

CHAPTER NINE
PLANTATION LIFE AND WORK

In the 1930s, the vast majority of the Filipinos in Hawaii were in the 38 plantations, three-fourths on sugar plantations, and the rest on pineapple plantations, small towns and villages. The growing and milling of sugar cane dominated by Amfac, with ten plantations producing 30.6% of Hawaii crop and C. Brewer, with 13 plantations producing 24.4%. Alexander and Baldwin's five plantations contributed 20%, Castle and Cooke's three plantations, 14.8%, and Theo H. Davis' three plantations, 6.1%. F.A. Schaeffer and Company, Bishop Trust, and Fred L. Waldron, Ltd. had one plantation each.

In 1930, the Filipinos composed composed 70% of the plantation employees. No recruitment, other ethnic groups retired and left. They were concentrated in the lower levels of the workforce, composing 80% of the unskilled laborers on the plantations. In 1930, 67% of the Filipinos were unskilled laborers, 20% contract cultivators, and 12% semi-skilled laborers. On the other hand, 57% of the plantation employees, including the Filipinos were unskilled laborers, 18.5% contract cultivators and 16% semi-skilled laborers. &Lind, Island Community, Appendix F, p. 324& The profile of the Filipinos in the pineapple industry was similar. Employment in the pineapple industry fluctuated drastically. During the harvesting season between early June and early September in 1930, the cannery employed 12000 workers and the plantation had 8500, a lot of schoolchildren and women being hired temporarily, but during the off season the cannery had 2600 permanent jobs and the plantation 5000, the Filipino men were employed in heavy manual work and hapai ko.

The growing of sugar cane required the heaviest labor expenditure still; 70.8% of the plantation employees were still engaged in field labor. The non-field labor was generally in the mill and the shops, and in transporting the cane.

The employment of the labor was as follows: 50.5% of the labor was done under per diem rates, another 36.8% under short term (piece rates) and 12.7% under the long term cultivation contract. &Shoemaker Report, 1939, p. ?& EXPLAIN HOW THIS HAD CHANGED FROM THE PAST, AND THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS

Half of the field laborers were employed as day laborers, under per diem rates. In 12 months ending September 1937, they earned a daily wage of \$1.80. These jobs were generally given to the less physically able men, the older workers or the younger ones not physically fit to do field work.

Another 36.8% of the laborers were employed under short term (piece rate) contracts in harvesting, plowing, fertilizing, and weeding. The plantations fixed the rates for various kinds of tasks; in cutting cane, for example there were various rates for burned, unburned and different varieties of cane. Hoers were paid a rate per line of 30 feet, track layers paid per yard, cane cutters per ton, hapai ko per ton, and seed cutters per bag of seeds. The rates were higher in the harvesting operations, ranging from \$2.27 for cutting cane to \$2.50 for piling and loading cane (hapai ko). They received an average daily wage of 2.25.

The plantations extended the piece rate system to many more tasks in the 1930s, but the system was not happily accepted by the laborers. The laborers complained that the plantations set the rates too low. On some plantations, the rates so so low that in order to make good pay, the men had to work overtime on their own time. On Kauai, cane pilers went to the fields at night to start piling the cane so as to increase their earnings at regular work the following day. &Mauro L. Andaya testimony, in Elizabeth Bolles, Stenographic Report of Hearing on Fair Wage Rates in Sugar Cane for 1938. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Agricultural Adjustment Administration (Washington, D.C., GPO, 1938) p. 87, 106; also Malapit interview& Another laborer complained that "Sometimes, too, when we cut too much cane they send us to day work." &Genaro Mendoza, testimony, in Elizabeth Bolles, Stenographic Report of Hearing on Fair Wage Rates in Sugar Cane for 1938. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Agricultural Adjustment Administration (Washington, D.C., GPO, 1938), p. 87&

The laborers also complained that the plantations speeded up work by setting the rate to the fastest worker. &Elizabeth Bolles, Stenographic Report of Hearing on Fair Wage Rates in Sugar Cane for 1938. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Agricultural Adjustment Administration (Washington, D.C., GPO, 1938), p. 139& On Kauai plantations, the A gang, consisting of the strongest and huskiest workers, set the pace and established the rates. Many slower workers put in long hours merely to earn reasonable wages. &Elizabeth Bolles, Stenographic Report of Hearing on Fair Wage Rates in Sugar Cane for 1938. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Agricultural Adjustment Administration (Washington, D.C., GPO, 1938), pp. 134-35& The laborers had no choice but to accept or reject the rates offered. Those who refused the offered rates would ask for day work but often found none available. &A McBryde Sugar Company Filipino employee to Edward Berman in Elizabeth Bolles, Stenographic Report of Hearing on Fair Wage Rates in Sugar Cane for 1938. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Agricultural Adjustment Administration (Washington, D.C., GPO, 1938), pp. 133-34& The laborer who refused the offered piece work risked being rounded up by the plantation police at the camp for laying off, and dismissed for poor turnout.

While increasing the number of jobs on piece work, the plantations decreased the number of cultivation contracts in the 1930s; only a third of the plantation laborers were now engaged in contract. The cultivation gangs were still composed of a single ethnic group although by 1938 there were now a few composed of Filipinos and Japanese together. &Bureau of Labor Stats, 1939 Shoemaker report& Instead of hiring more laborers at harvest time, the plantations pulled the contractors out of their contract and engaged them in piece work, which paid less. &Campsie to C. Brewer, January 10, 1938, HACO& In 1937 the cultivation contract paid an average of \$2.40 a day (or ___% more than the piece workers, the average pay being \$2.25 a day). On some plantations, the laborers were employed at contract work for merely five consecutive months while the young plants needed the most weeding, cultivating and watering; after that, they were assigned to lesser paid piece work and day jobs. &Genaro Mendoza, Lihue Plantation laborer testimony, in Elizabeth Bolles, Stenographic Report of Hearing on Fair Wage Rates in Sugar Cane for 1938. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Agricultural Adjustment Administration (Washington, D.C., GPO, 1938), p. 75&

As in the past, there were only a few adherent planters; they worked under the same arrangement in the past, given cash advance by the plantation, living in plantation homes, and being employed by the plantation when not working at their own fields. They cultivated an average of 7.6 acres. &H.A. Walker, Amfac, to Ernest Gruening, December 2, 1937, in Micro 644&

A contemporary observer described vividly a plantation pay day, which took place once a month:

". . .Outside of the plantation office where the laborers received their wages stretches a long line of vehicles, ancient and new, large and small, ranging from a rickety fish wagon to the ultra-smart coupe of an auto salesman. Each is waiting with a common purpose: to get a payment on the laborer's bill.

"The laborers fall in line along the walk leading to the paymaster's office window. Plantation police keep order in the line. Two stand by the window and check the bangos &a copper plate with the worker's identification number engraved on it, and used by worker to make purchases at plantation store on credit, to timekeeper when he goes to work; it is his pass and he is fined a dollar if he loses it& of the workers to be sure each man gets his own pay envelope. The policeman hands the bango to the paymaster who returns it to the laborer with the pay envelope containing his monthly earnings after deductions for plantation store bills. Sometimes it is only a receipt that greets the eyes of the eager employee. His money has been entirely consumed in bills. Sometimes there a balance of from \$2.00 to \$10.00 or \$15.00. Whatever may be left in the pay envelope is not infrequently consumed by the waiting line of creditors.

"The first may be a fish truck operated by an elderly Japanese woman. It is a small Ford containing a large amount of iced fish of the many varieties peculiar to Hawaii. The woman welcomes the laborers, each in his own dialect, as they come to buy fish and pay for those consumed the previous month. Her daughter, a comely girl who does the bookkeeping, receives each payment with a hearty smile,--which does much for the business. Two more fish wagons may be in the line, one of them operated by a Filipino woman who thus contributes to her family income, probably earning more than her laborer husband. Next may be a Japanese vegetable vendor, who has been dealing exclusively with Filipinos for many years, which may account for his cheerful and happy-go-lucky manner, unlike the usual mechanically efficient attitude of the Japanese. He also greets the laborers in their native tongue, and offers them special Philippine greens, such as saluyot and kalamungay. The roadster next in line belongs to a hustling clothier dealing in the fashionable "Hollywood" suits dear to the heart of the dapper Filipino. Japanese and Filipino laundresses are likewise waiting in the camp. Others in the long line represent radio, phonograph and sewing machine companies, automobile dealers, enlarged picture makers, Filipino taxi drivers, and private stores: all trying to get at least a share of the few remaining dollars that may lie in the laborer's pocket. Lucky indeed, or strong willed is he who gets home with something for the bank or the homeland folk after squaring up his outstanding debts. More often do the principals in our little trade step out on the red side of the ledger. Even with the perquisites allowed by the plantation (housing, fuel, medical attention, etc.) it is a Mazarin task for the laborer to live according to his desires in Hawaii and still save money." &Roman R. Cariaga, "The Filipinos in Hawaii: A Survey of their Economic and Social Conditions," Master's thesis in sociology, University of Hawaii, 1936, pp. 90-91&

TREND IN WAGES IN THE 1930S

Plantation workers suffered a decline in income during the depression years. Their annual income in 1933 was merely 87% of that in 1930. &Edna C. Wentworth, *Filipino Plantation Workers in Hawaii* (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1941), p. 66& Wages increased only slightly after 1934, at between 3 and 5%, mainly because of the Sugar Act of 1937, which gave the secretary of agriculture the responsibility of determining wage rates. However, the increase in wages between 1934 and 1939 were offset by an increase in the cost of living in Hawaii. &Edna C. Wentworth, *Filipino Plantation Workers in Hawaii* (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1941), p. 85& The Filipinos on the pineapple plantations received hourly rates slightly higher than those for sugar work, but there were days of bad weather or of lack of work and the average hours per work fell as low as 27 hours a week, and for this reason pineapple wages were usually substantially less than sugar cane wages. &Bu of Labor Statis Report, 1939, p. 92& They received the same perks as sugar plantation workers.

The plantations kept the turnout and profit sharing bonus systems but the price of sugar in 1925 began a long decline which reached new lows ever during the depression years and continued to sink in 1939 to a third less than the 1925 price. The plantations eliminated the bonus systems on September 30, 1938 as a result of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration mandating higher wages. But the perquisites remained. In 1939, the HSPA claimed that the perquisites, consisting of house, fuel, water, hospital and medical services, recreational and social facilities, amounted to \$12.96 a month on the average, varying from \$10 to \$16 on the various plantations, and that this was ___% of the average wages of \$48.88 for laborers in general; the Wage Determination hearings established a lesser value of \$2.75 a week in 1938. &Elizabeth Bolles, Stenographic Report of Hearing on Fair Wage Rates in Sugar Cane for 1938. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Agricultural Adjustment Administration (Washington, D.C., GPO, 1938), p. 138& The unmarried workers received not more than 40% of the value received by family men. The plantations also provided an informal pension plan, which was not standardized at all; each came came up before management and decided on its individual merit, family size and need, and during times of good sugar prices the pension was higher than at other times. &Bu of Labor Stats, Report, 1939, p. 74&

The Filipinos in 1939 still lagged behind others in earnings. The average monthly earnings among Filipinos in 1939 was \$46.92, while that for all ethnic groups was \$48.88. The Filipinos composed merely 10.7% of the salaried workers, while they composed 53.1% of all plantation workers; so they were underrepresented there.

The situation in 1939: The Filipinos represented 53.1% of all workers. Among the non-salaried workers, the Filipinos received a monthly earnings of \$46.92, lower than the average monthly earnings of non-salaried workers of \$48.88. &Bu of Labor Statistics, Report, 1939, pp. 45-46, p. 52& (Get percentage lower for Filipinos). All in all, including salaried, in 1938 the average annual earnings of male workers on the sugar plantations for all races was \$561, while it was merely \$467 for Filipinos. &Bu of Labor Statistics, Report, 1939,&

Turnover rate: 35.76 for the whole year in 1929, the highest separation being from July to November; the highest number of employees on the plantation being from January to June, the harvest months (?) &Bu Labor Stats, Report, 1929, pp. 43-44.

