

CHAPTER EIGHT
FILIPINO LIFE IN HONOLULU

GENERAL PROFILE

Get the data here on the changes in the Filipino population in Honolulu in the various censuses. Urbanization trend in Hawaii: By 1930, 37% of total population of Hawaii now in Honolulu. Yet Filipinos not in great number in the city. In fact, they lost population because of the depression; the census for 1930 showed 4,776 Filipinos but with repatriation during the depression, this had declined five years later, by 1935, the army estimated a population of 3,282 Filipinos in Honolulu. &Interchurch Federation, p. III& In Hilo, the only other place with a population over 10,000 the Filipinos comprised 2,055 of the 19,646 people in Hilo in 1930.

Honolulu itself: Little common social life among the various groups in Iwilei, Kakaako and Palama--the Japanese, Chinese, Puerto Rican, Hawaiian, and Koreans. &Cariaga thesis, p. 149& There was much stereotyping. Filipinos were not too well known. Although they comprised only a small fraction of the total of the city's population of 137,582, they were visible because they were highly confined to a small area near Chinatown, and their presence created "a feeling of unrest among the other races, including the Americans, toward the growing proportion of Filipinos in the city." &Bureau of Labor Statistics, Labor Conditions in Hawaii, 1929-30, p. 4. & Furthermore, they gathered on weekends in large numbers to celebrate Philippine holidays at Aala Park, adjacent to the railway station which brought to town other Filipinos from the eight plantations on Oahu. On weekends, these sojourners, as well as the other group of lonely single men, the Caucasian sailors from Pearl Harbor, filled up the pool halls and taxi dance halls around the Chinatown area.

Meeting places: the Filipino churches (Dizon's and the Methodist) and the Filipino United Center; and on the other, the poolhalls and taxi dance halls for the single males (the Caucasian sailors and the sakadas).

The Filipino hangout was Aala Park, always a large gathering there on Saturday nights especially and the park is the only large open space in a densely populated area. Here they gather, all dressed up on weekends, hang around pool rooms, streets, attend boxing matches at the Civic Auditorium. Sometimes program going on at Aala Park. &Hormann, pp. 64-69& There they were joined by plantation workers on their days off, and the main street for them was along North King street from Aala Park to Palama Street. &Interchurch Federation, p. V-2&

The most extensive survey of Filipino life in Honolulu was the survey conducted by a commission appointed by the Interchurch Federation of Honolulu in 1935 to correct lack of knowledge about Honolulu Filipinos. The commission made direct contact with 3108 Filipinos, which practically consisted of almost all of the Honolulu Filipinos at that time.

Who were these Filipinos?

The Interchurch Federation study painted a picture of a moving column of single males going from one island to another, from one plantation to another, seeking better paying jobs. With few jobs available in Honolulu, most Filipinos there remained unemployed for much of the year. The Interchurch Federation study pointed out that once the Filipinos left the plantations, they found few opportunities. It was difficult for those living in Honolulu to find plantation jobs because the plantations retained more laborers than they actually needed, and they accepted for employment only those living in other plantation communities. &Interchurch Federation, p. III-2.& The ones dismissed from strikes, especially during the 1920 and the 1924 strikes, as well as those dismissed for poor work turnout or for various infractions had notations in the HSPA file indicating so, and could not easily find employment for this reason.

The most accessible work was in the pineapple canneries, at the Hawaiian Pineapple Company and California Packing Corporation, which hired four times its normal employment during the four months of harvest beginning in June. The depression, however, wiped out the market for pineapple. Work at the canneries concentrated the Filipinos in the cheaper neighborhoods nearby, in and around Iwilei, Palama, Liliha, Aala and Kalihi. &Interchurch Study, p. VI-2&.

The next most readily available jobs were dock work and domestic positions. The census for 1930 showed that 3,143 Filipinos worked in manufacturing (primarily in pineapple canneries all over Hawaii), 926 in domestic work, and 386 in dockside work. Dock work was irregular work and domestic jobs in hotels were generally for the height of the tourist season, the first six months of the year. Working as waiters, cooks, janitors, bus boys, dishwashers, room boys enabled the Filipinos to live on cottages of the hotels, as did the janitors jobs at Leahi and Queen's hospitals, who considered themselves fortunate because in addition to room and board, they earned wages double that on the plantations. Cariaga, "Filipinos in Honolulu," p. 43

The Interchurch Federation study reported that the Filipinos had lived a "hand to mouth existence in Honolulu for a decade and are no more secure than when they arrived." Interchurch Federation, p. V-3. Their lives characterized by periodic unemployment, many lived in overcrowded airless basement rooms or in dark tenements with community toilets and kitchens. Nonetheless, the study discovered much cooperation and caring among them, with the employed taking care of the less fortunate, as well as gambling because of enforced idleness. Interchurch Federation, p. V-2. In the absence of their real families, they constituted in their cooperative cooperative households of five or so the semblance of a family relationship, with the ones working regularly helping to support the others, apportioning the household tasks to household members. Cariaga thesis, p. 148

The Interchurch Federation study found the Honolulu Filipino population to be different in many ways to the overall Hawaii Filipino population. The study found more Visayans with their families among the Honolulu Filipinos, in contrast to the larger number of Ilocanos in Hawaii. Interchurch Federation, p. III-3. The larger number of Visayans, who had been in Hawaii for a longer time than the Ilocanos, could be explained by their dismissal during the 1920 and 1924 strikes and by their willingness to seek alternative employment because of the difficulty of supporting their families on plantation wages. The presence of the Visayan families account for the slightly less imbalance of males and females among the Honolulu Filipinos, compared to plantation Filipinos.

INTRODUCE HERE TWO THINGS: ONE IS THE DIFFICULTY OF GETTING EMPLOYMENT BECAUSE OF THE CITIZENSHIP ISSUE, AND SECONDLY, THE IMPACT OF THE DEPRESSION, THE HAPAI BALOTAN MOVEMENT, AND ETC. BETWEEN 1930 AND 1934. THESE MATERIALS ARE FOUND AT THE END OF THIS CHAPTER

The Interchurch Federation study also found 76% of the Honolulu Filipinos interviewed to speak English reasonably well, an indication that the recruits with some schooling were more eager to leave the plantations and seek city jobs. &Interchurch Federation, p. V-2&

In fact, the Filipinos with some education or entrepreneurial inclinations had always tended to leave for Honolulu, as explained previously. In the 1930s, several of them were beginning to establish themselves. As mentioned earlier, in the past they found opportunities merely serving the needs of the laborers: as interpreters for lawyers or courts, as runners and ticket purchasers, or as translators/letter writers, or as fixers. Now, however, the recruits who left the plantations were finding some opportunities in other areas as well.

Frank Farinas, had eight siblings in Narvacan, Ilocos Sur, and attended elementary school but with few opportunities for further education, he signed on with the HSPA and arrived in June 1922. Work on the Waipahu plantation cane fields being too strenuous for him, he was soon assigned to work at the plantation hospital. After a year at the plantation hospital, he sought a job at Queens Hospital in order to be able to work at night and go to school during the day; then he saved enough of his wages as a janitor at a commercial establishment in order to enroll at Iolani High School and graduated in 1929. He continued his schooling through correspondence courses. After several jobs as a court interpreter and Filipino newspaper editor, he was hired as a bank teller at Bank of Hawaii, a position of pride and prominence for Filipinos at that time.

Modesto Salve had a similar story. After arriving in 1920 and working for the plantations, he found a job as a cook at the Honolulu Theological Seminary so he could study for the ministry. He left, however, when he realized that "the seminary was there to train ministers to preach to the Filipinos to be happy on the plantation and work hard and not leave, and their reward would be in heaven." &Star Bulletin, May 7, 1979& He completed his studies at McKinley High School, supporting himself by waiting tables and washing dishes at a restaurant downtown at night, walking to school and back because he couldn't afford the five cents for the streetcar, and subsisting on two pieces of bread for lunch. After further studies at the University of Hawaii, he was hired by Bishop Bank, its first Filipino employee. He later ran his own business retailing monkeypod carvings. &Star Bulletin, May 7, 1979&

There were also others, like Federico "Fred" Blanco, who came at 17 and worked on Lanai and at Hutchinson Sugar company, until finding his opportunities in Hawaii in real estate eventually.

The Interchurch Federation study found that a third of the 516 families visited had never lived and worked on a sugar plantation, as did the same proportion of the 106 men registered for employment at the Central YMCA. &Interchurch Federation, p. VI.&

WHO WERE THEY? They were now the independent arrivals, who came to Hawaii outside the HSPA process of recruiting. They came from the US mainland and directly from the Philippines.

First, the schoolboys from the mainland; they went to the US mainland to find jobs and with their savings attend school. Upon completing their schooling, they planned to return to the Philippines but enroute, decided to remain in Hawaii to try out opportunities. This was the case with several who had completed their studies at Lincoln University in San Francisco. N.C. Villanueva also earned his law degree from Lincoln University, and was on his way back to the Philippines in 1930 when he decided to stay in Hawaii. --first best known Filipino announcer in Hawaii. He joined the Insular Life when it opened its operations. He wrote Paset Daguiti Baro a Linteg Ti Hawaii (A Summary of Hawaii Laws and Statutes), Angco Printing Co., Honolulu, 1930, in which he listed the laws relating to marriage, divorce, separation, homicide, assault, robbery, forgery, rights of married women, etc. (A copy is at the Mission House Museum). In 1933 he began radio broadcasting for the HSPA a Filipino program. One of the coopted Filipinos.

Sotero Jucutan also attended Lincoln University, after teaching school in the Philippines and working in Seattle to earn his schooling money. He came to Honolulu in 1933 and opened the Pacific Night School in Hanapepe with two others, Diosdado Avecilla and Jose Bulatao from mainland teaching with him. Jose Bulatao came to Hawaii in 1931, two years after receiving his Bachelor of Laws degree from Lincoln University in San Francisco, and after working in Filipino newspapers in Honolulu, accepted a job as a Koloa plantation policeman on Kauai in 1933. Diosdado Avecilla, left at 18 from La Union for California in 1926, experienced the Filipino discrimination and went further inland to Kansas city to finish high school and then to the University of Kansas for his education and political science degrees. He came to Honolulu in 1935 and worked as an insurance agent. After the war he established his travel agency.

The first Filipino professional to practice in Hawaii also attended school on the mainland. Dr. Nemecio B. Borja finished high school in Manila by attending night classes, and then with his brother's help he received his doctor of dentistry from the College of Physicians and Surgeons in San Francisco in 1927. In 1932 he came to Hawaii, passed the territorial dental board exam and opened a practice in Waipahu, Wahiawa and Honolulu. Married to a haole. (November 1, 1896-June 9, 1954)

Roman Cariaga (USE THIS FOR ELITE OR NEWSPAPER) , went to US mainland in 1927 and studied at Syracuse Univesity but completed his undergraduate degree and graduate degree in sociology at UH in 1934.

(USE THIS FOR RELIGION OR NEWSPAPER)Franco Manuel (b. Dec. 3,1910 in Isabel a). At 16 he left for University. of Washington, working his way to school in migrant work and cannery work. Majored in literature and religion. The depression drove him to Honolulu in 1932. In 1935 he became a Christian convert and eventually established his own church.

INDEPENDENT ARRIVALS

There were the independent arrivals as well, who sought work opportunities in Hawaii in order to attend evening school. Few opportunities here in Hawaii. For one, plantation work far from any educational opportunities, and education suppressed. Also, alternative work not easy in Hawaii, in Honolulu.

They had to make their own way to Hawaii independently because the HSPA did not want the schooled. Butler wrote in 1923 about the relative of one who wished to come to Hawaii, one who had attended high school: "You understand that in our ordinary recruiting we do not take as laborers boys who have been going through the high school and have an education as this is likely to make them aspire to at once quit the laboring class and join the so-called 'white collar gang.'" &Butler, HSPA Bureau of Labor Statistics, to Grove Farm, June 18, 1923&

If they did arrive in Hawaii, those who sought to improve their lives through education found very limited opportunities. This was especially so on the remote plantations. A plantation welfare worker in the 1930s started night classes to teach Filipinos to read and write English but the assistant manager shortly after called him to the plantation office and bawled him out, saying: "If they can sign their names, that's enough." &Wills, p. 19&

Still, a few came, hoping to further their schooling. Faustino Respicio's hope in 1931 was to study law at a mainland university, and sought a job in Honolulu as an insurance salesman to finance his way onward, but he remained in Hawaii to publish a newspaper and then work in radio and later, television. Arturo Barba was already teaching at a public school when he joined his aunt in Hawaii in order to pursue further studies. At first working as a chauffer for his aunt, who went from plantation to plantation selling bagoong, bolos, scissors, pomade, cockfight spurs and other things which she imported from Manila, Barba tied to attend the University of Hawaii part time but had to drop out of school for lack of money. He could only find work at hotels and canneries; when he applied at the offices of the Big Five companies, he was told that Filipinos belonged to the plantations and not to offices. He finally got a job at the gas company, where he worked his way up to supervisor, but felt the discrimination there, including comments that he was possibly part-Chinese because he was smarter than the rest of the Filipinos. He later made a career as an interpreter at the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.

At age 14, Mauro Madolora was too young to be an HSPA recruit so his siblings mortgaged the family land in order to raise his fare. He had only two sets of clothes and a pair of shoes when he arrived. At several Kauai plantations, he either found the work too heavy or he voiced his protest of luna abuses on Filipinos, so he worked for a Japanese merchant at Koloa, selling phonographs and records, until he opened his own music store, and eventually went into real estate and insurance. He repaid his siblings eventually, sending them the money to enable them and their children to attend college.

