion Act was erected, he says, to keep out men who gave adequate return for their wages. I hold that the Chinese cannot, in the nature of things, give an adequate return for their wages, not only for the above reason, but because by their presence they exclude a more desirable population.

In an American sense, we cannot regard a laborer, as does Ho Yow, as a human machine. He speaks of the enormous productiveness due to machinery, and he points out the fact that labor-saving devices are encouraged and have increased the sum of human comfort. From this he argues that if the Chinese, on

account of their number and the little fuel which they require to keep them going, are in a sense perfect machines, they should be admitted. But there is a limit even to the capacity of a machine. It must have a man behind it. That man is a unit in the government of a free country; and we must insist, in a patriotic sense, as well as in the best economic sense, that his status as an intelligent human being, endowed by his Creator with inalienable rights, shall be preserved. The machine is the creation of intelligence and is only supplementary to the skill of man, whereas the Chinese, knowing nothing but ceaseless and unremitting toil, coming without wives and without appetites, would remain a part of the mechanism and be content. If they were allowed to enter as innocent agriculturists, there is no reason, so imitative are they, why they should not become operatives in our factories and conductors and brakemen, as they are now builders and linemen, on our railroads; as they are now canners and packers of our products, and as they are now sailors upon the sea. They would enter the fields made attractive by the greater production of wealth.

Consul-General Goodnow, in his report, says that American goods are not credited to us in the statistical tables when they are sent by "large shipments from the Pacific Coast *via* Japanese lines" (a kindred and invading race), but are "credited to Japan." The Japanese have their line of steamers. Why not the Chinese?

It is no dream in this day of industrial combinations, when we behold the unrestricted power of capital, to foresee that with the abandonment of the policy of exclusion land barons, money captains, commercial kings would reduce American labor to the condition of Oriental servility, and to a standard of living no better than that of the Chinese. This certainly would be the inevitable tendency, and I believe, on account of their tractability, the Chinese would be given preference in employment, which would mean the destruction of the American workingman, and, with the destruction of the American workingman, the destruction of the Republic.

The existence of slavery in the South resulted in the creation of immense wealth, just as Ho Yow argues would result from the presence of his countrymen; but it produced structural defects in society. It created an aristocratic class, a slave class, and a "poor white" class. It was an aristocracy with slavery as

its corner-stone. The drastic remedies of the war should be a warning to-day. The accumulated wealth of the South, created by slave labor, was wiped out by an appalling expenditure of blood and money, which can never be recovered should we endure for a thousand years. Therefore, it is not a question of wealth at any cost, nor whether the wages of Chinese are higher or lower than ours. It is the question of the desirability of having the Chinese at all. If the wages they demand are as high as those of the European, or if the work they do—paid for in reduced wages—is not equal to the work done by the white laborer, it is all immaterial in view of the fact that the presence of a servile class is repugnant to our form of society and our ideas of government.

Ho Yow answers the objection that the Chinese “do not assimilate with the American people and do not adopt American methods and ways” by intimating that their provincialism is the result of the refusal of this country to naturalize them. He says: “This whole trouble has been caused by the fact that we are not citizens and voters.” He quotes approvingly the words of the Chief Justice of the Dominion of Canada:

“It was a menace to Canada to have a large number of Japanese living in Canada and to exclude them from taking part in the legislation affecting their property and civil rights.”

It is, indeed, generally true to say that the United States must admit its Chinese population to the right of suffrage and to all the privileges of American citizenship, if it grants them the privilege of permanent residence. If they are to be admitted into this country freely they cannot be held as a separate class in a state of quasi-bondage or helotry. They are either desirable as citizens or not desirable at all. They must be admitted as ultimate voters, or excluded as being incapable of wisely using the elective franchise and assuming all the rights, duties and obligations of citizenship. It is a false position to discuss them simply as laborers, skilled or unskilled. Therefore, unless America is prepared to receive them as citizens, the Exclusion Act should be renewed, and we should look to the Caucasian race, as we have in the past, for the upbuilding of our industrial, social and political fabric.