The HSPA made so much propaganda out of the fact that Filipinos were depositing money with the HSPA to be redeemed by those going home in Manila. The HSPA figures deposited with them showed that an average of \$481.34 were deposited by those returning home between 1935 and 1939; however the figures are not refined according to how long these returnees had taken to accumulate the sum, and the spread, with some receiving as little as \$20 but one or two as much as \$5,000. &Bu Labor Stats, Report, 1939, p. 6, table 2& The per capita savings deposit in Hawaii from 1930 to 1934 were also very low compared to other ethnic groups, but this figure does not tell us anything because the Filipinos were not depositing their money in banks. &See Lind, An Island Community, p. 266, table 29& And the real estate and personal property assessed for Filipinos in 1930 showed that the Filipinos hardly had any assets. &Lind, An Island Community, table 30, p. 267&

For most Filipinos, Hawaii was but an interruption in their lives. They sought to return to the Philippines as soon as they could. There were several reasons why they did not remain long on the plantation work as soon as they could accumulate some savings to return to the Philippines.

Enumerate them here.

1. Work was really hard, that it was dirty work (literally with soot and mud) and monotonous, that hapai ko was dangerous work, with the ramp slippery after a slight drizzle; that there was no future in it, in that as one grew older and weaker one earned less money, and that the work was tiring and thus the need to recuperate often. Among Filipinos, when they got paid they would go to Honolulu by train and not come back for a week. Not to worry: "We could always get our jobs back because it was the worst job working in the fields and nobody else would do it." & Pastor Limatoc interview, Honolulu Sunday Advertiser and Star Bulletin, Waipahu 75th Diamond Jubilee Supplement, p. 14, 30 & Field work was physically demanding, and once old, decline in wages. Daily work continued to be long and demanding. Daily work: at 5 a.m. sounded the first whistle warning workers to be ready for bus or train to carry them to turn out station; at 5:20 a second whistle to signal the handing out of the assignments for the day; latecomers missed their assignments and were not permitted to work that day. A third whistle at 5:40 signaled the trucks and busses to take the workers to the field and at 6 the day's work began, continuous interrupted only by a 15-minute breakfast and a 30-minute lunch. & Edna C. Wentworth, Filipino Plantation Workers in Hawaii (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1941), p. 53 &

2. As in the past, complaints about the lunas. Also there were still complaints about abusive lunas and camp policemen beating up the workers, treating them like animals, rousing them from home to work & ESOHP, pp. 172, 200. &

3. Filipinos also complained about discrimination on the plantations. At HACO, five Filipinos signed a letter complaining that the plantations favored the Japanese as lunas, contract bosses or contractors. The luna assigned some workers 20 days of work and give a bonus while others worked 22 days and yet not given a bonus (i.e. arbitrary). & Benjamin Acasio et al to HACO Director, January 29, 1930, HACO &

4. There was also the insecurity of plantation employment. Once no longer employed, the laborer was not entitled to perquisites, including residence on the plantation camp. He could run afoul of rules and regulations; mechanization could eliminate his job, or the arbitrary decision of the luna, who had a right to order out of the plantation town any laborer he pleased; and this was hard on those with families. Also the pension plan was very arbitrary. The complaint by Severo Deblacos at Kaileku Sugar Company--he had been fired by the plantation for being slow, unsteady and as an agitator; he said the luna wanted to work the men like mules, and he had been fired in three weeks. The camp boss forced him to leave his quarters and because he complained about it to Governor Judd in a letter, the luna and camp boss got mad and so they picked up his things and deposited them in the middle of the government road so that he and his wife slept out in the open. &Severo Deblacos, Kaeleku Sugar Company, to Lawrence Judd, Feb. 17, 1933; February 24, 1933, Judd Papers, AH&

The returnees: an expression of dissatisfaction, or not fulfilling passage provisions. 39% of the 3490 Filipinos returning to the Philippines during the year starting October 1, 1928 returned by paying their passage back, having forfeited their right to free return; their average employment on the plantations was 27 months, and they averaged 1.5 plantations worked. 55% fulfilled their contract, having worked an average of four and a half years on the plantation, although they too transferred to another plantation than where originally assigned, as they worked on an average of 1.4 plantations. The sick, about 4% of those returned, averaged four years and a quarter of work on sugar plantations, and they worked an average of 1.7 plantations. &Bu Labor Stats, Report, 1929-30, pp. 16-17&

PLANTATION TOWN LIFE

The welfare program started in the early 1920s came to full bloom on the various plantations in the 1930s. The plantations emphasized recreation: in 1937 the 35 HSPA plantations among them had 46 baseball parks, 212 volleyball courts, 40 basketball courts, 20 gyms, 101 clubhouses and 35 theaters. The camps were still distinctly ethnic in composition, although by the middle of the 1930s the plantations moved Filipino, Japanese and other Asian families together in the smaller camps. The homes were of the single family type, but there were still the duplexes. Electricity was not free, although kerosene was provided as perks based on number of persons in the household. Some plantations had a full-blown program of recreation, entertainment and social activities, like at Waipahu, with music teachers going to camp, athletics encouraged, civic and literary societies also.

The Filipino leaders in the plantation were the white collar (translator in the personnel department), a few lunas, the camp boss or policemen, and the nurses and ministers. GET THE DETAILS ON THE NURSES FROM DIONICIO COLLECTION

The Filipinos on the plantations often coming from single hometown, the result of shifting around of the Filipinos, going to the plantations where they had relatives and townmates, and thus a network and kinship consolidation taking place. This contradicts Edna C. Wentworth, Filipino Plantation Workers in Hawaii (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1941) about the isolation of the families, though. &S.O. Halls, HSPA to All Plantations, December 13, 1924, HACO&

Filipinos complained that their houses were not very good. The managers said that they were building better homes but these couldn't be finished in a short time. The Filipinos also complained that the plantations moved the Filipinos out of the deteriorated homes, tore them down, built new ones in their place, and then when completed, would put in other nationalities, and this happened often in many plantations. &Fagel, Testimony, in Elizabeth Bolles, Stenographic Report of Hearing on Fair Wage Rates in Sugar Cane for 1938. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Agricultural Adjustment Administration (Washington, D.C., GPO, 1938), p. 102&

FAMILY

IN THEIR CAMPS, THE FILIPINOS CONTINUED TO REMAIN A SINGLE MALE POPULATION IN THE MAIN.

THERE WERE TWO REASONS FOR THIS

ONE REASON: THE HSPA DID NOT ENCOURAGE THE ARRIVAL OF FAMILIES

SECOND REASON: THE FILIPINOS DID NOT WANT TO COME OR WANT TO BRING THEIR FAMILIES OVER

NOW, EXPLORE REASON NUMBER ONE: The system of bringing in young, unmarried males under a short contract proved advantageous to the sugar industry for years, avoiding a number of problems, including the maintenance of families, pensions, and the second generation problem. &Bur. Labor Stats, Report, 1939, p. 199; Moe Kilmer, "The Outlook for Filipinos in Hawaii," Honolulu Mercury, October 1929, pp. 38-52. This quote is on p. 48&

As a result of criticism, the HSPA changed its outlook about bringing in families. The HSPA practice was to pay for the transportation to Hawaii of a laborer's wife and two children accompanying him. In 1917 the HSPA, concerned about the restlessness and shifting of Filipinos from plantation to plantation, devised a plan to induce Hawaii Filipinos to bring their wives or prospective wives to Hawaii. The plan was first tried out on Oahu; Royal D. Mead and the Reverend Ramirez of the Filipino mission in Honolulu acted much like picture bride agents, visiting the plantations, interviewing the men, and securing photographs and letters to wives. Then Ramirez and his wife went to the Philippines to interview the wives and bring them to Hawaii. &R.D. Mead, HSPA Bu Labor Stats to Hackfeld, April 27, 1917, GFA&

Ramirez' efforts led to the fact that agents in Manila advised that "a fair sprinkling" of Filipinos with families were being recruited. Indeed, in 1918 the males among the new arrivals from the Philippines comprised 75% of the new arrivals from the Philippines, a drop from 87% a year earlier; in 1919 it was back up again to 82%. The HSPA asked the plantations to take in a small number of families, provide them with suitable housing, not the barrack quarters, and advance the credits which would enable them to equip these homes with benches, tables, and cooking utensils. The HSPA warned that unless these were done, future recruitment of families would be hindered. &S.O. Halls, acting director, HSPA, to HACO, March 18, 1918, HACO&

The plantations resisted the HSPA recommendations. HACO, for example, grudgingly agreed to admit only eight Filipino families from a large shipment of married laborers arriving in April 1918, requesting instead fifty single men to constitute a gang for weeding young cane. &Campsie to C. Brewer, April 4, 1918& Campsie, the manager, complained that the cost of accommodating these families in cottages had become prohibitive, each new home costing now \$400 each compared to \$250 before the war. The plantation saved some money by converting an old Korean camp into one exclusively for married Filipinos. &Campsie to C. Brewer, October 16, 1918& Of \$60,000 the plantation allocated for capital expenditures in 1920, merely \$2,000 went to Filipino housing, less than it spent for improving skilled employee housing, or for a clubhouse and tennis court. HACO's camps were old, most of the homes consisting of the barracks type suitable for single males, and the manager had difficulty getting the materials to build new homes. &Campsie to C. Brewer, July 9, 1920& All throughout the next two decades, therefore, the plantation asked merely for single males, no families, among the recruits the HSPA brought to Hawaii.

At the end of 1923 HACO began to build new replacement homes for married Japanese laborers and looked into the possibility of building cheaper single family homes for married Filipinos. It abandoned the idea, however, once it learned that the HSPA had no design for a two-room house for the married Filipinos with families, and that the cost of such a project would run too high, especially as the plantation had to replace old barracks buildings and put up clubhouses. "While in some cases it may cause more or less trouble to have two married families in one house, we believe the plantations should endeavor to get along with this type of two-unit building as the cost is materially less, and this is a point which must be considered as the plantations have such a large building program ahead of them." &Horace Johnson to Campsie, December 28, 1923, HACO.&

In 1923 the HSPA once again brought to Hawaii many married Filipinos; only 65% of the Filipinos arriving that year were males. The plantations, however, wished to take in only the single males, not the families. Amfac had to force its plantations to receive these families and sending each one an allocation based on their tonnage output ratio. &Amfac to Grove Farm, August 2, 1923& The threat of the strike in 1924 compelled the HSPA trustees to increase Filipino recruitment to 100 a month, two thirds of which would be married men bringing their families, their notion being that men with families to support would be reluctant to go on strike or stay out too long. Once again it urged the plantations to push their camp building program. &Amfac to Grove Farm, March 3, 1924& However, the reluctance of the plantations to take in the families led to few being actually brought to Hawaii. At the end of 1925 the HSPA trustees once again asked the plantations to accommodate more families in their monthly requisition for laborers. &Butler to All Plantations, December 16, 1925, HACO& The plantations, however, like HACO, continued to request only single laborers, and so the HSPA discontinued its efforts to bring in more families because the plantations were constantly complaining that they were short of housing for married Filipinos.&Butler to All Plantations, July 20, 1927, HACO&

Between 1925 and 1931, 95% of the Filipinos brought to Hawaii by the HSPA were now single males, a higher proportion than in any previous years because now the Filipinos had to pay for their own passage. In 1927, the HSPA adopted as policy what had heretofore been its practice of paying for the wife and two minor children of a recruit, publicized the policy among the Filipinos on the plantations, and waited for requests to get their families to Hawaii. &Butler to All Plantations, July 20, 1927, HACO& Few sent in their request. Rare were the sakadas who, like Angelo Menor, came in 1925 alone and sent for his wife and two children, Ben (later to be associate justice of the Hawaii supreme court), at this time seven years old, and Eladia, in 1930. Mrs. Menor remembered being frightened when she first arrived and saw the Filipino camp at Pahoia with the strange Filipino men, some speaking languages she did not understand. &Star Bulletin, June 13, 1934&

Some of the wives refused to come. In 1928 HACO's Simon Campos asked the HSPA to bring his wife and two small children to Hawaii but his wife was willing to come only if she could take along all six children and if her husband sent her some \$350 she had borrowed in order to live because her husband had not sent her money since 1924. &Pfleuger to HACO, June 4, 1928& The family was not able to come because of the expense involved, and the HSPA did not pay the passage of more than two minor children. &W. Pflueger, Asst. Director, Bu. Labor & Stats, HSPA to HACO, Feb. 21, 1928, HACO& The wife of Tomas Carlos at HACO refused to come because she was now living with another man. &W. Pflueger to HACO, August 3, 1928, HACO& The wife of Lacarias Ragmat refused to join her husband in Hawaii and had written her husband to come for her if he wanted her. &Pflueger to HACO, June 4, 1928, HACO&

Other than being reunited with their husbands, there were few inducements for the women to come to Hawaii. They did not regard Hawaii as a place to migrate to permanently, and they would lose the comforts of kinsmen and home in the barrio. On the other hand, the women would merely find themselves in crowded situations on the plantations, with most of the Filipinos in the camps being single males, who were often mixed with the families in the same camps. They would find themselves in poorer housing in the camps, and in crowded living conditions. At HACO in 1934, 263 men, women and children occupied 43 homes, or an average of 6.1 persons per house, which was crowded because the homes were mostly the standard 2 bedroom homes. A little over half of the total plantation population of 2484 consisted of single males. &HACO to HSPA, August 16, 1934, HACO&

From the beginning, women learned that they faced an uncertain future in Hawaii without the assistance of kinsmen if their husbands abandoned them. This was the case with Juana Ordonez, for example, who came with her husband in 1912. After a year, her husband left for San Francisco, so for support she became the common law wife of another Filipino for a year and a half. When she separated from this second man she petitioned the HSPA to return her to the Philippines but was turned down because she was not physically incapacitated. &Babbitt to Pinkham, February 3, 1915, Pinkham Papers, AH& When the husband died in a work related accident in which the plantation was responsible, the HSPA simply instructed the plantations to offer \$250 to the survivors of the deceased in return for being released from further responsibility. &Butler to Grove Farm, September 25, 1928, GFA& Women who were widowed or abandoned on the plantations, therefore, ended up being stranded in Hawaii, dependent on remarriage or by common law arrangement for support.