A few were able to fulfill their goals in Hawaii. Lorenzo Fruto came to Hawaii in 1931, completed his Bachelor of Science in civil engineering at the University of Hawaii, and worked for the highway department for many years. Gerardo Aquino came to Hawaii in 1932 in order to pursue his post-high school studies, and with his savings at Pioneer plantation, he was able to leave for Nebraska in 1936 to study aviation. Sisenando C. Arconado also sought his post-high school education and came to Hawaii in 1928; out of his plantation savings, he was able to attend electrical school in Los Angeles, and then return to to Lihue plantation as an electrician.

Pedro de la Cruz was stranded in Hawaii in 1930 when his relatives could raise only enough money to get him to Hawaii rather than to the mainland for his studies. The only job he could find was with the HSPA, so he was shipped to Honokaa plantation, working at various jobs--cut cane, hapai ko, hoe hana. He went to Lanai and became a truck driver, and stayed on in Hawaii. After the war, fired by the company for union activities as a foreman, and was hired as a business agent by the ILWU; elected later to Hawaii's house of representatives where he became vice speaker. (1909-1976).

USE THIS FOR SOMETHING ELSE. Domingo "Sunday" Reantazo had attended school in New York city, returned to teach public school in the Philippines, and then took various jobs including selling sporting goods and participating in dramatics. . In 1927 he was part of the troupe to Hawaii and he remained, became a boxing promoter until in 1934 he accepted a position as a welfare worker on Kauai.

Others who went into business. Labrador, Pastor Pablo, Alfonso Avecilla, Enrique Alba, many many others.

THE HONOLULU ELITE

The arrival of the Filipinos who were not HSPA recruits gave rise to a vital social and cultural life in Honolulu. There arose an elite group in the city, whose leadership and main activities became the focus of Filipino life, joined by the plantation Filipinos.

This elite was formed by the rare ones who had grown up in Hawaii, having come as infants. Richard Adap (1909-1977) was one of the very few second generation Filipinos, born on the big island. He worked in the cane fields to support himself through school, attended the territorial normal school, and received a master's degree from Teachers College at Columbia. Adap became the first Filipino to hold a regular appointment as a public schoolteacher in September 1931 at Hana elementary school, and he retired as a teacher at Hilo Intermediate in 1974.

Others came as infants and now played an active role in the life of the Filipino community: Roland Sagum, Ricardo Labez, Fortunato Teho, and Marcelina Saclausa. All of them very active in the various Filipino organizations and activities. Roland Sagum was an eight month old infant in 1913 when his parents arrived as HSPA recruits. He stayed on in Hawaii when his parents returned to the Philippines, and earned his room and board as a janitor at the Filipino United Center but finished merely two years of schooling at the University of Hawaii before he was compelled to look for a full time job. In 1934 he began his long career with the Honolulu police department. During the strikes he was sent to spy on the Filipinos at Aiea, and he was assigned to squad rounding up vagrants in Honolulu. &Advertiser, January 9, 1966&

Fortunato Teho was brought to Hawaii by his parents at the age of 3 in 1911. He received his bachelor of science degree from the University of Hawaii in 1927, and then worked as an agriculturist on the plantations before pursuing a long career as an extension worker at the University of Hawaii. Ricardo Labez, also brought by his parents to Hawaii as a child, also attended the University of Hawaii, and then worked as a correspondent for several Honolulu newspapers. &Cariaga's Who's Who, Star Bulletin, October 20, 1934& Marcelina Saclaus (nee Monroy) was born in Manila and brought to Hawaii at age 18 months, studied at the University of Hawaii also, and wrote a column on the social doings of Filipinos for the Advertiser, then Star Bulletin in the 1930s.

TERNO BALL SET

BY THE 1930s THERE WAS NOW A SOCIAL HIERARCHY STRUCTURE IN HAWAII. PRIOR TO THIS TIME, THERE WERE THE VAST MAJORITY OF THE LABORERS, AND THEN THE ONES IN THE CITY WERE THE RUNNERS, THE FIXERS, THE LABOR LEADERS. NOW THERE WAS A CLEARLY DEFINED STATUS SYSTEM. AT THE BOTTOM WERE THE SAKADAS, THE PLANTATION LABORERS. NEXT IN THE SOCIAL LADDER WERE THE WHITE COLLAR PLANTATION EMPLOYEES. THEN THERE WERE THE CITY FILIPINOS, IN LIHUE, HONOLULU, WAIKUKU, HILO, ENGAGED IN ENTREPRENEURAL ACTIVITIES AND ORGANIZING CLUBS (white collar class in Honolulu and Hilo, working as clerks, salesmen, and entrepreneurs (mainly small store owners).. THEN THERE WERE THE ELITES, THE TERNO BALL SET IN HONOLULU. ANALYZE EACH ONE.

For the plantation laborer, the way to gain status among the Filipinos took several paths. One was the promotion to a non-field job as a store clerk, plantation policeman, luna, office interpreter-clerk, or religious worker.

But there were generally limited opportunities for such mobility on the plantation. The other way was to leave the plantations for the cities, and, as jobs were relatively scarce or limited to seasonal ones, to establish a business. The Filipinos in Hawaii did not become involved in entrepreneurship or business in any significant manner for lack of previous experience in trade. The HSPA recruiters avoided those with city experiences and actively sought peasants as contract laborers, and Filipinos in their homeland had not been extensively involved in the wholesale and retail trade. When the Philippine commonwealth was inaugurated in 1935, the Chinese controlled 50% of the domestic trade, the Japanese another 20%, and the Filipinos only 25%. The Chinese controlled 75 to 82% of retailing, as well as the commercial credit facilities in staples and in export crops like tobacco, hemp, and copra; they also invested heavily in timber, manufacturing, banking and real estate. The Japanese also invested heavily in mining, lumber and manufacturing, and until 1939 they had exclusive monopoly of the fishing industry. &Agoncillo, pp. 414-15&

As plantation Filipinos generated savings, their fellows both in Hawaii and in the Philippines quickly invented all kinds of investing schemes. Cayetano Ligot proposed a Filipino bank in Hawaii; Ramon Cariaga and Epifanio Taok promoted the Manila Amusement Company to invest in a chain of movie theaters in Hawaii and the Philippines; Philippine entertainers solicited funds for colonization schemes, paper cities, and elaborate housing subdivisions exclusively for Hawaii Filipinos in the Philippines. Unscrupulous agents and promoters distributed beautifully engraved, gilt-edged stock certificates of bogus corporations in the Philippines and the US mainland,, and verbally guaranteed to double or triple any investor's money within a few years. &N.C. Villanueva, "Filipino Business Evolution," Pan Pacific, January-March, 1938, vo. 2, no. 1 (Philippine number), pp. 63-64; Cariaga, Filipinos in Hawaii, Star Bulletin, March 9, 1935& These elaborate plans and bogus corporations gypped many laborers of their savings.

The Filipino businesses in Hawaii which survived were those which required little capital, especially those providing personal services, such as tailoring, billiard parlors, barbershops, news stands and shoeshine stands. &N.C. Villanueva, "Filipino Business Evolution," Pan Pacific, January-March, 1938, vo. 2, no. 1 (Philippine number), pp. 63-64. Although they required a little more capital, restaurants, general merchandize stores, taxi services, photography studios, printing shops, and retail stores selling Philippine goods, food and magazines also survived. All these were single proprietorship, very small, catering to a Filipino clientele exclusively. Enterprising plantation laborers also sought a livelihood as representatives or agents of mainland firms selling picture frames, small appliances, jewelry, clothes, or shoes. Benjamin Ayson, who came to Hawaii at age 16 in 1926, was a clerk at a Kahului store when he heeded someone's suggestion to supply the store with bagoong (fish sauce); he later expanded into insurance and real estate. Pastor Pablo, who arrived in 1928 at age 17 and worked at Kauai pineapple fields, sold diamonds, sewing machine, photo enlargement, to plantation Filipinos before going also into real estate.

Most of the schemes and start up businesses failed. Aside from the naturally high failure rate of any kind of entrepreneurial endeavor, there were other factors at work: lack of adequate capital, lack of experience at planning or managing the enterprise. &N.C. Villanueva, "Filipino Business Evolution," Pan Pacific, January-March, 1938, vo. 2, no. 1 (Philippine number), pp. 63-64. Cariaga attributes the failure of Filipinos to patronize Filipino businesses as the case of business collapse but this smacks of self-hating explanation; also envy of someone's success so not patronize, or if Filipinos had cash they would buy elsewhere, and buy on credit at Filipino stores. &Cariaga, thesis, p. 74. This did not make full sense, because many of the businesses were actually patronized by Filipinos and catered mainly to Filipinos. Envy, of not desiring the other to succeed, of not going there anymore when one already had cash, of not trusting Filipinos because they are no good managers. To some extent, the familial orientation of Filipinos, the tayo-tayo approach.

But the Filipinos in Hawaii now constituted a potential market, and that fact did not escape the notice of Manila businessmen. Gregorio Labrador was on a pleasure trip to the United States in 1931 and cut his trip short when he saw opportunities in Honolulu. He established a business bringing in and distributing Philippine foods, handicrafts, and other products. (D. June 1957 of stroke) Labrador came from a family of merchants, had completed business studies and had worked as a wholesale representative of a major Manila firm. &Cariaga, Who's Who, Star Bulletin, September 19, 1934& Enrique C. Alba, similarly an experienced Manila businessman and on a visit to Hawaii in 1932, saw a potential market for Philippine cigars, especially the wine-treated Isabela cigars; his business failed when three of the major factors who also imported cigars from the Philippines withdrew credit from retailers who purchased from him. &Fuchs, Hawaii Pono, p. 247& He was president of the Filipino Businessmen's Association in the late 1930's. Antonio Arzadon also came in 1932, with an education and accounting background, and became a dealer of Philippine merchandise, until he headed the Filipino department of Crown Life Insurance Co. &Cariaga, Star Bulletin, September 8, 1934& Two Filipinos had even succeeded in manufacturing products in Honolulu: V.S. Galang, who came as a businessman in 1925, produced cosmetics and Juanito Gonzales, who opened two restaurants, a barbershop, a photo studio, a tattoo shop and a general store selling Philippine merchandise, manufactured pomade scented with tropical plants.

Several Philippine firms appointed or sent agents and distributors in order to tap the Hawaii Filipino market. Among them were Solomon Lorenzana of F. Lorenzana and Sons, Maximo Sevilla of Arambulo Products and Ang Tibay, slipper-shoe manufacturer; Rufo Z. Alhambra of Gonzalo Puyat and Sons, and Dr. Jose Gonzales, supervising the distribution of drugs of Universal Drug Products Company of Manila. The most significant Philippine firm to establish a branch office in Hawaii was the Insular Life Assurance Co., Ltd of Manila. Large insurance companies in the territory refused to insure Filipinos; the few small insurance companies who did charged much higher premiums and provided less coverage for Filipinos than they did for Caucasians. &Wentworth, p. 196& In January 1934 Insular Life opened a branch office in Honolulu, which it incorporated as Hawaiian Life Insurance Company on October 29, 1947. The firm signed up almost all the prominent Filipinos in Hawaii as its agents, and its success led other insurance companies to employ Filipino agents as well.

BACK TO THE ELITE DISCUSSION

The arrival of those who had finished their studies on the US mainland, of independent travellers and businessmen from Manila, of a few second generation, and the accession to better jobs among plantation Filipinos led to emergence of a social structure in the Filipino community in the 1930s. There was a difference between this structure and the one in the previous decade. In the previous decade, the most prominent Filipinos in Honolulu were Manlapit and the other labor leaders, those who made their living by being runners, translators for lawyers and the courts, ticket agents and fixers, and the religion ministers and welfare workers who often also performed these functions for the majority of the unschooled plantation laborers. In the 1930s, however, there was now a social elite, often taking advantage of the plantation laborers in a similar way. This was, however, a coopted elite; they were granted the HSPA's permission to sell merchandize on plantation camps, they broadcasted or hosted programs hosted by the HSPA, they held jobs generally at the permission of the HSPA, etc. The HSPA rewarded Filipinos by giving them passes to go to plantations and sell pictures and frames and jewelry and others at profit. One was a Valentino (Juan Valentin?) given pass by Butler to sell large pictures, Eagen Report, p. 24. Ligot's wife tried to go to plantation to sell picture frames to Filipinos, a racket & Eagen, p. 16&. These elite Filipinos were organizing all kinds of organization to collect funds. They were also exploiting the sakada community by selling them pictures, insurance, suits, jewelry, Philippine goods, cars; selling was an avenue; also selling them service, through lawyers, or fixing up papers, getting steamship tickets, etc. Even Reverend Dizon selling jewelry, Taok exposed him (Manuel interview). The educated assume positions of leadership by means of which they take advantage of their poor, ignorant, illiterate compatriots. True in various ways: Moncado. Also, the events themselves such as Rizal Day and other organized gatherings generated revenues, and much factional accusations that these monies were misspent.

Use N.C. Villanueva here as an example. When he first arrived, and then as host of a radio program sponsored by the HSPA. Active in Stockton in 1929 he led the Filipino Welfare Association, Inc. to build a Filipino home with a clubhouse, showers, clinic, dorm and a billiard room, .At first, he was addressing workers to come to the government road and courthouse steps in order to organize. Then he was coopted; in 1933 he had began his radio broadcasts for the HSPA. N.C. Villanueva, broadcasting in 1933 an HSPA sponsored Filipino program. He was in charge of the KGU's Filipino Community Program, from 4:30 to 5:30 p.m. In the program were the HSPA officials, and plantation managers; it featured musicians like the Manila String Circle, the Quizon Trio, Silvino Tumabang, harpist, Pio Reyes, violinist. &Advertiser, April 27, 1934& Cayetano Ligot, conservative, non-committal on Philippine independence. Principal support from the Christian ministers. Villanueva's counterpart on Kauai was Abe A. Albayalde broadcasted the Filipino Reporter since June 1940 for the HSPA on Kauai in Ilocano; after the war in Honolulu. He came as contract laborer for Waimanalo Sugar.