In this discussion let us recall that the United States was originally wrested from a despotic rule in the interests of civil liberty. Man's capacity for self-government was asserted and

sustained. A Republic was founded to protect its citizens in "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," and a constitution was adopted "to secure the blessings of liberty" to them and to their children. Thus established, the gates of America were thrown open to the oppressed and liberty-loving peoples of the world, and a new and immeasurably important experiment inaugurated. It has thriven for more than one hundred years and now it is threatened.

The conditions imposed on the new settlers for the enjoyment of rights and privileges were citizenship and allegiance, and it became the correlative duty of the State to protect them. On this basis the country was settled, and the immigrants who have since been and are constantly being molded into the American people acquire legal and moral rights which the Government must protect.

It is well understood that the invitation of the new Republic was addressed to the people of Europe, and that the Mongolians were not included in it. In interpreting our naturalization laws the Federal courts have held that the Caucasian race was alone contemplated by them, and by special exception, the negro race; that exception was the result of political necessity. The same necessity will arise, in the course of time, to naturalize the Chinese if they are admitted. But the Chinese do not come in the name of liberty as oppressed, nor are they willing to renounce their old allegiance. They are not even *bona fide* settlers. They do not seek the land of the free for the love of it. On the contrary, they are attached to their own country by a superstitious bond, and never think of leaving it permanently. It is also plain that, by their mental organization, they have no capacity for or appreciation of the blessings of liberty.

In fact, few Chinese migrate voluntarily at all, but are brought here under contracts made by their masters. It has been said that if the Six Chinese Companies of California were destroyed immigration would cease. Formerly debtors and criminals were exiled from China under contracts to work out their salvation on American soil. Of such stuff citizens fit for a republic cannot be made.

Their physical assimilation is as repugnant to them as it is undesirable for us. I am informed by the Police Department and by the managers of the Chinese missions in San Francisco

that after nearly thirty-five years of intercourse the number of marriages between whites and Chinese do not exceed twenty, and that the offspring are invariably degenerate. The California Legislature, at its last session, amended the Civil Code of the State so as to prohibit, for the first time, the intermarriage of white persons with Mongolians. Heretofore the Code referred only to negroes and mulattoes. They cannot and will not assimilate with the white population; they live in colonies separate and apart, and are in all respects a permanently foreign element.

It follows, from these premises, that there is no obligation on the part of the United States to receive the Chinese as other peoples are received, but that there is an obligation on the United States to exclude them on the ground of duty to others as well as of self-preservation.

The right of a State to exclude an undesirable immigration is fundamental international law. Self-protection yields to no higher law. Therefore it is supreme. The Chinese, by putting a vastly inferior civilization in competition with our own, tend to destroy the population on whom the perpetuity of free government depends. Without homes and families; patronizing neither school, library, church nor theatre; lawbreakers, addicted to vicious habits; indifferent to sanitary regulations and breeding disease; taking no holidays, respecting no traditional anniversaries, but laboring incessantly, and subsisting on practically nothing for food and clothes, a condition to which they have been inured for centuries, they enter the lists against men who have been brought up by our civilization to family life and civic duty. Our civilization having been itself rescued from barbarism by the patriots, martyrs and benefactors of mankind, the question now is: Shall it be imperilled? Is not Chinese immigration a harm?

If it were possible for unmarried white men to compete with Chinese, they must remain single, by which the State would suffer. If families were reared under the conditions of such a competition, they would gravitate irresistibly and without blame to the poorhouse and the penitentiary. Society must recognize this; to the white man it is only a question of self-support or State support.

If the Chinese are admitted, whence are the ranks of the free population to be recruited? Who shall preserve our civilization and who shall fight our battles? The Chinese may be good labor-

ers, but they are not good citizens. They may in small numbers benefit individual employers, but they breed the germs of a national disease, which spreads as they spread, and grows as they grow.