Life in Hawaii for the Filipino women was also precarious because of the disorganization arising from the imbalance of males and females in the Filipino camps. The few available women in the plantation camps, married or single, became the object of extreme competition. They were flattered by men and showered with gifts, and as a result, some gave up their husbands and children to live with the suitors. With easy divorce and the absence of an effective group of relatives and neighbors to heed, it became difficult to maintain the strict standards of morality the men and women were used to in the Philippines.

Thus there appeared in the Hawaii newspapers several mocking accounts of the selling of women. One such account described how the uncle of two young Filipino women who had run away from their husbands simply sold them to be married all over again to other men. &Advertiser, October 8, 1923& The story, which was satirical rather than factual in style, merely created the impression that Filipino women were sold serially for money, and it did not indicate that authorities had taken any action at all on the matter. Another account created the impression that Filipinos often often sold their wives; the story told of how a woman, who had separated from her husband, fell in love with another man. Two months later, at a long talk between the husband and the woman's lover, the husband agreed to let his wife live with the lover. Deeply in debt at the time, the husband asked for \$100 to pay it off and the lover agreed. Yet the story made it appear to be a case of a man selling his wife before they had been estranged. &Advertiser, November 26, 1924& Financial considerations entered in some cases, as in the case of a few older women forcing their teenage daughters to marry for money, or selling ballots and pictures of their daughters in beauty contests. &Angeles Mangaser, Filipino Worker Report, April 1933, in HEA Archives&

Newspaper accounts also blatantly created the impression that bigamy was common among the Filipinos. This was the intent of a newspaper account, with very little concrete facts, of how a woman on Maui was married to 5 Filipino males at the same time; the account ended with the claim that if all cases of bigamy among Filipinos in Hawaii were investigated, there would not be enough jails in the islands to hold them. &Advertiser, July 25, 1925& What seemed to be bigamy to others, however, often turned out to be merely a case of paris-paris, a practice whereby women in the Philippines, eager to join their husbands or family in Hawaii, posed as the wife of a newly recruited laborer in order to obtain free passage. Newspaper accounts and gossips made it appear that these women were abandoning their husbands upon arriving in Hawaii when in truth they were merely joining their real husbands or freely contracting to marry upon reuniting with their fathers or brothers. In very rare cases, a woman might come to Hawaii out of a desire to work and save and return, such as one who came in 1923, paired off with a sakada as a business arrangement with the intention of returning to the Visayas eventually, and married her pareja, anyway, because other men were chasing her in Hawaii. &Advertiser, May 21, 1926&

The imbalance of males and females led to the notoriety of coboy among the Filipinos, as it had been among the Japanese earlier as well. An armed gang would abduct the wife of a married laborer in the camp, even at daytime. Coboy coboy resulted in many fights, stabbings, especially before 1920 and men locked up their wives at home before going to work &Dizon, Dagiti Filipinos Ditoy Hawaii&

The most important deterrent to bringing families to Hawaii was the difficulty of supporting them on laborer wages. Edna Wentworth, who conducted a detailed study of the finances of 101 Filipino families on a plantation in 1938, wrote that "the sugar industry in Hawaii is geared to the needs of the single Filipino, and the laborers' earnings are insufficient to meet the needs of a wife and several children." &Edna C. Wentworth, Filipino Plantation Workers in Hawaii (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1941), p. 59& It was necessary that the wives worked, and between a half and three-fourths of the wives in her study contributed to the family income by doing laundry for single males at \$2 a month, keeping boarders, selling merchandize, or cooking and selling Filipino dishes and pastries. &Edna C. Wentworth, Filipino Plantation Workers in Hawaii (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1941), p. 59&. Despite the supplementary income of wives and children, as well as garden produce and gifts in kind, plantation families still found it hard to make ends meet. Their annual income, including perquisites, amounted to \$987.50 and their total expenditure, \$1,013.84. &Edna C. Wentworth, Filipino Plantation Workers in Hawaii (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1941), p. 204&

Furthermore, the situation about high plantation store prices persisted. A department of agriculture investigator reported that in 1938 despite such advantages as HSPA pooling, large purchase buying and freight rates to Hawaii, prices in the islands were at least 25% higher than in San Francisco. Even the meat raised in Hawaii was priced higher/ Honolulu store prices were consistently lower than plantation store prices, and these plantation stores enjoyed a captive clientele because no other stores were close by the camps, family men and those in debt could only get credit at the plantation stores, and had one been available nearby, the independent store would have had to pay high purchase costs for goods because they were shipped through Matson Lines, which was controlled by the planters. &Elizabeth Bolles, Stenographic Report of Hearing on Fair Wage Rates in Sugar Cane for 1938. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Agricultural Adjustment Administration (Washington, D.C., GPO, 1938), p. 122& Because the sugar planters controlled the sources of credit and shipping, the independent stores feared selling at prices below the plantation stores. &Elizabeth Bolles, Stenographic Report of Hearing on Fair Wage Rates in Sugar Cane for 1938. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Agricultural Adjustment Administration (Washington, D.C., GPO, 1938), p. 141&

Wentworth found that compared to American families, the Filipino families spent a lower percentage of their income on food, household operation, personal care and transportation, and spent more on recreation, fiestas, clothes, gift to relatives and friends.&Edna C. Wentworth, Filipino Plantation Workers in Hawaii (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1941), p. 216; 227& The families received a total cash income, including earnings of all members of the family, of \$682.81. Add the perks of 209.93 and see if it tallies above. Get percentages of the following expenses: food 343.79 (38.5%); housing 136.04; clothes 144.76 (14.7%); household expenses 77.62; recreation 40.91 (4.6%); furnishings 36.30; back debts paid 33.39 (3.7%). Baptisms, funerals, etc. 23.19 (2.6%); gifts 14.89; dental and medical care 26.85.

Also if bring wife to Hawaii, it would be hard to make it financially on the plantation. Explain how so. Thus send wife and children to the Philippines. Explain the data on the decline and even negative results for incoming and outgoing Filipino children in the 1930s.

After 1930 in general, it became difficult for the plantation laborers to bring their families to Hawaii. Not only were they often laid off for a few days each week during the depression, making it even more difficult for them to raise the passage fare of their wives and children and to support them on the plantations had they come, but the HSPA now required the laborers to secure from the manager a certificate of good employment conduct and a positive recommendation, secure police clearances, and bank affidavit of support. In addition, it required the man to sign a pledge to work an additional three years on the plantations. In 1934, when the Tydings McDuffie Act declared Filipinos aliens, the laborers now had to file formal petitions immigration, furnish all kinds of documentation, and then wait for a place within the restricted quota of fifty persons a year. &HSPA Circular 224, July 16, 1938&

With their intention of returning permanently to the Philippines, therefore, it was easier for the men to leave their wives behind so as to maximize the savings to be remitted to the barrios. But in the process, some of the laborers simply abandoned their wives, and the temptation to do so was great because the scarcity of women now conferred as special prestige in the camps to one who had one. &Lasker, p. 195&. A few men simply remarried in Hawaii, without first obtaining a divorce from their barrio wives, or lived in concubinage with one, and upon doing so, stop sending money to their families in the Philippines. &Pedro Casupang to Campsie, February 11, 1935, HACO; Mrs. Sergia Corpuz to President of the Philippines, October 27, 1937, in BIA 227& Some invoked their wife's infidelity as an excuse for not supporting her further; Patricio Nibre at Paauhau plantation stopped supporting his wife he received unfavorable reports about her behavior. &Q. Paredes to Gov. TH, October 25, 1937; W. Pflueger to Governor's office, in BIA 227& Others simply deserted, like Mariano Mendez who left Honokaa plantation in January 1936, and by probably taking on a different name left no trace of his subsequent whereabouts, leaving his family on starvation ever since he left for Hawaii four years before. &Iluminada Balatero, Affidavit, January 14, 1937, BIA; Secretary to the Governor of Hawaii, to Division of Territories and Possessions, Interior Department, April 9, 1937, in BIA 227&

Still others simply lost touch through the years because they continued to fulfill their financial responsibilities to their families. This was the case with Julian Sotelo who behind his wife, three sons and two daughters in 1928. He worked for fourteen years at Waimanalo plantation, and then, at the Naval Housing Cafeteria as a janitor. He scrimped, but all his savings went to the needs of his family and he never saved enough for a return trip. He was illiterate, but his friends wrote letters for him twice a year. Through the years, the less money he earned, the less he sent letters home. His children grown up, the less he worried about his wife. But letters from his grandchildren came, and so he had to send to help their schooling. It was only thirty seven years later when he finally took a trip back to the Philippines; he had already forgotten what his wife looked like. &Ligaya Fruto byline, Star Bulletin, December 20, 1965& Returning on the same ship also for the first time after an absence of thirty eight years was Elinio Uberita also left behind a wife, son and two daughters in 1927; he barely made ends meet, finding merely temporary jobs, but he sent money to his wife regularly; he was also illiterate and he heard from his wife only when she needed money for the children's education. &Ligaya Fruto byline, Star Bulletin, December 20, 1965&

LIFESTYLE OF THE VERY FEW FAMILIES IN THE CAMPS: DESCRIBE THIS IN DETAIL. WHAT IS IT LIKE, RAISING CHILDREN?

The families on the plantations were determined to return to the Philippines, and this affected many aspects of their lives. For one, they did not bother to fix up their homes. They depended on the plantations to maintain their homes, and to fix them up would merely provide the plantation a structure better than what was provided them, especially when they were not sure how long they would be allowed to remain in these homes. &Roman R. Cariaga, "The Filipinos in Hawaii: A Survey of their Economic and Social Conditions" Master's thesis in sociology, University of Hawaii, 1936, p. 102& Nor did they purchase furnishings which were bulky and unprofitable to resell when they moved. &Roman R. Cariaga, "The Filipinos in Hawaii: A Survey of their Economic and Social Conditions" Master's thesis in sociology, University of Hawaii, 1936 p. 104&.