ALLIES OF HSPA

Juan Valentin, an independent arrivee paying his own way, He came in 1923, after being a Piddig municipal land tax office clerk. Since 1923, proud of his white collar job status in his job interviewing laborers for the HSPA as they came off the ship, then kept the records of the Filipinos and their services as a clerk in the HSPA Filipino Affairs office. He handled the return transportation clearances for plantation workers returning after their contract, in the Filipino Affairs division of the HSPA. He was active in the Republican Party precinct activities. &Star Bulletin, January 21, 1961; Advertiser, May 4, 1952& (He went on all Maunawili trips in 1946; he retired in 1961 and died in 1972.)

Victorio Fajardo, a Methodist minister. Until 1924 he had been in charge of the Filipino Methodist Church in Honolulu. He was subsequently employed by the HSPA and served as "an informant for that body." "Mr. Fajardo is considered reliable, is apparently strongly pro-American as to sentiment, opposes radical labor activities on the part of the Filipinos, and uses his influence to offset the development of radicalism among the laborers. He dominates several of the more important Filipino organizations, particularly the 'Gran Oriente Filipino.'" &James I. Muir, Major, Office of Military Intelligence, Headquarters, Hawaiian Department, US Army, to General Creed F. Cox, BIA, n.d., in BIA 5999&

Pedro Victoria-- Pedro Victoria, a Tagalog, left Manila in 1910, worked on a big island plantation, and then in Hilo as a court interpreter. Invaluable services to the HSPA, as an informant during the 1920 strike; as general chairman of Varona's Filipino Territorial Labor Convention in Honolulu in 1923; as Herminigildo Cruz' secretary in 1926 on his visit to Hawaii. For all these he was constantly rewarded by the HPSA, by Royal D. Mead" to be a clerk statistician for Aiea plantation as a reward for spying, a position as clerk being a high position for Filipinos at that time for the 1920 strike spying, and again by the HSPA as a draughtsman at the experiment station. He believed in close cooperation between labor and capital. He said that Filipinos were better off if they organized among themselves within the plantation rather than follow outside leaders. He was born in Bulacan, he had completed high school and then commercial school in Manila, and passed the Philippine civil service. One of the early comers with high education recruited from the Manila area. &Cariaga's Who's Who, Star Bulletin, September 29, 1934&

Macario Alverne, who, before coming to Hawaii in 1921, had been a public schoolteacher for many years, a municipal police chief and an organizer of an agricultural credit association, and in Hawaii prior to joining the HSPA in 1926, was a court interpreter, a music teacher and a member of the Royal Hawaiian Band. His Manual for the Progressive Laborer, a translation exercise for laborers wishing to improve their English, gave such advice as leaving the wife back in the Philippines because of uncertain conditions in Hawaii and if the laborer died there, the wife would be left alone in distress and unable to come home; keep healthy, take care of your money, avoid prostitutes.

The social structure can be indicated by the publication of Cariaga's book on the prominent Filipinos in Hawaii in 193__. Cariaga's list was based on several factors as the measure of prominence among the Filipinos.

One was the white collar class in Honolulu and Hilo, working as clerks, salesmen, and entrepreneurs (mainly small store owners).

The other was the plantation elite, consisting of the escribientes (clerks-interpreters), the lunas, the camp policemen, skilled workers, and religious workers. Jose Bulatao, Special Policeman on Kauai. They also prided themselves as self-improvers, studying through correspondence schools, acquiring new skills.

Cariaga's book, p. xiii, identified the Filipino civic leaders in Hawaii. They consisted of HSPA employees Juan Valentin and Victorio Fajardo, Philippine labor commissioner Cayetano Ligot, insurance agents N.C. Villanueva and Clemente V. Reyes, automobile salesman Fausto Frial, the manager of the Filipino branch of Consolidated Amusement Company's Cornelio R. Gorospe; Evaristo Fernandez, a clerk with the US Postal office; Dr. Jose Gonzales, a sales representative of a Manila pharmaceutical firm, Frank Clemente, a clerk in the National Guard Headquarters. NOTE HOW DIFFERENT THIS WAS FROM AN EARLIER PERIOD, WHEN THE LABOR LEADERS AND THE CHURCH LEADERS, Manlapit, Dizon, Moncado, etc. were the leaders. Now a group of commercial agents. I need to analyze this--no longer a functional leadership at all. More a social butterfly

set.

Mariano R. Gorospe, president of the Inanama Mutual Aid Society. A Justice of the Peace in an Ilocos Municipal Court. He ran the Mabuhay store in Hilo, and also Published the Philippine News Tribune since 1930. In 1919 he became a clerk with a West Coast Life Insurance Company. In 1930 he moved to Hawaii and brought movies to Hawaii. Mariano Gorospe was an independent recruiter; he brought 500 field hands in 1928 and 3 nurses. He wrangled an appointment in 1946 by President Sergio Osmena to investigate Filipino conditions on plantation, and then as personal representative of the secretary of labor; both were withdrawn as Hawaii Filipinos accused him of being anti-labor and pro-capital. After the war he returned to the Philippines for his investments. He ran a general merchandise store (The Mabuhay Store in Hilo) in the 1930's. Advertiser, February 27, March 4, 1946; Star Bulletin, February 21, June 6, 1946&

Cornelio Gorospe the director of the Filipino section of the Consolidated Amusement Company; He was with the Consolidated Amusement Co., Ltd., as the one in charge of Filipino Films imported and shown at theaters in Hawaii.

These prominent Filipinos validated their status in several ways: by their literary ability (writing for the Filipino newspapers, with the highest acclaim to those who managed to get published in the haole press), by hosting a radio program, by editing a Filipino newspaper, or by organizing and heading a club. Accolades were in the form of being asked to deliver a discurso (flowery speeches) at public gatherings and celebrations. &Cariaga's book&.

Several mark the emergence of this self proclaimed elite in Honolulu: the publication of prominent Filipinos, the gossip items in the society columns by Filipino columnists (Cariaga's Hawaii Pinoy, gossip, with a long list of names of who attended what event; Marcelina Saclausa's column was similar, in the Advertiser and Star Bulletin) featuring their fellow Filipinos, with their parties now, and showers, and celebrations, the establishment of exclusive clubs, and the media, based on radio and newspaper which drew an audience from the whole territory. 1930's column by Cariaga; in Star Bulletin (and then later in the Advertiser in the 1940's) by Marcelina Saclauza which was gossip, who got married to whom, who was at program, who was present at a baptism party? With the names highlighted.

They validated their own elite status among themselves by writing newspaper accounts of each other's activities, throwing recognition banquets and testimonials for each other, hosting and being in the presence of visiting officials or prominent men in the territory and being photographed with them and published in the newspapers, gossip columns, who married whom, who celebrated what birthday, etc. Visiting Philippine officials, on their way to or back from Washington DC wined, feasted, banqueted by the elite Filipinos, who gave long long speeches, in English and Spanish but not in Filipino languages. They also believed that they, not the sakadas, represented the true Filipinos in Hawaii, and through their achievements the glory of the Filipinos in Hawaii would come forth. Played tennis or golf.

They also began to aspire: a news item, at a dinner of local Filipino leaders, a decision was made to initiate a fund drive for a medical clinic for the benefit of the Filipinos, as a memorial to Jose Rizal, and if enough money is collected, a hospital might even be constructed. This dinner was at a famous Waikiki chop suey house held in honor of Dr. Francisco J. Lardizabal, the first Filipino licensed to practice in Hawaii. Present were the elite: Ligot, Villanueva, Sevilla, Fajardo, Mariano Gorospe, etc. &Star Bulletin, November 25, 1930&

The Honolulu Filipinos also sought to validate their new status through public relations, and so they established the Filipino Press Bureau to issue press releases, and it was actually only a one man (Cariaga's) operation. &Franco Manuel, interview& Varona early in 1937 called the editors of the Filipino newspapers to create the Board of Information in Honolulu, to carry out the same function. &Franco Manuel Interview&

Every literate one publishing a newspaper or magazine.

NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES

GET SOME MATERIAL HERE ON THE ROLE OF THE ETHNIC/IMMIGRANT PRESS

It seemed that every Filipino put out his own newspaper: F.A. Respicio his Philippine Press in Hilo, a biweekly in 1933; N.C. Dizon Ang Kayumanggi in 1928; Bulatao the Filipino Advocate, a weekly sometime in 1931-32; Pedro Esqueras, the Hawaii Philippine News every Wednesday in 1929; Faustino Gamboa, Filipino Bulletin, a bimonthly which ran for five months, Taok his Ang Katotohanan (The Truth); N.C. Villanueva's The Union; etc. Most of them did not last beyond the first three or four issues. Like the other immigrant press, the Filipino newspapers played an important role in being foci of opinion in the community. There were many, many Filipino newspapers and magazines, most of them dying out within a year. In the 1930's there were eight major Filipino newspapers in the territory, with four others offering a Filipino section. &Gorospe, Making Filipino History in Hawaii, p. 253

These Filipino newspapers were generally pro-establishment. They were also involved in factional conflicts. These Filipino newspapers had a small circulation, 5,000 at the most, and the newspapers often sponsored subscription competition, giving awards to those who had signed up the most subscribers, or by popularity contest, honoring as queen the one who had sold the most new subscribers over a period of time. They contained a mixture of news (mostly rewrites from the regular island dailies), poetry, prose, editorials. Most were favorable to the HSPA. They carried very few advertising messages, and sought to make it financially by subscription.

The major newspapers were more or less identified with the various factions in the Filipino community. Cayetano Ligot had published Ti Silaw weekly in Ilocano and English since 1923, subsidized by the HSPA and edited by his son in law, Benefico Paraso. The Filipino American News, an English and Ilocano monthly in tabloid form, was also regarded as a mouthpiece of the plantations. It was edited by T. Bianco, then Ricardo Labez. Agapito N. Patacsil published and edited The Filipino Outlook, a magazine monthly in English and Ilocano, which was blatantly pro-plantation, attacking Manlapit and the Filipino labor organizers in Honolulu; Patacsil also published the Philippine Commonwealth Outlook, and its contents advised Filipinos not to leave their plantation jobs, it had plantation managers as subscribers for ten years; it had pictures of plantation hospitals and of laborer model camps, it thanked the manager for building a church at Pahala, it conducted essay contests on "Why I Love Plantation Life," and in its editorial it told Filipinos not to leave the plantation for the city.

Relatively more independent although still pro-sugar industry in their sentiments were the other newspapers. The Philippine Commonwealth Chronicle, established in 1931 with Franco Manuel as its editor. Manuel, a zealous Christian, added in the newspaper his crusade for a chance of life among Hawaii Filipinos, more of their spiritual welfare and their economic and social welfare. The newspaper came out as a bilingual (English and Ilocano) fortnightly. Its publisher, the Philippine Liberty Press, was a stock company held by Filipinos. The Gorospe brothers published the Philippines News-Tribune, an Ilocano-English fortnightly, started in 1929 and edited by Otilio Gorospe. The Hawaii Filipino News, edited by Roman V. Cariaga, began Dec. 30, 1937 but closed by the war. Came out in English and Ilocano.

On the outer islands, there were the following: On Kauai was the Kauai Filipino News, a weekly edited by Abe Albayalde. Mangiturong (semi-monthly on Maui, directions);

Martial law caused the suspension of these newspapers and magazines, so that only two were allowed to be published: Ligot's Ti Silaw and Rizal's Journal, a magazine which appeared irregularly between 1941 and 1943, which carried little hard news but merely backgrounds on Philippine provinces, articles on Quezon, etc. And it ceased publication when Andres J. Pasion, its editor and publisher, died.

