

CHAPTER 3 FILIPINO LIFE IN HAWAII, TO 1918

HSPA VIEW OF THE FILIPINO

In 1909, the HSPA, in preparing to recruit large number of Filipinos, issued instructions on how the plantations were to deal with the Filipinos. It blatantly stated that the Filipinos were being recruited merely to offset the preponderance of the Japanese and control their aggressiveness, and thus asked the plantations to tolerate the new laborers. "It will be recalled," the instructions stated, "that when the Jap came in to supplant the Chinaman he was generally regarded much the inferior. Now the Filipino comes with probably even less intelligence and aptitude than had the Jap as a raw recruit." &HSPA Bureau of Labor and Statistics, to HSPA trustees, July 28, 1909, in Robertson, C.Brewer, to Ogg, July 30, 1909, HACO. Also in Hackfeld to Grove Farm, July 30, 1909, GFA& In line with that portrayal of the Filipinos, the HSPA portrayed them as as children who had to be shown patiently taught everything, including how to work and how to eat some beef in order to build up their strength. Housing them was also a simple matter: "accustomed to huts, the regulation barracks used on the plantations should be sufficient if clean and sanitary, provided enough land is available about them to permit growth of truck garden." Calling attention to the 1907 incident when HACO gave Pio Reyes a \$10 violin, which illustrated "how a little thing may have a great effect in promoting the contentment among a new and very raw class of people," the report confidently informed the plantations that little was needed to make the Filipinos content.

The violin gift notwithstanding, the Filipinos at Pahala had not been so easily been appeased. Immediately upon their arrival in January 1910, HACO's first 49 Filipinos immediately griped about housing, wages and plantation work, and to stifle the discontent, HACO had to dismiss two Filipinos, the most vocal and seemingly the spokesmen for the group, as well as stopped the hiring of two newly recruited Filipinos who had "proved troublemakers" while awaiting passage in Honolulu. &E.F. Bishop, president, C.Brewer, to HACO, January 4, 1910&

The Filipinos on the other plantations similarly proved to be discontent. At Hutchinson Sugar Company in May 1910, for example, manager C. Wolters threw out of his camps some Filipino agitators from Maui who had urged his workers to strike, but was unable to prevent a strike the following month, one led by a former employee at a lawyer's office in Manila. &Wolters to C. Brewer, May 4, June 26, 1910, Hutchinson & Wolters suppressed the strike, "got rid of the ringleaders, and passed the word along the line to be on the lookout for them." &Wolters to C. Brewer, June 26, 1910, Hutchinson & At Hawi plantation, both the Manila and Cebu work gangs walked out, but the plantation manager broke up the strike by successfully inducing the Cebu men to return to work dissociate themselves from the Manila men. Similar walk outs and grievances took place on the big island plantations. &Advertiser, May 2, 1910 &

The widespread discontent among the Filipinos led George Robertson, who handled the plantations' business for C. Brewer, noting wondered aloud if Oswald Steven and the other HSPA agents in the Philippines had misrepresented plantation amenities and wages. &Robertson to Ogg, January 18, 1910, HACO & The standard view among the planters, however, was that the discontent could only be the work of agitators and troublemakers rather than to inherent conditions in plantation work, and so the sugar industry early on kept track of suspected troublemakers drifting from one plantation to another. &Robertson to Ogg, January 26, 1910, February 1, 5, 1910, HACO & They continued to look at the Filipinos as mindless children who were easily misled by these agitators, and despite the incidents of direct protests, they were like children to be humored, to be tolerated though inferior as laborers because of the need to keep the Japanese in line.

The HSPA image of the infantile Filipino determined the way they were treated on the plantations. Because "the Filipino is very incapable of caring for himself," W. H. Babbitt urged all plantation managers in 1910 to establish boarding homes for the Filipino laborers and to assign a Japanese or Chinese camp cook to look after them; left to himself, he wrote, the Filipinos would merely spend their money on fancy groceries and be insufficiently nourished. &W.H. Babbitt, HSPA Bureau of Labor and Statistics acting director, to Grove Farm, enclosed in Hackfeld to Wilcox, September 24, 1910. & Babbitt also informed the plantation managers that it was a simple matter to keep the Filipino amused: "The Filipinos are especially fond of music and it would be a matter of very little difficulty to organize Filipino orchestras and bands. In a very limited way, we find that at our recruiting station the Filipinos will amuse themselves for hours, while waiting for the outgoing steamers, in twanging a few guitars and mandolins that we have provided and singing and dancing." &W.H. Babbitt, HSPA Bureau of Labor and Statistics acting director, to Grove Farm, enclosed in Hackfeld to Wilcox, September 24, 1910. & Babbitt, therefore, urged the plantations to keep the Filipinos entertained with regular movie showing, baseball and other sports teams, band and string orchestras, and to keep them preoccupied through such competitions such as the best kept yards, etc.

The stereotype of the infantile Filipino became entrenched, and affirmed in the first HSPA survey of plantation Filipinos, conducted in 1916 by Montague Lord, who was Babbitt's assistant in Manila. Lord wrote that "the Filipino is something of an overgrown boy. He requires a certain amount of looking after. A little interest taken by the overseer in charge in his amusements, camp life, etc. will work wonders. These are a totally different people from the Chinese or Japanese. They require some amusements." &M. Lord to E.D. Tenney, July 21, 1916, GFA& Lord recommended that the plantation managers go easy on their Filipino workers, who had never been used to steady work in the Philippines and to cursing by the lunas. He claimed that the attitude of the manager was the most important factor in the adjustment of Filipinos in Hawaii, and that this was evident on the plantations where the managers had taken an interest in Filipinos; on these plantations, the laborers manifested a devotion to their jobs, supplied a countryman in their place if they had to lay off unavoidably, showed little turnover, kept their camps well maintained, and aspired to learn various aspects of plantation work. Conversely, Lord found the Filipinos apathetic on the plantations where the managers hated them or had little personal contacts with them.

Lord's observations were repeated to the plantations in 1918, when the HSPA reminded the plantations that "By nature Filipinos are very sensitive and are always more or less like children. They never seem to wholly grow up. They will respond to interest and welfare shown on their behalf more readily than any other of our own working classes in Hawaii. The idea that someone is looking after them and is always ready to help and advise them in any of their pilikias [troubles, problems], however slight, is a decided stimulant to their morals and is a very decided factor in making them content in their work and surroundings." &HSPA Bureau of Labor and Statistics, to Hackfeld, February 12, 1918, GFA&

NOTE: CONNECT THIS TO SOMETHING ELSE--ITS RELEVANCE TO EITHER FILIPINO ADAPTATION OR TO HSPA TREATMENT.--

PLANTATION LABOR

There were three categories of ordinary labor on the plantations: the day laborers, the contract cultivators, and the adherent planters.

Almost all of the new Filipino recruits were employed as day laborers, assigned each day to a particular work and paid a set rate for such tasks as digging ditches, stripping cane, cutting cane, or loading cane. As a group, the day laborers comprised two thirds of the plantation workers in 1915, and their average earning of \$.81 a day was 20% less than that for all plantation laborers. Among the Filipinos, assigned the lowest paid tasks, the average earnings were even lower, a third less than that for all plantation laborers. &Bureau of Labor Statistics, Report, 1915, pp. 32, 75, tables on pp. 24-25. Actually the Filipino average earnings were even lower than stated in the report because the figure of \$200.23 was calculated from May earnings, at harvest time when they were also found in some of the higher paid tasks such as cane cutting and loading. &.

TRANSFER THIS SOMEWHERE; Only a few women, mostly Japanese, and children were employed in all field work for the same hours as men, starting at 6 a.m. and stopping at 4:30, working continuously except for a 15 minute breakfast and a 30 minute lunch break.&

Instituted after annexation in order to keep the laborers from moving about from plantation to plantation, long term cultivation contracts constituted the laborers into gangs, based on one man for every 10 to 15 acres, to irrigate, weed, fertilize and care for the cane plants to maturity. The percentage of plantation laborers on cultivation contract, however, varied from year to year, depending on the availability of labor. In the years when labor was easily available, the plantations awarded fewer cultivation contracts because there was less need to tie the laborers to the plantation longer. In 1913 and 1914, a period of heavy Filipino recruitment and low sugar prices the plantations awarded few cultivation contracts. The highest number of cultivation contracts were awarded in 1902 when the Japanese were leaving the plantations in large numbers. From 1912 on, an increasing number of Filipinos were assigned to long term cultivation contract work so that by 1915 31% of them were so employed and by 1919, 39%. In 1915, a third of the plantation laborers were engaged as long term cultivators.

The laborers' earnings, computed as a percentage of the price of sugar and based on the tonnage harvested from their fields, were settled at harvesttime, after deductions of monthly advances. Although on the average, the long term contract gangs received 27% more than the average daily earnings for all field labor, &Bureau of Labor Statistics, Report, 1915, p. 32& The attractiveness of long term cultivation contracts, however, varied from plantation to plantation because until 1922 the terms of the contract were not standardized by the sugar industry. &R.A. Cooke, C. Brewer Vice President, to Campsie, Manager, February 25, April 4, 1922, HACO& At some plantations like HACO the laborers stayed away from cultivation contracts because the plantation let out the poorer and more inaccessible fields, and were subject to crop failures. Many plantations also charged the contractors for house rent, tools, water and fertilizer, thus decreasing their actual earnings. In addition, most contractors were not entitled to profit sharing bonuses that the day laborers enjoyed. &Ogg to C. Brewer, December 17, 1913, April 3, 1915; Robertson to Ogg, July 29, 1916, December 31, 1917, HACO.&the plantations could call on the men for other kinds of piece work jobs as needed, especially during the harvest season when the demand for labor was very high.

Because the adherent planter arrangement involved much risk only 8% of the plantation laborers engaged in it although the high price of sugar during the war years attracted 15% of the laborers to take it up. Very few of the laborers were engaged on contract as adherent planters, one which made the laborer more or less an entrepreneur, renting the land, growing the cane and then selling the harvest to the mill at a stated price. The laborer, however, depended on the plantation for plowing, seed cane, fertilizer, store supplies, wages to hire help, the transport of the cane to the mill and work animals. In addition, he paid for the water, housing, fuel, and medical services provided him by the plantation, and he paid an interest on any amount advanced to him. He was also assessed his proportionate share of the plantation's office expense and HSPA assessment. &R.A. Cooke, C. Brewer, to Campsie, HACO, April 10, 1922; Bureau of Labor Statistics, Report, 1915, pp. 46-47&

The total earnings of plantation laborers were unpredictable from year to year because they consisted of a combination of basic wages and bonuses based on the price of sugar. Basic wages being generally low, the plantation laborers depended on bonuses to supplement their earnings. The first bonus, the turnout bonus paid to laborers earning less than \$20 a month if they worked 20 days or more a month, was introduced after annexation in order to induce the laborers to remain on the plantations, and it was replaced on January 1912 by the profit sharing bonus, granted to laborers who completed a minimum of 20 days of work each month and remained a whole year on the plantation. This profit sharing bonus was pegged to the price of sugar; it paid the laborers 1% of their wages, each time the New York price of 96 degrees centrifugal sugar reached \$71 per ton, and an additional 1% of their wages for every dollar above the base price.