In this view it matters very little whether with Chinese labor there is increased productiveness or not, nor whether a greater or smaller number of enterprises are inaugurated. The material interests of a State must be subordinated to the social and political interests of the people. Before cheapness and abundance must we consider the status of the men who are called upon to maintain the country's institutions and contribute by their presence to its true wealth. White men are both producers and large consumers, which the Chinese are not. Coolie labor appears to the short-sighted farmer and manufacturer as desirable so long as other people find employment for the white man on whose consumption they depend. But substitute Chinese labor for white labor, and the home market would disappear. What political economy can reconcile this fact with the good of the State? But even political economy must condemn the Chinese. The Chinese leave the results of their labor, it is true, but, let us repeat, they take out of the country the equivalent, and, contrary to those economic laws on whose due observance depends the material wealth of nations, their earnings do not circulate, nor are they reinvested. So what work they perform is paid for doubly by the employer and by the community.

We must admit that the Chinese while unprogressive are a good laboring class; but we return to the question, which presses for solution, Can we in this country and in consonance with our institutions segregate men of a labor class and regard them only in the light of their capacity for work? Sir Thomas More, in his "Utopia," considers this very subject. In constructing his ideal state he made men equal; but in order to relieve its members of humiliating labor, which would, he thought, disturb the equality proposed, he provided for a distinct class which was to perform all the disagreeable functions of society. If this idea were approved by us, the Chinese would be the most desirable people for such a purpose. They work well, they are docile and they would not be concerned about their political condition; but such suggestions are repulsive to American civilization. **America has dignified work and made it honorable. Manhood gives title**

to rights, and the Government, being ruled by majorities, is largely controlled by the very class which "Utopia" starts out by subordinating. This political power invested in men shows further the necessity of keeping up the standard of population, and not permitting it to deteriorate by contact with inferior and non-assimilative races.

In "Utopia" men are equal in respect to their occupations; while with us, in the language of the French Declaration of 1789, more explicit than our own, "Men are equal in respect to their rights."

The American people are certainly alive to-day, as they were in 1882 and 1892, to the significance of this question. But there are many good people who, mistaking the mission and destiny of their country, in a spirit of brotherhood would welcome the Chinese and every foreign race. Have we not proved by a progressive development that we are sufficient unto ourselves? Is not our duty to the heathen subserved by missionary labors and by establishing American ideas, enterprises and trade in other lands? Must we take them into our own house?

St. Paul said to the Athenians, "God hath made of one blood all nations of men," but he promptly added, "He hath determined the bounds of their habitation." In spite, however, of the warnings of history and the dangers which we of the Pacific Coast have endeavored to point out in the discussion of this question, which is more than one of labor or locality, there are a few men in the East to whom we would politely address ourselves, whose mistaken sense of duty has arrayed them against the American policy of Chinese exclusion. Let them not merit the opprobrium of the poet's reproach:

"The steady patriots of the world alone,  
The friends of every country but their own."

JAMES D. PHELAN.



*Museum of the City of San Francisco*  
*Ninetieth Anniversary of the Great Earthquake*

## The Situation in San Francisco

By James D. Phelan

San Francisco has almost used up the \$180,000,000 insurance money paid after the fire and earthquake in the work of recovery, and the banks of that city have gone about as far as they deem prudent in loaning funds. Now, Eastern capital is being sought, and, it is intimated, with things settling down on the Pacific Coast, no great difficulty is apprehended in obtaining capital as it is needed. A great deal will be required, but the municipality of San Francisco was peculiarly free of debt at the time of the disaster, and has a large borrowing capacity.



EX-MAYOR JAMES D. PHELAN

Ex-Mayor James D. Phelan of San Francisco has been in this city, looking over the financial field. He sets forth the political and financial position of his city in detail. Asked whether the work of reconstruction had been as rapid as had been expected he replied:

"During the year since the fire the work of reconstruction has been very extensive and rapid, so much so that it has really given rise to the labor troubles which beset us today. You will recall that San Francisco invited mechanics of all kinds to come to the State and help to rebuild. The insurance companies paid \$180,000,000 in losses, and money was abundant among the people and in the banks."