ATTITUDES: They were unsure of their status and internalized the prejudices of the haole establishment, who believed that the Filipinos were incapable as yet of independence. Thus they believed that the Philippines was better as a protectorate of the United States, or that independence would take a long time yet. They also were against immediate independence, these coconuts like Cariaga, Villanueva, Ligot, Alipio Ramos of Filipino Center & Star Bulletin, September 26, 1939 informal poll among them&

Some of them embarrassed by the sakadas. There was the complaint about the Filipinos being disorganized and lacking good leadership & Cariaga to Quezon, April 12, 1934&. This early attitude was articulated very early on in an article in 1915 by F.L. Theodore, which showed the illustrado bias: that the Filipinos in Hawaii discredit them as fit subject for independence (Ligot's bias also, the sakadas an embarrassment to Americans). The elites were apologetic to the larger Hawaii community--The Hi Filipinos were not the better class of people, but ignorant class; that they lacked good leaders, that they came from the poorest and most ignorant mass of people; & F.L. Theodore, "The Filipinos in Hawaii," Mid-Pacific Magazine, October 1915, pp. 335-337&

Same attitude like the elite: blame the Filipinos for their uncultured, ignorant status. The Filipino worker at the YWCA, Angeles Mangaser, sent in a report, deploring the tendency among the Ilocano women to stick to their own kind as did the Visayans and the Tagalogs; the tendency among the women to leave their husband and family because of the lure of men with luxuries and gifts; the way parents forced girls to marry for money or sell daughters' pictures and ballots in beauty contests; and the men equally as bad--and that these Filipinos were not inherently bad but that the ones here were of the uneducated and unlettered class. & Angeles Mangaser (Avecilla), Filipino Worker Report, April 1933, HEA Archives&

Also, the wide gap between the sakadas and the elites, as can be seen through the attitudes also of visiting Philippine officials. The elites tended to identify with the Philippine officials, who were kowtowing to the HSPA and American officials as well. Illustrate this gap with Paredes and Carlos P. Romulo. USE THIS FOR SOCIAL GAP BETWEEN LABORERS AND ELITES, AND BETWEEN THE PHILIPPINE OFFICIALS AND THE LABORERS. Paredes came to Hawaii in August. He declared that the Filipinos should be able to solve their own problems without resorting to government intervention. He also urged that the Filipinos treat their employers fairly if they wanted similar treatment. (!) He had asked the Filipinos to return to work in the Vibora strike. &Star Bulletin, August 26, 1937& While in Honolulu, Paredes was feted by the Club Filipino and by the Filipino Consolidated Organization, headed by Ligot as president, with vice presidents from the various plantation communities, including Fajardo as secretary, Juan Valentin as treasurer, and N.C. Villanueva as counselor. &Star Bulletin, August 24, 1937&

Another official, Carlos P. Romulo, on a Honolulu stopover as the guest of General Briant H. Wells, the secretary and treasurer of the HSPA, issued a warning to Hawaii Filipinos to be wary of the agitators who merely stirred up trouble for selfish ends, and a reminder that Filipinos were doing well in Hawaii and bring large sums home. &Star Bulletin, May 10, 1937&

There was constant intense struggle for leadership among them--Dizon, Manlapit, Taok, Villanueva, Gorospes, Ligot, Moncado, Manuel, etc. The points of conflict were over apparent or artificial issues: the struggle between Franco Manuel and N.C. Dizon was over Manuel's charge that Dizon was preaching Rizal, patriotism, independence rather than Christ. Dizon and Moncado were also involved in controversies, with Dizon out issuing his leaflets attacking Moncado at every opportunity. There was also the struggle between Manuel and Cabacungan; Manuel charged that Cabacungan shook hands only with the elite, like N.C. Villanueva, and not with the common laborer whom Manuel brought to the Filipino United Center. &Manuel Interview, March 20, 1981&

Early factionalism: in the 1920s when leadership was affirmed by voting at Aala Park, where the Filipinos would gather and elect the leaders of the Rizal day celebration. Partido system at work strongly, and leaders accused of all kinds of things, of wanting to be officers again for the following year, for tampering with the ballots of the Rizal day popularity contest, of not performing their duties well, etc. So attack and counterattack--Dizon and Alfred Ocampo. &Advertiser, October 9, 1926& Thus competition for status very intense, as they tried to pull each other down, and much jealousy, and see that others are elevated only at their own expense. &Cariaga, Thesis, p. 75-76&

Aala Park was the Hyde Park of the Filipinos, their meeting place. It was also called "the graveyard of Filipino unity," and "a public speaking training camp" because of the many open public meetings that the Filipinos held, with people free to speak up. &Julian I. Ilar to Editor, Star Bulletin, December 2, 1931& Thus such a free for all openness also led to some Filipinos filing libel suits against speakers there, and Filipino leaders caught in a conflict because of the free speech at the park. The complaint that the Filipinos at Aala speaking were engaging in factionalism and attacking one another. &Julian I. Ilar to Editor, Dec. 2, 1931; Frank C. Farinas to editor, Star Bulletin, December 15, 1931&

Factionalism: Cariaga observed disputes between the factions and their leaders. Organizations with the same objectives competed unnecessarily; feeling in the community that they had rarely joined in a common cause; also there was much jealousy and marked ill feelings toward the person who succeeded, and others sought to pull him down. &Cariaga, thesis, p. 152& Regional rivalries: Ligot, an Ilocano, did not have the Visayan support; student groups avoided the laborers; lack of unity in general. &Cariaga, thesis, p. 153&

SOCIAL ACTIVITIES

The terno ball set organized and held regularly activities commemorations drawing the Filipinos in Honolulu and from the plantations to these events. The most important events revolved around the birth and death anniversaries of Jose P. Rizal, on June 19 and December 30, respectively. The event was celebrated by a parade, and then by a long program of music, oration, poetry recitation, and there were often all kinds of contests going on, including a beauty contest, a piano playing contest, and a speech competition with the contestants drawing from a box the topic of their extemporaneous speech. A similar observance, with parade, band, floats, procession of people, games, public ceremony of songs, dances and speeches, marked the celebration of the Filipino Flag Day on May 17 when the Philippine flag was hosted by Emilio Aguinaldo to proclaim Philippine independence from Spain; it was also a national holiday in the Philippines. This flag day was observed in the mid-1930s.

In 1933, these celebrations were now marked by divisiveness because of active competition for status among the elites. In 1933, Rizal day was celebrated under the auspices of the Filipino labor union, with a free dance the day before, a parade and then an evening program consisting of hula dances, speeches, music by the Royal Hawaiian band, speeches, escrima exhibit, and folk dances. Manlapit gave a speech, and so did Dizon and Moncado. But Cayetano Ligot and his faction were celebrating separately, with another similar program which had as guest of honor the officials of Hawaii and the sugar industry. &Souvenir Program, 72nd anniversary, June 19, 1933, HSPA Archives&

Similarly, they celebrated differently, with a banquet at Moana Hotel to celebrate the establishment of the Commonwealth of the Philippines in 1935, an exclusive banquet, with them at the head table with territorial officials. The rest of the crowd were included on the second day and third day of celebrations, with a large parade, and then speeches and music, and dance presentations. &Advertiser, November 16, 1935& The dance presentations were held in order to raise funds for covering the expense of the celebration.

Before that, in the 1920s, the community was loosely forming, the agreed upon gathering place being Aala Park. Filipinos gathered there spontaneously, and they would then plan the events, such as the celebration of Rizal day by electing at large an executive committee. The executive committee would then elect from among them the officers for that day. &Advertiser, November 27, 1927& The observance began with athletic games in the morning at Aala Park, followed by a grand parade which began and ended at Aala Park, complete with floats, musical bands, marching units. At Aala Park then followed a program of songs and speeches and musical selections. The day ended with a banquet at a hotel social hall. &Advertiser, December 30, 1927& IN LATER YEARS, NO LONGER AS SPONTANEOUS AND DEMOCRATIC AS A SELF-PROCLAIMED ELITE TOOK OVER.

After 1935, another important event was the subject of commemoration equally as elaborate as the two Rizal commemorations: the inauguration of the Philippine commonwealth on November 15. The celebration at Waipahu was as grand; in 1939 2000 at the ball park and hundreds lined the streets for the parade--floats, bands, civic groups and societies, children, scout troops, etc. The guest speaker was the HSPA executive secretary and the manager of the plantation; and a literary-musical program followed. Then a whole day of sports competition, baseball, track meet, etc. &Advertiser, November 16, 1939&

The various plantation communities also had their own celebration, with the same degree of elaborateness; and the plantations observed the Filipino holidays, the Rizal birthday and death anniversary, and the commonwealth anniversary.

El Club Filipino, the elite club for the men: E. Fernandez, Alfonso Avecilla, Cornelio Gorospe, Dr. N.B. Borja, Dr. Gonzalez, and others, and they held regular literary programs. The Elite Organization, El Club Filipino. It sponsored benefit performance at three Consolidated Amusement Co. theaters in 1937 in order to raise funds for flood relief in the Philippines. But it was more a social event than a real charity event.

The elites even wanted their own regiment in Hawaii. N.C. Villanueva, on behalf of Lt. Col. Mariano R. Gorospe and Lt. Col. Cornelio R. Gorospe, asked Poindexter permission to organize a division of the Philippine National Volunteers in Hawaii. The Volunteers, also known as the Citizen Army of the Philippines, listed a series of purposes which included civic activities, promotion of better understanding. Three regiments planned, one on Oahu, and one each on Maui and Big Island. Poindexter did not grant permission. &Advertiser, April 1, 1938& Philippine National Volunteers, continued. The Philippine National Volunteers were formed in Manila by civic leaders to render public service in time s of calamities, and to give military and vocational training. Two brothers, were now giving themselves titles: Lt. Col. Mariano R. Gorospe and Lt. Col. Cornelio R. Gorospe. This was similar to an army reserve, except that it was a private organization. &N.C. Villanueva to Governor of Hawaii Poindexter, December 6, 1937, BIA 227& It was opposed by the secretary of state on the grounds that the existence of an alien military organization on American soil was undesirable. &Secretary of State Cordell Hull to Harold Ickes, Sec. of Interior, March 10, 1938, BIA 227&

HONOLULU'S FUNCTION AS A CENTER FOR FILIPINO CELEBRATIONS AND ACTIVITIES:

- CELEBRATIONS OF NATIONAL HOLIDAYS
- HOSTING VISITING FILIPINOS
- ORGANIZATIONS
- AALA PARK'S FUNCTION AS HYDE PARK
- LITERARY AND MUSICAL EVENTS AND ACTIVITIES
- SPORTS
- MAGAZINES AND NEWSPAPERS

ORGANIZATIONS

Kinds of clubs established: social clubs, athletic clubs, musical clubs, fraternal clubs, mostly. Ephemeral clubs, cynical about ningas cogon quality of Filipino organizations. Many hometown oriented clubs also. &Cariaga's thesis, p. 151 lists those which survived.&

THE THREE MAJOR FRATERNAL ORGANIZATIONS in the Philippines, THE CABALLEROS DE DIMAS-ALANG, THE LEGIONARIOS DEL TRABAJO, AND THE GRAN ORIENTE FILIPINO ALL HAD BRANCHES IN HAWAII.

The earliest listed was the Legionarios del Trabajo, established in 1921. Legionaries del Trabajo: Established in 1921, a mutual aid and labor secret society. But by the 1930s it had began to chnange, a reflection of the changing pattern of Filipino leadership in Hawaii. Earlier, it had been led by labor-oriented leaders. Then, In 1934 or 35, when N.C. Villanueva was the grand master. The organization was more like a fraternity, exclusive, no benefits. Members gathered together in fellowship, discussed things. It was now merely like a college fraternity. Franco Manuel was inducted; the initiation rites consisted of being blindfolded and then branded with a hot iron. Members were the clerk and luna types.

Then the Gran Oriente Filipino, a mutual aid society also, in 1923. These secret societies held initiation rites, and they were fraternities with rituals and passwords, like the Masons. The rest were established after 1926, and almost all were social or mutual aid clubs, including those established by the YMCA, the YWCA and the United Church.&Interchurch Federation, p. VIII-4&

Caballeros de Dimas Alang was brought to Hawaii from the Philippines by Patricio Belen. The Dimas Alang, had strict injunctions to respect co-members, so it was like a fraternity. It could kill a member who violated or offended a co-member.

Commonwealth Clubs in the various plantation communities

There were the amung, or rotating credit associations like the Japanese tanimoshi; then the saranay, or mutual aid societies both social and for assistance purposes.

Activities--benefit dance; the queen contest, the honor going to the one who sold the most tickets.

IMPORTANT THEME The Filipino organizations were united under the Filipino Federated Organization, yet they don't work together peacefully and come together only for Rizal Day or Philippine Commonwealth observance. &Interchurch Federation, p. VIII-4& Thus the Filipinos forming federation to represent themselves (emergence of the elite, posing to represent the Filipinos), and they were established for specific purpose only, such as to celebrate Philippine Commonwealth, or to hold a reception for a visiting Philippine official.

There was in 1930 a Catholic Filipino Club, meeting regularly at its Iwilei headquarters, celebrating Flores de Mayo: holding a regular mass at the old St Louis College, evening parade of floats, and an evening program at the old St. Louis College. &Star Bulletin, May 16, 1930&

GOING HOME SOCIETIES

NOTE THAT THIS SEGMENT CAN DEVELOP TWO THEMES: ONE IS THAT THE FILIPINOS WERE NOT INSURABLE AND ALSO NEEDED MUTUAL AID BENEFITS AND SO FORM THESE ORGANIZATIONS (Large insurance companies refused to accept Filipinos as risks; small insurance companies and Filipino company with headquarter in Manila issued only 20 year endowment policies maturing at 60; and the rates for Filipinos were higher than those for Caucasians. &Wentworth, p. 196&. THE OTHER IS THAT THE WAR AFFECTED THE GOING HOME SOCIETIES, FORCING THEM TO CLOSE DOWN.

Need for membership in burial societies: if someone died, the welfare department of the plantation merely wrapped them in white material and stuck them in a hole. So club members donated \$1 each to take care of decent Catholic burial.

Sickness insurance scheme in the Saranay (to help). An entrance fee of \$1 and monthly dues of \$.50; in the case of illness of a family member, each member contributed 25¢ and \$5 was given to the family. When disbanded, the money in the treasury was distributed to the members.

The savings insurance scheme among Filipinos arose out of a need; the laborers were not generally insurable by the big companies. The arrangement was for the laborer to deposit \$8 a month; the total of \$96 a year or \$960 for 10 years. If he lived to maturity, he would receive \$1,000--the interest on his deposits paying the insurance part. If he passed away before maturity, however, he received \$1,000 as the insurance payment.

In 1937 the territory passed a law requiring registration of such mutual aid and fraternal societies. In 1939 another law passed requiring the territorial insurance commissioner to pass judgement on the organization's financial soundness. As a result several organizations were closed down, the officers charged with operating without authority from territorial treasurer, fined and given suspended sentences, and ordered to return all funds collected from members. &Advertiser, March 22, 1940&

One of these was Ruknoy Ti Ili.