The bonus from year to year was never predictable. In 1912, the bonus was 13% of the wages, and on many plantations, such as at HACO, the bonus was given as a form of Christmas gratuity, rather than an earned right. &Robertson to Ogg, HACO, November 4, 1914, HACO& The next year, however, sugar prices sank because of Cuban overproduction and the competition from European beet farms, and the bonus amounted to merely 1%. The outbreak of World War I stopped the drop in sugar prices but the bonus for 1914 still amounted to merely 5%. The price of sugar remaining high during the war, the laborers received a bonus of 20% in 1915. Yet because of wartime inflation the laborers, especially the Japanese in particular, who were now raising families in Hawaii, still found it difficult to live on their earnings, and so the managers of the Oahu plantations recommend a 20% increase in basic wages. &Hackfeld to E.H. W. Broadbent, GF manager, April 27, 1916& The HSPA trustees, however, rejected the recommendation and instead, on May 4, 1916, adopted a new bonus schedule, raising it from 1% to 1.5% of laborer earnings for every dollar that the price of sugar rose above \$70 per ton and paying out a fifth of the bonus amount each month and the remainder every six months, instead of paying the whole amount at the end of the year. &Advertiser, May 4, 1916&

MOVE THIS SOMEWHERE ELSE. after deductions for plantation store purchases, fines at work, and, for the newly arrived recruits, such equipment as umbrellas, raincoats and cooking utensils.&S.O. Halls, HSPA, To All Plantations, December 13, 1924, HACO&

As the war experience showed, the bonuses were necessary in order to compensate for any increase in the cost of living, given the fact that basic wages remained at the same level. This was most true in 1916, when sugar reached an all time high of \$111.25 per ton, giving the plantation laborers a 53% bonus. But living costs had also dramatically increased, prompting the HSPA trustees to ask the plantations to advance a third, rather than a fifth of the bonus amount each month, in order to "relieve some of the laborers who have been unable of late to make both ends meet on account of the existing high prices of food and necessities of life." &Hackfeld to Grove Farm, May 9, 1917, GFA& There was a foreboding, in the form of an Advertiser November 26, 1916 story entitled "Too Much Money Turns Heads of Plantation Men," that such generosity of a large bonus would end soon, though. The story, which carried no source or facts, claimed that the high bonus had disrupted life on the big island plantations, with hundreds of laborers acting "as though they had gone crazy," a great procession of cars heading for Hilo to celebrate, and hundreds standing in line at the offices of the Matson Navigation Company to book passage to the coast. The story also claimed that the big island plantations lost nearly half their labor force, and those who still remained were generally restless. In truth, the plantations actually gained employees as laborers were attracted to the large bonus, and many who left camp had not brought with them their belongings, indicating that they were out merely to celebrate and planned to return. &Fred Martin, acting manager, HACO, to C. Brewer, December 2, 1916, HACO; George Gibb, Manager, to C. Brewer, December 23, 1916, Hutchinson&

The Advertiser story was an early warning that the planters would cut the October 1917 bonus which, because of the wartime scarcity of sugar, by August had already climbed to a record 72% and expected to climb further that the banks would have to make special arrangements to have enough species in order to pay off the laborers. &Hackfeld to Grove Farm, September 17, 1917, GFA& In early October, the planters announced the cut in the bonus. Claiming considerably higher production costs, a 71% increase in freight charges since the war began, and higher income and war taxes on profits, Royal D. Mead announced that the base price of the bonus had now been raised from \$70 to \$85 per ton, and it was now based on the lower priced Hawaiian raw sugar in New York instead of New York sugar in general. The New York price for Hawaiian sugar, the lowest price available anywhere, was 10.5% lower than the price for Hawaiian raw sugar in San Francisco where most of Hawaii's crop was refined and marketed. &Hackfeld to Grove Farm, October 8, 1917, GFA&

The lower bonus schedule did not generate much protest among the plantation laborers because war shortages still resulted in bonuses of 77% in 1917, 57% in 1918 and 87% in 1919. It also did not induce the laborers to work more days as the sugar industry had hoped; they still laid off after working the 20 days needed to qualify for the bonus. As an incentive, the trustees considered reinstituting a turnout bonus, but scrapped it after the plantations, objecting to the added costs, instead imposed fines and penalties on laborers who failed to work a specified number of days each month, a practice which the HSPA trustees stopped in 1919. &HACO to HSPA, September 4, 1918, HACO; Amfac to Grove Farm, August 28, 1919, GFA&

PLANTATION CAMP LIFE

TRANSITIONAL STATEMENT NEEDED: The plantations provided laborers with housing, fuel, medical care, water and recreational facilities. The amenities of camp life varied from plantation to plantation, even from one camp to another in the same plantation; the main camps near the mill often had many more recreational facilities and such services as electricity and running water than its outlying camps. The amenities also varied from one ethnic group to another. The white laborers generally had better homes and facilities than the Oriental workers, and the last arrived, the Filipinos, generally had the poorest camps.

DESCRIBE THE MAIN FEATURES FIRST. HACO'S MAIN CAMP WAS AT PAHALA, AND IT CONSISTED OF DISTINCT CAMPS SEPARATED BY ETHNIC GROUPS. THE HAOLE CAMP, WHAT WAS IT LIKE? THE JAPANESE CAMPS, NOW FOR FAMILIES. FILIPINO CAMPS WERE GENERALLY STILL THE BARRACKS TYPE, AND SEPARATE.

AT PAHALA, DESCRIBE THE SITUATION

AT THE TWO REMOTE CAMPS, DESCRIBE THE SITUATION

The main plantation town was at Pahala, and it was divided into distinct ethnic sections. At the haole camp, or skilled camp, the homes consisted of single family bungalows. The planters balked at having to build homes for married employees. This was the case in July 1916 when HACO needed a chemist but C. Brewer, the plantation's agency objected to the only applicant, a married white man. "Unfortunately he is married," wrote C. Brewer, "and this, as you know, operates against many men on plantations, owing to the absence of quarters for married men. We also believe that it operates against the interests of the plantation in having these quarters." &C. Brewer to Ogg, July 26, 1916, HACO&

In the laborer camps the structures consisted of all kinds of designs, as no standard housing design existed for the Hawaii plantations prior to 1920. In 1916, the Iberian and Puerto Rican laborers had new small single family homes. The married Japanese lived in duplexes where each family had two rooms but shared a kitchen. The Filipinos lived in barracks. &Ogg to C. Brewer, August 17, 1916, HACO. An investigator found some overcrowding in these duplexes in 1919, C.S. Child, Report for Grove Farm, November 1919, GFA. The Bureau of Labor Statistics, Report, 1919, by Victor Clark used the Puerto Rican houses at HACO to illustrate conditions in plantation camps. These Puerto Rican homes, however, were not typical as they had been the best laborer houses, built especially for the Spanish recruits, HACO to HSPA, July 24, 1919& All over Hawaii, as at HACO, the condition of the houses varied from one camp to another. Some plantations had new, well constructed and well maintained homes, but on most plantations, housing consisted of old structures built too close to each other and to the public passage way, had rotten floors, leaky rooms and open sewer. Most camps had no running water piped into the kitchen. &Bureau of Labor Statistics, Report, 1915, p. 37; C.S. Child, Report for Grove Farm, 1919, GFA&

The amenities also varied from plantation to plantation. At Pahala, the main HACO camp, the plantation provided electricity to most homes by 1916; as on most plantations it charged the employees for the installation and use of electricity, based on the number of lamps used. Ogg to C. Brewer, HACO, February. 24, 1916, HACO. As at Lihue, the typical charge was \$.35 for one lamp of 25 watts for laborers (40 watts for white employees), up to \$1 a month for 4 lamps. The plantation also maintained bathhouses at each camp, the residents paying a fee for the use of heated water each month. HACO maintained separate bathing facilities for males and females although at many plantations, the Japanese complained that separate bathing facilities were not provided in their camps. HACO to C. Brewer, January 6, 1917; Hackfeld to Grove Farm, January 2, 1916. Like most plantations, HACO maintained a medical clinic, although the doctor, serving several adjacent plantations, came only on call and saw only serious cases. HACO ran its own stores, as did the majority of Hawaii plantations except for those close to urban areas where shopping was easily accessible.

HACO also maintained Catholic and Protestant chapels, and contributed toward the support of a priest who came by regularly to conduct mass and a minister who was sometimes assigned plantation duties. The plantation also ran a boarding home, though unlike at Waialua and other plantations where the boarders paid a monthly charge for their meals, HACO's was more a cafeteria. HACO had a social hall which accommodated as many as 500 people for dances, amusements, movies, or night classes; it was heavily used by the Filipinos for English classes at night, for musical practice and for church service on Sundays. For recreation, HACO had an athletic field for baseball and volleyball, and a gymnasium. Unlike most plantations which showed movies in the camps regularly, HACO delegated to an enterprise by a hui collective) of employees the showing of films; Because of the high admission price of \$.30 (nearly half a day's wage for the day laborer), there was little attendance at the movies, especially among the Japanese unless a Japanese picture was shown or when a Japanese operator came along to explain the plot and the scenes. HACO to HSPA, April 5, 1919, HACO.

All these were available only at Pahala, the main plantation town. There were no amenities at HACO's two outlying camps, occupied solely by single males, who for lack of amenities, spent their time usually "sitting around upon their beds and with nothing but four walls to gaze upon, those usually as bare as the day the house was built." &HACO to HSPA, April 5, 1919& The two camps were so remote that it cost nearly a day's wage by car to get to Pahala and the passenger car left only if it had a full load. &Campsie to C. Brewer, May 17, 1914, HACO& The isolation and loneliness in these two camps made it very difficult for the plantation to keep the laborers there for long.

A camp boss held supervision over each plantation camp. He assigned the laborers to their quarters, checked the physical conditions of the camp, and generally functioned as the camp policeman, except in the larger camps where a separate policeman was hired. The camp police at HACO also held a commission from the Hawaii county to enforce county laws and arrest lawbreakers, as well as from the county board of health to enforce sanitation rules. The position was well rewarded, at wages equivalent to five times the average pay of laborers. &Robertson to Ogg, HACO, December 24, 1909; Ogg to C. Brewer, July 27, 1911, HACO; Ogg to C. Brewer, January 14, 1911, HACO.& By 1920, the camp police system was well in place on all Hawaii plantations; the one on Maui being the most integrated with the Sheriff's office. &Advertiser, March 6, 1924&

By 1913 the Filipinos had become a significant presence on the Hawaii plantations, now entitled to their own camps. They lived in L-shaped or U-shaped barracks 5 meters wide and 18 to 30 meters long, with five to eight rooms per structure. Each room housed at least three men. In 1913, when an epidemic hit the big island plantations, the territorial board of health chief inspector, Donald S. Bowman, inspected the sanitation in the camps and found conditions in general to be unsatisfactory. In regard to the Filipino camps in particular, he asked the planters to correct two particular conditions: overcrowding and the mixing of married couples and single males in the same structure. &Pinkham to R.D. Mead, Bureau of Labor Statistics, HSPA, July 8, 1914, Pinkham Papers, AH& Nothing was done, and six years later a Philippine labor investigator pointed out the same two conditions in the Filipino camps on all the plantations. &Remigio, Report, 1919, p. 12&

This investigator, Prudencio A. Remigio, also uncovered many violations of the HSPA contract with Filipino laborers, particularly with regard to providing the laborers free amenities like housing, fuel, fuel, water, medical care and medicine. He found that in violation of the plantation obligation to provide free fuel, Hilo Sugar Company charged the laborers for fuel while other plantations simply left it to the laborers to secure their own firewood from plantation groves many miles away without even assisting them with transport to carry the load back to the camps. &Remigio, Report, pp. 13-14& He also discovered that some plantations continued to bill laborers for medical treatment, a practice which the HSPA trustees had ordered stopped after it was uncovered in a 1916 investigation. &Montague Lord to E.D. Tenney, July 25, 1916, in HSPA to HACO, HACO; HSPA to Hackfeld and Co., July 28, 1916, GFA& He also found out that the plantation lunas issued passes for medical treatment only when they judged the workers' illness to be sufficiently serious, a neglect which at times proved fatal. &Remigio, Report, pp. 13-14.&

Remigio also enumerated other anomalies: tubercular laborers being housed in badly ventilated rooms, ill laborers not sent back to the Philippines, the absence of bathing facilities in some camps, the practice of charging house rent when the laborer failed to work a minimum number of days, and abuses by the lunas. Hoping that the HSPA would obligingly correct them without his having to bring them to the attention of the Philippine government, he discussed these anomalies with HSPA's Royal D. Mead. Mead, in turn, brought these to the attention of the plantation managers, warning them: "It is perfectly amazing to me that some plantation managers are unable to grasp the idea that if through their acts the Philippine immigration is stopped, the sugar industry of Hawaii is going to suffer tremendously. They fail to see that the trend of events is leading toward the betterment of the laboring conditions, and that they must fall in line with what is going on elsewhere." &Mead, to E.D. Tenney, chairman of HSPA labor committee, July 29, 1919, enclosed in Amfac to Wilcox, August 1, 1919, GFA&

Mead's reference to developments elsewhere was the adoption of welfare capitalism by American business in response to labor organizing and unrest during and after World War I. This included employee welfare programs to promote loyalty and efficiency, stock sharing, the establishment of management-controlled company unions, the installation of safety devices, and the introduction of pension plans. It also included the provision of amenities like cafeterias, better restrooms, gymnasium, and the introduction of welfare work. In fact, the HSPA had already begun adopting welfare work.