Wentworth's study of the plantation families, however, showed the priority purchase of certain items considered status items by the Filipinos, and to be brought back to the barrios. It showed that the families purchased sewing machines before they bought furnitures. &Edna C. Wentworth, Filipino Plantation Workers in Hawaii (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1941), p. 112& Common status item purchases among the families included such items as tailor-made suits for the men and earrings of gold for the women, framed photographs, phonographs, radios, and steamer trunks to store clothes and family valuables. &Edna C. Wentworth, Filipino Plantation Workers in Hawaii (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1941), pp. 112, 129, 141, 146& Some of the fifteen families who had bought automobiles had no beds or chairs. &Edna C. Wentworth, Filipino Plantation Workers in Hawaii (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1941), p. 112&

The importance of social relationships also dictated the higher expenditure on recreation and gifts among these plantation families, compared to other families. Wentworth reported expenses for funerals, baptism, birthdays and weddings, expenses which were essential for recreation and family prestige and which were also offset by gifts to the family. &Edna C. Wentworth, Filipino Plantation Workers in Hawaii (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1941), p. 177& The Filipinos were engaged in the life cycle celebrations: the christening ritual, the marraige with the solo dance and the money thrown, the observance of death which entailed feasting and church expenses, large expenditure, with a 9 day prayers (novena) after interment and feasting on the 9th day. The importance of the alliance among them, with the loan of goods and services on imporant social occasions, and the attendance at feast was the start of the relationship, and giving freely regarded as a social virtue, as in feasting at festivals. &Roman R. Cariaga, "The Filipinos in Hawaii: A Survey of their Economic and Social Conditions" Master's thesis in sociology, University of Hawaii, 1936, p. 93, 139& Also, the family expenses indicated an extensive practice of mutual help; more than half of the families reported giving monetary gifts, remittances to barrio relatives, support of relatives in Hawaii, and contributions to funerals and celebrations. &Edna C. Wentworth, Filipino Plantation Workers in Hawaii (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1941), p. 195&

DISCUSS HERE THE ROLE OF THE WOMEN ON THE PLANTATION CAMP. AT FIRST, A PASSIVE GROUP. AT WAILAUA ORGANIZED BY THE PASTOR. THEN THERE WERE THE NURSES AND THEY BECAME THE LEADERS; THEY FUNCTIONED AS WELFARE WORKERS ALSO. THEY WERE THE LINKS TO THE FAMILIES. THE WOMEN REACHING OUT TO OTHER PLANTATION WOMEN. Get a clue here on the role that women performed in frontier societies, and it would be similar; also the special problems of a society of predominantly single males.

PLACE THE PLANTATION NURSES HERE

The women played an important role in the cultural life of the Filipinos. This was the case with Mrs. Nicolas Dizon, the wife of N.C. Dizon. At age 14, in 1913, she went to Manila to enter Harris Memorial School, run by the Methodist Mission in the Philippines and studied for work as a deaconess, and also as in home economics and nursing. She married N.C. Dizon and came to Hawaii where she taught kindergarten classes, taught the young Filipinos folk dance and songs, and pursued as her hobbies the piano and creative writing. Another cultural pioneer was Rafaela P. Valentin (Dona!)--came to Hawaii in 1926 to join her husband, HSPA interpreter Juan A. Valentin. She organized and led the Filipino Art Lovers Club, which staged dramas, zarzuelas, and programs. How about Ines Cayaban? And Mrs. Cortezan--who came as a nurse in 1921, joined her husband on Kauai, at Koloa plantation. At Koloa, she had so many functions, aside from being a clinic nurse; she was a court interpreter, social worker, special probation officer, child care adviser, etc. And all of these she performed as the mediator between the families and the authorities. Nutritionist, public health worker, etc. This was a similar role played by the plantation nurses, with all their good intentions; they however, became part of the coopted leadership on the plantations.

The nurses had a number of challenges. For five years ending 1924, the Filipinos had the highest death rate among infants, at 298 for every 1000 born. &Advertiser, March 3, 1926& The situation did not improve much over the next five years. In 1929 it was still the highest, at 244.52 per thousand, or almost one and a half time that of the territory as a whole at 107.76. This was an indication of the lower socioeconomic status of the Filipinos in Hawaii as well as the persistence of old practices, such as the the soob, which involved burning the charcoal with incense for a week, to protect the mother from anitos or evil spirits and also close doors and windows at delivery. &Roman R. Cariaga, "The Filipinos in Hawaii: A Survey of their Economic and Social Conditions" Master's thesis in sociology, University of Hawaii, 1936,, p. 133& This was made dangerous because it was not like in the Philippine homes where the floor was made of bamboo with slats and openings. Thus in the plantation homes, the infant suffered from the heat and the lack of oxygen.

The nurses I interviewed on videotape claimed that the plantations conducted forced sterilization on Filipino women. In the late 1930s, the plantation went on a Rural Birth Control Program, to help women who had too many births, and the plantations also emphasized spacing. &"Child Spacing on Plantations," Plantation Health Bulletin, January 1938, vo. 2, no. 3, pp. 14-15& The plantation doctors described how they performed postpartum sterilization on women with short and simple deliveries during the first 24 hours following delivery. &M.A. Brennecke, "Postpartum Sterilization," Plantation Health, October 1938, vol. 3, no. 2, pp. 5-7& They also encouraged for Japanese and Filipino women birth at home under the supervision of the midwife, because if the women went to the hospital for birth, the husband stayed at home to look after the children and thus missed work, whereas the women giving birth at home could supervise the housework of her older children. &William Dunn, MD, "Twenty three Years of Obstetrics on the Plantation of Hawaii," Plantation Health, July 1938, vol. 3, no. 1, pp. 4-5&

The lifestyle of the Filipino families were determined by their transient orientation. Thus, their children did not go to school. Wentworth also did not see toys for children in the homes, or a child's picture book. &Edna C. Wentworth, Filipino Plantation Workers in Hawaii (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1941), p. 175&

As liability, the children were not attending school. In the census of 1930, 88.9% of the children in Hawaii between six and thirteen were attending school, but the rate for Filipino children was at 79.3%. Education was compulsory up to age 16. In the 16 to 17 years, non-compulsory, only 24% of the Filipinos, compared to 51.4% for the territory as a whole, were in school. The Filipinos comprised 7.4% of the pupils in the first grade in the territorial public schools; 3.3% in grade 6, 1.9% in grade 9 and .7% in grade 12. &Livesay p. 70& Thus this declining pattern of school enrollment showed they were dropping out, returning to the Philippines, and working to supplement family income prior to return. Children were meant to be returned, and prior to return, they would be additional income earners for the family. Children could work until the 1937 Sugar Act prohibited any child below 14 to be employed by the plantations, and those 14 to 16 to be employed more than eight hours a day.

In 1930 there were 9 high schools in Hawaii, three on Oahu (Leilehua, Roosevelt and Mckinley). Only 53 of the 4570 enrollees in all these territorial high schools in 1929-30 were Filipinos. &Hawaii, Governor's Advisory Committee on Education, Report, Feb. 14, 1931, p. 280& It was, therefore, unusual for a Filipino to graduate from high school in Hawaii, and sons matured early. 16 to 18 year old sons within a year's time earned as much as or more than their father doing the same work for years.

In the 1930s some of the families now engaged in a decision as to whether to remain in Hawaii permanently or return to the Philippines. Some of their considerations were as follows:

More comfort and convenience on a material plane and more adequate dietary, health and educational facilities in Hawaii than in the Philippines. They have more money to spend on clothing, personal care, recreation, transportation, and community pleasure. &Edna C. Wentworth, Filipino Plantation Workers in Hawaii (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1941), p. 90&

But: Hawaii a mechanical existence, a means to make money which brings social prestige upon return. &Roman R. Cariaga, "The Filipinos in Hawaii: A Survey of their Economic and Social Conditions" Master's thesis in sociology, University of Hawaii, 1936, p. 56&. Also, Filipino immigrants recognized the economic advantage but few claim to any social advantage, and they say: "The Filipino came here to work and to earn money, not to enjoy himself," and as long as Filipinos are content to work under the plantation system, make the most of it and save the money to go back to PI at an early date and live among friends and relative in the barrio for the rest of their lives. &Moe Kilmer, "The Outlook for Filipinos in Hawaii," Honolulu Mercury, October 1929, p. 39&

But some return to PI, found life devoid of conveniences, and come back to Hawaii.

Filipino families led an isolated existence with few outside contacts except through school and plantation health center &Edna C. Wentworth, Filipino Plantation Workers in Hawaii (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1941), p. 229& Despite plantation propaganda about its paternalistic welfare work in recreation, entertainment and social activities--athletics, civic and literary societies, music, movies, etc.

Some found hard times on the plantations yet they did not write home about it; they did not want to admit that they were having a hard time as the relatives would have the benefit of saying "I told you so."

Still some others, kept sending money home, even though they were suffering financially; what mattered was being a good provider even though oceans away.

Others not return because only Pedro, not Don Pedro (sense of failure). &Roman R. Cariaga, "The Filipinos in Hawaii: A Survey of their Economic and Social Conditions" Master's thesis in sociology, University of Hawaii, 1936,, p. 14&

Others remain if compare life in Philippines--where the average landholding was one and a quarter acres

Some returnees told the HSPA on why they wished to come back to Hawaii: NOTE that this is HSPA propaganda: their standard of living higher in Hawaii; year round employment with perquisites; children good free education in Hawaii; good wages. &Star Bulletin, July 20, 1935&

Complaints: life is too regimented, too restrictive--you have to ask permission from the management to hold a party, and the guests to a party are always carefully checked and screened. &Roman R. Cariaga, "The Filipinos in Hawaii: A Survey of their Economic and Social Conditions" Master's thesis in sociology, University of Hawaii, 1936, p. 147& Camp life is controlled by camp bosses and police, and inspect those who visit the camp. On working days, the camp police checked if the worker was laying off, look everywhere in camp for him and if the door to his house was locked, they would use a crowbar to open the door. (the management supervised Filipino activities, the personnel director kept close track of Filipino organizations in the plantation; &Edna C. Wentworth, Filipino Plantation Workers in Hawaii (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1941), p. 175& "Initiative is at a discount. The stolid, plodding type of worker is likely to fit in best, the man who obeys without question and leaves the thinking to his superior." &Roman R. Cariaga, "The Filipinos in Hawaii: A Survey of their Economic and Social Conditions" Master's thesis in sociology, University of Hawaii, 1936, p. 55&

Complaints were about the contemptuous treatment handed out by the plantation lunas, nurses, policemen and welfare workers. Most of the complaints in fact had to do with unjust and arbitrary actions on the part of the lunas and the foremen which left the workers resentful. Some lunas verbally abuse the workers. &W.A. Tate, "The Human Factor in Plantation Employment," The Friend, vo. 91, no. 10, October 1922, p. 220&

An example of Filipino resentment over regimentation is cited by the plantation controlling activities. The Filipino Club was sponsored by the plantation, and voluntary dues of 10¢ to 15¢ a month were deducted from the workers' pay. The dues, plus the profits from the sale of soft drinks and billiards were placed in a fund controlled by the American personnel director for use in club activities. The Filipinos cited this control over the finances of the club as a reflection of their capacity to manage their own organization. &Edna C. Wentworth, Filipino Plantation Workers in Hawaii (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1941), pp. 174-175& True at Waialua, managing the organizations, monitoring their activities, designating their leaders.

There was also the segregation, and the Filipinos were at bottom. The Filipinos complained a lot about not being treated equally as other nationalities on the plantations &Elizabeth Bolles, Stenographic Report of Hearing on Fair Wage Rates in Sugar Cane for 1938. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Agricultural Adjustment Administration (Washington, D.C., GPO, 1938), p. 199& At work, the Jackass was treated better than a human being, and it cost merely \$80 to ship a Filipino but \$400 for a Jackass &Pastor Limatoc, interview, Star Bulletin and Advertiser, November 5, 1972, Waipahu 75th Diamond Jubilee Supplement, pp. 14, 30& If jackass got sick, call the doctor from Honolulu and the plantation all got excited; if Filipino sick, if not go to hospital, die. &Kiyoshi Ikeda, "Unionization and the Plantation," Social Process, 1951, pp. 14-25.& At dances, the Japanese girls wouldn't dance with the Filipinos &Justo De La Cruz, ESOHP, vo. 3, p. 150& The Filipino was at the bottom; at Waialua theater, there were assigned sections for the haoles, Filipinos, Japanese, etc. &Justo de la Cruz, ESOHP, p. 144&

Furthermore, plantation life was regarded as too monotonous, too drab. Especially at remote plantations.