"Was any considerable portion of the money paid for insurance used up by the people for the necessities of life?"

"The people, having been cut off from their income, naturally used part of the insurance money for living expenses during the year, and, perhaps, developed some extravagance of living. Others, more thrifty, saved their money, or used it in the reconstruction of their temporary houses.

"But to return: The large army of laborers that came to San Francisco from the interior of the State and outside the State and the abundance of work for them created an artificial condition, and wages and materials advanced. Now that the emergency period is past, an economic readjustment is going on, which has caused the recent friction. The labor leaders in San Francisco, when money became scarce last month, by reason of the extraordinary demand for rebuilding, asked whether the banks had not conspired with a view to lowering wages and reducing prices. That is always a natural suspicion on the part of laboring men, but I have abundant evidence that the scarcity was due to legitimate causes. As in the case of Baltimore and Chicago, it became plain that Eastern capital would have to be enlisted in the work of reconstruction, and in order to interest Eastern capital normal conditions as to wages and material should be restored as speedily as possible. If there is no money, there is no work, and labor will be the first to suffer, because people temporarily housed are not obliged to build, and they will only build permanently when prices are favorable.

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### WHAT THE CRISIS IS.

"How much of a 'crisis' is this 'crisis' in San Francisco that we are hearing about nowadays?"

"I consider this 'crisis' so far as the labor question is concerned, on the way to permanent settlement, for the reasons above stated. There are probably 10,000 men on strike engaged in the iron trades, the street railway service, the laundries and the telephone. The most serious thing is the tie-up of the street cars, which are now running with non-union platform men at about half capacity, and the result has been that the retail merchants have dismissed many of their employees and put others on half time because the shoppers do not come downtown owing to the street-car tie-up. When the street cars are again running full capacity the retail concerns will re-employ their people.

"The political crisis presents a very interesting situation; but I may say the crisis has been reached and improvement is immediate and inevitable. Mayor Schmitz' administration has completely collapsed. The Labor Union party controlled every branch of the city government since the last election. That corruption was rampant everybody knew, but the mass of the laboring men were loath to believe that their chosen officials were corrupt and were disposed to blame Abraham Ruef. The confession of Ruef and the eighteen members of the board of supervisors revealed conditions which were astonishing even to those who were more or less familiar with what was going on. There was nothing too large or too small for the rapacity of this administration. In the dragnet not only the officials, but those who had corrupt relations with them have been exposed and indicted. The first scheduled trial was that of Ruef when he saved time by pleading guilty and making his confession before the grand jury. The second trial, that of Schmitz, is now in progress.

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### RULE BY GRAND JURY.

"The Supervisors are holding their offices by sufferance because, should they be expelled or resign, the Mayor would fill the vacancies and a serious condition would prevail. The supervisors are doing the will of the Grand Jury and the District Attorney, who are suggesting only necessary and routine business. The budget of the city for the forthcoming fiscal year is the principal work in hand, and the citizens are satisfied that these Supervisors, though self-confessed felons, are giving, under the influences of the Grand Jury and the District Attorney, only what the public demands. In a word, graft is eliminated, and if there was any fear about San Francisco before under the domination of the Schmitz administration it may as well now be allayed; that administration is destroyed, and the government is restored to the hands of those who are serving only the public good, though in a unique and irregular manner."

"Who are the nucleus of the reform movement which is pressing the prosecution?"

"In order to collect legal evidence, a few men determined to employ the best and most available means at hand. Fremont Older, editor of The

Bulletin, who had consistently opposed the Schmitz administration, having personal knowledge of its peculations; Rudolph Spreckels, president of the First National Bank; Francis J. Heney, distinguished for the prosecution of the Oregon land frauds, and the conviction of Senator Mitchell, all San Franciscans, met to discuss the situation. I also was a party to the conference. Mr. Heney said he could secure the services of William J. Burns, the celebrated civil-service detective, and William J. Langdon, the District Attorney elected on the labor ticket, had previously declared that he was entirely free from the influence of Ruef, and would simply be guided by his conscience and his duty.