Prior to 1918, welfare work on the plantations consisted of providing clubhouses, baseball fields, tennis courts and swimming pools, solely for the benefit of skilled and white employees. &W.H. Babbitt, HSPA Bureau of Labor and Statistics, to Grove Farm, enclosed in Hackfeld to Wilcox, September 24, 1910, GFA& At the 1917 HSPA annual meeting, however, the HSPA trustees established a committee on sanitation and social welfare to plan for the improvement of housing and the construction of recreational facilities for common laborers. They also instructed the committee to work for the improvement of the health of laborers, by way of improving sanitation conditions, upgrading the diet of laborers, reducing infant mortality, and hiring resident nurses for the plantation camps. The committee began with an assessment of the existing conditions on all the plantations, in order to come up with a comprehensive program of welfare work. &HSPA to HACO, March 20, 1919, HACO& At the 1919 annual meeting, the HSPA affirmed the importance of the committee's work, noting: "We will indeed be fortunate if it [the sugar industry in Hawaii] wholly escapes from the world-wide unrest of labor." &Social Welfare Committee, Report, HSPA Annual Meeting, December 10, 1919, GFA&

Clinton S. Child, a New York social worker, was hired to conduct the assessment for the HSPA in September 1919, after which he stayed on to become the head of the Alexander Home Settlement at Wailuku Maui. Child's comprehensive report on each plantation led the HSPA social welfare committee to adopt the policy that welfare work be undertaken as a natural right of the employee and as good business rather than as a charity. The committee ordered the full implementation of a social work program which called for the hiring of welfare workers and trained nurses, the improvement of housing, the observance of health and sanitation codes, and the establishment of children's nurseries. It also called for the construction of recreation and amusement halls and, in cooperation with the territorial department of public instructions, the offering of night classes for the laborers. &HSPA Social Welfare Committee, Report, Annual Meeting, December 10, 1919, GFA&

The plantations, scoffing at social welfare as a passing fad and as utterly impractical, resisted these proposed changes. They also feared that the welfare worker would act as a spy for the HSPA, which generally would ask for costly improvements.&HSPA Social Welfare Committee, Report, Annual Meeting, December 10, 1919, GFA&

Serious about the welfare plans, the HSPA established the Industrial Service Bureau to help the plantations implement projects, and its director, Donald S. Bowman, formerly the chief inspector of the board of health on the big island, focused the bureau's activities on upgrading housing and sanitation. &Donald S. Bowman, "General Plantation Work," Hawaiian Planters' Record, volume. 23, SEptember 1920, no. 3, pp. 132-137 Later, in 1922, the bureau was absorbed by the office of the HSPA labor Bureau. Butler, HSPA, To All Plantations, February 11, 1922, HACO.& As the number of married employees increased on the plantations, he urged the plantations to adopt the "unit housing system"--one family to a house--for all the laborers and not just for white employees, and he made available to the plantations various designs for the laborer cottages. On most plantations from then on, the new dwellings constructed were of the one-family single house design, typically two bedrooms on 5000 square feet lot with attached wash and bath houses.&Bowman, Circular # 4, September 15, 1920, GFA. Also in Bowman, to HACO, Circular # 4, September 15, 1920, HACO& The Industrial Service Bureau provided the design for these homes, as well as the blueprint for converting the existing duplex homes into single family homes. In addition it also provided the designs for a plantation theater, a day nursery, a sewer system, a concrete stove and urged the use of tongue and groove for siding and ceiling.&Bowman, To Grove Farm, April 26, 1920, GFA&

At HACO, starting in 1919, undertook considerable rebuilding of the laborer camps, laid out water pipes to the camps and even built an entire new camp for Filipinos but the work was intermittent, undertaken only whenever labor could be spared for improving the camps without interfering with field operations. &Gartley, C. Brewer, to Campsie, May 10, 1919, HACO&Most plantations, however, received and merely filed away these blueprints of model laborer cottages, sanitary toilets and bathhouses. Paul Scharrenberg, the special representative of American Federation of Labor president Samuel Gompers, during his 1922 inspection of plantation conditions, reported that despite these urgings and plans "but the number of plantation managers who have taken a hint from the welfare department is comparatively small." The barrack-type houses, he wrote, were still in evidence, and 75% of the toilets in the camps were in a disgraceful condition. He pointed out that if California's sanitation laws were applied to Hawaii, a great percentage of the managers would have been subject to arrest for failing to observe minimum sanitary standards. &Scharrenberg, Report, Advertiser, August 6, 1922, September 8, 1922&

The HSPA was relatively more successful in another matter, that of inducing the plantations to hire nurses and welfare workers to direct recreational and social activities.

Daniel H. Klinefelter, the head of the Methodist Filipino Mission in Honolulu, saw this as an opportunity to expand mission work by supplying the plantations with the nurses and welfare workers. Klinefelter had been a missionary in the Philippines for a good many years who incorporated the colonial American prejudices, including the unfitness of Filipinos for self government and independence. He headed the Methodist Filipino mission until he left to head the Methodist Chinese mission in the Bay area in 1929, shortly after he had been arrested for accosting and grabbing a pretty 28-year old Hawaiian woman, Advertiser, February 23, 1929. Before 1920, there had been three Filipino nurses in Hawaii: an unnamed pioneer at Makaweli in mentioned in Balmori's 1912 Report, Soledad Abary at the HSPA immigration station in 1918, and Genera Manongdo at Kahuku plantation in 1920. In 1920, Klinefelter went to Manila in 1920 and recruited four nurses, all graduates of the Methodist' Mary Johnston School of Nursing. These four: Isadora Ogbinar for Lahaina's Pioneer Mill, Maria Guieb for Oahu Sugar Company, Eulalia Cortez (Simon) for Kahuku Sugar Company to replace Genera Manongdo who had left for the mainland United States for further studies, and Josefina Abaya (Cortezan) for the Honolulu Filipino Mission. Star Bulletin, February 9, 1921.

Upon arrival, the three plantation nurses refused to work because they were to be paid wages lower than Soledad Abary's at the HSPA immigration station, who also received a bonus based on the price of sugar. Advertiser, May 24, 1921. This incident led the HSPA to devise a standard contract for the Filipino nurses subsequently recruited by Klinefelter; it stipulated a salary of \$75 a month, to be increased after a 6 month probation period, plus board and lodging, and no bonus. If she plantation nurse worked continuously on her designated plantation for two years she would be entitled to second class transportation to Manila or to the Pacific Coast. The contract also stated: "You agree to work for the plantation faithfully and well and to cooperate with a loyal spirit in the desire of the plantation to foster contentment and satisfaction in the Filipino workers." J. Butler, to Josefa V. Cariaga, June 3, 1921, in J. Butler, to HACO, June 3, 1921, HACO.

Klinefelter also provided many of the Filipino welfare workers on the plantations. Bowman encouraged the plantations to pursue musical activities, in particular, asking them to donate musical instruments because music, aside from improving morale, was "a great factor in promoting Americanism." Bowman, To All Plantations, April 22, 1924, HACO. With support from the Industrial Relations Bureau in planning such activities as music week, sports program, reading program and other improvement programs. He also prodded the plantations to take interest in ethnic celebrations and to donate money, or a cow at such observances. On most plantations, December 30 was declared a holiday for the Filipinos in observance of the death anniversary of Jose Rizal, their national hero. J.K. Butler, HSPA Bureau of Labor Statistics, to Campsie, December 4, 1920, HACO. Starting in March 1921 Bowman published the Plantation News, a monthly bulletin on the recreational, welfare and general health activities on the various plantations. The bulletin came out in two editions. The Filipino edition, with English, Tagalog and Ilocano materials, was given out free each payday to Filipino as well as Portuguese, Spanish and Puerto Rican laborers and the Japanese edition, with Japanese and English sections, Chinese and Korean laborers as well. Bowman, To All Plantations and Agents, No Date (1921), HACO. As an outcome of its emphasis on welfare work, the HSPA organized in 1921 the Conference of Industrial Service Workers, Welfare Workers and Nurses. Initially a meeting to which each plantation sent a delegate; the conference became the professional meeting, the Territorial Conference of Social Work which held its meeting annually for the next two decades. L.C. McMillan, HSPA Secretary, to Campsie, HACO, April 11, 1921; Bowman To All Plantations, May 2, 1928, HACO.

RELIGION

The plantations also had the services of the various religious organizations in Hawaii.

The Catholic church in Hawaii did not actively engage in reaching out to the Filipinos, who were mostly bachelors and whom it regarded as rather "indifferent Catholics." &Yzendoorn, History of Catholic Mission, p. 328& Despite the four hundred years of Catholicism under Spain, the Filipinos in their homeland were not regular church goers but they adhered to the rituals of the church, the life cycle--baptism, confirmation, marriage and death. They also conducted religious processions and fiestas, and they held masses for the dead and for their favorite saints. Many of the sakadas, especially the Ilocanos, were not Roman Catholics but members of the Philippine Independent Church, which had established by the native clergy during the Philippine overthrow of the Spanish rule by taking over the parishes and separating from the Roman hierarchy. The Philippine Independent Church (also known as the Aglipayan Church after its first supreme bishop, Father Gregorio Aglipay) had its largest following among the Ilocanos and the Tagalogs; after World War II it merged with the Episcopalian Church in the Philippines.

Most plantations provided a Catholic chapel, served by a European priest who made the rounds of adjacent plantation chapels. At HACO, the plantation contributed \$15 toward the support of an Irish priest, Father Gerard, in return for including Pahala in his round of mass services and teaching Spaniards, Portuguese and some Filipinos the English language. &Ogg, To C. Brewer, April 18, 1916, April 24, 1916, HACO& By 1920, very few Puerto Ricans, Portuguese and Spaniards at Pahala; only a handful of Portuguese families and a few Filipinos still attended mass. Many Ilocanos were Aglipayans rather than Catholics, and preferred to join the Methodist Church in 1920 when it was established at Pahala. Furthermore, Father Gerard antagonized the Filipinos when he refused to have them buried in the Catholic churchyard anymore. HACO gave the Filipinos a cemetery of their own and, in view of the negligible work the priest carried out for plantation employees, cut off his allowance. &Campsie to C. Brewer, March 27, 1920& On the other plantations the Filipino Catholics were alienated from the predominantly European clergy as well.

The Protestant sects carried out more intensive work on the plantations, among the various ethnic groups. Two main Protestant groups actively carried out mission work: the Methodist Board of Missions and the Hawaiian Evangelical Association (HEA), the general association of churches which sprang from the work of the pioneering Boston missionaries in Hawaii. Because neither group had the means to work among all ethnic groups, the two sects in 1894 and in 1905 reached a comity arrangement whereby the Methodists worked in Honolulu and among the Koreans while the HEA carried out mission work among the Chinese. The two divided mission work among the Japanese by district.

This was the case with work among the Filipinos as well. The Methodists were the first to start work among the Filipinos, sending workers to Ewa and Kahuku in 1912 and, with the arrival of the appropriate literature and helpers arrived from the Philippines, to Kauai. &Advertiser, November 25, 1912& The HEA, however, laying out plans for its Filipino mission, met with Methodist representatives at a conference on December 17, 1912 at the YMCA in order to determine the boundaries of their respective mission work. The Methodist Mission representative, led by superintendent John W. Wadman, and the HEA representatives, led by F. C. Atherton, agreed at that meeting to divide the work according to the following areas: on Kauai, from Koloa on eastward, the HEA would undertake the Filipino work; the Waimea side of Kauai was assigned to the Methodists. On Oahu, the Methodists were to conduct work in Honolulu and the windward plantations from Kahuku to Waimanalo, while the HEA would work the leeward side plantations and Waialua. On the big island the Methodists were assigned the plantation row at Hamakua and the plantation district of Kau while the HEA worked the southern part of the island from Hilo to Kona, as well as Kohala on the north. The conferees left the city of Honolulu and the island of Maui for later discussions.&Brewster Oleson, Minutes, Conference on Filipino Mission Work, December 17, 1912, HEA&

The division of work over the areas of Maui was not resolved at that meeting because Wadman wanted the town of Puunene, with its large Hawaiian Commercial and Sugar Company plantation, for the Methodists. The manager of HC&S, Frank F. Baldwin, however, wanted the HEA rather than the Methodists.&F.C. Atherton, HEA, to Frank F. Baldwin, HC&S, December 20, 1912; Baldwin to Atherton, December 21, 1912, Filipino Department, HEA& The issue was resolved at another meeting a few days later which assigned Lahaina, Hana and Kipahulu to the Methodists and Central Maui, including the major towns of Wailuku, Puunene, Kahului, Sprecklesville, and Paia to the HEA.&Rowland B. Dodge to Frank E. Baldwin, December 20, 1912, HEA& A later conference held in January 1913 gave Aiea to the Methodists.&W.B. Oleson to R.E. Smith, March 20, 1914, HEA&

Among the Methodists, the most visible work among the Filipinos lay in the Filipino Mission which was inaugurated on November 24, 1912 on Queen Street. This Honolulu mission work provided the Filipinos gospel service, night classes, an employment office, a newspaper reading room, and a benevolent association. It also conducted Filipino service at the prison and at the immigration station. It was also here where the Methodists trained a dozen young men for further Christian work among Filipinos. Advertiser, November 25, 1912; DEcember 5, 1912& The mission hall readily became a gathering place for Filipinos in the city, attracted by its socials, sociable games as well as night school and regular fellowship meetings. In 1913 the mission added a job placement service and succeeded in placing Filipinos in such domestic positions as cooks, houseboys, yardboys, waiters, and janitors. In 1915 the mission was finally able to appoint a regular minister, C.C. Ramirez who had graduated from Garette Biblical Institute, as its administrator for the next four years.