TRANSFER THIS TO THE PART WHICH SAID THAT FOR A SINGLE MAN, THE SOCIAL SATISFACTION IN LIFE CONSISTED OF THE few occasions for sociability: hold the box socials in the camps, and the dime a dance (taxi dance). HENCE THEY SOUGHT TO GO HOME, RESUME NORMAL LIVES RAISING FAMILIES. According to Mrs. Cortezan the camp police or enterprising Filipinos brought women to the camps; her husband objected by the amanger did not see anything wrong, and in fact pointed out that it was what the men needed at Lihue. &Josefina Cortezan interview, ESOHP, vol. 2, p. 424& Another Filipino interviewee ran dance halls on the plantations; the camp bosses on Kauai permitted it so he organized the rondalla and transported a dozen girls or so, even using the plantation social hall for free for the taxi dance. And he mentioned that some guys often spent \$30 to \$50 in a single night. &Interview, ESOHP, pp. 672-623&
 STEREOTYPE

Regional Stereotypes: FROM THE HSPA POINT OF VIEW: The stereotype of the various Filipino regional groups in Hawaii: The Tagalogs were of the political type, more of the factory man, more discontent at agriculture; the Visayan was a sport, a gambler, unsettled, good dresser, flashy, unreliable (like the Tagalogs). On the other hand, the Ilocano was plodding, thrifty, hardworking, reliable. &HSPA material, Welch hearing, p. 268& 80-90% OF THE FILIPINOS IN HAWAII AT THIS TIME WERE ILOCANOS

Regional Stereotypes: In William Atherton Du Puy, sent to Hawaii in 1932 to report his findings because of the Massie case/Richardson Report; he was executive assistant to Secretary Ray Lyman Wilbur of the Department of the Interior. Thus, Hawaii and its Race Problem (US Government . Printing Office, 1932). It stereotypes the Tagalogs as vain, fond of loud clothes, given to ornamentation, indulge in gambling and cockfights. On the other hand the Ilocanos were Malays with Chinese blood on them, and thus more satisfactory workers. &Du Puy, Hawaii and Its Race Problem, p. 112&

Regional Stereotypes: Visayans were improvident and shiftless; lacked planning capacity and foresight; liked to live without toil and yet to live luxuriously. Outside of fancy clothes, his needs were simple: enough money for gambling and cockfighting. &Porteus and Babcock, Temperament and Race, pp. 58-59& Tagalogs were aristocratic, independent, aggressive; Visayans religious, lavish spender, had large families, hand to mouth existence; Ilocanos sturdy and persevering. &Cariaga thesis, p 63&

Stereotypes of the Filipino: love for status, for good clothes, Filipino love for status and honor in clubs and societies; have flair for oratory, with their discursos; Filipinos were sensitive to slights but show exaggerated attachment to superiors who show concern, Filipinos loved diplomas, ceremonials and titles. &Lasker, p. 257&

Ilocano more thrifty and industrious but planning capacity is also near sighted. Less courageous than other Filipinos, and thus like the Chinese. &Porteus and Babcock, Temperament and Race, pp. 58-59&

Stereotype: Filipino as musical and yet as violent. Very early established in Hawaii. Article in Advertiser April 15, 1907 says "An Interesting Filipino Group": describing 77 Filipinos on their way to the Jamestown exposition--the Advertiser correspondent made fun of the Filipinos, included in the group were 20 Moros "with their savage weapons to astonish the peaceful Americans," and the Filipino band giving a concert: "It is well worth hearing, for the average Filipino is a musician-born, and said to be able to construct almost any kind of an instrument out of a five gallon kerosene tin." &Advertiser, April 15, 1907&

Very negative stereotype: Confirmed knife-toters, much given to fighting over women. Common saying in Hawaii: "the Filipino is only one pair of pants removed from the jungle," and the pair was likely to be "purple, strawberry-red, or wine colored, topped by shirts or whole suits that would make a rainbow seem colorless." They love to wear women's lingerie. "Japanese steal big; Filipinos steal little." &Roaming in Hawaii, p. 270& (Fond of bright colors and display.) Thus Filipinos known as poke knife, a violent image; also bayao, and googoo (derogatory name for Filipinos). Also stereotype of Filipinos as sportily dressed.

Also, Ilocanos love cockfighting; owner grooms his fighting cock more carefully than he does himself, spends more on it for food than on himself. &Roaming in Hawaii, p. 270&

Also called bayao.

Porteus and Babcock, in Temperament and Race took the popular stereotypes of the Filipinos and sought to give scientific validity to them. The Filipinos were: impulsive, suggestible, unstable, undependable. thus they were like the Mediterranean peoples who are also predominantly extrovert. They showed little planning and foresight capacity; the majority did not practice thrift and providence. &Porteus and Babcock, Temperament and Race, p. 104&

Filipinos rated well for courage and hardihood. The report also said that the Filipino ratings were probably prejudiced because of their comparatively recent arrival in the territory; that in time with adaptation, and a process whereby the more thrifty would likely come to Hawaii, the Filipinos will be stable and add value as permanent

residents. &Porteus and Babcock, Temperament and Race, pp. 105-107&

Filipinos also had short interest; and peer pressure; they have an almost pathological distrust and suspicion; supersensitive; they liked to attract attention; they are extroverted and thus subject to little reflection; they are highly emotional, impulsive and explosive in temperament; they are undependable; they love display and ostentation; they crave excitement. Summing up, the Filipinos "represent a fine example of a race in an adolescent stage of development. They exhibit all signs of imbalance and temporary mal-adjustment that many adolescents show. The marks of their departure from the normal balance of maturity are to be seen in their egocentric attitude, in their rather obtrusive habits and desire for personal recognition, in their super-sensitiveness, poor emotional control and unstable moods, in their alternate obstinacy and suggestibility, in their impulsiveness, love of display, and noisy self-expression. All of these tendencies are naturally aggravated by the strains and stresses incidental to their attempted adjustment to their new environment. Obviously these defects must interfere seriously with good judgement and a balanced and sane reaction to affairs in general." &Porteus and Babcock, Temperament and Race, p. 67& The whole Chapter 6, pp. 58-70 of Porteus and Babcock, Temperament and Race is devoted to these Filipino traits. They are actually stereotypes of people in Hawaii, passing off as scientific reports. Porteus value judgement so glaring, and link "racial temperament" with genetic endowment, perpetuating and rationalizing existing stereotypes and not accounting for environmental factors, situational factors at all.

Porteus and Babcock are racist: "It is our opinion that no matter what labels of citizenship we may put on these people they remain Filipinos, and it will take much more than a knowledge of the three 'R's' to make them Americans." Thus education not work because they are merely fit for earning a living through their muscles; also our educational processes have to take into consideration the flaws of their "adolescent character." &Porteus and Babcock, Temperament and Race, p. 70&

Intergroup Relations: Before 1931, popular resentment against the Filipinos because of HSPA importation of laborers in the face of growing scarcity of occupational opportunities in all but plantation work. &Lind, Island Community, p. 272& In the 1930s the Filipinos were not yet competitors in urban trades and professions; too recent comers from barrios.

Intergroup Relations. Not a single reference found in which a Filipino expressed extremely adverse feelings toward another racial group. On the contrary, Filipinos seemed more anxious to convince prejudiced outsiders of their own desirable racial traits and their own abilities to improve their status than they have been to "talk down" the Japanese or any other racial group. &Eubanks thesis, pp. 103-104&

Filipinos had no clear cut conception of their attitude toward other races. It made no difference the race of the luna as long as they were fair and did not cuss them. &Eubanks thesis, p. 108& Toward the Japanese, the Filipinos generally expressed favorable attitudes, and in all their comments was an outstanding lack of stereotypes, an absence of often-repeated generalizations indicating that their attitudes are not clearly defined for the Filipinos as a whole. &Eubanks, p. 109&

The Japanese attitudes were definite. The 1931 study by Masuoka of 126 first generation Japanese showed only 21.4% expressed positive friendship for Filipinos, while 46.9% were definitely antipathetic. The second generation had an even greater dislike for Filipinos; of the 233 consulted, only 10.7% were friendly, while 70.7% were antipathetic. &Masuoka& Also, the Japanese race conceptions were commonly clothed in glib phrases and stereotyped statements--80% of the statements of Filipino impressions were derogatory and included such phrases and words as "hateful, crazy for money and women, afraid of them, dislike them, dirty, stupid, poker-knife, robber, lazy, awkward, show-off, too extravagant, saucy, selfish, dishonest, ignorant, likes to fight, savage, and bums. &Jitsuichi Masuoka, Race Attitudes of the Japanese People in Hawaii: A Study in Social Distance, MA in Sociology, June 1931.&

Relationship between the Filipinos and the Japanese were on the level of economic interdependence or residential circumstances, and not on level of intimacy. No common social life shared, instead, merely contact in stores; on plantations, they lived in separate racial camps, with little contact in fields, schools and stores. They exist side by side, paying attention only to their own customs and worries, and bothering little about those of other races--no real antagonism existed, nor was there extensive intimacy between these two groups. &Eubanks, thesis, p. 112& In recent prewar times, Filipinos and Japanese were interdependent but not intimate. Japanese shopkeepers had high Filipino patronage; Japanese laundries wash Filipino clothes; in the fields they work side by side. But close friendships between members of the two groups were rare. &Eubanks, p. 114& Few intermarriage between Japanese women and Filipino males, because of the high in-marriage preference of the Japanese, combined with their disdain for the Filipinos. &Eubanks, p. 116&

Incident: in 1937 when Susumu Hashitate at the New American Conference in 1937 asked how would Japanese girls like to be in the arms of Filipinos at a dance, and claimed that the Filipinos standard is still low compared to the Japanese, who have now achieved standards so high they could associate with the haoles, and that the Filipinos belonged to the plantations. Really a prejudiced statement. &in Eubanks, pp. 118-119&

But Filipinos acutely conscious of the prejudice against them, of being regarded with prejudice, and as outsiders, and thus they were sensitive toward the suggestion that they were in any way racially inferior. &Porteus and Babcock, Temperament and Race, p. 63&

Filipinos came without any preconceived prejudice toward the Japanese. But the Japanese, their labor competitor. The most intense conflicts take place between the last two arrived. A study of the racial attitudes of the Japanese showed the following: among the first generation, only 21.4% felt friendly toward the Filipinos; among their children, only 10.7%. 46.9% of the first generation Japanese were antipathetic toward the Filipinos but among their children, 70% were. Both generations ranked the Filipinos the 10th out of 12 groups in Hawaii. &Jitsuichi Masuoka, *Race Attitudes of the Japanese People in Hawaii: A Study in Social Distance*, MA in Sociology, June 1931, p. 43.& The second generation even more prejudiced! The antipathy was higher among the students; the Filipinos were ranked the lowest by all the ethnic groups in the survey of preference of intermarriage &Leatrice and Marion Wong, *Attitudes Toward Intermarriage, Social Process in Hawaii*, vol. 1, 1935, pp. 14-17. This is on p. 17 table& The first generation Japanese regarded the Filipinos as immoral, as savages, and as untrustworthy; that the Filipinos were too pompous, dressed in silk shirts and in brilliant colors, in clothes which were beyond his income. &Jitsuichi Masuoka, *Race Attitudes of the Japanese People in Hawaii: A Study in Social Distance*, MA in Sociology, June 1931, pp. 156-57.&

Thus fear of loss of status among Japanese girls marrying Filipinos. Many did not know Filipinos personally but formed their attitudes from the negative things they had heard about Filipinos from their parents and the primary group. &Jitsuichi Masuoka, *Race Attitudes of the Japanese People in Hawaii: A Study in Social Distance*, MA in Sociology, June 1931, pp. 163-65& Girls use stereotypes of Filipinos as "dangerous, fierce, and bad reputation," yet they had no or little direct contact, but were influenced by parents and community prejudice. The boys knew the Filipinos as laborers and were less severe in their judgement. &Andrew Lind, "Attitudes Toward Interracial Marriage in Kona, Hawaii," *Social Process*, p. 82. The article is from pp. 79-83&

Japanese attitude because of labor competition. In 1922, James Hamada, the editorial writer of Nippu Jiji advocated recruiting plantation laborers from Japan; the laborers were now growing old and the younger generation were being educated out of field work. He said the Filipinos were worthless as laborers, the Chinese few and far in between, and were clannish and nationalistic and thus more dangerous than the Japanese, they kept immoral houses and opium dens prosperous, and they grew more prolific than the Japanese. He also pointed out: "Regarding the Filipinos--well, they are the record breakers in Hawaii's criminal history and are also the 'champion lay-offers.'" &James Hamada, editorial, Nippu Jiji, July 9, 1922, reprinted in Advertiser, July 10, 1922&

Few haoles (except PR, Spanish and Portuguese in Hawaii): the 8,500 haoles comprised merely 6.87% of the population in 1900 and 17.8% in 1940 (mainly because of the war buildup); the Japanese comprised almost 40% in 1900 and 37% in 1940. The haoles were usually craftsmen, merchants, and professional men. &R.Adams, The Peoples of Hawaii (Honolulu. Institute. of Pacific Relations, 1953), pp. 8-9&

Intermarriage patterns: get the data from the class handout notes.