RUCNOY TI ILI ASSOCIATION OF HAWAII: The society was organized in early 1938 by Alberto Tamayo but it did not get a charter. Some irregularities were reported, so Tamayo took out a charter under the new name of Rucnoy Ti Ili Association of Hawaii. Tamayo and Romulo C. Lauricio, the treasurer, were arrested in connection with the 1938 irregularities--both were charged with failing to obtain a license before operating a mutual benefit society, in violation of a 1937 act. Both released on bond.

In 1939, it had 1400 members, divided into two factions. One faction became irate because of suspected unfairness in the distribution of benefits. There was threat of violence, with reports that some were carrying knives, and this caused police to keep vigil. The territorial treasurer posted signs on the society's headquarters doors that it was closed for business and seized records. The society, however, was not insolvent. The controversy was among the members of the old organization who tried to withdraw their funds and were refused because the organization was not in existence yet for six months, the period of membership required before withdrawals were permitted. The president disappeared for a time, so the protesting faction elected a new president. He reappeared and notified the bank that the checks and signatures were not to be honored. &Advertiser, December 9, 1939&

The records of Rucknoy showed \$50,000 collected in assessments but \$15,000 paid out in salaries to officers of the organization; the president was getting \$10,000 a year. It was closed by bank examiner for TH.&Advertiser, December 10, 1939&

Cristino Cariaga Semana was charged by police with embezzlement of \$18,000 in funds of the Rucnoy; he was the president and founder. He had previously been charged with gross cheat and with operating a mutual benefit society without a license. He was convicted of doing business of Rucnoy without a license, and sentenced in circuit court to six months imprisonment in the city/county jail. Three others, officers of Rucnow, were given 13 months suspended sentence. &Advertiser, December 19, 1939, May 25, 1940&

Territorial officials believed that some of these organizations constituted a veritable racket, with collection of assessments totalling over \$100,000 a year; the records of one society showed claims of over \$22,000 but its assets were but \$100. Some of the better organized societies provided death and illness benefits. Most, however, are merely "going home" arrangements--assessments were made regularly, and the society had a quota of so many members a month who could draw out their benefits to pay their way home. The members were given their benefits in the order in which they applied but must wait their turn. &Advertiser, December 10, 1939&

One of the mere going home arrangements was Filipino Aid Association.

FILIPINO AID ASSOCIATION --a going home benefit society. An amount was paid to the member on his application/statement that he intended to return to the Philippines. Godofredo P. Parado, a member, notified the association that he intended to return to the Philippines in September 1938 so the association paid him the \$500 going home benefit. Parado, however, was still in Hawaii so the suit for the return of the money was brought against him in Hilo court. While the territorial district court said there was no case, the territorial supreme court said the by-laws of the association constituted a contract which the court would enforce. &Advertiser, August 22, 1939&

Gonzalo Manibog from Laoag. In 1913, he went to the US mainland and completed his law studies at the Indiana College of Law in 1917. He was admitted to the bar in Indiana, and then he went on for his master of laws at an institute in Chicago while working as a US postal employee. He taught Spanish at the University of Kansas between 1920-21, and then returned to the Philippines where he taught and dabbled in politics. He came to Hawaii in 1931, went to Hilo where he published and edited Tulong (Aid), a monthly. He also established the Filipino Aid Association, and the Philippine Legal Service Bureau and the Philippine Commonwealth Development Company. According to Franco Manuel, he went to the mainland in late 1930's and disappeared.

The Filipino Aid Association had many functions. For one, it donated \$16,000 worth of machine guns and 2 planes for the army. It was strongly pro-HSPA, saying that the HSPA was fair, and thus there was no need for a consul, or welfare worker, or labor commissioner from the Philippines. &Tulong pamphlet, September 1936, HSPA Archives&

In March 1939, the territorial bank examiner made an investigation of the Filipino Protective Aid Association and found the accounts of the association in proper order. In early 1940, a misunderstanding, based on complaint by Simeon Amor that he had not received payment of his benefits. However, the money had been given to the purser of the boat he was to sail on and given to Amor after the steamer had sailed, and the matter was settled amicably. The practice probably a safeguard against earlier incident where Filipino received money but did not sail to the Philippines. &Star Bulletin, January 20, 1940&

Another investigation, January 19, 1940, showed the Filipino Protective Aid Association of Hilo showed a deficit of \$22,530, the bulk of deficit represented claims by members. The accounts were badly kept, and the audit had to be done from statements and cancelled checks. James H. Low, the association president, had been recently convicted in another case in court, and was restrained from further continuing the business. (NOTE: I think this is different from Manibog's organization)

A receivership petition brought against Filipino Aid Association, a test case of the going home societies, dismissed and the Judge, J. Frank McLaughlin said he did not approve the respondent's acts. The suit was brought by Norman D. Godbold Jr. the insurance commissioner for TH against Manibog, based on a 1939 law requiring the territorial insurance commissioner to pass judgement on the financial soundness of mutual and fraternal societies. The judge said the financial plan of the Filipino Aid Society was inherently and patently unsound. In February 1941 the bylaws of the Filipino Aid Society was amended, whereby a member upon applicaiton could get back two-thirds of his contribution paid in, and this made the association still more unsound financially. The judge said the average actual and potential member was "a poor, ignorant person apt to be deluded by the glittering attractions of the association, and unable to see through such to its inherent financial defect." &Hilo Tribune, September 26, 1941, HSPA Archives& Judge McLaughlin said he disapproved of the way the association was being operated but there was no statutory authority allowing the court nor the territorial bank examiner to compel the association to operate a better way. So the judge dismissed the territory's petition to place the Filipino Aid Association in receivership.

With the war, no one could go home; several clubs were closed by court actions because they were unable to fulfill their promise on going home trips. Since 1940 three Going Home Filipino Societies had been closed by court action since 1940. In the case of Ti Inanama, a mutual aid society founded by Faustino Gamboa in 1935, members contributed to the society and received back their contribution when the family returned to the Philippines or forfeited it if they dropped out. It also offered sick and death benefits. The society had been well run, no complaints had been registered against it, and it paid back benefits fairly. In 1942, the society had half a million dollars in assets but no one could go home during the war, so the society dissolved voluntarily. The territorial insurance commissioner and the attorney general supervised an election at which the vast majority of the 3529 members voted to dissolve the society; the vast majority also voted to form a new corporation to engage in business in Hawaii, as well as to establish after the war a bank, loan, or financial investment company in the Philippines to help rebuild the country. Mariano R. Gorospe, the president since 1938. &Star Bulletin, December 2, 1942; Hilo Tribune, June 28, 1942&

Other going home societies were also badly affected by the war, when no one could go home and therefore the members did not see any need to pay their contributions, and also the societies were unable to recruit new members. Since the outbreak of the war, going home benefits had not been paid and several clubs had reorganized. The problem was that the benefits were paid out of incoming income from new members, and it worked as long as the organization could get new members. It collapsed when no new members were enlisted. &Advertiser, June 26, 1943&

In 1943, the Filipino Going Home Clubs were investigated by territorial treasurer Walter D. Ackerman, Jr. The legislature passed a measure authorizing the treasurer to investigate the accounts and financial soundness of these societies, and found many unable to fulfill the promise of generous going home fund for members, and forced them to reorganize on a sound basis. One society based in Wailuku, Maui, the Oriental Benevolent Association, at one time had assets of two million dollars. Based in Wailuku. Philip P. Gamponia as manager in 1935, Ligot as Oahu Sub-agent. Gamponia had studied law in the Philippines, came in 1919 to a Kauai plantation as a sakada, but then left to run a tailoring and dry goods shop in Wailuku. In 1947 three-fourths of the members voted to dissolve the organization. &Star Bulletin, December 23, 1947&)

WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION

Women's clubs began to appear in the 1930s as well. The first clubs, organized in the previous decade through the YWCA or the Filipino Community Church, held merely sporadic meetings, mainly on the occasions celebrating a Philippine national event or entertaining a visiting dignitary. &Sistan Castro Alhambra, "Filipino Women in Club Work," Philippines in Hawaii, 1949, p. 12&

In 1931 YWCA's International Institute established the Filipino Women's Committee, consisting of ten representatives of women's clubs in Honolulu; their activities consisted of trips to the Honolulu Academy of Arts, Bishop Museum, dairies, luncheons and teas in American homes. The impetus was the election of a Filipina, Mrs. Vicenta Nolasco Fernandez, to the YWCA board of directors. Mrs. Fernandez, a nurse from Manila who had worked on the US mainland, and then moved to Hawaii with her husband, Evaristo, a former UC Berkeley student and a clerk at the Honolulu Post Office. &Cariaga's Who's Who, Star Bulletin, February 7, 1936&

In 1932, the YWCA coordinated a joint effort with the Hawaiian Evangelical Association to meet the needs of Filipino women. &Sistan Castro Alhambra, "Filipino Women in Club Work," Philippines in Hawaii, 1949, p. 12& The HEA hired a Filipina worker to work through the YWCA to establish women's clubs and training classes for leaders. The Filipina worker, Angeles Mangaser, was a deaconess, college graduate, was the assistant chief probation officer with the city of Manila's Child Welfare Bureau; she was an Ilocana but spoke Tagalog well; played the piano and sang and directed singing. She had been hired through the recommendation of Catalino Cortezan on his visit to Manila three years earlier.

TRANSFER TO ANOTHER PART: Mangaser noted the tendency among the Filipino women, like the men, to restrict their association to their fellow ethnolinguistic cliques; also broken homes because women were easily swayed by the attention of men showering them with gifts and tempting them to leave their husbands; and parents exploiting their daughters by forcing teenage girls to marry, for money, or mothers selling ballots and pictures of their daughters in beauty contests. &Angeles Mangaser, Filipino Worker Report, April 1933, HEA Archives.&

The HEA-YWCA collaboration resulted in stronger effort to interest Filipino women to join and form clubs. Mangaser established the Maria Clara Club, part of the YWCA program, which in 1947 became the Hawaii Filipino Women's Club. The Filipino Women's Club, the Sampaguita Girls Club, the Filipino Mothers' Club, all holding regular meetings at the YWCA. Then the rural Oahu plantation towns followed suit. Cariaga lists the following organizations: Ladies Aid Society, affiliated with the Filipino Community Church, established in 1927; Pearl of the Orient Club, established in 1931, a social and educational club, it sponsored kindergarten activities; the Filipino Women's Club, established in 1931, sponsored by the WYCA, a social and educational club; and the Sampaguita Club, another YWCA social club established in 1932. &Cariaga, thesis, p. 151&

Mrs Fernandez' work through the YWCA resulted in the First Filipino Women's conference, June 5-6, 1935, which became an annual event. The conference program was very elaborate, with speakers on education, social, economic and religious topics. Its theme was how to help Filipino women adjust to the changing times and to help teenagers adjust to cosmopolitan life. About 35 women attended, with visiting delegates from rural Oahu and outer islands. &Sistan Castro Alhambra, "Filipino Women in Club Work," Philippines in Hawaii, 1949, p. 12& It had prominent oligarchy women as speakers; topics were on leadership training, family relationships, mental health, preventing tuberculosis, social set up, etc. &Advertiser, June 10, 1939& It was considered a success, and the YMCA planned a territorial men's conference, but better idea was a joint all-Filipino conference. In 1941 it became the three-day Filipino Conference, sponsored by the International Institute of the YWCA and the Filipino Civic Associates of the YMCA--again with haole leaders, government and university officials as guest speakers, the conference open to all Filipinos. In the program were speakers on race relations, panel discussions on health, speakers on consumer affairs, investment banking, wise buying and budgeting, social security, tuberculosis among the Filipinos, etc. Aside from acculturative thrust, this was a way of establishing a link between Filipinos and the establishment. &Star Bulletin, Aug. 16, 20, 1941&

In 1937 December was the first Filipino fashion show given by the Maui Club Filipina, displaying traditional gowns; suggested by Mary Makapagal and directed by Mrs. Philip Gamponia. &Cariaga, Pan Pacific, Philippine Number, Jan-Mar. 1938, pp. 72-73, vo. 2, no. 1& Many other organizations were established, by wives of city Filipinos, but most of them were short-lived, organized merely with the arrival or a public figure or to celebrate a national holiday, and then fade away.

SPORTS

Boxing in Hawaii had a checkered beginning. in the early 1920's it was regarded in the same light as beating one's wife and starving one's children. There was no professional boxing at all. But the Army and Navy posts would hold smokers at regular intervals and the participants would receive no remuneration. &Advertiser, September 20, 1922&

Boxing. The Rizal Club scheduled fights regularly; with the governor, the mayor and the board of supervisors as guest of honor at the smokers, and with ladies welcome as the promise of clean, well handled boxing shows rather than gladiatorial combats. This was at Maunakea Street. &Advertiser, July 8, 1922& The athletic manager was Henry Chillingworth. Members paid dues monthly, and the club staged the boxing events as a means of developing sportsmanship and good citizenship among its members. The club also fostered gymnastics, tumbling, amateur baseball, volleyball and all its affairs were for members only. It gave services free, like providing entertainment of acrobats and gymnasts at a the recent American legion carnival. The club dues included a fund to assist members and families when in need or out of work. &Advertiser, September 13, 1922& The city's attorney and the collector of internal revenue, however, ruled that the club's system of collecting membership was illegal, as many joined only for the smokers rather than for the other club activities and therefore the club were like collecting merely the attendance fees. So the club removed the "members only" sign. &Advertiser, September 14, 1922&

Boxing. Jose O. Galura, came in 1923 independently. He opened a barbershop. A boxing promoter and judge; he managed Olimpio Sianot, a bantamweight fighter who also fought on the mainland.

Boxing 1925. Francisco Guilledo, fighting as Pancho Villa, flyweight champion of the world, died two weeks ago in San Francisco while undergoing an operation for an infected jaw. His body came by Hawaii on President Harrison on the way back to Manila, and the Filipinos in Hawaii paid silent homage to Villa, whom they idolized. Services were held at the Filipino Mission on Liliha Street, and at the Catholic Cathedral on Fort Street a solemn high mass was sung for him.