The Filipino work by the Methodist mission was hampered by the lack of funds and the lack of workers, especially as it had been dependent on its Philippine office to supply workers who were, themselves, in short supply in the Philippines. Only on rare occasions was it possible to induce a minister like C.C. Ramirez, returning from studies on the US mainland, to remain in Hawaii for a while, as his services were needed in the Philippines. Thus the Methodist workers were mostly sakadas. Roman Umipeg was a 1912 sakada who became a lay preacher, then a licentiate until he was ordained a minister in 1933. Braulio T. Makapagal, also a 1912 sakada, served as a sargeant in the American armed forces during World War II, enrolled at the University of Hawaii, and eventually became a pastor. Vidal Lining, who came to Hawaii at age 9 in 1910, completed his theological studies in California and upon his return to Hawaii in 1923 became a pastor at HACO.

The Methodist Filipino mission, however, was hampered by the lack of workers. Up until 1921 the Methodists had merely served only a few places among the many districts it had agreed to serve during the comity arrangement. Five Filipino pastors and a bible woman were at work on the plantations. These pastors were dependent on the plantations for their support and the Methodist pastors, in general, suffered when their usefulness to the plantation was no longer in evidence. This was well illustrated at HACO. In 1915 the plantation gave a Korean pastor an allowance of \$10 a month, a pittance which the Methodist superintendent William Fry wanted to be raised to \$15. The HACO manager, however, ended up adjusting the pastor's pay, paying him merely \$5 a month when merely 15 or less Koreans had remained at Pahala, and up to \$20 a month when the Korean gang grew to 50 or 60 laborers. Ogg to C. Brewer, HACO, October 12, 1915, HACO. In other areas the Methodists depended on lay workers to carry out the mission work. This was true at Kahuku plantation and at Lahaina, where the work was carried out by the plantation nurse and a welfare worker, as well as at Pahala and at Makaweli plantation on Kauai which had both employed a Methodist welfare worker.

At the Hawaiian Evangelical Association, mission work among the Filipinos began informally in 1912 when Jose Alba, who had earlier been charged as an HSPA recruiter illegally soliciting minors at the Baptist Theological Seminary in Iloilo for Hawaii, held weekly meetings at the Koloa sugar mill and then induced the Filipinos to join the Koloa Hawaiian congregational church. The next year, the Hawaiian Board of Missions hired him as a full time evangelical worker for the plantations from Koloa to Kiluarea; in 1914 he was finally ordained by the Kauai Island Association and he preached at the Filipino section of the Koloa church. &William Brewster Oleson, "Our Filipino Mission," The Friend, ; Albertine Loomis, To All People, p. 315&. In 1915, Alba finally organized a Filipino church at Koloa. He served the remainder of his days as the minister at Papaikou on the big island until his death in 1926.

The most colorful Hawaiian Board worker, however, was Simon Ygloria, the board's first minister to come from the Philippines. Ygloria, born October 28, 1884 in Tayabas, Quezon, was a Philippine constabulary soldier who was part of a contingent sent to the 1904 St. Louis exposition. While at St. Louis, he met a Christian missionary on furlough from the Philippines, and the meeting inspired Ygloria to turn Protestant. Upon return to the Philippines, he worked as the missionary's assistant in the Ilocos. Convinced of his calling to preach, Ygloria entered Siliman Institute in the Visayas, and then finished his studies in Theology at Ellinwood Seminary in Manila.

It was while a student at Ellinwood Bible Seminary that Ygloria was recruited by Reverend George W. Wright, a faculty at that school. Wright had conferred with the HEA about the need for a Filipino worker and recommended Ygloria. "You will like him and trust him," wrote Wright in recommending Ygloria to the HEA. "There is no flash or display about him. He is quiet, deep and earnest." &George William Wright to W. Brewster Oleson, HEA, July 17, 1912& Ygloria proved to be the right man for the HEA; he could speak several Filipino languages. He had been born in the Tagalog region, but he had worked among the Ilocanos and had also spent years in the southern Philippine islands where he had picked up Cebuano and Ilongo. &Ibid.&

Ygloria arrived in Hawaii in March 1913. His home base was Ewa plantation but he travelled each week to conduct services at Waialua, Waipahu and Waianae, and each Tuesday evening he also held services among the new recruits at the HSPA immigration station.&HEA, 91st Annual Report, 1913& He was an energetic worker, preaching as many as three times on Sundays, teaching English to Filipinos, and coaching the volleyball team at Ewa as well.&Loomis, To All People, p. 319& He was able to cover the distances between plantations by riding a motorcycle. Ygloria succeeded because, more than persistence and hard work, he also knew how to appeal to the Filipinos. The Filipinos being divided by linguistic groups, he could make the laborers relate to him by speaking Cebuano, Ilongo or Ilocano.&Ygloria to Henry P. Judd, HEA, December 29, 1915& Ygloria used practical matters to draw the Filipinos to his message; he encouraged the katilingban, an informal arrangement whereby his church members pooled their funds and lent them to each other, as a way of gathering the Filipinos and leading them to devotionals at the start of the gathering.&Ygloria to Judd, HEA, February 9, 1916& Once, in Kona for a health rest, Ygloria found the Filipinos talking in seven different languages; familiar with all of these languages, he told them about Jose Rizal, whom the laborers admired, and about learning English, which they sought to do. He would then invite them to a meeting to teach them these matters, and once he had filled the room he would talk about God and Christ.&Loomis, To All People, pp. 320-321& He invited mandolin and guitar players to perform at his Sunday worship. Most importantly, Ygloria knew the need that Christianity would best fulfill among the laborers. Being single males mostly, they did not need the rituals of the church in christening, weddings and funerals:

What they needed now was friendship, challenge, self-confidence, courage for the future. Christianity as Ygloria preached it offered all these blessings--God who was the father of the high and low, humble and lofty; Jesus, a young, unmarried man, a reformer, so loving the world's people that he was willing to die for his beliefs; prayer in which one spoke directly to heaven, admitting faults, bewailing griefs, and finding comfort; quotations and sayings to strengthen their better natures against the temptations of their camps; books in their own dialects, by means of which they could become wise; opportunity and encouragement to learn English. Ygloria (p. 317) was not an orator but his earnestness and sincerity held his listeners. Often he stirred them, and now and then moved them to tears."&Loomis, To All People, pp. 316-317&

The HEA, which had published The Friend in English, Hawaiian and Chinese issues, added the Filipino Ang Abyan, printed mostly in Visayan and Tagalog, once a month, and then increased the frequency to twice a month in 1917. Ygloria and the first Methodist minister, C.C. Ramirez, served as the magazine's first editors. The paper was regarded by the HEA as a guide to a purposeful Christian life, and the plantations were asked to subsidize its first issues to be distributed free among the plantation employees, who would then be asked to subscribe by having the subscription fees deducted automatically by the plantation from their paychecks. Emily Warimer, HEA, to Campsie, October 6, 1919, HACO; Emily Warimer to Broadbent, April 16, 1923, GFA. The newspaper exhorted the plantation laborers to be good laborers, advised them against moving from camp to camp, inculcated the value of savings, and idealized the necessity of agricultural work and patriotic principles.

Ygloria had the ability to attract not just church converts but also Christian workers from among the Filipinos. He recruited Catalino Cortezan, who had arrived at age 18 in 1913, studied at Mills College (now Mid-Pacific Institute) and then at the Honolulu Theological Seminary until he was sent by the HEA to the California Pacific School of Religion at Berkeley. Upon completing his studies, Cortezan served as a minister at Koloa. Ygloria also attracted to Christian work Juan Regala, Rufo Agustin, Pedro Racelis, and Flaviano Santa Ana, all of whom came as sakadas and became ordained ministers on the plantation churches. Because of their work, going on house to house visits among the Filipinos in the camp, distributing bibles and tracts, the Hawaiian Board (which administered the missionary work for the HEA) established the Filipino department in 1918, headed by Reverend J.P. Erdman.

Ygloria, who had always suffered from a lung disease, died of tuberculosis on September 28, 1922, after nine years of work in the islands. For several years after his death, the Filipinos commemorated Ygloria Day at Ewa and at the Filipino United Center in Honolulu. Though indicative of the high reverence that the Filipinos bestowed on Ygloria, the commemoration was discouraged by the HEA for fear that it could result in a personality cult among the Filipinos.

THE NATIONAL GUARD ISSUE

In 1913, when the Filipinos comprised merely 4.7% of Hawaii's population, the Honolulu Advertiser raised the spectre that the Filipinos would soon dominate Hawaii politically because they were able to enter the United States freely and possibly qualified for American citizenship. "While statisticians have been at work figuring out in what year the Japanese citizens will be numerous enough to control it politically," the newspaper stated, "the question as to when Filipinos will have the majority in the various boards of supervisors and in the legislature has apparently been overlooked. Yet it appears that this is a possibility much nearer in the future than that of Japanese control." &Advertiser, February 14, 1913& If all 6000 adult Filipinos in Hawaii filed their intention to become citizens, they could immediately qualify for government employment; in five years they could vote and in ten years could overwhelm all political opposition. To prevent all these, the Advertiser urged congressional action similar to the one disallowing Japanese and Chinese citizenship. &Advertiser, February 14, 1913&

The Advertiser's alarm reflected the planters' fear of the dominance of their imported labor, a fear which was manifested among the Chinese and the Japanese earlier. It was a misplaced alarm. At this time, only one Filipino, Paulino Natto, had become a US citizen and a qualified Hawaii voter as of March 4, 1912; hardly anybody else took out citizenship papers. &Advertiser, February 14, 1913& Furthermore, there was a legal cloud over the status of Filipinos in the United States, one which had been raised earlier by the Mongolia incident and which had never been resolved.

The people in the Hawaiian islands, a territory of the United States, were American citizens, as were the people of Puerto Ricans by congressional act of March 2, 1917. According to federal court decisions, the Filipinos did not automatically become American citizens when the United States acquired the Philippines from Spain in 1898. And they were not aliens either; they owed allegiance to the United States and held American passports when travelling to other countries. Had they been categorized as aliens, they became a people without a country. &Lasker, p. 304. As inhabitants of an insular possession of the United States, they were nationals, a vague category.

