Unbending Cane

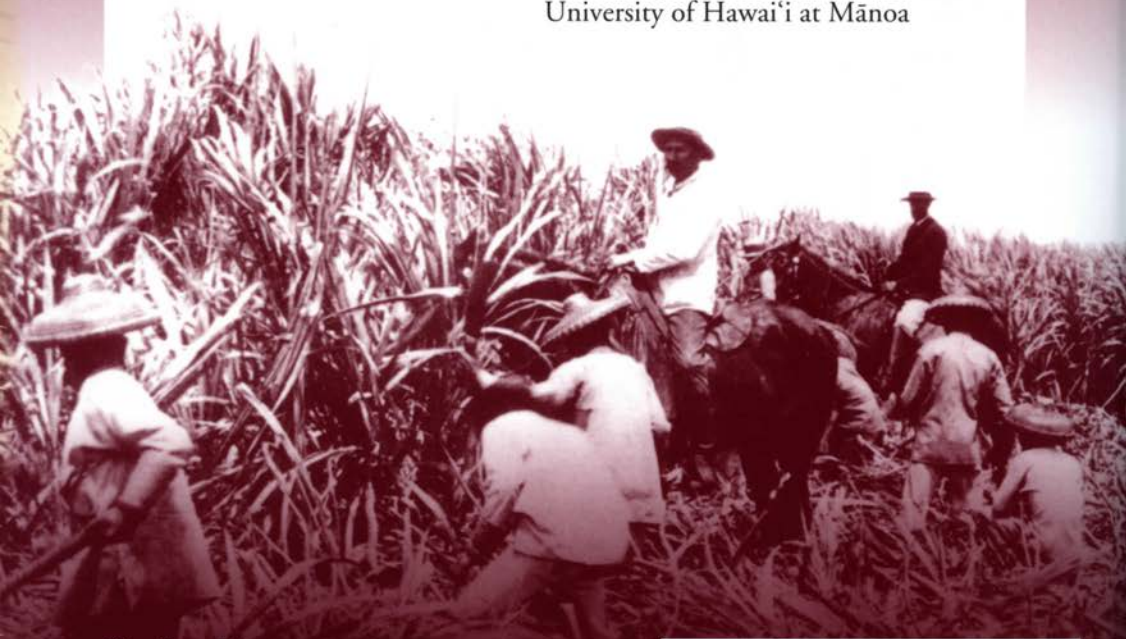


Pablo Manlapit
A Filipino Labor Leader in Hawai'i

Melinda Tria Kerkvliet

"*Unbending Cane: Pablo Manlapit, A Filipino Labor Leader in Hawai'i* is an important contribution to the growing literature on the Filipino American experience in Hawai'i as well as the history of Hawai'i's labor movement. Melinda Tria Kerkvliet's research into the life of Pablo Manlapit, regarded as the "most dangerous" labor leader in the islands by the Big Five companies that held political and economic power in Hawai'i before World War II, covers new ground. The interviews of family members he left behind in Hawai'i and in the Philippines add fresh insights in understanding a complex historical figure who was listed among the 100 most important individuals who made an impact on Hawai'i's history in the 20th century."

Dean Alegado, PhD
Chair, Department of Ethnic Studies
University of Hawai'i at Mānoa



Distributed by
University of Hawai'i Press
Honolulu, Hawai'i 96822-1888
www.uhpress.hawaii.edu

Front and back cover photos courtesy of Hawai'i State Archives

ISBN 0-9710915-0-1
9 780971 091504 90000

"An outstanding contribution to the body of scholarly literature on Filipino-American Studies with particular reference to Filipinos in Hawai'i by Dr. Melinda Tria Kerkvliet, a historian trained at the University of the Philippines, University of Wisconsin-Madison and University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.

This pioneering work utilizing primary sources is the first comprehensive biography of the foremost Filipino labor leader in Hawai'i, Pablo Manlapit, who led the Filipino struggle for justice during the plantation era in Hawai'i history. It should generate further research on the major contributions of Filipinos and Filipino-Americans to the development of the state of Hawai'i, especially in the field of labor history and minority rights."