A fifth of the Filipino men who got married in Hawaii between 1912 and 1924 married outside the ethnic group. UPADATE THISWITH THE HORMANN MATERIALS IN TAWID Reputation among the Filipinos that they made good husbands, because they pampered their wives. &Otilio Gorospe, Making Filipino History in Hawaii, p. 250.& Between 1912 and 1924, 21% of the men marrying had married out of the ethnic group, with the largest marrying Hawaiians (7%), Portuguese Spanish (6%) and Puerto Rican (4.5%). Between 1924 and 1934, the outmarriage rate was 28%, with the largest marrying Hawaiians (8%), Portuguese and Spanish (5.7%), and the two categories, Asiatic Hawaiian and Puerto Rican at 3.8%. In the latter period, there were now also some intermarriage between the Caucasian Hawaiian and the Japanese, whereas there was none in the period earlier. &Roman R. Cariaga, "The Filipinos in Hawaii: A Survey of their Economic and Social Conditions," Master's thesis in sociology, University of Hawaii, 1936, table IX, p. 127 based on Romanzo Adams' private files.&

CRIME

Based on newspaper accounts and headlines, the reputation of the Filipinos as criminal emerged. The Filipinos made the haole press in the 1920s on two items: individuals committing a crime and Independence, and generally the latter was an editorial position opposing Filipino independence because they were incompetent, and needed the guiding hand of the US and the Filipinos were easily misled. This the elite internalized right away. With regard to crime, the news report showed the Filipinos to be a menace, merely reporting that the Filipinos stabbed a person, without any explanation as to why they acted so. At times when it was mentioned, it was mainly because of jealousy, or someone abducted the accused person's wife, or over women. The impression that the Filipinos were too stupid even in crime cases.

The most detailed comparable study of crime statistics in Hawaii was the Report of the Governor's Advisory Committee on Crime, February 1931. The report compared the conviction rates for each ethnic group over two six-year periods, viz., from 1917 to 1922 and from 1923 to 1928. These were the years when the CONVICTION RATE IN TH records in Hawaii were comparable. The report also took the ratio of crime per thousand of the population for each racial group, so that it is proportional, unlike most of the data which took raw figures, regardless of the size of the ethnic group in Hawaii. The study showed that the Filipinos showed a decrease in their ratio for five out of the seven crime classifications listed; this is evidence of an increase in adaptability to American conditions and standards of life. They also showed the most marked improvement, rated 6 out of 7 in the first period and tied for third in the second period, according to a weighted ranking in the crime statistics; their relative standing was quite good, below that of the Japanese and the Chinese, in fact. &Report of the Governor's Advisory Committee on Crime, Feb. 1931, p. 13-16& The crimes were aggravated assault (Filipinos were ranked first in the earlier period and dramatically declined in convictions in second period although still in second place). In sex crimes, the Filipinos were second in the earlier period and third in the next period; in homicide, the Filipinos were second and second, no change; in auto theft, the Filipinos were sixth and sixth, no change; in larceny the Filipinos were second in the earlier period (high rate) and declined dramatically in the second period; in robbery also the same, from second to sixth out of seven groups ranked; and in burglary from second to fifth in the later period. Sharp declines in larceny, burglary and aggravated assault. &Report of the Governor's Advisory Committee on Crime, February 1931, p. 17-18, table

The Filipino criminality is derived from the fact that sensational press coverage and identification of Filipinos committing crime. Furthermore, the reports would give no allowance for the proportion of each racial group in the total population; and among the Filipinos, further, the age and sex composition of the population. This is most true when the Filipinos were predominantly in the 18 to 35 years old when crime was most frequent. Furthermore, most had no wives in Hawaii. This was the charge of S.D. Porteus, about the Filipinos in prison: that 60% of the murderers at the territorial prison were Filipinos, that a third of those for rape were Filipinos; that half of those convicted of carnal abuse of child under 12 were Filipinos; that 53% of those for other sex crimes were Filipinos; and that the Filipinos comprised more than half of the total in prison for assault and battery. They were grossly underrepresented in the crimes against property (burglary, robbery, larceny, forgery--with less than a fifth of those in prison being convicted of these crimes.) &Report of S.D. Porteus, in Report of Governor's Advisory committee on Crime, Appendix 2, pp. 132-146.& In other words, note the distribution of Filipino convictions for what crimes--assault, sex crimes, crimes against children (marrying at age 14 quite common as mothers push their daughters and take advantage of imbalanced sex ratio). Also note that this is conviction rate and minority groups tended to have higher conviction rates because they couldn't afford good defense lawyers. Also, sex offenses in general were low.

There was a general decline in Filipino rate of crimes, between 1915-1918 and 1925-28. The rate of conviction of Filipinos in the territorial courts, per 10,000 of male population between ages of 18 and above--a more reliable data, showed the Filipino rates highest for assault at 138.5 per 10,000 (cf 119 for total population), then at larceny at 56 cf. 43 per 10,000 for total population, and then robbery at 5.6 cf. 10.3 per 10,000 for total population. It was low at fraud and forgery (2.1 cf 9.9; embezzlement 3.3 cf 4.2; robbery .3 cf 1.7; burglary 5.6 cf 10.3; homicide 5.6 cf 2.8 and sex offenses 8.2 cf. 6.1) Homicide and sex offenses have higher than total population because of single males predominant. &Lasker, Filipino Immigration, table pp. 192-193 adapted from Annual Conference of social Workers of Hawaii, July 1929, tables, pp. 7-11&

The Filipinos complained that they were, in fact victims: that they did not have ample protection in court, that they were being hanged for murders in self defense. &Butler to Farrington, May 26, 1924, Farrington Papers, AH&

The Filipino convictions were highest for being present at gambling--&Lasker, p.p. 194-5& Gambling gave the Filipinos the black eye, like the Chinese, and then the Japanese, before them. It was easy to catch, compared to the more organized group who escaped punishment. The Filipinos conducted gambling in alleys, pool halls, etc. and they were more open and easy to detect. The statistics for Filipino crimes convictions could easily be inflated by including the convictions for gambling. Also, there were incidents such as the Kauai country attorney, A.G. Kaukukou, who charged that he was present when Honolulu detective sergeant Mike Morse beat two Filipinos severely, one to force him to testify for prosecution in a case, the other to make him confess to a crime. &Advertiser, October 25, 1927& Evidently a common occurrence.

Why gambling? It was the way to make money. The gamblers were the ones who had cars. A Dodge Graham in 1926 cost \$200 and even the lunas earning \$45 a month couldn't afford it. Some good gamblers didn't even have to work at all, and a few could afford all the amenities of life through his winnings. In many plantations, the plantation workers believed that the plantation management condoned it as long as there were no fights or trouble. There were also the constant allied activities to gambling, the chicken fights, the card games, the boxing matches.

At the outer islands some of the camp police arranged for runners from Honolulu to bring women around to the camps, the prostitutes. The manager condoned it. &Cortezan interview, ESOHP, p. 424&

There were crimes of passion among the Filipinos. Typical newspaper account: Filipino man shoots another over his wife, the victim had stolen the man's wife &Advertiser, December 1, 1924& Filipino found a fellow laborer at his home with his wife and the door closed, so he killed the laborer. The dead man had written several love letters to his wife, and the plantation had warned the dead man to stop writing letters or else be fired. &Advertiser, May 17, 1925& Or shoots wife or suspected wife lover out of jealousy.

The data on the average annual number of convictions in all the territorial courts of Hawaii in proportion to population to each 1,000 civilian males 18 years and older: Filipinos very very low for rape, at .008 per thousand in 1925-30 compared to .028 for all races; offenses against females under 16 at .329 against .239 for all races; and for adultery, 2.3 among the Filipinos againsts 1.146 against all races. For other crimes, in murder it was .147 against .072 for all races; .029 as against .041 for manslaughter for all races; for robbery it was .025 as against .083 for all races; for burglary it was .215 as against .45 for all races. For embezzlement it was .135 vs .163 for all races, and for forgery it was .054 as against .218 for all races. These data showed the rate of criminality among Filipinos low, even without taking into account their situation in Hawaii. &1933 Senate Hearings on Administrative Bills, Administration in Hawaii, p. 108&

In the 1930's as employment opportunities closed down with the depression, there was another Filipino crime "wave"--newspaper accounts of the Filipino criminals in Hawaii. The Filipinos were the largest inmate group at Oahu Prison, at 28.8% of the inmates (as against their 13.6% of the territory's pop. in 1936. They were all first time offenders, 86.7% of them had pleaded guilty and tried by a judge instead of a jury; almost all had been first offenders, and had never been in juvenile court nor convicted of a police court offence. &Ward and Platt, Oahu Prison Inmates&

In fact they were being the victim of a high rate of conviction. between 1897 and 1944, there were 46 persons hanged, all men, all convicted of first degree murder. Of these 46, the largest number were Filipinos at 24. Nine were Japanese and six were Koreans. Between 1911 and 1944, in fact, there were 24 Filipinos hanged, many of them hanged within three weeks to seven months after conviction and there was no indication that the Filipinos had defense attorneys or appeals for stay of execution for them. Many were hanged for the murder of a girlfriend or a friend. &Advertiser, February 19, 1972&

The Filipinos also complained that they were in fact victims. In 1936, two Filipinos were killed by the police: Herberto Pahanong and Miguel Barabas, gunned down helplessly. (A non Filipino in 1935 ran amuck, killing three persons and wounding some, but he was not shot and killed; Hereberto Pahanong was mercilessly gunned down by the police. & Taok to Quezon, May 21, 1935, in Quezonian Papers & Taok cited this as an example of the way Ligot and the Philippine officials neglected the interest of Filipinos in Hawaii, where other nationality groups were protected by their own governments. & And Mauricio Seledon and Teodoro Domrique both inmates at Kaneohe Mental Asylum committed murder; Saledon killed by 2 watchmen who were merely discharged for doing so, rather than brought to trial; Domrique, evidently insane, hanged for killing a police sergeant and denied motion to have jury pass on his mental condition.

In 1934 of the 904 Filipinos in Honolulu charged of crimes, 481 (GET %) were charged for gambling, 61 for disorderly conduct and 86 for drunkenness. Add the three as % of 904. & Interchurch Federation, p. IX-2 & The 1934 arrests for sex offenses on Oahu showed 4.9 arrests per 1000 males among the Filipinos, much lower than the 18.5 for Puerto Ricans and 7.7 for Hawaiians. & Interchurch Federation, p. IX-2 & The Filipinos were arrested for drunkenness and for burglaries, petty theft and simple assault than other ethnic groups.

Themes to develop: crime rate directly related to the following--the high unemployment/underemployment rate among the Filipinos, and thus enforced idleness in seasonal work leads to arrest in gambling. Also the highly imbalanced sex ratio (murders for sex jealousy). Also, assault on sense of manhood (pagkalalake)--taking direct action, especially if wife cheats or someone insults him. & Cariaga, thesis, p. 172 & Note, however, that despite underemployment, crime against property small among Filipinos.

RELIGION & WELFARE WORK

Catholics. The Catholic church did not regard the Filipinos as a focus for their work, the greater part of them being bachelors and rather indifferent Catholics. &Yzendoorn, Cathoic Mission, p. 328& This was ironic, because the Filipinos, at 48,000 comprised ___% of the 105,922 Catholics in Hawaii. The next largest were the Portuguese at 27,110. Hawaii's total population was at 328,444. &Yzendoorn, Cathoic Mission, p. 328&

Among Ilocanos, however, were many Aglipayans, schismatics rather than Roman Catholics.