Furthermore, nobody knew if they were eligible to become American citizens. On the one hand, the immigration and naturalization law of June 29, 1906 forbade any but free white persons or those of African nativity from becoming citizens of the United States, and Filipinos were neither. On the other hand, another law allowed peoples of the Philippines, Puerto Rico and Guam to become American citizens upon qualifying by residence in any American state or territory. Confusion resulted from these contradictory laws. In 1916 Theodore Roosevelt's attorney general Bonaparte tried to resolve the issue by formulating the opinion that the racial limitations on naturalization of aliens did not apply to Filipinos, and the district of Columbia supreme court backed him up by allowing Monico Lopez to take out his first papers. However, a federal district court in Pennsylvania, in denying the naturalization petition of Eugenio Alverto, a seven year navy serviceman, ruled otherwise, that Filipinos were ethnologically one fourth white and three fourth brown. &Advertiser, February 17, 1916&

In Hawaii, officials and judges similarly took opposing sides on the issue. The territorial attorney general in 1916, Ingram M. Stainback, believed that Filipinos had the right to take out naturalization papers and apply for employment in public works but the US district attorney in Hawaii, Horace W. Vaughan, took the contrary view. Privately, territorial and federal judges took one or the other position, with no clear majority on either side. &Advertiser, February 16, 17, 1916&

The issue became more than a legal argument because Filipinos since 1913 had been eagerly signing up for the national guards and, as was the nature of guard units at that time, had a whole company, Company B, reserved exclusively for them. &Advertiser, October 27, 1913& As the war in Europe became imminent, Governor Pinkham expanded the national guard, designated Punchbowl crater as a weekend training site, encouraged Filipinos to join, and established for them another company, Company M, first infantry. In merely nine months ending August 1916, the Filipinos in the national guard increased from 600 to 2000; more joined subsequently so that they comprised 52% of Hawaii's guardsmen by the end of the year. &Advertiser, August 29, 1916, September 21, 1915; Pinkham to Secretary of Interior Franklin Lane, April 10, 1917, in 644-12& The Advertiser attributed the large Filipino enrollment to "the natural fondness of the Filipinos for soldiering which made the Philippine Constabulary famous." &Advertiser, September 29, 1913& Pinkham, however, more realistically attributed it to the fact that "Other than as laborers they have no standing here, so when permitted to join the National Guard they have done so eagerly and in large numbers." &Pinkham to Secretary of War Newton D. Baker, August 7, 1916, in 644-12&

The two Filipino companies, Company M and Company B, were so outstanding and had won so many prizes in maneuvers and drill competitions that the Advertiser cited their superior performance as evidence of the Filipino's qualifications for citizenship as well. &Advertiser, June 12, 1916; November 27, 1916& Filipino eligibility for citizenship had become an important issue in 1916 because of a national defense law requiring that all guardsmen be American citizens or intended to become American citizens. &Advertiser, June 20, 1916& In order to comply with the regulations, some Filipinos took out their first papers, and they were encouraged by US district court judge Charles Frederick Clemons' ruling on March 25, 1916 in the case of Marcos Solis that there were no constitutional barriers to Filipinos becoming US citizens. &Advertiser, March 26, 1916, July 11, 1916& Immediately, however, US district attorney Horace W. Vaughan issued an opinion opposing the Clemons decision on the grounds that Filipinos were not free white citizens, nor were they, as inhabitants of a territory dependent on the United States, able to forswear allegiance to a foreign ruler as the law required. Appointed district court judge a few months later, Vaughan used these arguments to deny the petition of Alfredo Flores Ocampo, a detective in the Honolulu police department. &Star Bulletin, December 30, 1916; Advertiser, December 31, 1916.

Public opinion sided with Judge Vaughan because of the political consequences of Filipino naturalization. In 1916 there were 15,220 Filipinos, mostly males of voting age; by comparison, there were 17,699 registered Hawaii voters. If all the Filipinos were naturalized, they would comprise almost half of the voters in Hawaii, and as more of them arrived in the future, they would simply overwhelm the islands politically. &Advertiser, February 16, 1916, March 26, 1916& The most intense opposition came from the native Hawaiians, who comprised the majority of the voters. The leading Hawaiian newspaper, Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, attacked Judge Clemon's decision on economic and political grounds and warned that "in the course of five years an inferior race will have the majority in the elections." &Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, editorial, April 1, 1916, reprinted in Advertiser, April 2, 1916& Because "It is impossible that a semi-barbaric people can assimilate the doctrines of civilization and master the principles of a free nation in a single generation," admitting the Filipinos to citizenship would "lower the high standard of American ideals and make the American institutions and culture but a faith and a laughingstock." &Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, editorial, February 19, 1916, reprinted in Advertiser, February 20, 1916&

Vaughan's ruling promoted discrimination against Filipinos and prompted Hawaii officials to dismiss them from government work and construction projects. &Advertiser, January 14, 1917& Hawaii Filipinos bitterly pointed out the unfair nature of their treatment. In the Philippines, they were solicited to enlist in the Philippine National Guard and serve as regular American army soldiers in the Philippine Scouts and the Philippine Constabulary. Furthermore, they were also eligible to work as crew members on US transports and battleships. Yet in Hawaii they had now become ineligible for guardsmen duties and barred from government projects and civilian employment in the naval bases. &P.M. Esqueras, Letter to editor, Advertiser, January 29, 1917; Advertiser, editorial, January 1, 1917&

Distressed by Vaughan's decision, Governor Pinkham asked federal officials to secure from congress an amendment to the 1916 national defense act allowing Hawaii to recruit Filipino guardsmen and to submit a case to the supreme court in order to decide once and for all the Filipino citizenship question. &Pinkham to Secretary of War Newton Baker, January 4, 1917, in 644-12; Secretary of War to House and Senate Committee on Military Affairs, April 17, 1917, in BIA 227; Judge Advocate General, Memo, January 23, 1917, in BIA 227& World events, however, put aside the urgency of Pinkham's request. On February 3, 1917, the United States severed diplomatic ties with Germany and placed all its the National Guard units on alert. &Advertiser, March 2, 1917& When war was formally declared on April 6, 1917, the war department ordered the Hawaii national guard to recruit to a war strength of 9,000 men within a year's time.

Meeting the war department quota was difficult. Hawaii had merely 4,269 guardsmen, 52% of them being the Filipinos in Companies C and M, and the remainder consisting of Hawaiians, with a few Portuguese and Chinese. &Pinkham to Secretary of Interior Franklin Lane, April 10, 1917, in 644-12; Advertiser, April 15, 1917& In the potential pool of 28,000 males between 18 and 45 years old, many were Japanese aliens ineligible for enlistment. About half of these were Filipinos, but to enroll them would be to tap into the plantation labor supply. &Pinkham to Secretary of War Newton D. Baker, August 7, 1916, in 644-12&

Once this fact became obvious, The English language press mounted a strong attack on the Filipino participation in the national guard. The Advertiser prominently featured the statements of influential officials like Judge Clarence W. Ashford and former territorial supreme court justice Arthur A. Wilder that the Filipinos should remain on the plantations because of the high expense incurred by the planters to bring them to Hawaii. &Advertiser, February 14, 15, 19, 1916& It highlighted the accusation of Ralph A. Kearns, the territory's commissioner of immigration, labor and statistics, that Governor Pinkham of coddled "his Pet, the Filipino" by using public money to feed unemployed guardsmen; when confronted by Pinkham, however, Kearns admitted that his accusation pertained merely to Pinkham's order to feed a handful of stevedores (who also happened to be Filipino guardsmen) rendered out of work because few vessels now docked in Honolulu during the Panama canal strike. Kearns insisted that these Filipinos be returned to the plantations rather than assisted with public money. &Transcript of interview between L.E. Pinkham and R.A. Kearns, March 27, 1917, Pinkham Papers, AH; Advertiser, March 27, 1917& Other Hawaii authorities joined the attack. After a private meeting, influential members of the territorial legislature publicly criticized the national guard as "a Filipino social club" and opposed further Filipino enlistment. &Advertiser, March 3, 1917&

The attacks intensified when, in August 1917, congress passed the selective service registration act and the war department federalized and readied for active duty abroad the guard regiments on the mainland states, both actions expected to affect Hawaii soon thereafter. The Advertiser now ridiculed the Filipino guard units where the year before it had lavishly praised them. One account, citing no direct source at all, claimed that Filipinos in the guard units spoke many languages so that the commands and orders had to be translated into at least four tongues, and the resulting disorder, the newspaper emphasized, was a strong argument against inducting the Hawaii guards into federal service. &Advertiser, November 23, 1917&

Another sarcastic Advertiser story about a fight between some Hawaiian guardsmen and 500 to 700 Filipino guardsmen who allegedly tried to get in free at a movie house was cited as a proof that the lack of discipline was an important reason why Washington DC authorities should reject the Hawaii guard units for service on the European front. &Advertiser, November 27, 1917& The newspaper also cited the way a Filipino regiment returning to Kauai, who had not been provided meals on the steamer, had "rioted," rushing to the pier to gobble up food upon docking at Kauai, as further proof of the Hawaii guardmen's unbridled discipline and insubordination. &Advertiser, November 28, 1917&

Many saw the sugar planters to be behind these newspaper accounts in order to convince Washington D.C. authorities not to call out the Hawaii units for active duty. Claiming proof from official sources, critics accused Delegate Kuhio and the representatives of the HSPA in Washington D.C. of blocking the mobilization of Hawaii's guard units. &Advertiser, June 28, 29, 1917& They alleged that the planters, finding the draft inevitably taking away their laborers from the islands, now encouraged their Filipino workers to join the national guard units instead, and by doing so, would then be able to present federal officials with two arguments: that there was no longer any need to implement the draft in Hawaii because of the high rate of volunteers among the guardsmen, and that the presence of so many undisciplined Filipinos in the Hawaii guard units made them undesirable for federal service.

The commander of the Hawaii guards, Brigadier General Samuel I. Johnson called for an investigation into these allegations and into the reasons why Hawaii was the only guard unit in the United States not to be called for active duty, but none was carried out. &Advertiser, November 29, December 3, 1917& Governor Pinkham claimed that because a war with Japan had become imminent, the Hawaii guards were needed at home. He also admitted having worked to have Hawaii's recruitment quota be reduced from 8000 to 4500 guardsmen so that sugar and food production would not suffer. &Pinkham to Secretary of Interior, May 17, 1918, in 644-12& He had supported the planters' claim of a labor shortage, and the planters used the denial of their request to use army transports to bring in Filipino laborers as an argument for Washington D.C. authorities not to call out the guards. &Advertiser, December 4, 12, 1917&

The draft took effect in Hawaii in mid-1918. The Filipinos enthusiastically showed up to be inducted, each day checking their numbers at the induction office, rejoicing when called or being dejected when turned down for being too small. &Advertiser, June 8, July 10, 1918& More were accepted when the war department waived for Filipinos the minimum height and weight requirements in order to fill the Hawaii quota. &Advertiser, April 11, 1918, May 12, 1918& The attraction was mainly monetary; they could earn considerably more in the army than they could by working on any plantation. &Campsie, HACO, to C. Brewer, May 17, 1917, HACO; R.A. Cooke, vice-president C. Brewer, to Campsie, October 22, 1918, HACO& For this reason, even those who were exempt from the draft for having arrived in Hawaii after July 31, 1917 nonetheless sought to enlist. On the other hand, national guard enlistment proved to be more of a hardship. The Filipino guardsmen eventually lost their claim to their enlistment pay because they could not lay valid claim to citizenship. &Advertiser, February 25, 1928& Furthermore, when the infantry and medical corp units of the Hawaii guards were called into federal service at the same time as the draft, those with families no longer qualified for plantation housing and so their wives and children ended up living in a tent city near the encampment. &Advertiser, June 2,4, 15, 17, 1918&

The national guard and army inductees had but a brief career because the war ended the last week of October 1918. Despite the planters' claim that they lost 12% of their labor force to the draft and the mobilization of the national guard, they generally had succeeded in preventing the laborers from leaving Hawaii. &HSPA Bureau of Labor and Statistics, to Grove Farm, August 30, 1918, GFA&

THE PINKHAM-STEVEN CONTROVERSY

One way the issue of Filipino recruitment was raised in Hawaii was in the conflict between Lucius Pinkham and Oswald Steven. Upon relinquishing his position as head of the HSPA recruitment in the Philippines, Pinkham managed to wrangle from Woodrow Wilson, a Democrat, an appointment as governor of Hawaii. A bitter fight ensued in the US senate over his confirmation because he was not a Hawaii Democrat nor a lifelong resident of the islands, and he had a stormy term as governor, ignored by the Republican party and attacked by the Democratic party for being too close to the sugar industry, for bypassing Democrats in appointments to territorial offices, and for not mixing with regular party members. &Advertiser, November 3, 1922&

In 1913 Steven became the subject of HSPA surveillance for calling plantation Filipinos to frequent meetings. At one meeting, he sought to organize a commission form of government whereby a committee of five would identify indolent Filipinos preying on fellow Filipinos and report them to Steven who would swear out warrants charging them with vagrancy. The Advertiser reported the meeting as followed:

Steven: "How much did you earn in the Visayas? Six pesos a month, wasn't it, and not enough rice to keep you well nourished?"