&Advertiser, July 26, 1925&

Boxing. In 1928 Battling Bolo was winning his fights in California; two others from Hawaii stables, his younger brother Young Bolo and Cyclone Pete also go to California for a professional ring career.

Boxing, 1927. The Filipinos were really excited in their boxing, they had the Filipino athletic club, and Battling Bolo was their flyweight champion, plus some other fighters. In Hilo, as an example, the women asked the sheriff to arrest those in smokers. The "athletic clubs" were selling membership tickets only and were attacked as mere promotion of commercial bouts. On the mainland, the local newspapers followed closely the fights of Gene Turney, Jack Dempsey and others.

Boxing 1926-27. Rufino C. Luna, Elias Cantra (Battling Bolo) and other officials of the Filipino athletic Club in Hilo were indicted on a federal law against prizefighting in TH. They organized smokers regularly. Only two, Luna and Fred Carlos as officers of the Filipino Athletic Club, were persecuted, they pleaded guilty and sentenced to 30 days imprisonment. &Advertiser, July 14, 1927&

Boxing. Pedro Estomago, a professional boxer and trainer since 1931. He came with HSPA in 1920, worked for a short time at Oahu sugar and then operated a taxi; then he ran recreation halls, billiard parlor, barbershop. In 1931 he became interested in boxing and promoted Filipino boxers, a whole stable of them. He brought to Hawaii many good boxers from the Philippines.

Boxing 1932. Taok writes: "In the name of Filipino Nationalism, I urge every Filipino boxing fan to Boycott, Boycott, Boycott every boxing program due to the unfair decisions given to our boxers. Sufficient proof and evidence could be exhibited if needed. Filipinos are the backbone of this sport but no benefit. However, although of no power, I urge you one and all to join together to boycott during this present crises of depression, for them to realize. " &Notes, Commemorative Program on the 71st Birthday of Jose Rizal" June 18, 1932, 7-12 p.m. Old St. Louis College, Kukui St., HSPA Archives&

Boxing 1935. Kid Moro was the pride of the local Filipino community. A junior lightweight.

Boxing fans; almost always involved a Filipino and a fighter of some other nationality. Filipinos idolized their boxers; they lived in shabby, unpainted rooms, but on walls were the newspaper clippings and pictures of their favorite Filipino prizefighters. Boxing popular. In every boxing card in Hawaii, 90% of the fans were Filipinos and most of the leading boxers were Filipinos. &Maximino Velasco, article on Native Filipino Sports and games, p. 46, Mid Pac Magazine, January to March, 1936, Philippine issue. Get full citation from bibliography&

Boxing. The Philippine Commonwealth Club and other Filipino clubs sponsored the boxing events. The Filipino bands furnished music, the Filipino girls presented songs and dances at these events, which were often held at the Civic auditorium.

There were now many Filipinos in boxing. Ralph Cuyugan, a boxer and trainer from Manila was responsible for bring to Hawaii and the US many good fighters, including Pancho Villa, Ceferino Garcia, Kid Moro, Little Dado, etc. &Star Bulletin, June 9, 1937&

Boxing. Filipinos were unhappy about the referee decisions, and these boxing fans protested referee decisions and end up rioting. In 1936 when Kid Moro fought, they succeeded in reversing the referee's decision. The Filipinos, however, did not start the fights. &Star Bulletin, May 1, 1937&

Boxing promoter. Marion Antenoracruz, also sports manager with his own stable of good fighters.

Filipinos loved volleyball and baseball. Baseball. In 1920's a Filipino team in the Honolulu baseball league. All the way to 1929 and beyond.

In 1939 Civic Associates with Roland Sagum as president, and with Jesus O. Cayaban and Bernard Gusman (both avid tennis players) and Sergio Algarme (he came from Naga in the first decade, went to Honolulu public schools and St. Louis College; a commercial artist, did window display ads for Andrade; a scoutmaster, Filipino catholic Club and annual Filipino festival at Iwilei) and others formed the Civic Associates and promote organized sports. Started with players in backyards, in tennis, volleyball, basketball, baseball, etc. This is in Honolulu, the counterpart of what the plantations were systematically doing like at Waipahu.

Tennis. In 1928 a Filipino tennis club, holding its own tournaments at Kapiolani courts, and still holding tournament in 1930. In 1935 the Filipino Tennis tournament was still going on, with trophies donated by Max Velasco and other businessmen.

Sports. Others. Filipino fencing or escrima; a fencing tournament was held at Civic auditorium in 1935 with all plantations sending their representatives. &Maximino Velasco, article on Native Filipino Sports and games, p. 46, Mid Pac Magazine, January to March, 1936, Philippine issue. Get full citation from bibliography& The Spaniards banned escrima but it was taught in secrecy and its movements were incorporated in dances and in moro-moro (moorish battles with the Christians). Three schools eventually lasted in Hawaii, the Kauai's Floro Villabrilie; the Tobosa School, and Braulio Pedoy on Oahu.

Other sports: gab-bo (wrestling), sang-gol or hand wrestling, torsi (finger wrestling, sipa (foot volleyball), yoyo, sungka.&Maximino Velasco, article on Native Filipino Sports and games, p. 46, Mid Pac Magazine, January to March, 1936, Philippine issue. Get full citation from bibliography&

Sports. Fiesta activities. juego de anillo (equestrian), kite playing, greased pole climbing, horse racing, tadi (cockfighting, tangga (pitching coin) etc. &Maximino Velasco, article on Native Filipino Sports and games, p. 46, Mid Pac Magazine, January to March, 1936, Philippine issue. Get full citation from bibliography&

Sports. Aviation. In 1936, some Filipino plantation workers were learning flying with the Andrew Flying Service at Honolulu airport. Aviation was a big fad. 25 members formed the Filipino Escadrille Club; they saw themselves preparing for Philippine service, given the problem of the multiisland nature of the Philippines and the need for transportation and in work such as forest patrol, coast guard, and work with the minorities in the interior. &Cariaga book, p. 168& Fascination with aviation in the late 20s and early 30s paralleled the fascination with cars earlier. In 1937 Gregorio F. Tiburcio became Hawaii's first licensed Filipino pilot.

Athletics in general. The Waipahu Plantation in 1937 encouraged athletics, from Sipa to volleyball, and developed a good plantation volleyball team and a stable of good boxers. &F.A. Respicio, Star Bulletin, June 26, 1937&

MUSIC

Musician: Manuel de la Cruz of Watertown, a skilled musician. He said that in many plantations men from the same hometown would often form a band. He had served as a Philippine scout in the US army and then transferred to Schofield and worked there from 1925 to 1934. He retired early and devoted himself to teaching music among his fellow Filipinos. He was originally from Tarlac. &Cariaga's Whose Who, Star Bulletin, October 13, 1934&

Operetta, Velez. Manuel P. Velez produced a Visayan operetta in Honolulu in 1934, using Hawaii Filipinos in cast. He was a well known musician and teacher of voice and piano in the Philippines. He had coached noted bands, including the Philippine Constabulary band. He wrote operettas at the Manila Opera House and produced operas. He also recorded Philippine songs. He came to Hawaii to tour the islands under the Consolidated Amusement Company and remained to open a music studio. He also broadcasted over KGMB and KGU in Honolulu.

Composer: Felie Dumlao, from Ilocos Norte; he had completed high school there and worked as a postman there. He came to Hawaii independently and worked at Puunene's HC&S as a clerk until 1937. He organized an orchestra in Honolulu; he composed and published his composition. He had studied music by himself.

Andres Baclic (b. 1900 in Batac, IN, and came from a family of musicians. At age 14, father died so he joined travelling circus, gave music lessons, was bandmaster on a Canadian ship. He then formally studied formally at a conservatory in Boston. After a year as a Kobe hotel musician, he joined a theater group in Manila. In 1926 he brought to Hawaii a select group of Manila entertainers, including Atang de la Rama and some Jazz players in his Manila Syncopators (which included Gabriel Baltazar Sr who played the saxophone and the clarinet, and who eventually remained in Hawaii) for a tour with Consolidated Amusement Co. He then returned to Manila. But there was a popular demand for entertainers in Hawaii so he organized his Supreme Vaudeville troupe which included Diana Toy (later Mrs. Hilario Moncado), Sunday Reantazo and brought it to Hawaii in 1928. His troupe was disbanded after its four month tour but they stayed in Hawaii, where in Hanapepe he opened a music school with 250 pupils in 1930 and coached also 19 bands. &Cariaga, Whose Who, Star Bulletin, November 30, 1930& In Hawaii Baclic taught music and organized bands, which became the forerunners of the Filipino bands which were still playing well into the 1960s. In 1936 he was on contract with Consolidated Amusement Company, appearing at Hawaii theaters and on all islands. He then settled in Hilo where he was a representative for Hawaiian Airlines, had his own Royal Serenaders, ran his own music studio, interpreted in the courts, and directed a radio program.

Music teacher: Mauro Quiaoit, from Batac. He was formally schooled in music, studying clarinet and saxophone; then he went to the mainland as a member of the 26th cavalry. He was in Kauai, arriving in 1935, and assisted Andres Baclic in teaching music.

In Honolulu the Dacoscos family's Swingcopators very popular, playing in hotel showrooms, on boatdays, and on KGMB.

Vaudeville. Marion Antenoracruz. Panay born, studied in Manila, then Seattle, then LA high school, then correspondence course in business management. In 1934 he brought the de la Pena vaudeville tour to Hawaii for island tour (as manager) and remained in Hawaii to open tailor shop and to manage boxers.

Plantation bands. The Oahu Sugar Company provided for a full time director to train musicians. &Cariaga in Pan Pacific, January-March. 1938, pp. 72-73, vol 2, no. 1, Phil. number& Also the plantation employed music teachers to go about the camps and instruct laborers who have an ear for music. The company also supported a 100-piece band, famous in Hawaii and the best aggregation of Filipino musicians. &F.A. Respicio, Star Bulletin, June 26, 1937& At Ewa the manager provided all the equipment and held a regular band contest.

Plantation. Ever since annexation, the HSPA encouraged the plantations to form bands and stringed orchestras, with the instruments to be provided by the plantations. String band (rondalla) the most popular among the Filipinos, but the plantation also organized marching bands with wind and brass instruments. These plantation bands performed for barrio fiestas, Rizal day celebration, and other social functions. There were also the various taxi dance halls all over the islands; with entrepreneurs getting permission from plantation managers to set up taxi dance halls on payday nights. Taxi dance halls were important to a group of single males, their primary opportunity, often the only opportunity for social contact with women. &Demain manuscript& Rondalla, the string ensemble, with the guitar, bandurria, laud, and base, instruments adapted from Spanish and Mexican instruments. The zarzuela (European operetta type) theater had music set to the rondalla.

Plantation. Wentworth noted that the Filipinos found great pleasure in music and took great pride in their ability to play a musical instrument; she noted at least ten Filipino orchestras at Ewa, called upon to play at Filipino celebrations, plantation general community affairs, and to play over the radio on Filipino music hour. &Wentworth, p. 173&

Composers. N.C. Villanueva, Sena-ay Ni Ayat, locally recorded; Gabriel Montemayor, pop songs, rhumba rhythm, hula songs; Tony Lievan, hula syncopation. Lievan was with Atang de la Rama and Vicente Yerro troupe which toured Hawaii in 1932, and he conducted orchestras in Hawaii dance halls. &Star Bulletin, August 16, 1941&

Philippines Veterans Band, composed of Filipinos retired from various armed services. It gave free regular concerts at Aala Park and at public functions. &Pacific Courier, October 8, 1973&

LITERATURE

Novel. Asiclo B. Sevilla wrote a novel, *Tayak Ni Gasat*. He came in 1928, and after various plantation jobs went to work at Kahului as a furniture salesman, and then as an Insular Life salesman. He had his own store. Finished high school.

Plays. Visayan Clubs were sponsoring plays. On the annual fiesta in honor of Santa Filomena, the patron saint of the Balaan Filomena Society in Waipahu (established by Cebu natives), they presented two plays, the *Brotherhood* and *The Infant*, both written and directed by Mr. J. Bardon, on August 16, 1936. &Cariaga, book, p. 170.& Interview with Manuel also that the Visayan clubs regularly sponsored plays presentations.

Novelist. Faustino Gamboa write *Bileg Ni Ayat* (Strength of Love, an Ilocano novel. He also wrote another unnamed novel. He came independently in 1927 fresh from high school, went to Makaweli cane field, then became a salesman. He then joined Insular Life Assurance Co.

Poetry. Several in the magazines. Franco Manuel published his collection, *Adu A Rikna* (Many Moods) in 1935. He also worked on an allegorical play based on the life of Rizal, an Ilocano novel Victor, and Gloria, a drama. He copyrighted with the Library of Congress two songs which were sung for Hollywood movie productions, and *Guitar Concertina*. He came to Hawaii via the University of Washington as a Manong, where he had gotten recognition and publication of his poems in English. He was also the editor of the Philippine Commonwealth Chronicle.

Maximo Sevilla of Arambulo Products and Ang Tibay, slipper-shoe manufacturer; MOVE THIS--Sevilla was born in Manila, wrote for Manila papers and came to Hawaii in 1929 as representative of these two companies. He was a vernacular writer. &Star Bulletin, November 7, 1934, Cariaga's Who's Who&.