Belinda Aquino, PhD
Director, Center for Philippine Studies
University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

"*Unbending Cane* is a long overdue work that finally provides full recognition of the contributions of Pablo Manlapit to the developing labor organizing movement in Hawai'i as he (and others) challenged the overwhelming power and oppression of the sugar planters and the Republican Party in the 1920s and 1930s. Through her meticulous research, Melinda Tria Kerkvliet has clearly succeeded in capturing the complexity and controversy of Manlapit's life and struggles as he unwaveringly sought justice and equality for working people in Hawai'i, California and the Philippines. The book also can be read as the closest work to a pre-World War II history of Filipino Americans in Hawai'i that unfortunately is still lacking."

Jonathan Okamura, PhD
Assistant Professor, Department of Ethnic Studies
University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

Unbending Cane

Unbending Cane

Pablo Manlapit
A Filipino Labor Leader in Hawai'i

Melinda Tria Kerkvliet

OFFICE OF MULTICULTURAL STUDENT SERVICES
University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

Copyright © 2002 Melinda Tria Kerkvliet

All Rights Reserved
Printed in the United States of America

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Kerkvliet, Melinda Tria, 1941 –
Unbending cane: Pablo Manlapit, a Filipino labor leader in Hawai'i /
Melinda Tria Kerkvliet.
p. cm.
Includes bibliographic references.
ISBN 0-9710915-0-1 (alk. paper)
1. Manlapit, Pablo. 2. Labor leaders–Hawaii–Biography. 3. Strikes and lockouts–Hawaii–History. I. Title.

HD8073.M165K465 2002
331.892'83361'092–dc21
[B] 2002022854

Text copy prepared by Office of Multicultural Student Services,
University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.

Front and back cover photographs courtesy of Hawai'i State Archives.

This book is printed on acid-free paper and meets the guidelines for permanence and durability of the Council on Library Resources.

Distributed by
University of Hawai'i Press
Order Department
2840 Kolowalu Street
Honolulu, Hawai'i 96822-1888

Printed by the Maple-Vail Book Manufacturing Group

In memory of
Alice Manlapit Savard

Contents

Acknowledgments xi

Introduction xv

Prologue: Fighting the "Goliaths" 1

Chapter 1: Dawn (1891–1910). 3
Family Roots
Attraction of Hawai'i

Chapter 2: Organizing in Hawai'i (1910–1920) 13
Work and Family
Plantation Life for Filipinos
The 1920 Strike

Chapter 3: From Organizer to Prisoner (1921–1927) 29
Family
High Wages Movement
The 1924 Strike
Imprisonment and Parole

Chapter 4: Between Two Paroles (1928–1934) 61
California
Return to Hawai'i

Chapter 5: Homeland (1935–1948) 79
With the Elite
Early Post-War Period

Chapter 6: Securing Pardon (1949–1952) 91
Filipinos in Hawai'i, 1940s
Hawai'i Visit
Full Pardon Granted

Chapter 7: Dusk (1953–1969) 107
In Politics
Return to Organized Labor

Epilogue: Remembrance and Summing Up 115

Appendix: Pablo Manlapit's Farewell Statement, 13 August 1927 121

Notes 123

Bibliography 143

About the Author 151

Acknowledgments

Alice Manlapit Savard helped me a lot. I first met Alice in July 1990 when I visited her at her apartment in downtown Honolulu. As I asked her about her father, I sensed that she wanted to share more information about herself and her family. I also realized that I wanted to know her life story. Perhaps our personal predicaments drew us to each other. She had been living by herself for years and now suffered from chronic arm pains. My mother had just passed away; Alice's manner of talking and laughing reminded me of her. Our meetings, one could say, became therapeutic.

In 1991 I visited Alice regularly, normally on Saturday mornings, for long chats or "talk stories." On sunny mornings we walked around Chinatown and she pointed out spots where her father worked, where she worked, and where the family ate. We visited coffee shops and restaurants, and she recounted her duties at the Alexander Young Hotel's restaurant. The shops reminded her of what she used to wear and the hair style she preferred. On days when she felt excruciating pain, she just wanted to sit on her favorite chair in her apartment. Then, as if to overcome pain, she talked about happy times in the past, including parties with co-workers, family reunions, and persistent suitors. She asked me to flip over pages of her photo albums, pointing out the names of happy faces.

Because Alice was reluctant to be taped, I minimized using a tape recorder. Instead I tried to record and reconstruct each session in a diary. I did get her permission to tape three sessions at her apartment. Alice's

story needs to be told in more detail than I have done here in her father's biography. Still I am in debt to Alice for information on her father and the effect of her father's labor activities on the family.