"Si, senor," came many responses in Spanish.

"When I shipped you here from the Philippines you were poorly clad, ill nourished and without money. Now you are well dressed, appear to have money and look well.

"Now you must make your nationality one to be proud of in Hawaii, you must respect the laws and work, and those amongst you who will not work must take the consequences and work for the government.

"I want you to be men of prominence and law abiding, just as other nationalities are. Is that what you want?"

"Yes, yes." &Advertiser, March 23, 1913&

At subsequent meetings with the plantation Filipinos Steven encouraged them to organize a baseball team in the Honolulu league, to form musical societies, to form groups for long term contract cultivation, and to open a registration bureau for employment assistance. He also led them to participate in such civic events as the annual floral parade. &Advertiser, January 27, 1914& He professed to be motivated mainly by a feeling of responsibility for having recruited the Filipinos and by a desire to instill pride among the Filipinos but the HSPA suspected other motives and continued its surveillance. When, in July 1915 he went to the US mainland, false rumor spread that he was planning to establish a steamer line between Honolulu and Portland or San Francisco, in effect putting him in direct competition with the sugar owned Matson Navigation Company. &Advertiser, July 16, 1915&

At the meetings, Steven obtained hundreds of Filipino signatures but evasively, all he would say was that he needed them to prove he had the backing of the Filipinos to work in their behalf. At one meeting, he denounced as a traitor a Filipino laborer who advised his companions investigate carefully before signing Steven's blank sheets. When another laborer, assuming that Steven really wished to help them, complained that the Aeia Filipinos were being treated badly, Steven abruptly took over the floor, claiming that he wasn't there to receive complaints or to arouse agitation against the plantations,. &Advertiser, August 1, 1915&

At these meetings, Steven always brought up a murder case, one which angered the Filipinos in Hawaii. In Kauai on June 19, 1915, three men broke into a Japanese laborer's home, believing that the family had a

large sum of savings hidden somewhere around the house. Finding merely \$9, the men shot the Japanese laborer, hit his wife with an iron rod, shot two children, and set fire to the house. The oldest son arrived in time to save his two wounded siblings but the parents died. Three Filipinos were subsequently captured, identified, tried and then sentenced to death. &Advertiser, October 6, 1915& At the trial, the court used only one interpreter for all three who spoke different languages, and the Hawaii Filipinos protested this judicial error.

Steven, professing to help the powerless Filipino community obtain justice, went to Governor Pinkham to ask for the postponement of the hanging so that an appeal to the supreme court could clear every possible doubt about the guilt of the three. &Advertiser, August 1, 1915& Pinkham refused Steven's request, as well as a request from the Catholic priest who had been ministering to the three at death row, and the Filipinos were hanged as scheduled on October 15, 1915.

Angered at Pinkham's refusal of a postponement, Steven two days after the hanging cabled the Philippine governor general to stop emigration until unemployed Filipinos were given jobs. He accused the plantations of an unwritten blacklist of the Filipinos who had left the plantations where they were originally assigned. &Attached to O.A. Steven to President W. Wilson, Telegram, October 17, 1915, in Pinkham Papers, AH& He sent a copy of his cable to President Wilson and added: "I make the charge of slavery against the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association of Honolulu and pray you will order immediate investigation. I am at the service of your officials here." &O.A. Steven to President W. Wilson, Telegram, October 17, 1915, in Pinkham Papers, AH&

Steven furnished Pinkham the proof of his charges. &Pinkham acknowledged receiving the documents but they are no longer to be found in Pinkham's official papers at the Archives of Hawaii.& Then he made additional accusations. He demanded access to the HSPA books in Hawaii and in the Philippines in order to show that "moneys were used on certain dates and paid to certain members of the Philippine Legislature. That said moneys were paid as bribes to stop the introduction of a certain Bill, the intention of said Bill being the stay of Emigration of the Filipinos to Hawaii as labor." &Steven to Pinkham, November 4, 1915, Pinkham Papers, AH& He admitted that on behalf of the HSPA he himself had paid bribes to Philippine legislators, and claimed personal knowledge that thereafter the bribery had been carried out on an even larger scale. He also claimed that 200 Filipinos had signed their names to facts about their mistreatment on the plantations. &Steven to Pinkham, November 6, 1915, Pinkham Papers, AH&

Instead of replying to these charges, Pinkham attributed ulterior motives to Steven. During their recruiting days, Pinkham and Steven did not get along too well, a fact which Pinkham attributed to Steven having "a natural insurrecto disposition." &Pinkham to Secretary of Interior Franklin Lane, November 21, 1915, Pinkham Papers, AH& Steven had been in ill health and had been absent from the Philippines for medical reasons two-fifths of the time. Pinkham claimed that Steven sought revenge for the time when, in Hongkong, Pinkham gave him merely a four months' leave with pay to recover from a stroke instead of the six months that Steven

asked; furthermore, Pinkham claimed Steven sought revenge for Pinkham's refusal to secure the US attorney general's help in forcing the Advertiser and the Star Bulletin to accept Steven's advertisements. Pinkham also dismissed Steven's charges of HSPA slavery as mere figments of the imagination. While he admitted receiving money from the HSPA and the Hawaii pineapple growers' association, Pinkham claimed that the funds were used for charity and not for his personal expenses. &Pinkham to Secretary Lane, November 21, 1915, Pinkham Papers, AH&& Secretary of the Interior Franklin Lane, designated by President Wilson to look into Steven's charges, accepted without question Pinkham's words and did not initiate any investigation. &Lane to Pinkham, December 6, 1915, Pinkham Papers, AH&

Shortly after, Steven was arrested and charged with illegally recruiting laborers; at the time of his arrest, he had assembled sixty Filipinos ready to set sail with him for California, where he promised them employment in a cotton plantation at wages of \$30 or more and free house rent if they paid their passage to the West Coast. &Advertiser, March 12, 1916, p. 7; Mead to Tenney, April 4, 1916, Pinkham Papers, AH& Just before the trial, California State Commission on Immigration and Housing exposed Steven's other scheme, that of establishing a colony of Hawaii Portuguese on supposedly good irrigated land, charging them an exorbitant price of \$125 per acre for 10-acre lots; the scheme turned out to be merely a labor recruiting scheme and the land of poor quality. &Advertiser, June 12, 1916&

Steven pleaded guilty to four cases of recruiting Filipinos without a license. Each offense was punishable by a \$500 fine and imprisonment of six months, but Judge Thomas B. Stuart, a newcomer to Hawaii, a Wilson Democrat, and a strong critic of the sugar establishment, imposed a nominal fine of \$1 in each of the four cases. In his decision, Judge Stuart called peonage and slavery the law under which Steven was charged, and criticized the Filipino importation as a cause of the low wages which prevented Hawaiians from working on the plantations and US citizens from coming to work in Hawaii. &Star Bulletin, April 27, 1916. Judge Stuart's decision is also in 644, Reel 4& Judge Stuart sent a copy of his decision to President Wilson. &Advertiser, April 28, 1916&

Steven left the territory only to return during the next decade to run his own auction room in Honolulu. He continually sought to make money on labor recruiting; in 1921 he proposed to the Bureau of Insular Affairs to provide the Hawaii plantations on short notice 1500 negroes, a proposal which was ignored. &O.A. Steven to McIntyre, BIA chief, BIA 5999& GET THE DATE

THE FILIPINOS IN THE CITY

The Filipino question in Hawaii also centered on the charges that the HSPA had brought to the islands many wharf rats and undesireables, who were now littering Honolulu, and committing crimes. Like recruits before them, Filipinos left the plantations for Honolulu. As early as 1911 a Filipino colony had emerged between River Street and Nuuanu Avenue in what was an exclusively Chinese district; also along Ala Moana Road

toward the waterfront where they and some Russians built a makeshift camp out of burlap, oil cans, cast off rags. &Advertiser, February 7, 1911&

Thus these wharf rats found plantation work too limiting and sought opportunities in Honolulu. Also among the Filipinos in Honolulu were the ones who could no longer work on the plantations. "Many old men who can no longer work on the plantations," reported the Advertiser in 1914, "come to live here in Honolulu and many of them have not even five cents in their pocket and can be found sleeping in the parks and other out of the way places." &Advertiser, October 23, 1914& Some, though not old, were too ill to work. One day in 1912 a Chinese hack driver picked up two Filipinos sleeping on a bench in a park and took them to the police station. The two, both 19 years old Jose Silvia and Dionicio Velanucon, were stricken with tuberculosis and, unable to pay the entrance fee of \$5, had been refused admission at the Makaweli plantation hospital on Kauai. Too feeble to work at Makaweli and in the terminal stage of consumption, the two, using donations from fellow Filipinos, left in order to seek medical help in Honolulu. They were refused admission at Queen's Hospital which had a rule against admitting persons with contagious diseases and at Leahi Hospital which had no vacancy in the free ward. The publicity led Royal Mead to get them admitted into Leahi hospital at HSPA expense. &Advertiser, February 19, 20, 1912&

B.A. Liongson, the secretary of the Methodist Filipino mission in Honolulu, claimed that this was not an isolated incident. "We have kept silent before because we knew that many people did not like us, but now it is time to speak and I will ask the Advertiser to say that the plantations are not treating many of my countrymen fairly. They bring them here with contracts saying they will take care of them when they are sick, and instead turn them into the streets to die like dogs." &Advertiser, February 13, 1913& Liongson cited other cases of ill and destitute Filipinos in Honolulu. One had beriberi and another was a cripple. A third, Luis Unacadales, had worked at Waialua plantation for merely a month when he became too ill of tuberculosis. Hemorrhaging, the overseer at Waialua bought him a railroad ticket, placed him on a train with an unsigned note which merely said "Admit bearer to missionary hospital." Unacadales died in the Honolulu railroad yard. Liongson threatened to bring the complaints to the Philippine governor general unless something was done soon to help these Filipinos. Liongson, however, shortly after his letter to the Advertiser, ended up in trouble. He ran a dance hall which a month after his letter, became the object of police surveillance, as well as the inspection by the mayor's secretary, a city supervisor and an Advertiser reporter, who all found the dancing lewd, the place dirty and crowded, and supposedly employed girls below the legal age. Within a week, the police had managed to close Liongson's dance hall because it claimed that fights and riots frequently took place there and because women of the worst element congregated there nightly. &Advertiser, March 11, 18, 1913&

Life in Honolulu entailed hardship and much suffering, especially among the children whose parents were unable to find employment. &Bonifacia Guillermo to Quezon, May 8, 1914, Quezonian Papers; Theodore to Roosevelt Find the correct citation & Jobs at the pineapple cannery paid about a third more than the sugar plantations but the work was only for a few months of the year. Most of the Filipinos in Honolulu found domestic work, as servants, houseboys, cooks, janitors, yard boys. As early as 1911 the Filipino Employment Agency, established under the Methodist Filipino mission in Honolulu, assisted them in finding employment. &Star Bulletin, April 9, 1911.&

Despite the difficulties of getting a foothold in Honolulu, by 1913 a core of Filipino life had emerged. It was in Honolulu, in fact, that a social and cultural life emerged among the Hawaii Filipinos, as the Filipinos from the Oahu plantations joined them on weekends in the activities. Their social life centered on the observance of the Philippine national hero, Jose Rizal. Since 1911 the Honolulu Filipinos commemorated each December 31, the day Rizal was executed by the Spanish authorities, with a day long program of speeches, musical presentations, declamations in the Philippine languages, Spanish and English, recitation of Rizal's poems, and capped by a banquet at which important city and territory officials and military officers were guests of honor. By 1916 the celebration had grown full blown with a parade and athletic program added, both in Hilo and Honolulu, as well as in the various plantation communities. In Honolulu, the big parade started from Aala Park, went along King street to the capitol grounds, back along Hotel street to Aala Park with its floats, marching bands, group of marchers and military units. A program then followed at Aala Park, long speeches and musical numbers and athletic events.