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#### SPRECKELS' HUNT FOR GRAFTERS.

"Mr. Spreckels, speaking for himself and for all those who might sympathize with the cause, said he would guarantee \$100,000 for expenses. They probably raised \$40,000 only of that by voluntary contributions, which were not solicited. Mr. Spreckels is a man of about 36 years of age, who has the confidence of the community, and is regarded as a man who is inspired by the highest sense of duty and who, once having determined his course, as in this case, would never turn back. He has personally attended all court proceedings and has spent more than half his time in the District Attorney's office giving his consideration to the work. His reputation for uncompromising integrity and perseverance has been a tremendous moral force. No malefactor would receive quarter from him and the knowledge of that, I believe, caused Ruef's complete breakdown.

"The popular impression of Ruef was that his knowledge of the law and his wily methods would, together with the influence people for whom he employed his pernicious talents, save him from punishment, and he blandly stated that whatever money he received, if any, was for professional services and that the only relation between him and public service corporations was that of attorney and client.

"The inspiration of the movement against Ruef was entirely patriotic and public spirited without malice. Heney declared in a public speech in November 1905, in opposing the election of Schmitz, that he had sufficient evidence, provided he could secure a grand jury that would listen to him, to convict Ruef of felony. Heney was at once brought before the grand jury that was sitting at the instance of Ruef, and knowing its doubtful character and not having his legal evidence in shape, he declined to testify, when Ruef publicly denounced and derided him. Heney bided his time, gathered legal evidence and, when another grand jury was impaneled, was ready to make good his statement. The grand jury happened to be of a high class, and, unterrified by Ruef, did its whole duty. The rest of the story is known."

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#### CALHOUN'S ACCUSATIONS.

"What about these accusations made by Calhoun against the prosecutors?"

"I have seen two accusations. One was that Mr. Spreckels and myself and others organized a street railway corporation before the fire, and that our object now is to destroy his property in order to profit by it. The other is that Mr. Spreckels has some political purpose to serve. Both of these accusations are unqualifiedly false so far as they import malice or ascribe motive.

"Patrick Calhoun is an exploiter of street railway franchises. He has operated in Cleveland and in Pittsburgh, and came to San Francisco as a stranger to consolidate the street railways there some years ago, and was hospitably received. He capitalized his properties at about \$80,000,000, and they could be duplicated for less than \$20,000,000. His friends were largely interested in the common stock, and the profits of the traffic were enormous. Not satisfied, however, shortly before the fire he undertook to substitute the overhead trolley for the cable system.

"Mr. Spreckels, who owned property on the streets affected, in common with other citizens, objected to the danger and disfigurement of the trolley, and asked him to give the city's business streets the electric conduit, such as is operated on Broadway here and in Washington and other places, and as in Washington, he could use the trolley in the suburbs by shifting from one system to the other at a certain point. He went, however, rough shod and negotiated with the corrupt administration and had the matter arranged before the fire occurred. With a knowledge of that we organized a street railway company, with \$14,500,000 capital, \$450,000 paid up, as required by law, and were prepared to ask for a franchise on other streets for the electric conduit system. The fire occurred the day after incorporation and nothing has been done further because the work of reconstruction has claimed all our time and our capital for the time being. He now states that on this account Mr. Spreckels has prosecuted him. As a matter of fact, the persecution was directed against the corrupt administration, and in the dragnet Calhoun has been the principal victim, having paid \$200,000 to Ruef, Schmitz and the Supervisors, according to the undoubted facts as developed by the confessions and the tracing of the money. But Mr. Calhoun was not the only party involved. Gentlemen of local and much higher reputation than he also have fallen victims in the telephone, gas and Parkside Railway developments.

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#### SPRECKELS' MOTIVES.