Through Alice, I was able to contact and interview Pablo Manlapit's second family and relatives in the Philippines. Isabel M. Dimagiba David lent me some pictures and introduced me to Juliana Manlapit. I talked to Ponciana and Romeo Manlapit several times. They were helpful; they let me read documents and papers kept at their home. Then a stream of Romeo's letters came, first to Hawai'i and then to Australia where my husband and I had moved in early 1992. The precious letters answered many questions I had raised. Romeo seemed more relaxed and eloquent in his letters. He not only supplied information to fill in gaps in my research but he also revealed his thoughts and reflections on life. In these letters, instead of referring to Manlapit as "father," Romeo called him "Pablo Manlapit," because he saw clearly the two roles his father assumed.

I thank the staff in several archives and libraries I visited. At the Hawai'i State Archives, Allen W. Hoof and Jolene Nakamatsu assisted in locating and copying the documents related to Manlapit's parole and pardon; Gina Vergara-Bautista and Patricia Lai located additional materials on the 1924 strike and its leaders. Alice Mak helped me access previously classified materials through the Freedom of Information Act. Michael Cullinane copied and airmailed important materials from Madison, Wisconsin. Operation Manong Program (now called Office of Multicultural Student Services) at the University of Hawai'i gave me space and time for research.

I am grateful to Helen Nagtalon-Miller and the Filipino-American Historical Society of Hawai'i for publishing this biography. I thank Jon Okamura for the publication of my two early articles on Pablo Manlapit. Four readers (Lina Agbayani, Clem Bautista, Rose Churma and Deanna Espina) and two editors (Ben Kerkvliet and Elena V. Reyes) tackled my early drafts. Ofelia Villero read through the final draft. I thank them for

their interest, concern, and valuable suggestions. Clem Bautista and Ofelia Villero shepherded this project to completion. Mark E. Nakamura, graphics specialist, designed the appealing book cover and prepared the final manuscript for printing.

Finally, I acknowledge with deep affection the help of Ben Kerkvliet, Pedro Soriano and Damaso C. Tria for finding and driving me to the homes of key informants in Tandang Sora and Novaliches in Metro Manila.

Introduction

Growing up as a Filipino in Hawai'i frequently forces one to look to individuals and events of other ethnic groups to serve as role models or historical landmarks. The dearth in documentation of Filipinos and their contributions to Hawai'i's labor history has only been addressed since the 1980s.[1] Even in these honest efforts, however, many gaps and inconsistencies remain in their elaboration of a historical narrative that includes Filipinos. This shortcoming is especially evident in coming to grips with as enigmatic a figure as Pablo Manlapit, and even Reinecke's excellent account of the 1924 strikes[2] should be read along with the present one.

To properly probe into an individual's life, which was as controversial and historically confounding as that of Manlapit, requires an analytical perspective more flexible than usually practiced by conventional labor historians. In the case of Manlapit, making sense of what was known is a matter of making known what was unseen. Melinda Tria Kerkvliet not only rereads and, sometimes, reinterprets the known documents and accounts of Manlapit, but also opens up the family door where, with appropriate restraint, allows a second voice, that of Manlapit's family, to be heard.

Formally trained in American historiography, with graduate degrees from the Universities of Wisconsin and Hawai'i, Tria Kerkvliet has always kept one foot outside the door of conventional wisdom and approaches of mainstream history. In this narrative of Manlapit, we

develop an unsettling disposition for we are not only privy to conversations and perspectives often neglected by more mainstream accounts, we also become eavesdroppers into private affairs that sound too familiar. These personal glimpses into everyday difficulties indicate subtle and not-so-subtle influences that embrace all of us each morning when we face another opportunity in which to act or not.

The story of Pablo Manlapit and his role in Hawai'i's labor history has been a passion of Melinda Tria Kerkvliet for almost two decades, nearly as long as Manlapit had lived in Hawai'i. As with any activity that we become passionate about, our initial focus, over time, eventually expands in breadth and in depth. So it was with Tria Kerkvliet's story of Pablo Manlapit. Not content to construct a more authoritative historical figure by unearthing new archival sources or reinterpreting old ones, Tria Kerkvliet researched documents and individuals in Hawai'i and the Philippines in order to present to us, readers, a story of a passionate, authentic and mortally flawed figure in history. This is a story of an individual straddled with unselfish ambitions, unwavering optimism and an incessant perseverance, making a mark in an uncertain world moderated by the relationships, responsibilities and obligations that make us all too human.