Rizal also became the basis for organizing civic and fraternal societies. The Pearl of the Orient Rizal Society, the Rizal Filipino Society, the Jose Rizal Society of Hawaii, and the Caballeros de Rizal all existed to teach the ideals of Rizal for clean living, and all of them organizing programs on Rizal's birth and death anniversaries. &Advertiser, December 30, 31, 1912, January 4, 19, December 23, 28, 1913& Others derived their name from Rizal, such as the Filipino Rondalla (string orchestra), the Rizal Glee Club, and the Noli Me Tangere, a debating society named after Rizal's first novel. &Advertiser, December 24, 1913, April 18, 1914&

These organizations were founded for social purposes. The Filipinos were also involved in the activities organized by the Methodist Filipino mission, the socials and Christmas celebrations and night classes. The plantation Filipinos also came to Honolulu in order to watch the Filipino baseball team play in the Honolulu league. &Advertiser, September 28, 1913& They allowed the Filipinos to create status differentiation among themselves, and to show off new leadership and rhetorical skills. An exceptional club was the Filipino Club of Honolulu, which raised funds to pay the tuition and support of its president at the University of California at Berkeley, and thus prepare himself to be of greater service to his people. &Advertiser, October 2, 1913&. In general, the organizations ended up with much factionalism and conflict, especially

between the Visayans and the Tagalogs. B.M. Makapagal was ejected from a Rizal Day celebration for being present at a meeting without invitation; he was the president of the Filipino YMCA & Advertiser, December 31, 1915. & Vicente Liongson, a Pampango, was the president of an organization ousted because, he claimed, the Pampangos were not friendly with the Visayans and Tagalogs while the Tagalogs claimed he was ousted because he could not speak Tagalog. & Advertiser, December 8, 9, 1913. Or there was the conflict at the Queen contest, with the other contestants crying that the contest had been rigged in favor of the winner of the queen for the Filipino float at the floral parade in Honolulu. & Advertiser, January 27, 1914.

By 1914 had also appeared the first Filipino newspaper, Ang Bagong Liwanag (The New Light), a weekly with English, Tagalog and Visayan sections edited by Vicente Arca and Vicente Liongson, with the maiden issue appearing on May 1, 1913. A conservative, Liongson decried the Filipino agitation for independence, saying that the Filipinos were satisfied with American rule, which was much better than Spanish rule. & Advertiser, June 23, 28, 1913.

CRIME AND THE FILIPINO REPUTATION

The presence of the Filipinos in Hilo and Honolulu resulted in adverse publicity in the two major English newspapers, the Advertiser and the Star Bulletin. This criticism reflected the attitudes of both the HSPA, who regarded the city Filipinos as an embarrassment because they would not stay on the plantations, and the other city residents, who saw them as labor competitors. Out of these newspaper accounts developed a stereotype of the Filipinos.

The practice of the two newspapers was to identify by ethnicity the Asians who committed a crime and write the account in a sarcastic manner. Furthermore, the only time the Asian peoples were reported in the newspapers were mainly when they were involved in criminal activities. Thus the readers formed an impression that the Chinese were gamblers who met often in secret opium dens and were fond of lavish wedding ceremonies, the Japanese, also gamblers, had a propensity for strange murders and violent crimes of passion, The Filipinos were violent but stupid.

These biases could be seen in several examples. A July 12, 1913 Advertiser story was entitled "Maui Rancher Kills Wife, Attempts Suicide; Japanese Slashes Spouse, Then Cuts Himself." It factually narrated that a Hawaiian rancher shot his wife and then blew out his brains, while it described the Japanese man as having "made a murderous attack upon his wife with a knife, slashing her severely and leaving her for dead" before he tried to cut his own throat. "Jealous Filipino Splits Rival's Skull and Hews Woman with Cane Knife," announced a January 28, 1913 Advertiser story, and began the account: "This week the Filipino crime calendar was enlivened by a double murder, a jealous man killing his former mistrees and her later lover." At the end of the story, the newspaper identified the woman as the assailant's wife.

The way the Filipino suspects were identified as Filipinos in the story titles, and reporting their arrest, often on mere suspicion of having committed a crime, but not the reporting of their subsequent exoneration or dismissal of the charges, resulted in a general impression from the newspaper accounts that there was high criminality among the Filipinos.

This was true of the reports coming in from Hilo. As early as 1910, an unidentified correspondent had been regularly sending biased adverse reports to the Advertiser. The city had been the destination for Filipinos who left the plantations on the Hamakua coast from Honokaa to Hilo but Hilo could offer no alternative employment for them. This aroused the hostility of Hilo to the presence of the Filipinos, who supposedly ended up in jails and hospitals, accusing them as preferring to loaf rather than work or look for work. &Advertiser, November 22, 1910& By 1912 reports came regularly from Hilo that its jails were now crowded with Filipinos, supposedly 56% of those in jail were Filipinos. &Advertiser, December 11, 1912&

The Hilo dispatches, consisting only of stories about Filipinos committing crimes, then came in fast and furious. When in March 1912 a series of burglaries and larcenies took place in Hilo, the Advertiser correspondent reported as fact the unproven police suspicion that the Filipinos were the perpetrators. The impression left by these accounts was the lawlessness of Filipinos. &Advertiser, March 29, 1912& "The newly imported Filipinos appear to be more lawless than ever, judging from events which took place in the camp at Papaaloa during the day," began the Advertiser story about two shooting incidents which left a Manila recruit dead, two others and a woman wounded; the newspaper did not provide any details, however, because the Filipinos would not tell what the shootings were all about. &Advertiser, November 13, 1912& The story entitled "Hilo Jail Fails to Hold Bold, Bad Filipino Robbers Sent in From Olaa" in the April 28, 1912 Advertiser was about two Filipinos picked up by Olaa plantation policemen merely because they looked suspicious, locked up without any evidence or clue, forwarded to Hilo where they were accused of another crime, jailed, and released again for lack of evidence; the judge, reading the newspaper story that these men were seen in their old haunts again, angrily ordered the two jailed. The December 26, 1912 Advertiser heading, "Filipinos Continue to Keep Police Busy," conveyed the impression that Filipinos had committed serious crimes; in the report, the only substantial facts cited were three cases of Filipinos stealing small sums from their fellow Filipinos. The newspaper report again conveyed the impression that the Filipinos had actually committed the series of burglaries hit Hilo in mid-1913 but in reality, the police arrested some Filipinos on mere suspicion but released them go again for lack of evidence. &Advertiser, August 6, 1913&

The first death sentence in Hilo was handed out to a Filipino in 1913. Simplicio Javellana had been living with a woman for three months but when he lost his job she left him and went to live with friends at a Paauiilo plantation camp. Five days later, Javellana sneaked into the

house and hacked her. Wounded, she fled under the house. Her 13 month old baby came creeping, seeking its mother, and filled with pity, Javellana cuddled it protectively all night and into the following day when he was found by the police. Javellana was charged with first degree murder and, according to the newspaper, put up no defense at all. "Atty Russell, who appeared for the defendant, did the best that could be possibly done with a practically hopeless case. Realizing the weakness of the position of his client, Russell declined to make any defense whatever, directing his efforts mainly, through cross-examination, towards an attempt to get suggested to the minds of the jurors some idea along the lines of the so-called 'unwritten law.'"

GET THE SOURCE OF THIS ARTICLE.

The reporting from Maui in the Advertiser and in the local newspaper showed a similar bias against Filipinos. "Maui Editor Vexed at Filipinos," announced the Advertiser on May 12, 1913, in a story about the editor of Wailuku's Weekly Times accusing the Filipinos of committing crime, sponging on friends, and stealing for a living. His only proof, a long list of gamblers charged in district court, however, contained mostly Japanese names. A January 5, 1913 Advertiser title, "Maui Filipinos in Murderous Assault," conveyed the impression that the Filipinos were harassing peaceful citizens. The actual story, which began with "Once more the 'little brown brother' is in the limelight, and the sheriff is out hunting for some of Taft's friend," was about a fight during a New Year's eve party which resulted in a Filipino being stabbed.

On Kauai, "Filipinos Create a Reign of Terror," a November 17, 1910 Advertiser story, gave no details or facts, merely a vague statement that Filipinos had attacked several women on a road in broad daylight, and that people were talking about taking justice in their own hands if the assault continued and the trials drawn out. The Japanese, in particular, complained that the Filipinos threatened them, entered their homes and robbed them, and notified several plantation managers that they would not work anymore on the plantations where Filipinos were employed. "The Japanese," reported the Advertiser, "are entering on a persistent campaign against their Filipino competitors," and their complaints resulted in some Filipinos had been fired from leeward plantations. &Advertiser, January 19, 1911& The Japanese said that their countrymen in the plantation camps were arming themselves against suspected Filipino petty thieves and were now nearing a mood when they would shoot on suspicion. &Advertiser, January 20, 1911&

The Portuguese societies in Honolulu also received complaints about plantation Portuguese fearing their women to venture out for fear of Filipino insult or assault. They also feared that their children, in playing with Filipino children, would catch Filipino diseases. They, too, threatened to leave the plantations where the Filipinos were working. &Advertiser, January 20, 1911&

Nor were they welcome in Honolulu and by 1913 a citizens protective committee had been formed in Honolulu to assist in prosecuting Filipinos. &Advertiser, February 10, 1913&. The police regularly raided temporary shacks established by Filipinos, reported the Advertiser in "Filipinos Like Loafing Better," and initiated close surveillance among the Filipinos because the Filipinos, strong and healthy, "would rather loaf

around the city than go to work on the plantations and that they are gradually returning to city life after being sent to the plantations on arrival." The police chief also claimed that the Filipinos were armed with guns and knives but a police raid yielded only one revolver of antique design and several knives. &Advertiser, February 7, 1911& Describing Honolulu as "a town almost overrun with Filipino vagrants" the Advertiser reported the police expecting considerable trouble from these Filipinos. &Advertiser, March 9, 1912&

A stereotype of the Filipino emerged out of the newspaper reports. This stereotype had several components. One component was the violent nature of Filipinos. The bolo, a regular field work implement in the barrios as well as on the plantation, was worn as a part of one's daily apparel but the newspaper accounts highlighted the fact that the Filipinos were always armed, with cane knives and bolos &Advertiser, January 5, 1911& They also linked another weapon, the sharpened file, to Filipino criminal behavior; "it is taken now as a sure sign of the complicity of a Filipino whenever found," declared the Advertiser on July 24, 1911. A story entitled "Angry Filipino Quick with Knife" in the January 19, 1913 Advertiser immediately planted in the readers' mind the association between Filipinos, knives, and violence; yet the story was about some Portuguese youth, amusing themselves in front of a Puunene cinema by throwing orange peels at a Filipino, who finally had to defend himself when one of the youth attacked him. The story titles and headlines about Filipinos, rather than the facts of the events, had established by 1913 the epithet "poke-knife" in the minds of Hawaii's people. &Advertiser, September 3, 1913&

A second component of the stereotype, the Filipino as a sex offender, A predominantly single male population led others to perceive the Filipinos as a sexual threat. "Filipinos Frighten Pepeekeo Girls," announced the Advertiser on February 5, 1913, in a story about Portuguese girls who knew the Filipinos by name and had played with them, and for whatever reason now complained that they were afraid to go to school because the Filipinos repeatedly annoyed them.

A third component of the stereotype, stupidity and cowardliness of the Filipinos, emerged in the way the newspaper accounts were written. When the police raided a gambling game at Kakaako the newspaper reported that the Chinese and the Japanese cleverly ran away but the Filipinos merely stood around, gaped at the police, and allowed themselves to be arrested. &Advertiser, February 9, 1911& On November 13, 1911 the Advertiser in a vague report about "50 or 60 armed Filipinos bent on wickedness, of what nature has not been learned as they had no time to carry it out," described the police valiantly charging among them and the Filipinos dispersing "like clouds before the sun." The report had few details, and it was evidently written merely to convey the impression of the police bravery and the cowardice of the Filipinos.

The impression of Filipino criminality was reinforced by rumors that many recruits were actually fugitives from Philippine justice. In 1911 a Manila police officer bound stateside told an Advertiser reporter when his ship docked in Honolulu that Manila police officers regularly boarded steamers bound for Hawaii and found, from time to time, well

known criminals on board. "We are glad to get rid of them," he said, "and I don't doubt that most of the people who were recruited in the Philippines are now serving time in Honolulu jails." He called the HSPA Filipino recruiters as mostly crooks who dealt with fellow crooks eager to leave the Philippines to escape trouble. &Advertiser, January 5, 1911.& A Filipino woman at the Palama Settlement conveyed the same idea. "Here we obtain goods on credit without repaying," she asserted, "we abduct women, we kill. Most of the criminals executed here are Filipinos and three out of every four prisoners are Filipinos. Only one in a thousand Filipinos here does not commit a crime." &Bonifacia Guillermo, To Manuel L. Quezon, May 8, 1914, Quezonian Papers& She claimed that in the 7 months and 24 days that she had lived in Honolulu, she had met all the fugitives from crime in the Philippines. She mentioned seven names, whose offense ranged from banditry to murder.