A great many of the Filipino Catholics in Hawaii were poorly instructed in their religion, born and raised during the rebellion against Spain and the priests had been expelled, and then the war with the US. But they adhered to baptism and confirmation, "although not very faithful in attending mass themselves, they have a great devotion in having masses offered for the souls of their departed relatives and in honor of their favorite Saints. They also dearly love religious processions, especially during the month of May." &Yzendoorn, p. 328&

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

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

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

In 1912 and 1918, Balmori and Remigio noted the Catholic churches on the plantations but they had Belgian, German or French priests visiting these churches, and especially on the remote plantations, there were no permanent priests. In 1921 Varona saw the need for Filipino priests on the plantations but even in the Philippines there was a shortage of priests.

In 1927 Father Ignacio Cordero, from Sinit, came to Hawaii by arrangement with the Bishop of Honolulu to make a survey of Filipinos and their need for guidance and assistance from the Catholic Church. He is described by Butler as a very pleasant gentleman and asked plantations to extend courtesies to him. Not known what happened to his survey. &Butler to All Plantations, April 20, 1927, HACO&

In 1938 Father Cordero was again in Hawaii for six months to preach and do mission work and he visited the Filipino communities on all the islands. &Star Bulletin, June 14, 1938.& He became convinced of the need for a Filipino priest to minister to Filipinos. But there was a shortage of priests even in the Philippines. Mrs. Aurora Quezon, an avid Catholic, passed by Honolulu several times and related her observations about Hawaii Filipinos to the Archbishop of Manila and Vigan, and she also asked President Quirino's help. So by mutual agreement between Honolulu Bishop James J. Sweeney and Archbishop Santiago Sancho at Vigan, a Filipino priest was sent. He was Father Osmundo A. Calip from Santa Catalina, Ilocos Sur, at that time a young army chaplain. He arrived December 4, 1948. But this belongs to a later story, post-1946.

Methodist: Rev. Braulio T. Macapagal came as a contract laborer in 1911, upon completing his high school education in the Philippines. During World War I, "Mac" enlisted in the army and became a sergeant, and became a Filipino Christian worker at the YMCA. He continued his work with the YMCA. He was given a scholarship to the Pacific College of Religion and returned in 1926 as pastor and editor of Ang Tagapagbalita, now known as Ti Manangipadamag (Christian Messenger, a monthly religious magazine).

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

HEA: Flaviano Santa Ana, son of musicians in Malolos. Came as a contract laborer in 1910 at O'laa. Years later, he established a laundry at Schofield Barracks. In 1915 he came in contact with Rev. Ygloria and converted; he became a Christian worker back at O'laa, and then sent to LA Bible Institute. He was ordained in 1929 and preached in Ilocano, Tagalog and Visayan. (A SAKADA TURNED MINISTER, LIKE MACAPAGAL) &Cariaga, Who's Who, Star Bulletin, November 14, 1934&

HEA: had 100 plus churches.

Methodist Board: Note carefully that it was the Methodist Evangelical Church, Hawaiian Mission, the Filipino Work department. Headed by Klinefelter, even as early as 1918. It published Ang Mabuting Balita in 1919, edited by Klinefelter. Then Makapagal took over, and it became known as Mangipadamag (the Christian Messenger) and in Ilocano in 1926. In 1935 the Methodist board had 11 churches in Hawaii, with 807 members and it also ran the Susannah Wesley Home for Girls. Of these churches, the following were the Filipino churches:

Methodist Pastors: Isaac Granadosin was at Waialua 1931 to 1934; he died in 1934. He had arrived in Hawaii as pastor of the Filipino United Church of Honolulu and part time work with the Aiea Methodist mission.

Methodist Pastors: Rev. Vidal M. Lining from Marinduque was the minister of the Filipino Methodist Church at Pahala. He came in 1910 as a nine year old boy, like Rev. Macapagal, he joined the YMCA and then sent to Lahaina as a Methodist worker. Then he was given a scholarship to the Pacific College of Religion in California, and returned in 1923 as the Methodist pastor at Pahala and Naalehu. Like many Filipinos, he was assisting sakadas with transportation, and in 1931 he received payment from Fructoso Lista for transportation to Manila, to which Butler commented that Lining had no authority to do so and could be persecuted for forgery, gross cheat, etc. & Butler to Campsie, January 16, 1931, HACO&

Methodist Pastor: Rev. Roman Umipig, of Nueva Ecija, came as a sakada to Pahala in 1912 and in 1920 he was made a lay preachers of the Methodist Mission, and became a pastor and then ordained as a minister in 1933& (Note Methodist pattern, take the sakadas here, especially those who showed inclination as YMCA worker and in the Methodist church, assist them to school and ordination minister.

Methodist Minister: J.P. Camparas, for years and years at Kahuku

Methodist Mission, Filipino Work, 1921. Klinefelter the missionary in charge. Couldn't staff many of its churches. Aiea, Waimanalo, and Pearl Harbor were vacant, as was Eleele, Waimea and Kekaha on Kauai, Hamakua and Naalehu on Big Island, and Hana on Maui. It was able to place nurses (Josefina Abaya on Oahu, Eulalia Cortez in Kahuku, Isadora Ogbinar in Lahaina, and Maria Guieb at Waipahu) and welfare workers like Gabriel D. Javier at Pahala, Felix Velasco at Makaweli and Marcelino Samson at Kahuku. & Advertiser, Feb. 21, 1921&

Methodist Mission, 1923. Klinefelter the superintendent of the Filipino department. OAHU: Aiea, vacant; Honolulu, Dizon (Fajardo); Kahuku, John Caparas; Windward Oahu, Waimanalo, Jacinto Runes. KAUAI: Eleele, vacant. Makaweli, Cenon Ramos, Waimea, Simeon Amor. MAUI: Lahaina, vacant. BIG ISLAND, Hamakua, vacant. Honokaa, Roman D. Umipeg, Naalehu and Pahala, V. Lining.

Methodist Mission, 1924. Umipeg was at Makaweli, replacing Ramos. In Honolulu, Macapagal and Dizon; at Kahuku, Capanes, and in Big Island, Afalla and Lining. Also Amor, Granadusin and Runes. Dr. William Fry was the Methodist Board supervisor.

Methodist pastor: Jacinto R. Runes, of Caba, La Union. His wife a nurse, graduate of Mary Johnston Hospital School of Nursing. He was on his way in 1923 to study engineering and was persuaded to become a religious worker for the Methodist Board of Missions. He became a pastor and worked at Kekaha for years

Methodist: Klinefelter worked closely with the HSPA. Daniel H. Klinefelter was a missionary and sent by his church to Hawaii after his furlough. He furnished a letter for Mead to governor Harrison that Remigio's report was not to be trusted, that Filipinos made about \$45 a month with bonus, and that conditions were good on the plantations. He also claimed that Remigio supposedly gave a favorable report while in Hawaii so the planters were surprised about his written final report. &Klinefelter to Harrison, October 7, 1919, in BIA 5999& He also advised Mead that the only way to deal with the Filipino strikers in 1920 was to be firm and evict them if they did not turn out for work.

Methodist Mission: Klinefelter. In 1919, Klinefelter was the editor of the Filipino paper (Ang Mabuting Balita, published in Tagalog). This was when Manlapit and Sarmiento was organizing the Filipino Labor Union and the higher wage movement with the Japanese which led to the 1920 strike, and Klinefelter wrote: "As editor of the Filipino paper I mean to guard the laborer against participation in such movements and in this issue I am stating the matter as I see it" in an article entitled 'Ang Manggagawang Filipino' which was on p. 3 of the paper. Klinefelter, soliciting names of a Filipino who would propagandize on the plantation and distribute the paper, promised that each issue of the paper would carry items warning the Filipino worker of the labor movement and "encouraging him to faithful and honest toil." Klinefelter's article, The Filipino Laborer, attacked Manlapit and the Filipinos holding meetings in Honolulu for the higher wage movement; he said the strike was not good for laborers, and Manlapit and cohorts were merely agitators interested in gypping the laborers of their money. He also claimed that the fifth and sixth chapter of Ephesians provided the guidelines for labor-master relations: the command to work faithfully, the command to the master to be just to the laborers. He said the proper relations was defined in the verse: "Servants, obey in all things your masters according to the flesh; not with eye service as men pleasers: but in singleness of heart, fearing God; and whatever ye do, do it heartily, as to the lord and not to men." Klinefelter felt that the managers were just, that they gave bonuses, fine dwellings and welfare workers. The laborers were getting more money in Hawaii than ever in the Philippines. Thus the laborers were to be grateful for the bonus, the nice camps, and see how foolish it was to talk about a strike when they compared what they had in the Philippines. &Klinefelter (Supt of Filipino Work, Methodist Evangelical Church Hawaiian Mission, to Henry Renton, Manager, Union Mill Co. at Kohala, Sept. 6, 1919, Union Mill Microfilm, UH. Enclosed in letter is September 1919 issue of Ang Mabuting Balita; NOTE, same to Manager Broadbent, GFA. He used a form letter. USE GFA unless Barnes gets picky&

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

In 1926 the Methodist and the HEA coordinated their work in Honolulu. Thus the church on Liliha St. (established by the Methodist Mission) became known as the Filipino United Church, with Dizon as the pastor. The center on Kanoa now became the Filipino United Center, with Harry W. Metcalf the superintendent. The two Filipino papers also united into one, the Christian Messenger. &HEA, 104 Annual Meeting Report, 1926, p. 20 &

HEA: The Filipino Committee consisted of Haoles, plus Schenck and

Harry Metcalf--there were not Filipinos in it.

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

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

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

Ministers did play an important role--calling on homes, patching up quarrels, writing letters, helping get ship passage tickets, transmit money, collect insurance, find jobs, etc. This was in the case of Valera also, and irked Renton. &Loomis, To All people, p. 325&

The Protestant churches were not reaching many either (and the Catholic church not either--the Protestant churches about 1500 of the 60,000 Filipinos in Hawaii).

The war--restored the comity arrangement; instead of the single island-wide Filipino church, now small congregations calling themselves Methodist, Congregational, Independent, etc.

MISSIONARY WORK IN THE PHILIPPINES--In the Ilocos, southern Ilocos the Methodists, esp. in Ilocos Sur and in area north of Manila. The United Brethren were active in La Union; the Christian Church in Ilocos Norte. The Presbyterians were in the south of Manila, especially in Negros, Iloilo and Cebu. The Baptists were south to Iloilo, Capiz and Negros. The Episcopalians in Zamboanga and the Mountain provinces. & Gleek, p. 84%

HEA. 1920. The Filipino department was still under Erdman and a new church was built at Ewa. "The agitation of labor leaders at the close of the year ending in the call of a strike broke up the congregation to a large extent. However, it is significant to record that among the first laborers to return to work were some of these Filipino Christians. (At Ewa). At Waialua, "the labor disturbance at Waialua has interfered with the development of the work in that locality also." But Rufo Agustin, the local preacher, "has proved a steadying influence in the Filipino population." & HEA, 98th Annual Report, 1920, p. 26, HEA Archives &

HEA 1924--the report complained that the work was complicated by the arrival of Ilocanos so that in the churches, meetings had to be conducted in 3 languages: Visayan, Tagalog and Ilocano, and the Filipinos did not understand English well enough to use it. Now HEA had 5 churches, 1 each at Ewa, Waialua, Maui, O'ahu and Kauai (run by Cortezan, a licentiate) & HEA, 102 Annual Meeting, 1924 &

HEA 1921. Erdman went to the Philippines to secure new workers for the Hawaii Filipino churches. & HEA, 99th Annual Report, 1921, pp. 37-38 &

HEA. Co-opted Ministry, 1924 strike. Jose Alba was the minister at Papaikou on the big island. Filipinos asked him to bring up problems before the manager. He was called "pusa-pusa," plantation lap kitten; ministers were regarded by the Filipinos as enemies allied to plantation. Alba wished to come to Honolulu because the Filipinos threatened to kill the ministers who would not support the strike. & Alba to Schenck, June 10, 1924; Schenck to Alba, August 9, 1924 HEA archives & The strikers were against the Filipino pastors, calling them plantation cats because they were not sympathetic to the strikers' cause. & F.M. Santa Ana, O'ahu, to Schenck, date?????? HEA Archives &

HEA Norman C. Schenck. He takes over from Erdman as the Filipino missionary superintendent in 1925&

HEA. Unlike the Methodists, the HEA did not develop well a group of Filipinos who were full ministers. In 1928, for example, there was no Filipino minister at all with the HEA, merely licentiate preachers. The HEA Filipino churches also as a whole did not increase members; in fact it showed a steady decline into the 1930. It was only after 1929 that several ministers were ordained: in Hilo, E.C. Yadao arrived from the Philippines in 1929 and in that year also was ordained Pedro Racelis, then S. Ibera at Olaa, S.D. Rita. In 1932, more Filipino ministers arrived in Hawaii and were ordained. Ordained: Venancio Madayag, TA Cabacungan at Waipahu, Isaac Granadosin at Waialua, F. Santa Ana at Waipahu. In 1934, HEA Filipino department had 4 churches on Big Island, 2 on Maui, 5 on Oahu and 2 on Kauai. In 1935, 9 ministers, including Cortezan were ordained. The average membership in a Filipino church was 25, thus small. With more Ilocanos coming, more wishing to join the Protestant church, whereas the Visayans generally kept their Catholic faith.