Movie. In 1940 *Karayo* had its premier March 29, 1940 at the Princess theater. It was unique as an Ilocano movie (*Longing*) produced and filmed in Hawaii, all the cast, cameramen and technicians were from Hawaii. The film script was written by Cornelio Gorospe, the head of the Filipino department of the Consolidated Amusement and his brother, the executive producer wrote the dialogue. Music was by Andres Baclig. The cast included Faustino Gamboa, Andres Baclig, Charing Antonio and others. It was a big social event in the local Filipino circle, with many theater parties, dinners, cocktail parties; outstanding Filipinos arranging for blacks of seats. At its premier, the Mayor, HSPA officials, plantation managers were guests among the 1200 Filipinos. Star Bulletin, March 14, 19, 23, 28, 29, 1940. & "With the theme of the picture that of dual love, for sweetheart and for country, the plot of *Karayo* is one which is loved by all Filipinos. Scenes in the picture which portrayed a Filipino's first arrival in Hawaii from the homeland, his struggles to overcome the hardship of plantation work which show one process of cane field work, the popular despedida (farewell) reception given an honored individual. and the raising of the Philippine banner emitted applause from the patrons." & Marcelina Saclaus, column, Star Bulletin, March 30, 1940&

Bukanegan (poetical joust). The Philippine Commonwealth Chronicle would frequently sponsor the bukanegan. The participants were asked to speak spontaneously on a topic to be assigned to them, such as, Which is more valuable in life: wisdom, wealth or health, and each participant is to take a specific position. There was free admission, and the event drew large audiences; who clapped and gave acclaim to good speakers. This was frequently held (and by other clubs as well) at the Civic Auditorium, 2 blocks from the police station. & Franco Manuel Interview, 1980&

RELIGION:

In Honolulu were three small Filipino centers to attract the children; at Iwilei, the Catholic Filipino Clubhouse with kindergarten, but poor finances restricted its appearance and activity. In Kalihi-kai (San Jose Center) and on Liliha Street (Santa Thecla), in both, the Catholic Church unable to keep these up, but plans are there to raise funds for a church on School Street where Filipinos desired to live. Father Victorinus Claesen by silent and unanimous consent their spiritual leader. He is the one building the plans. &Ysendoorn, p. 328&

"In the past it has not been possible to do much for the conversion of the Orientals in our midst." It was done mainly through St. Louis and other Catholic schools, and these brought some Chinese in; the Japanese went to public school. &Ysendoorn, p. 239&

The Catholic Filipino Club existed between 1928 and 1932. All throughout the 1920s and 1930s, the Visayans at Ewa in the Balaan Catalina society sponsored the Santa Filomena fiesta, patron Saint of Cebu. So did the Visayans at Waipahu.

Dizon: N.C. Dizon replaced Fajardo as the one in charge of the First Methodists Filipino Church, and held this position until March 1928. He left Hawaii after the 1920 strike after receiving money from Japanese sources to discourage the emigration of Filipinos to Hawaii; he maintained that he was not at fault, that he had been duped by the Japaense. &Major James I. Muir, Office of Military Intelligence, Hq, Hawaiian Department, US Army, to General Creed F. Cox, BIA, no date, in BIA 5999& In 1928 he was dismissed frm the Methodist Church. He was a close friend of Ligot. (Mrs. N.C. Dizon came in 1924 from Nueva Ecija, entered Methodist Mission bible training in Manila.)

In 1926 the Methodist and the HEA coordinated their work in Honolulu. Thus the church on Liliha St. (established by the Methodist Mission) became known as the Filipino United Church, with Dizon as the pastor. The center on Kanoa now became the Filipino United Center, with Harry W. Metcalf the superintendent. The two Filipino papers also united into one, the Christian Messenger. &HEA, 104 Annual Meeting Report, 1926, p. 20& Before 1926 there were two papers seeking to reach the Filipinos: Ang Abyan by the HEA and Mabuting Balita by the Methodist Episcopal Mission. In 1926 these two Protestant papers combined into Ang Tagapagbalita (the Christian Messenger) under the joint editorship of B.T. Makapagal and N.C. Schenck and it came out in Tagalog, Ilocano and Visayan and English. This happened when the work of the Methodist Mission united with the HEA mission in Honolulu, resulting in the Filipino United Church. &HEA, 104 Annual Meeting Report, 1926, p. 20& Ang Tagapagbalita (The Christian Messenger) which came out monthly was paid for by a grant from the HSPA and sent free to plantation offices or through workers; there was no substantial subscription, almost all the copies sent free. Subsidized by the HSPA for \$2,500, cut down to \$1750 in 1927 for a print of 2000 copies each month. &N. Schenck to J. K. Butler, January 9, 1929, HEA Archives& In 1935, Ang Tagapagbalita became Ti Manangipadamag (Ilocano), still published jointly by the HEA and Methodists.

Filipino United Center. Harry W. Metcalf was the superintendent. He left his architect work in Long Beach to become a YMCA worker at Scofield Barracks during World War I. He then became the superintendent of the Filipino Center established by the Hawaiian Board (HEA) in 1921, planning club activities to benefit Filipino youth in Hawaii. The Filipino center on Queen St. near the railroad station had a second floor for dormitory rooms (which could accommodate between 25 to 50 men), the ground floor contained games (pool table) and a large room for assembly and social activities. Members paid dues to use facilities; Sunday school and worship also conducted, as well as night classes on good Christian character development. &On his 78th birthday he was honored at a dinner by Sagum, Salve, Los Banos, etc. Star Bulletin, October 25, 1954& He headed the Filipino Center for years. His attitude was that of a paternalistic tone. He said that the Filipinos were like children, and it was a miracle that so many thousands of untrained, undisciplined and unorganized people were transplanted into a foreign environment without much economic disturbance. It was a mistake to bring in "a people who had no standards of their own and no conception of the value of money nor understanding of the relationship between money and work" and yet leave their leaders at home. Hence, he said the work should be to promote the right class of leadership among these Filipinos. &Advertiser, April 4, 1924& Indeed, this is what he tried to do at the Filipino United Center, a coopted group of young Filipinos--Sagum, Labez, Los Banos, Salve, etc.

United Filipino Center. Under Harry Metcalf, founded in 1921 the Rizal Pioneers (later, Trailblazers), to raise the cultural, educational, spiritual and economic interest of members. This club had frequent speakers. However, it had problem with membership because the Filipinos couldn't make a living in Honolulu and had to go to plantations or to the mainland. It continued to be active into the early 1930s. The dorm cost \$5 for room and board, and those who stayed agreed to work actively with the Filipino United Church and in club projects. Trailblazer members worked and in the evening attended classes, including language study, vocational courses; lectures were held on Friday nights with different members of the haole community speaking and answering questions. &Loomis, To All People, p. 327-8&

In 1926 the comity arrangement between denominations gave way to union; the Congregational HEA and the Methodist Hawaii mission agreed to pool their efforts. Henceforth there would be but one Filipino church--the Filipino Protestant Evangelical Church, functioning through branches in the various localities. The Methodist church in Palama became the Filipino United Church; the Ewa congregation and its affiliates at Waipahu and Waialua became branches of the Oahu Filipino Evangelical Church. &Loomis, To All People, p. 326

HEA Pressure. Mangaser. In 1929, Cortezan went to Manila and saw in Miss Angeles Mangaser, deaconess, college graduate, the United Church superintendent of the Children's department, a good prospect for work in Hawaii. She played the piano, sang, directed singing, Ilocana but spoke Tagalog well. She arrived in March 1932 and was hired by the HEA to work for the welfare of the Filipinos under the HEA-YWCA, her job to establish women's clubs and training classes for Filipino leaders. Two months into her coming here, on May 8, 1932 at a meeting of the Unemployed Filipinos of Hawaii led by Taok, anticipating arrival of Manlapit, Mangaser was also slated to speak. She also said at a United Mission Hall in April that she did not mean to offend when she said Americans were really unfair in refusing poor Filipino laborers relief, after they had fallen victims of hard luck and their situation was the result of environment and not of their own fault. &Philippine News Tribune, May 26, 1932& The Filipino department of the HEA at once censured her for attending the Taok-organized meeting, &Minutes of Meeting, Filipino Committee, May 3, 1932, HEA Archives& and so she said she did not know the affair was for Manlapit's return until she was already on stage, and she was not in sympathy with the principles of Manlapit. &Philippine News Tribune, May 26, 1932& From then on, she behaved well. In her report, she said the Filipinos went wrong, women giving up families for the attention of men giving them luxuries, forcing daughters to marry for money, or selling ballots of daughters in beauty contests; Filipino men not good either--but that they were misled because they came from the uneducated and unlettered class. &Angeles Mangaser, Filipino Worker Report, April 1933, HEA Archives&

FILIPINO COMMUNITY CHURCH

Nicolas Cunanan Dizon, born in Bataan in 1891, completed his education in American public school in Manila; studied theology at Asbury Academy in Wilmore, Kentucky in 1917. Then he proceeded to the Pacific School of Religion in California for further studies. In 1918, he came to Honolulu and worked with the Filipino Methodist Mission. He returned to Manila in 1920, under a cloud; he had received money from Japanese labor sources to go to the Phil. to discourage emigration of Filipinos to Hawaii, but Dizon later claimed he had been duped by the Japanese in this transaction. &Major James I. Muir, Office of Military Intelligence, Hq of the Hawaiian Department of the Army to General Creed F. Cox, BIA chief, BIA 5999& He served as a pastor at the Knox Memorial Church in Manila. In 1924 he came back to Honolulu and worked at the Filipino United Center, succeeded the Reverent Victorio Fajardo, who moved to the HSPA.

He claimed that he resigned from the Methodist Mission in Honolulu because of his sympathy with the laboring men. &Dizon to Quezon, June 3, 1929, Quezonian Papers& In 1927 he founded the Filipino Community Church, independent of all denominational support and supervision. The first service was at Park theater, and then he moved to a vacant store at Iwilei. In 1932 the site of the church at Kanoa Street, an old two-bedroom house converted into a church, which served as the church until it was replaced with a new building in 1946. In 1960 a Wahiawa branch was also dedicated.

MONCADO

Filipino Federation of America: born in Los Angeles December 27, 1925 and in 1927 it was incorporated in California as a fraternal and semi-religious organization and a non-profit corporation. It grew rapidly, and by the end of 1930 it boasted 22 branches (18 in California, two in Hawaii and two in the Philippines) Early recruiting emphasized its mutual aid functions, and for many members it was nothing more than this. It provided burial services, treatment of illness, employment advice and placement service, evening English and other classes, dissemination of information about the Philippines, and weekly gathering of its members. The organization had various bureaus and departments to carry out these tasks. "Wake up Filipinos . . . The Federation will take care of you; if you are sick, ask the Federation; if you are in need, ask the Federation. Remember, you have no parents to take care of you while you are sick in this country. So join now, might be too late." Quoted in Cullinane, p. 6 & Branch headquarters in the various agricultural regions and major urban centers provided offices, information, sleeping quarters, some medical facilities and companionship to members passing through or seeking employment in the area. (Hence its success in mainland among migrants--but not on plantations)

Mid-1930s the FFA was at its height in the US, claiming some 20,000 members, mostly in California and Hawaii. It had a large permanent headquarters in Los Angeles and Stockton, as well as in Honolulu and Hilo. It had small branches all throughout the agricultural regions of the Pacific Coast and Hawaii, and for some time, maintained branch offices in other American cities east of the Rockies. It had also set up branches in the Philippines. After the war it lost membership and with the death of Moncado in 1956 it showed signs of disintegration. &Cullinane, p. 1 & Although it also marked the expansion in the Philippines as many of those in US and Hawaii returned to the Philippines.

FFA--changed over time, and meant different things to different people. This is the organizing theme.

FFA--Religious element: Moncado in his editorials regularly emphasized need to love and respect the work of Christ, and warned of natural disasters and other calamities as signs of a coming impending doom. But it was Lorenzo de los Reyes, the spiritual director of the federation who developed a more esoteric religious message, in the spiritual handbook of the FFA, Every Day New and Wonder. The religious system of the federation emphasized the approaching end and the need to follow the EQUIFRILIBRUIM, said to be personified in Moncado himself, believed to be the reincarnation of Christ through Jose Rizal. Thus Moncado was the culmination of both Rizal (political) and Christ (spiritual). The FFA became the chosen few who, by serving through the Master (Moncado) would transcend the holocaust soon to befall the world. In the 1930s a separate "spiritual division" was established within the FFA, and the 144 members devoted their lives to spiritual enlightenment under Lorenzo Reyes. For the majority of FFA members, the material division, the religious teachings remained vague and had less significance on their participation in the organization. However, in the formal meetings of the branches, prayers, hymns, and some rituals were regularly performed during these occasions. Also, de los Reyes developed the Federation's practices, among them fasting, abstaining from meat, eating only uncooked food, leaving the hair uncut, as part of spiritual strengthening. This was true mainly among the spiritual members.

FFA--nationalistic element. It emphasized pride in the Filipino Malayan heritage; Filipinos were identified as the race that would demonstrate its power to the world in the near future. Filipino contributions to America were emphasized, and constructive civic virtues, such as friendliness, obedience, cooperation and loyalty were promoted. Also the FFA imposed sanctions and control on behavior, and in the 1936 amended by-laws of the FFA, a matriculate members refrained from dancing, alcoholic drinks, gambling, smoking, pool halls, strikes, violence, resistance, and all things destructive to humanity. It participated in the campaign for Philippine independence, poetry and prose in English and Filipino languages emphasized nationalism, Jose Rizal honored, praised. Moncado became a spokesman among his members for independence, went to Washington DC regularly to lobby and to present testimony before congress; he was frequently photographed with American political figures.

FFA--control mechanism. Condemned vice, though his news service advertised for all the major dance halls in Los Angeles. Supported actively the campaigns of local white politicians, solicited endorsement from various local organizations--and after all, the Federation instructed Filipinos to be obedient, respect authority, and live morally upright lives.