This publication has been made possible through the assistance of the Filipino-American Historical Society of Hawai'i, Social Processes in Hawai'i (Department of Sociology, University of Hawai'i) and the Hawai'i Laborers' Political Action Committee.

Clement Bautista
Director, Office of Multicultural Student Services

PROLOGUE

Fighting the "Goliaths"

Pablo Manlapit, a Filipino contract worker, first saw the Honolulu harbor lights in 1910. He had just turned nineteen years old. The sugar planters assigned him to a sugar cane plantation on the Big Island. There he met and married Annie Kasby. After their eldest child was born, Manlapit lost his job in the plantation because he participated in a strike. The family moved to Hilo, and then to Honolulu, on O'ahu island. Manlapit did odd jobs to support the family, such as stevedoring and working as a janitor for an attorney. He read law books, took the test, and became the first Filipino to practice law in the territory of Hawai'i. Annie gave birth to three more children. Peace and comfort for the growing family seemed assured.

Manlapit, however, supported the plantation workers in their demands for higher wages and better working conditions. In 1920 he represented the Filipino workers in a strike launched jointly with the Japanese workers. Two years later he led a Filipino workers' strike that lasted six months and culminated in an armed confrontation in which 20 people lost their lives. In the aftermath, several labor leaders were hauled back to the Philippines while others were detained and imprisoned.

Many workers admired Manlapit for resisting the planters. Others regarded him as dangerous, anti-American and a communist. Manlapit served two years in prison and was forced to go to California to serve out his parole. His defense attorney declared that Pablo Manlapit had been

railroaded. Manlapit likewise claimed that a small group of powerful men wanted him out of their way because he advocated "justice and a square deal" for plantation workers.

Manlapit was forced to go back to the Philippines in 1934. He returned to Hawai'i only once again briefly in 1949. But Hawai'i always stayed on his mind. He sent a stream of petitions to successive Hawai'i governors, asking for a review of his case and absolute pardon. Supporters now called for "justice and a square deal" for Pablo Manlapit. Finally convinced that an injustice had been committed, Governor Oren E. Long granted a full and free pardon to Pablo Manlapit in 1952.

Upon his return to the Philippines, Manlapit joined the national political elite. He even adopted the establishment's point of view that a few early post-World War II labor leaders were dangerous, anti-Filipino and communistic. Yet he did not sit glued inside the elite circle. He stuck his neck out when he accused powerful political men, whom he called the "goliaths," of defrauding the new Philippine republic. Then, in his waning years, he stepped out of the circle to join a trade union.

As far as I know, this is the first biography of Pablo Manlapit. Scholars who had written about him focused mainly on his role in the two strikes of 1920 and 1924. Here I also assess his role in those two strikes but I also describe his life before and after these events. I use a variety of sources, such as newly located materials on his parole and pardon, and interviews with surviving members of his family.

In narrating Pablo Manlapit's life, I have included details on his family members, particularly his daughter in Hawai'i and his son in the Philippines. They present their perspectives. They describe the impact of their father's labor activities on the family, their own courage to survive, and the significance of Pablo Manlapit's life as a public figure.

Dawn

1891–1910

1

Family Roots

Pablo Manlapit came from a working-class family. His parents, Eugenio Manlapit and Maura San Pedro, worked as shoemakers, bakers, and tenant farmers. They also owned a small plot of land to cultivate coffee.[1] Lipa, Manlapit's hometown in the southern Luzon province of Batangas, had experienced a coffee boom in the early nineteenth century when the Spaniards opened the Philippines to world trade. The town's elite built their fortunes on coffee beans, and income from coffee became the yardstick for social classification. In Lipa society the landed aristocrats and professionals occupied the top rungs of the ladder while the poor, composed of laborers, artisans, servants, and tenants, occupied the lower rungs. During town parades, the landed and the professionals marched at the center while the poor stood at the side of the road.[2]

Manlapit was born on 17 January 1891. He grew up during an extraordinary period when Filipinos, who had been ruled by Spain for about three centuries, were forging an independent country. At first, Filipino nationalists demanded only political reforms but when Spain rejected these, they revolted in August 1896. Manlapit was five-years-old when Andres Bonifacio led the revolution and the Spaniards executed Jose Rizal, Philippine national hero.