During World War II, the HEA abolished its ethnic departments. The Japanese wished to have the ethnic designations removed, like Makiki Japanese Church to become merely Makiki Christian Church; there were 12 Filipino churches in 1943 which had a membership of 960 all in all

HEA. Filipino membership did not increase much all throughout this period. Yadao attributes this to the inadequacy of leadership and the barrenness of the churches--Filipinos used to worshipping in elaborately adorned Cathedrals, so Yadao advocated investing in better churches. Also he condemned cockfighting as an enemy of religion and lead people to laziness and immorality; he said some employers condoned or encouraged it in their premises. &E.C. Yadao, "God and the Filipinos," The Friend, September 1939, p. 169&

HEA. Filipino Department. Before 1930, there were only six Filipino churches--Ewa, est. 1916 which had membership of 130 in the 1920s and had declined to merely 13 by 1943; Koloa, established in 1916 with membership fluctuating between 60 and 200 in the 1920s; Puunene, est. 1920 and Olaa in 1923; Waialua, membership averaged 100 in 1920s; and Papaikou, in 1928, average membership of 100. It was in 1934 that the no. of churches expanded, with four being established that year (Hilo, Kealia, Paia, Hawaii) and then the following year Waipahu. In 1940 all in all 700 members in the Filipino department, not much different from the past two decades, even less. The Filipino department had no evangelistic program spreading the word of God.

HEA. Coopted ministry. In 1930, Cortezan visited the Philippines and while in Iloilo, he gave an interview with El Tiempo attacking Ligot, advocating recall of Ligot, and that the California riots were a blessing for the plantations because now the Filipinos feared to leave Hawaii for the US mainland. Butler enclosed a copy of the article to Cortezan's boss, Norman Schenck, the head of the Filipino Department, telling Schenck to remind Cortezan not to attack Ligot, and that Butler would also talk to Cortezan not to attack Ligot. Schenck agreed, saying it was not wise to ask for Ligot's recall because "there is an awful lot of risk involved in getting another commissioner--and we know the one we have pretty well," but that Cortezan expressed pretty much what the Filipinos felt in regard to Ligot. &J.K. Butler to Schenck, April 3, 1930; Schenck to Butler, April 5, 1930, HEA Archives& At a July 5, 1930 meeting of the Filipino ministers and workers at Waikiki's Lau Yee Chai Inn, the Filipino ministers expressed their support of Ligot and wrote up a resolution asking the Philippine Governor General to increase his salary. &Resolution, July 5, 1930, HEA Archives&

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

HEA. Coopted Ministry. Samonte proposed to weaken the influence of Fagel among the Filipinos on Maui by offering organized club activities and intellectual-recreational attractions. &T.A. Samonte, Paia, Maui, to Norman C. Schenck, April 7, 1938, HEA Archives&

HEA. Coopted Ministry. "I was told (by the Filipino Union Leaders) that the plantations are using the ministers for a back to work movement" during the strike. Also, Barientos, without consulting the union, helped newly arrived recruits scab, get job in plantation so they could earn money to support family in Philippines. Barientos was paid his salary by the plantation, which supported in work at Paia under supervision of the board of the HEA; HEA had dropped support for his work when WWII broke out. &Romualdo Barientos to Dr. J. Leslie Dunstan, Paia, Maui, November 8, 1946, HEA Archives&

HEA Minister. Emilio C. Yadao, from Sinit, graduated from Vigan High School, and then at Union Theological Seminary. He was recruited by Schenck on his trip to PI in 1927 and came to Waialua, then Hilo, then Paia, Maui. His wife a registered nurse. He was minister at Paia 1937-41.

HEA Minister, Teodorico A. Samonte, 1929 to 1936 at Paia, Maui

HEA Minister. Simeon C. Ibero from Ilocos. As a sakada in 1918 he worked for various plantations. Then he planned to go to California but his best friend convinced him to remain in Honolulu, helped him with studies at Honolulu's Christian Workers' Institute. Upon completing it in 1926, he was sent to Olaa by HEA. He was ordained ten years later as pastor at Olaa.

HEA Minister. Tranquilino Cabacungan from Pangasinan, a Methodist missionary for years; in 1924 he went to US Union Theological Seminary, received his degree, became pastor of a Brooklyn Filipino church, received MA from Pacific School of Religion in California, came to Honolulu with HEA and became pastor at Waialua church.

HEA Minister. Pedro Racelis, from Tayabas. Religious worker in the Philippines; assigned to Waialua by HEA in 1921.

HEA Minister. Venancio Madayag. Ilocano; Union Theological Seminary in Manila, ordained minister serving all over PI, then went in 1926 for further studies in US mainland, and on his way back, stopped by Hawaii and persuaded by HEA to remain in Hawaii.

HEA worker. Alipio Ramos, went to mainland in 1928, finished high school in Seattle and then Oregon State University in agriculture as self supporting student; came to Hawaii in 1931, insurance salesman, active in church

HEA. Norman C. Schenck, born in New York, in charge of Filipino department

HEA. Coopted Ministry. Varona came to Hawaii in 1937, and to counteract the unionization going on, he planned to establish on each plantation a worker's union sponsored by the plantation management. The HEA assisted Varona; Schenck in the Fall of 1937 assisted on Kauai to convey the word of the most effective way to organize under the Varona plan. &Schenck to Simeon Ibera, Dec. 28, 1937& Other ministers also did so. At O'laa, Simeon Ibera organized 1600 Filipinos into a "labor union," with a constitution and by laws; in return, Manager Watt gave Ibera a generous \$50 gift at Christmas. &Simeon Ibera to Schenck, December 27, 1937, HEA Archvies& Vibora leaders came to O'laa to organize but Ibera prevented them from signing up anyone at O'laa. &Simeon Ibera to Schenck, December 27, 1937, HEA Archvies&

HEA Coopted Ministry. Peter Eleazar Racelis initially supported Manlapit and spoke at a rally organized by Manlapit at Waialua on December 2, 1923, although he did report to Goodale the details of this meeting. &Butler to Farrington, May 7, 1924, AH& And, it seemed that the plantation then used Racelis "as a bulldog" against the Filipino strikers. In any case, Racelis had problems at Waialua and so he was wary in 1932 when Manlapit returned again and Racelis wished Manlapit would not agitate the Filipinos. &Racelis to Schenck, August 24, 1932& Racelis also refused to help a Manlapit agent get a pass from the manager in order to enter Papaikou camp, Racelis saying that ever since he came to Papaikou he had always cooperated with the camp boss. &Racelis to Schenck, August 27, 1932, HEA Archives.& In 1937, with the Varona plan in effect, Racelis found himself in a delicate position again. Frank Anderson, the manager of Papaikou's Onomea Sugar Company teased Racelis (who had gone to Anderson to ask for transportation for Sunday School children) about not being at a recent Manibog rally of 2000 Filipinos in Filipino costumes in Hilo, pointing out that Racelis was not working hard enough to neutralize Filipinos. Racelis pointed out he would rather be the country pastor, as the Filipino laborers already are perceptive enough to see the ministers playing the fool for the managers, and that he had wished to work with the plantation as a friend rather than as a headman, and hoped to confine his activities to the religious sphere. In other words, Racelis felt the pressure to be a conservatising force, expected by the manager. &Racelis to N.C. Schenck, November 16, 1937, HEA Archives& Racelis did not have much choice, as he was beholden to the plantation; he was on the payroll at \$20 a month and the various plantations also contributed to buy a replacement car for Racelis in 1937. &A.T.Spalding, Manaager, Peekeo Sugar Co. to HEA board, January 16, 1937, HEA Archives& And Racelis repaid such debts, helping settle a labor dispute on the plantation &P.Racelis to Schenck, February 1, 1937, HEA&

HEA Coopted Ministry. HEA Minister. Mauricio Valera, Badoc, IN; studied in Manila and Philippine Normal School. He came as a sakada to Kiluaea plantation in 1918 at 21, protegee of Jose Alba, came to Honolulu, enrolled at Christian Workers' Institute, married Alba's daughter, and in 1924 a pastor at Ewa, and then in Hilo. Wife a nurse. HEA minister. Mauricio Valera, at Ewa Filipino Evangelical Church, 1925 to 1936

HEA. Coopted Ministry. Valera running around C. Brewer plantations as Varona's interpreter, and is regarded by the plantation managers as the one with the best influence on Filipinos & P. Racelis to N. Schenck, Nov. 16, 1937, HEA Archives&

Mauricio Valera at Ewa Filipino Evangelical Church. George Renton, the Ewa Plantation manager, was on several occasions irritated at Mauricio Valera of the Ewa Filipino Church, that Renton asked for a new religious worker to replace him. & Renton to HEA, May 10, 1935& J.P. Erdman raised the question of plantation control of the ministers, who were also paid by the plantation. Valera one day gave a dinner to Filipino overseers and Ewa plantation detective wanted to find out what happened and Valera did not cooperate as an informant for the plantation. J.P. Erdman defended Valera: "The manager of a plantation of course has a perfect right to have his policemen and detectives who keep him informed of affairs that go on, but if such exercise of police powers is carried to all minutiae of life it becomes irksome to both the employe and the manager, and sociologically it is not a wise practice." & J.P. Erdman to George Renton, May 16, 1933, HEA Archives& Erdman asked rhetorically: "How far is it wise and ethical for even a plantation manager to control the private affairs of men who happen to be employed by his company? It is not practical for a manager to tie an apron string to each of his employees and see that he washes his face and goes to bed at the proper time. Even if it were possible, sociologically it would be a great mistake." & J.P. Erdman to George Renton, May 16, 1933, HEA Archives& Valera incurred the anger of Renton for a few other things: assisting Filipinos remit money to the Philippines on days the bank was closed, raising money for a church piano, allowing a 12 year old girl to be married--i.e. for Valera showing independent spirit, not asking plantation manager's permission for all these first. & J.P. Erdman to George Renton, May 16, 1933, HEA Archives&

In 1934 the HSPA gave \$900 for the salary of a Filipino worker to visit the plantations under Schenck's direction. Is this related to Varona's visit? To plantation organizing by Manlapit? S.O. Halls HSPA, to Norman Schenck, June 19, 1934, HEA Archives&

The HSPA maintained an espionage system headed by McDuffy; the Filipino churches were an integral part of this espionage system. Eagen Report, p. 23, 1940&

HEA. Cooptation. Contradictory postures--On September 9, 1924, the Filipino committee of the HEA voted as policy the following: "No Filipino worker in the employ of the Board shall receive money as a plantation employee, court interpreter or agent of any other organization," although deviations and exceptions were made with the sanction of the Filipino committee. HEA Archives& However, Filipino ministers had gasoline allowance, were often given jobs on the plantations, a car, etc. In 1938, a group of Filipino Pastors drafted a resolution saying that the churches were accountable neither to capitalists or labor unions, and sought to cooperate with employers and employees: "We favor peaceful and not violent means of settling disputes between labor and employer," especially friendly conference to seek solutions to problems. HEA Archives, Filipino Department&

HEA Coopted Ministers. Modesto Salve entered the Honolulu Theological Seminary and cooked there to pay for his studies as a religious worker. However he left. "The seminary was there to train ministers to preach to the Filipinos to be happy on the plantation and work hard and not leave and their reward would be in heaven." Star Bulletin, May 7, 1979&

Ministers. Coopted. Ministers were tools of the company in public relations. Justo de la Cruz interview, ESOHP, p. 151, vol. 3&

FILIPINO COMMUNITY CHURCH

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

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

MONCADO

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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