FFA--participation. Marched in elaborate parades, participated in sporting events, like golf tournaments, gathered for conventions and banquets complete with bands, orchestras, uniform, sweetheart contests and speech making.

FFA structure: each branch consisted of a number of lodges. The lodge the basic organization unit, composed of 12 persons, one of whom was designated president. But as members moved about the lodge became less important and members identified through a branch. There were three types of membership: associate members (\$5 annual fee), sub-matriculate members (\$25) and matriculate members (\$100). Men also members in their own division.

Hilario Camino Moncado came as a contract laborer with the HSPA in 1914, he was merely 15 years old. Born of a poor family in Cebu rural barrio. He had little schooling, much of his childhood devoted to agricultural labor to help support his family. In 1915 he left for the mainland; this was before the heavy influx of migrant workers and thus not yet discrimination and exclusion. He finished high school, settled in Los Angeles, worked part time in the law library of Los Angeles county, and pursued his education. By 1924, aspiring for leadership among the Filipinos in LA, he founded the Equifrilubricum News Service, a newspaper which ambitiously aimed at becoming the spokesman for Filipino advancement.

Hawaii: Moncado gave the orders for the spiritual members to move to Hawaii, and Lorenzo de los Reyes sent to Hawaii, and then to the Philippines to establish the first Moncado Colony in Mindanao. The FFA core of 144 spiritual members in Hawaii, celibate, did not cut hair, ate raw food, fasted whenever they could, some lived as hermits as a form of penitence--their beliefs flourished in Hawaii. Earned their living as plantation laborers, saved money and contributed to Moncado's "mission", his travels, independence campaign, political aspirations in the Philippines; they were told to remain single so the Master could rely on their support. The material members continued to hold conventions and banquets in Hawaii, honoring Moncado, inviting public officials, community leaders and university professors as guests and speakers, solicited greetings and contratulations from important people and published them in the souvenir booklet, sold war bonds.

Hawaii. In September, Butler noted, in response to an inquiry from Farrington, that as far as Moncado was concerned, he was of no interest to HSPA because Hawaii was not yet part of his activities, but he did, he would be watched as a "supergrafter" Butler believed that Moncado would not enter the field of labor agitation because he depended on followers who needed to earn steadily in order to get that money from them. &Butler to Farrington, September 18, 1928&

Hawaii. Butler followed Moncado's activities in California, especially as at one time Moncado appointed Pablo Manlapit as head of the labor department of the FFA. In two weeks, Manlapit was forced out of the federation by Moncado, and in December 1927 at the FFA convention in LA, Pablo Manlapit succeeded in speaking on the floor and gave a speech discrediting Moncado. On October 18, 1920 docking of President Mckinley, 28 Filipinos Butler found to be representatives of FFA to organize on the plantations. 12 of them were to organize on Oahu, the rest on the outer islands. Ligot and Butler found these men well dressed, quiet, courteous and spoke good English. They asked to be placed on the plantations. &Butler to Plantation Managers, October 20, 1928, AH&

Hawaii. 1929, 1930. The Filipino ministers, however, campaigned against the FFA, as the laborers were inspired by the organization and its sincerity in trying to solve the needs of the Filipinos. &S.D. Rita to Norman Schenck, Feb. 11, 1930, HEA Archives& The ministers spoke at Filipino meetings arranged by the plantations against the FFA. Cortezan spoke at plantation arranged meetings on the various Kauai plantations to warn the laborers about the FFA. &Cortezan to Schenck, Oct. 15, 1929, HEA ARchives&. NC Dizon also attacked Moncado.

Hawaii, 1929. Butler wrote the plantations: "We note with regret its [FFA's] constant increase of membership amongst Filipinos particularly on our plantations. As far as we can judge there is nothing directly conflicting with the interests of the plantations or any attempt to disrupt relations between the plantations and the Filipino laborers. In fact the advice generally given out seems to be to work hard, live in accordance with certain established principles, refuse to eat meat, believe in the fact that Moncado is a third Christ, and play with a lot of cross-word puzzles and numbers which are given out in a mystic way." So the HSPA policy is "watchful waiting" and no interference as long as the laborers did their daily work. The FFA claimed to be helping the plantations by keeping the men away from bad vices such as gambling, stealing, cockfighting, dancing, gluttony, smoking, narcotics, alcoholism and hanging around pool rooms. &Jack K. Butler to E.H.W. Broadbent, Grove Farm Manager, September 17, 1929, GFA&

In the mid-1930s, the HSPA approved of Moncado and the FFA. In the October 1937 strike, Moncado followers were brought to Molokai's Libby plantation by the hundreds to break the strike, and from then on rumor came out that the pineapple plantation wanted only federation members as common laborers because of their proven industry, peacefulness, respect for the law, thrift, clean moral lives and humility. &Voice of Labor, February 3, 1938& Moncado last visited Honolulu in November 1937, and the plantations on all the islands gave him a banquet. He preached obedience, humility, and denounced the CIO and labor unionism in general. At a banquet on Kauai on November 7, 1937, attended by Elsie Wilcox who said "I believe he is a great leader." Moncado gave a speech saying "In order to succeed in life, you need not fight the plantations, you need not strike, you need not join the CIO." &Voice of Labor, February 3, 1938& On Maui the plantation managers helped him plant one of the banyan trees he is asked to plant ceremonially everywhere. On December 3, 1937 he was given a gala send off at the city's best chop seuy house, Lau Yee Chai, before leaving for the Mainland. &Voice of Labor, January 20, 1938&

He and Quezon became the prominent clipper-setters, and wined and dined by plantation. He was also given free access to plantation premises and recreation halls. He had a fancy wardrobe and lived in a grand style.

Later, in 1941 Moncado attacked Quezon as a traitor when Moncado as president of the Philippines candidate under his Modernist party advocated that the Philippines be perpetually a commonwealth of the US, rather than independent.

Moncado returned to the Philippines in September 1941, ran as candidate for the President, and again in 1946, and was caught there during the war. He was accused in the Philippines of treason for having aided the Japanese during the war but the charges were dismissed in February 1948. He was very rich, with a gross income in 1949 of \$19,000 a year, had \$18,000 in the bank, plus California and Hawaii real estate worth \$100,000. &Opinion of the Presiding Inspector In re: Hilario Camino Moncado, INS, Los Angeles, October 25, 1949& The inspector said he was attacked by many Filipinos and their factions but Moncado had no criminal record and much of attack was innuendo and hearsay, and may be the result of his unusual success in leadership and his prosperity. He sought to come back to Hawaii after the war, and left voluntarily in 1954 rather than face deportation for overstaying his visit. Married Diana Toy, had starred as CioCio San in Honolulu Symphony production of Madame Butterfly. She remarried and became Mrs. G. Mac Dozois until her divorce in 1962. Hilario died in 1956 and so Diana founded the Moncado Foundation. Diana opened a clothing store in Hilton Hawaiian in 1964.

Skillful at political activities. On Feb. 7, 1930 Moncado was received by President Hoover at White House, gave president a gold medal in appreciation of his establishment of peace and goodwill. He would host prominent men at grand banquets.

Moncado issued edict that his FFA members not join any other organization and dissipate allegiance to FFA; hence this prevented his followers from taking part in strikes.

Doroteo Collado became the executive secretary of the Hawaii branch in the 1930s. Collado attended Central Luzon Agricultural School, graduated with honors in 1930 and was offered a teaching position but sought to go to Hawaii instead. He edited the Philippine News Tribune, and he was a waiter in Honolulu.

INTRODUCE HERE THE THEME THAT THE HAWAII FILIPINOS WERE DISCRIMINATED AGAINST IN EMPLOYMENT, AND IT IS BECAUSE OF THEIR CITIZENSHIP STATUS

THE CONTINUING CITIZENSHIP ISSUE

The issue of Filipino eligibility for citizenship remained unresolved when World War I ended. It was raised again in 1918 when Pablo Manlapit filed his declaration of intention, which he needed in order to secure a license as a law practitioner. Judge C.W. Ashford of the circuit court in Hawaii denied Manlapit's petition on the grounds that Filipinos were generally not eligible for citizenship, but the court of appeals reversed the decision, admitting Filipinos to citizenship because they were natives of a country owing allegiance to and under the protection of the United States. &Advertiser, April 2, May 17, 1918& However, the issue remained unresolved, awaiting a definitive ruling from the U.S. supreme court.

In the meantime, the issue became more complex when congress, in amending the naturalization laws on May 9, 1918, allowed to be naturalized those aliens who had served in the US navy or marines for three years. &Advertiser, June 7, 1918& Judge Horace Vaughan caused anguish in Hawaii by liberally interpreting this amendment to apply to all armed forces veterans, including Asians, thus admitting to citizenship 398 Japanese, 99 Koreans, 4 Chinese and 200 Filipinos. &Analysis of Educational Problem, p. 23; Advertiser, January 21, 26, 1919& The issue became complicated further in late 1923 when the supreme court issued a decision which territorial officials applied to Filipinos as well.

In that decision, the supreme court ruled against Takao Ozawa's petition for citizenship because the Japanese were neither whites nor of African descent, the only two races eligible for naturalization. &Advertiser, December 1, 1923& Immediately, Hawaii's territorial attorney general John A. Matthewman declared that Filipinos were also non-whites and rendered invalid all previous naturalization cases of Filipinos (with the sole exception of those who had served on the US navy). Territorial officials and contractors engaged in government work also dismissed Filipino employees because of the barrier against the employment of aliens in all public works in the territory (as provided by the Hawaii organic act, a 1921 Homes Commission Amendment to the organic act, and several territorial laws). Their actions ran contrary to the the way the federal civil service bureau allowed the Filipinos to take the exam and qualify for employment if they admitted allegiance to the United States. &Star Bulletin, December 4, 1923; Advertiser, December 5, 1923&

The Ozawa fallout affected the most the Filipinos like Sistan Castro who had been raised in Hawaii. Castro came from Manila as an infant and when her parents died, she became the ward of Dr. Waldemar Christensen, a naturalized citizen and government physician in Hakaiau, and his wife Amalia, a Hawaiian. She completed the teaching course at the Territorial Normal School, the first Filipino to do so, and then received an appointment as a sixth grade teacher at Paaulia School. Attorney general Matthewman, acting on a 1922 territorial law prohibiting the Department of Public Instructions from employing a teacher who was not an American citizen, declared Castro ineligible for naturalization and dismiss her. &Advertiser, December 1, 1923; Star Bulletin, December 3, 1923, December 17, 1923.& In 1925 five hundred Filipinos were also dismissed from the national guard because of the Ozawa ruling, and this was the start of their elimination from the guard units. In 1925, they comprised 60% of the guardsmen but a decade later, only a dozen of them were left in the guard register. &Star Bulletin, January 8, 1925; Advertiser, January 11, 1925&

On May 22, 1925, the Supreme Court, in the case of Hidemitsu Toyota, finally settled the issue of Filipino naturalization. The court denied that service in the armed forces of the US during the war qualified for citizenship the aliens who were otherwise ineligible; it also declared the Filipinos to be ineligible for citizenship because congress had limited naturalization to white persons and those of African descent. &Star Bulletin, May 25, 1925; Advertiser, May 25, July 6, 1925&

The Toyota decision was a blow to many Filipinos in Hawaii. At once, district attorney Sanford B.D. Wood took court action to cancel the citizenship of previously naturalized Filipinos like Alfred Flores Ocampo, the Filipino circuit court interpreter who was naturalized in district court on June 28, 1919. &Advertiser, Feb. 16, 1927& Military bases in Hawaii eliminated Filipinos from civilian jobs, resulting in the immediate dismissal of three hundred workers in the Navy yard in Honolulu; the Filipinos were embittered because the dismissals took place only in Hawaii military installations and nowhere else in the Philippines or on the mainland states. &Acting secretary of war to the secretary of navy, Oct. 5, 1925, BIA 5999; Secretary of War Dwight Davis to Secretary of Navy, Oct. 26, 1925, BIA 5999& Furthermore, many of the dismissed workers, like Domingo Crisostomo, had had long years of previous service in the US army, including service during World War I. &Attorney General W.B. Lymer to Governor. Wallace Farrington, March 17, 1927; Farrington to Secretary of Interior, March 18, 1927, BIA 227& In the territorial government, where Filipinos could not qualify for employment at all, even a rare exception in the case of Rodrigo Villaflor did not escape the Ozawa fallout. Villaflor was dismissed from his job although he had been specially trained for ten years by an entomologist in scientific work with the territory's board of agriculture and forestry and had been the only person in Hawaii familiar with that work. &Advertiser, July 19, 1925&

The Filipinos' uncertain status as nationals ineligible for citizenship continued to penalize them many years thereafter. In 1933 the Hawaiian department of the US army no longer allowed Filipinos to reenlist; as a result, many who had previously served in US army units in the Philippines for twenty or more years simply lost their eligibility for pension when their service in Hawaii was discontinued. &Creed F. Cox, BIA chief to Mauro Baradi, December 11, 1933, BIA 5999; Otilio R. Gorospe to BIA Chief, Nov. 23, 1933, BIA 5999& When Congress in 1935 and again in 1937 allowed World War I veterans to be naturalized, the Immigration and Naturalization Service deprived 200 Filipino veterans in Hawaii of their right to file naturalization papers because, although in 1935 congress finally declared Filipinos to be aliens, they were not yet so at the time of their war service. &D.W. MacCormack, Commissioner, INS, to S.W. King, delegate, January 6, 1936; Phil Cass to S.W. King, December 7, 1935, King Papers; Star Bulletin, May 20, 1938&