"As to the political motive ascribed, there is no truth in it, because Mr. Spreckels has never been in politics, and has no taste for politics, and he and Heney have specifically disavowed any political purpose, and have declared that under no circumstances would they profit politically by the investigations. John D. Spreckels, a brother of Rudolph Spreckels, and proprietor of the San Francisco Call, has political aspirations, but it is common knowledge in San Francisco that there is and has been for more than ten years a complete estrangement between these brothers, although the Call is supporting the graft prosecution as a public benefit. Mr. John D. Spreckels, on account of ill-health, has retired from public life.

"Those who know Rudolph Spreckels, as I do, can say without hesitation that his conduct in this matter has been irreproachable, and that he has been actuated by the purest motives as a citizen who loves justice and hates iniquity, and who wants to do his part in protecting San Francisco against its despoilers. He is man of San Francisco, and has extensive property interests there.

"San Francisco lost \$500,000,000 worth of property and recovered \$180,000,000 of insurance. Heretofore it has been financially independent. Its savings banks were always able to finance its building, and its commercial banks, to a great extent, its enterprises. The savings banks had aggregate deposits of \$160,000,000. They have loaned most of their available funds for the rebuilding of the city, and have made commitments for permanent reconstruction. It is now necessary for the first time to ask Eastern capital to help in the work of rebuilding the metropolis of California. Only a year and a half ago the banks vied with one another in loaning money on inside business properties at rates rarely exceeding 4 1/2 per cent.

The cheapness of money kept Eastern capital way, but now rates are 5 and 5 1/2 per cent, with money scarce. I know of my own knowledge of applications having been made to Eastern institutions aggregating about \$4,000,000, which have been granted, but San Francisco will require \$150,000,000 within the next three years.

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#### BUSINESS ONLY "UNHOUSED."

"It should be borne in mind that business has not been destroyed, but simply unhoused. The great resources of the State are not only intact, but are being developed with surprising rapidity. The Western Pacific Railroad Company will have constructed its road from Salt Lake to San Francisco by September, 1908, and the money for its construction has been underwritten. It has about 80 per cent of its grading work already done. The Water Power Company is just developing 300,000 horsepower by harnessing mountain streams, a horsepower that exceeds all that is now being used from Niagara. The oil production of the State, which makes a cheap fuel in general use, has reached tremendous proportions. The mining, horticultural and agricultural interests have never been in better condition. The commerce of the Pacific is growing year by year, and the clearings of San Francisco banks and the customs receipts have been undiminished since the fire. The city is there with its great harbor and the State with its matchless resources, so all we ask of the East is capital with which to provide speedily the proper housing of the business of the pace, now in temporary and inadequate quarters, paying insurance rates as high as 10 per cent on valuable stocks, which are practically prohibitive.

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#### BORROWING CAPACITY OF \$60,000,000.

"The city has plans, and is now about to invite the purchase of \$4,000,000 of bonds for the auxiliary water supply drawing upon the bay by pumping stations and fire tugs, so it will be absolutely secure against fire. The earthquake did no damage whatsoever to steel buildings or to well-constructed brick buildings, and those only of poor construction and built on improper foundations received any material injury. The evidence of this is in the payment of insurance for out of \$225,000,000 of insurance \$180,000,000 has been paid, and the balance is due from defaulting foreign companies, now being sued in the courts of Germany and Austria. The English companies that defaulted in part have been sued in California, and judgments recovered. They cannot show any material earthquake damage, and all companies are now doing business in California and promise great reductions in rates as soon as the auxiliary fire service is installed, which will be done within a year. The city only had \$5,000,000 of bonded debt outstanding or debt of any kind, and it has a capacity of borrowing 15 per cent under the law of its assessed value. The assessed value made last July was \$375,000,000, against \$500,000,000 of the previous July, and this year the assessor has added \$25,000,000 to the roll for new improvements making the total assessment \$400,000,000, and giving us a borrowing capacity of \$60,000,000. Under the charter the tax rate is limited to 1 per cent of the assessment roll except for park maintenance and interest on sinking fund and bond indebtedness.