In June 1898 Emilio Aguinaldo proclaimed Philippine independence, even though the Spaniards holed up in Intramuros, Manila had refused to surrender. Aguinaldo anticipated full victory because his

soldiers had surrounded Manila. American soldiers, Aguinaldo believed, were also there to support the revolution. But as it turned out, the United States wanted the Philippines as her own colony in the Pacific. The Spaniards surrendered to the Americans in August, after a staged battle, and the following December the United States gave Spain a sum of money as payment for the Philippines. More soldiers from the United States arrived in Manila. On 4 February 1899 the Filipino-American War began.

Once again the Filipinos took up arms. The prominent families of Lipa also participated in the war; many from the lower class followed the elite into battles and retreats. There is no indication, however, that the Manlapits fought against the Spaniards and the Americans. Manlapit descendants speak of no revolutionary tradition in the family.[3]

After the Americans defeated the revolutionary forces, they set up a colonial apparatus that would last until the Japanese invasion of the Philippines in 1942. Manlapit was nine-years-old when the Americans occupied Lipa. The town's elite and the American forces collaborated in setting up a local government and a public system of education, providing new opportunities for those lower in the social ladder. Manlapit completed his elementary and intermediate education in Lipa.[4]

Around 1908 Manlapit's parents decided to move to Manila. They were among the many who migrated to Manila in the early twentieth century in search of a better life. His mother Maura, according to one account, gave birth to ten children; but several of them died at birth or at a tender age.[5] Four sons (Eulogio, Pablo, Guillermo, and Victor) and a daughter (Luisa) reached adulthood in Manila.

Manila had already been the capital city when the Spaniards ruled the Philippines, but its rapid expansion occurred when the Americans took over. The city became a magnet, attracting migrants from the provinces who could be government clerks, cigar and cigarette factory workers, manual workers, and domestics. In the first two decades of American rule, Filipinos with less than a high-school education could

start as clerks in the newly-formed bureaucracy and move up the occupational ladder.[6]

Eugenio, Manlapit's father, found work as a security guard for the British trading firm, Smith Bell & Co. The income was adequate to support his family and send the eldest child and son, Eulogio, to a private school (Ateneo de Manila) for his secondary education.[7] However, Pablo, the second child, had to wait for his turn. The family could only afford to educate one child at a time beyond the elementary level. It is perplexing, though, why Eulogio was sent to a private secondary school instead of a public high school, which would have been cheaper. For whatever reason, Manlapit did not continue his studies.

Instead, he looked for work. For brief periods he was a messenger for the Manila Railroad, clerk for the Bureau of Civil Service, clerk for the Bureau of Forestry, and timekeeper for a United States electric construction project at Corregidor Island. Why he did not stay long in one place and try to move up is not clear; whatever the reason he apparently easily found jobs. He did not work long at Corregidor Island because, as he recalled years later, he "was dismissed due to his activities in the organization of a labor union."[8]

After his dismissal, Manlapit could have tried to find another job or return to being a government clerk, the path taken by his three brothers. His elder bother, Eulogio, started as a clerk at the Bureau of Printing. He later studied law and then set up his own printing company. A younger brother, Guillermo, worked as a clerk for the Bureau of Posts and, later, for the Bureau of Customs. He then formed a brokerage company making him a wealthy man with 20 cargo trucks by 1941.[9] The youngest brother, Victor, also worked as a clerk at the Bureau of Customs.

Or Manlapit could have pursued a career in the labor arena. In 1908-1909, Manila's craft unions, cooperatives, and mutual-aid societies flourished as labor leaders switched their attention to electoral politics. Disarray was in the air. Three labor federations vied with each other; the Printers' Union split into four factions to support their

CLEMENT BAUTISTA

candidates to the first elected Philippine Assembly. Manlapit did not get involved. Nor was he drawn into the center of the political stage, unlike numerous labor leaders and politicians with whom he would cross paths decades later and who began their careers around this time. One of those labor leaders was Hermenegildo Cruz who became a strong supporter of Manuel L. Quezon, the popular politician at the forefront of the peaceful campaign for Philippine independence.[10]