"It used to be said that the only good Indian was a dead Indian, and apparently many people in Hawaii today are taking the same view of the Filipino," commented the Advertiser in 1913. "That he has starred in newspaper headlines frequently because of appearance in court is unquestionably true; and that he has earned an unpleasant notoriety especially in Hilo, Kohala and Wailuku is also true." &Advertiser, June 26, 1913& Yet the data on crime reported by the Advertiser for the calendar year 1912 in Honolulu showed that the Filipinos unjustly deserved their reputation. They comprised merely 4.5% of the people convicted for crime that year. Of those Filipinos convicted, 61.4% were for gambling or being present at gambling; the next largest rates was 9.6%, for trespass, 8.6% for assault, 6.7% for larceny, and 4.4% for vagrancy.

Furthermore, there were indications that the Filipinos were the victims of selective arrest, detention, and conviction. In 1911 the Honolulu sheriff arrested and jailed three Filipinos who, according to a letter he had found in the pocket of a Filipino he had picked up, had killed a Puerto Rican. Evidently, no such crime had occurred; the Puerto Rican was very much alive. &Advertiser, June 17, 1911.& In 1913 eight men were arrested and charged as a group in a gambling game. All the evidence and the circumstance were the same for all eight defendants but the police judge released the five soldiers and fined two Filipinos and a Chinese man. &Advertiser, February 18, 1913&

During the 1913-1914 sugar industry depression, the hostility of the other ethnic groups toward the Filipinos intensified, blaming the new recruits for their own inability to secure employment. However, because there was a danger that the Filipino immigration to Hawaii could be stopped the sensational reporting of Filipino crimes in the haole newspapers actually eased up. The crisis over, the derogatory portrayal of Filipinos in the haole press once again resumed. For the years 1915 and 1916 70% of the articles about Hawaii Filipinos pertained to crime, and the rest to the national guard, HSPA and plantation labor publicity releases, vital statistics, and Filipino commemorative events. At this time, the following article also appeared:

'MISSING LINK' IS CAPTURED

The missing link has been discovered and is at present confined at the police station. He is a Filipino with a name that sounds like Chiqueria. If old Charlie Darwin were on earth today he'd surely want this specimen.

Motorcycle Officer Chilton and Police Officer George Kilia made the capture in Twelfth Avenue Kaimuki. Word had been received at the police station that a wild man had been seen in the district and Chilton and Kilia were detailed on the chase.

After a long search the Filipino was located in a clump of bushes close by the roadside. He was eating grass at the time and had a very disheveled appearance. He told the officer that he was going to "the big mountain," pointing to Diamond Head, to sleep. The patrol wagon was telephoned for and the man was taken to the police station and locked up.

His fingers are unusually long for a person of his stature, and his toes are elongated and prehensile. Except for his face, which is somewhat intelligent, he might be a monster ape. At the station he does not eat the prison fare with any degree of relish, but greedily devours peanuts fed him through the bars of the door in the wagon shed by policemen. He curls himself up contentedly on the sun-warmed steps but skips nimbly away when anyone makes a bluff of throwing a pail of water over him.

The Filipino has one pleasing trick which yesterday proved extremely diverting to his fellow prisoners sitting about in the courtyard. If a nickel were thrown onto the stone paving he would double his great toe back, and releasing that member with a snap, would propel the coin clear across the yard. As long as any nickels were forthcoming he would repeat the performance and apparently take great pride with his unique attainment. When, however, some heartless person threw a metal washer into the yard he refused to go near it, after a first inspection, and chattered angrily.

Chiqueria apparently was a cave dweller and tree climber in the Philippines. While his strong white teeth have a forbidding canine aspect, it is improbable that his diet in his native wilds was other than fruits and nuts.

Asked yesterday how long he had been in Honolulu, he replied "two, two," whatever that might mean. Questioned as to where he had come from, he replied "year year," which might mean Aiea or anywhere else, for that matter.

While being interviewed, the wild man was exceedingly busy with certain faunal investigations which, despite his marvelous toe snapping, threaten to make him very unpopular with other inhabitants of the calaboose. Advertiser, August 21, 1915

This story raised several unanswered questions. If Chiqueria was as exotic as portrayed in the article, how could that fact escape the plantation recruiters, the Manila doctors, the Manila HSPA office, the ship officers, the quarantine officers in Honolulu, the plantation foremen, and all the rest for so long? No follow up on this story which would have been necessary had the article meant science to look into such a unique specimen rather than meant to derogate Filipinos in general.

The association between Filipinos and crime was once again resumed by the Advertiser in its newspaper heading, once the unemployment crisis passed. The cases in Judge Ashford's court docket in December 1916 included a policeman dismissed for accepting bribes for gambling protection, a Hawaiian for criminal assault on a 13 year old girl, a Caucasian for second degree burglary, and others. Yet the heading for the Advertiser account read: "Filipino Quintet Under Indictment, Charged With Kidnapping Woman Named Ramona Roxas."&Advertiser, December 9, 1916& A story entitled "Filipino Convicts Terrorize Hawaii" was about a Filipino and a Korean who had escaped from a prison camp. The two escapees had not been been together but had supposedly been terrorizing isolated homes on the Hamakua coast. The newspaper explained that no victim had reported the presence of the two because they feared for their lives; it also supposed that the Filipino used a gun although no evidence existed to assert this claim. The men in the plantation communities were arming themselves and posting guards at night out of fear.&Advertiser, August 19, 1918& Once again the other ethnic groups in Hawaii were aroused against the Filipinos. In Haiku the relationship between the Japanese and the Filipinos had deteriorated to the point that they were conducting armed forays into each other's camp, and the Advertiser reported the story on the assumption that the Filipinos were always the trouble maker, and that in any incident it was the Filipino who was always at fault.&Advertiser, September 22, 1918& A grand jury on Kauai, reflecting the community's judgement about Filipinos in general, reported to the circuit court judge: "We would call the attention of your Honor to the fact that the crimes committed by the Filipinos have become so menacing that we would request your honor that severe punishment be imposed against all or any of the parties hereto indicted." This comment was occasioned by the indictment of three Filipinos for assault with weapons of a Makee plantation section luna and a Chinese who came to his help.&Advertiser, November 11, 1916&

The slanted reporting of Filipinos continued in the Advertiser. "Filipinos Outrage Three Young Girls," announced an Advertiser story of January 17, 1917. The story was about three young Chinese Hawaiian girls who had been brought to the taxi dance halls by their parents. The parents also received money and did not object to men calling upon their daughters. The girls admitted to having several lovers. The story pointed out that one of the girls, 15, had become pregnant but slanted the account about "three pretty little Hawaiian girls" now in juvenile court having been corrupted by Filipino "brutes." In another account, the newspaper made fun of the stupidity of Filipinos in wanting to break into jail where one normally wished to break out. The incident involved a man who appeared each morning wishing to be imprisoned although the story did not explain the man's reasons for wanting to. The other incident

concerned a woman whose husband had been arrested and jailed for draft delinquency. She felt safer joining her husband in jail rather than being alone at her Waianae home. &Advertiser, April 29, 1918&

In 1917 seven Filipinos were hanged. &Advertiser, September 26, 1917& Four of them as a gang entered a Japanese store in Kaneohe, forced the storekeeper to open the safe (containing money and valuables entrusted by Filipinos at a nearby camp) and then shot him in the presence of his wife. &Advertiser, August 23, 26, 1917& Another Filipino hanged had killed a Japanese man in Hilo. The remaining two hanged had been involved in a love triangle. One had killed a woman, the mother of a girl who jilted him, and wounded his rival. He had been supporting the girl and her mother for nine months, and in anticipation of his wedding he had gotten his home ready with furnishings. The mother, however, had been carrying the girl off to Schofield barracks to meet another Filipino potential marriage partner. The condemned man arrived home one morning to find the mother, the girl and the lover having breakfast.

The other lover triangle case involved Hermogenes Alcantara at Waipahu. Alcantara had fatally stabbed his wife and wounded the man who stole her from him. &Advertiser, August 15, 1917& The first trial for first degree murder ended in a hung jury but a retrial found him guilty. Judge Clarence W. Ashford, who was known to be biased against Filipinos and considered them ethnologically ineligible for naturalizaation, opposed their admission into the national guards, and kept on the plantations rather than allowed to be in Honolulu, &Advertiser, February 15, 19, 1916&, took the sentencing as an opportunity to rail against the Filipinos. "Your case is one among a great many violent crimes committed by Filipinos," he told Alcantara. "Filipinos have come here in large numbers and have brought a civilization, or lack of civilization, and a code of morals altogether foreign to those prevailing in this country." Judge Ashford, condemning the allegedly high crime rate among Filipinos, sentenced Alcantara to hang in order to serve as an example. "The little brown brothers brought here," he said, "habitually carry knives, stilettos, slingshots and pistols, and are altogether too ready to use them." &Advertiser, September 13, 1917.& The Advertiser added its own note to Ashford's: "The warning of the penalty that Hawaii insists shall be meted out to murderers was not primarily intended for the guilty man before the judge, but for the Filipinos of these islands as a whole." Noting the Filipino reputation for crimes of violence, it added: "Their crimes here have been callous, cruel and fiendishly calculated on many occasions." &Advertiser, editorial, September 18, 1917&

GET DATA HERE FOR CRIME RATES AS AN OBJECTIVE FACT TO
CONTRAST WITH THE ADVERTISER AND MEDIA IMPRESSIONS

While Hawaii railed at Filipino crimes, the Filipinos themselves complained that they were, in fact, victims of an unfair criminal justice system. In 1915 three men ended up in Judge Clarence Ashford's court, all charged separately with embezzling. Frank Hoags, a dismissed Bank of Hawaii teller, originally embezzled \$25,500 but the charge was reduced to \$1,000. Louis Abrams, a director of Hawaiian Trust company, was originally charged of embezzling \$10,400 but was reduced to the charge of converting to his own use a \$1,000 bond he did not own. The third

defendant, Richard Ramos, a Filipino waiter, was charged with converting a \$7 check to \$70. All three defendants had fled for California, all pleaded guilty to the charges, and they were sentenced within minutes of each other by Judge Ashford. The first two were fined \$1,000 each and went free after paying their fines. Judge Ashford, a friend of Abrams and of young Hoag's father, said before the sentencing that the two men had atoned enough and the disgrace they had brought to their families was punishment enough. Many friends of both men had approached the judge to plea for leniency, the prosecuting attorney did not utter a single word in their cases, and a special committee of the grand jury had interceded with the judge for a light sentence. On the other hand, Ramos was not represented by a lawyer, had no friend in court, and unable to pay the \$200 fine and the cost of the court trial, ended up being imprisoned an additional 200 days in addition to his sentence of a week at hard labor. This was such a blatant case of inequity that Governor Pinkham had to intervene and granted Ramos full pardon. &Advertiser, October 13, 1915&

Filipinos cited other cases of injustice. The police claimed that the bruises on the Filipinos resulted when they fell as they tried to run away; the Filipinos had been arrested at a crap game played by soldiers who were not arrested, and the Filipinos claimed that they were merely in the vicinity of the gambling, and not participants in the game at all. &Advertiser, October 15, 1917& Other Filipinos complained about being held for detention without any reason being given for their arrest nor any charge being placed opposite their name on the police blotter. &Advertiser, December 9, 1917, July 22, 1918& Offenders who victimized Filipinos were not persecuted, as in the case of a Filipino killed by the son of his Hawaiian luna, Telesforo Romero, where the case was covered up as a suicide and Filipinos were not called upon to testify and nothing was done which led Filipinos to protest the injustice of the case. &B.M. Muraliz, to Manuel L. Quezon, January 28, 1917, Quezonian Papers& The Filipinos complained that they had little means to voice their grievances on the plantations. Two men found that the wrong time worked had been entered for them and as a consequence they became ineligible for the bonus. They asked the luna to write a note to the plantation office about the error but the luna refused, so they held the luna until they consented to do so. Upon his release the luna sued the two for kidnapping; the charges were dropped, however, when the judge found the two men's cause being reasonable. However, the two men ended up paying heavy fines for possessing firearms. &Advertiser, December 6, 1917&