"So financially, the city is in a most excellent condition to rehabilitate itself. As Mr. Spreckels said in a public statement, that, whereas Eastern capital might be timid with a corrupt administration and a supine people, now that the people have demonstrated their fitness to overthrow a corrupt government and establish a clean one, confidence, which is the basis of credit, should be the portion of San Francisco. The city of San Francisco is one of national importance, serving the great uses of commerce on the Pacific Ocean, centrally located, and its welfare should enlist the support as well as the sympathies of the country, now that it is suffering from a great disaster. Its loyal people are standing by it, and will restore it for the great uses for which it was apparently designed by nature.

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#### THE RELIEF FUND WORK.

"In this connection I would like to acknowledge the splendid response which was made by the charitable people of the country in answer to the call of real disaster, when 200,000 people were homeless and without food. That money has been wisely used in temporarily housing, clothing and feeding the dependent population. Today the relief corporation is supporting 900 people, while 16,000 are living in the temporary buildings on the public squares. The great relief fund which aggregated about \$9,000,000, bridged over the critical period in the history of the city and helped in no small measure to restore the confidence of the people in themselves and in their city. They felt that they were not without friends throughout the country who regarded them as fellow-citizens and gave to them not so much in the spirit of charity as in the spirit of brotherhood.

"It is an old proverb that 'Calamity is nature's true touch-stone,' and perhaps this disaster will be the making of a new San Francisco, greater and better than the old. The pioneers had nothing on which to build, whereas the men of today have an assured, approved and tried foundation in the established commerce and business of the port of San Francisco."

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*New York Evening Post*  
June 1, 1907

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## Museum of the City of San Francisco

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### REJOICES AT THE FALL OF SCHMITZ IN 'FRISCO

#### SAYS JAP TROUBLE IS ONLY LABOR QUESTION

Will Not Tolerate Invasion of California Even if It Is Peaceful.



*James D. Phelan*

**James D. Phelan**, mayor of San Francisco from 1896 to 1902, chairman of the fire relief committee, is in Boston, and has spoken on affairs in his home city. He does not condemn San Francisco's union labor; he takes the orthodox San Francisco attitude of opposition toward the Japanese on the coast, rejoices at its delivery from the grafter and is full of hope for his city.

"Mr. Phelan is a man of wealth, whose administration of his city was one of the bright spots of its history. Of conditions there now he says to The Herald:

#### Conviction a Blessing.

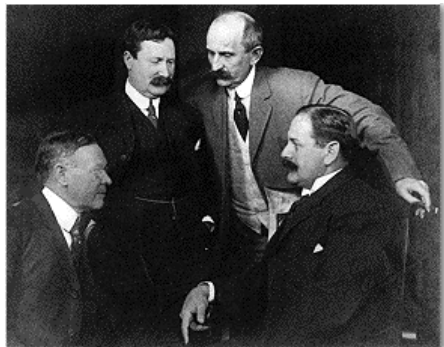
"The conviction of Mayor Schmitz and the rout of [Abraham "Abe"] Ruef, the political "boss," who made a confession which has criminally involved his followers and "patrons," have at last brought

the government of graft, which existed for several years in San Francisco, to an end.

"I am not surprised that the East should have had a poor opinion of San Francisco so long as it supinely endured shameless pillage and unrestrained corruption.

"The vigilance committee period in the history of California has long since passed, and the methods recently pursued were legal methods, and the results have maintained the dignity of the law and proved its efficacy. This result was not gained, however, without labor.

#### Hard Work to Clean City.



*Francis Heney, William J. Burns, Fremont Older, Rudolph Spreckels.*

"Rudolph Spreckels, president of the First National Bank, representing the citizens, brought to his assistance Atty. Francis J. Heney, who had successfully prosecuted the land frauds in Oregon, and William J. Burns of the secret service. Dist. Atty. Langdon of San Francisco considered himself bound only by his conscience, and after nine months' work indictments and trials are following in quick succession, and it may be said now that, so far as municipal government is concerned, San Francisco is purged of its evils and, in the hands of the prosecution, is guaranteed clean and stable rule.

"The grafting officials are not, however, the only culprits. The officers of the telephone, street railway, gas and electric companies must answer to charges of bribery. These corporations were not "held up"; they sought privileges, and they are suffering now from the consequences of ordinary corporate greed.

#### Large Bribes Given.

"The street railway company, for instance, wanted a privilege to convert a cable system into an overhead trolley against the protests of the citizens, who urged them to use the underground conduit system, and to pick up the trolley in the suburbs. They preferred to pay \$200,000 in bribe money for the privileges.

"The telephone company paid a large bribe to keep out a rival, and the rival paid a large bribe to get in.

"The gas company paid a bribe to the supervisors to prevent them from carrying out their pledges to reduce the gas rate to 75 cents, and it was fixed at 85 cents.

"Much has been said in the East of the labor situation. Immediately after the fire, the labor unions passed a resolution not to raise their scale, but so eager were owners to build during the emergency period for a year after the fire that one employer would take

mechanics from another by paying an extra dollar a day, and consequently labor became demoralized and one craft after another made demands for increased compensation.

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#### **Advance in Wages.**

"They argued that rents had advanced for flats and cottages 50 per cent, and that they should receive more to meet the additional cost of living. There was a great deal of truth in this, but with the increase in the number of new buildings the rents began to fall. I notice within the last few days that 10,000 iron workers and machinists have gone back to work at their old wages and that the street cars are being run by non-union men without interruption during the day, over all lines.

"Before the great fire the wages were not excessive; for instance, carpenters then received \$4 a day, and during the subsequent emergency period received \$5. Now, wages are going back to the lower level.

"The city has temporarily housed its business, and is settling down to the slower process of permanent construction. The money market is tight, which will have, unfortunately, a depressing effect, and it will be now with the laboring men not so much the question of wages as of steady employment.

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#### **Not Race, Labor Question.**

"The Japanese question with us is not today a race question, but a labor question. The Japanese have established restaurants in the districts where working men live, and as they are not union establishments, union men are warned away. The same would be true of a non-union restaurant conducted by whites. The Chinese question has been solved by the restrictions of the immigration of coolies and the Chinese now are never molested.

"As soon as Japanese coolies are kept out of the country, there will be no danger of irritating these sensitive and aggressive people. They must be excluded because they are non-assimilable; they are a permanently foreign element; they do not bring up families; they do not support churches, schools, nor theatres; in time of trial they will not fight for Uncle Sam, but betray him to the enemy.

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#### **Silent Invasion.**

"They now occupy valleys in California by lease or purchase of land to the exclusion of not only whites but Chinese, and if this silent invasion is permitted by the federal government, they would at the rate at which they are coming, a thousand a month, soon convert the fairest state in the union into a Japanese colony. If they were naturalized they would outvote us.

"But California is white man's country, and the two races cannot live side by side in peace, and inasmuch as we discovered the country first and occupied it, we propose to hold it against either a peaceful or a warlike invasion.

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#### **Coming Out of Disaster.**

"In spite of disaster, the custom house receipts and the bank clearings show for the last year considerable gains. We have \$9,000,000 of customs receipts and \$2,074,000,000 of clearings. Clearings at Los Angeles for the same period amounted to only \$634,000,000.

"San Francisco is recovering from its great disaster with most surprising and satisfactory speed, and I am sure this will be grateful news to the people of the East who showed their affection and interest after our great disaster by sending us generous contributions, which bridged over the critical period in our history and set us on our feet.

"Boston led in this movement, and San Francisco desires to make its grateful acknowledgment.

"In five years San Francisco will be a better city than ever before. New building laws and a new auxiliary fire protection system, drawing its water from the bay, will give us security."

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**Sunday Herald**  
Boston, June 16, 1907

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