Attraction of Hawai'i

Manlapit saw another option; he took the boat to Hawai'i. In fact, according to family stories, he tried to "run away" three times. His father stepped in twice and successfully removed Manlapit from a ship about to leave Manila Bay. Pablo eluded his father on his third attempt to leave.[11]

Why Hawai'i? It is a story that revolves around sugar. The Hawaiian sugar industry took off in the 1850s after sugar from Hawai'i was allowed to enter the American market duty-free. "Between 1875 and 1910 the plantation work force increased more than thirteen times, from 3,260 to 43,917. Meanwhile, cultivated plantation lands multiplied nearly eighteen times, or from 12,000 acres to 214,000 acres, and the number of plantations jumped from twenty to fifty-two."[12] The people in charge of the industry composed the Big Five: American Factors; Castle & Cooke; Alexander & Baldwin; Theo Davies & Co; and C. Brewer & Co.

Translated in political terms, a small group of Caucasian sugar planters who had missionary roots, dominated Hawaiian politics throughout the pre-World War II period. They had at first curbed then deposed the Hawaiian monarch, then successfully campaigned for Hawai'i's annexation to the United States in 1898.[13] Hawai'i became a United States territory at about the same time the United States acquired the Philippines as a colony. Hawai'i's Attorney General in 1903 described the oligarchy in this way: "There is a government in this Territory which is centralized to an extent unknown in the United States, and probably almost as much centralized as it was in France under Louis XIV."[14]

Because sugar production was labor intensive, the planters sought a regular supply of cheap labor. This search for plantation labor changed Hawai'i's demography. The native Hawaiians rejected the idea of working long hours under the hot sun, so the planters looked elsewhere for labor. They recruited from Europe, the Caribbean, and Asian countries, such as China, Korea and Japan. In the 1890s, the Japanese contract laborers totaled 7,612, more than sixty-five percent of plantation workers.[15]

By 1900 most plantation workers were Japanese but whenever possible they opted to work outside the plantations or move to California. They were also assertive. They organized thirty-four major strikes between 1900 and 1906.[16] About 7,000 plantation workers also participated in the "great Japanese strike" of 1909 when the sugar planters rejected their demands for higher wages. To crush the strike, the planters evicted the strikers from their plantation homes, hired strikebreakers, and arrested the leaders. One of the leaders of the strike was Frederick Kinzaburo Makino, who would be Manlapit's friend and supporter in the 1920s.[17]

The 1909 strike made the Hawai'i Sugar Planters' Association (HSPA) more determined to recruit laborers from the Philippines. They had actually started recruiting there roughly two years before the Manlapit family moved from Batangas to Manila. In 1906 Albert F. Judd set up a recruiting office in San Nicolas, Manila, hired recruiting agents, and advertised in local newspapers. A Tagalog newspaper, *Taliba*, for example, described what was in store for workers: forty pesos monthly wage for male workers and fourteen pesos for female or child workers; travel fare; travel clothing; travel needs (cigarettes, mats, pillows, blankets, clothing, towel, soap, plate, glass); house with water and fuel; and medicine and medical services. It added that Hawai'i was like the Philippines: an archipelago with no winter season, wild beasts or poisonous snakes.[18]

Not many rushed to go to Hawai'i. After six months, Judd had recruited only fifteen men, then 150 the next year. The planters in

Hawai'i began to think that recruiting in the Philippines was hopeless because they had expected to recruit hundreds. Meantime the Japanese were still the vast majority of Hawai'i's plantation workers. In 1908 Japanese workers totaled 31,477; the next largest group was 3,655 Portuguese followed by several hundreds each of Spaniards, Americans, and Europeans; and 121 Filipinos.[19]

Among the recruits in 1909 was Pablo Manlapit, who was young and able but had never worked in a farm or field before. He left Manila on 10 January 1910 and arrived in Honolulu on 17 February 1910 "with a tag on his back like a shipment of Manila cigars."[20] He was among the 280 Filipinos on board the SS Mongolia.[21] As his birthday was on January 17, he had just turned nineteen when he disembarked in Honolulu.

The year Pablo arrived, steamers brought from two to four batches of Filipinos a month. In two years, 1909 and 1910, the HSPA brought 4,173 Filipinos. One account describes the perilous boat trip from the Philippines to Hawai'i. Filipino emigrants were packed like sardines at the bottom of the boat; no one was allowed to go upstairs. Food was served in a bucket. The boat stopped in Japan for one week but no one was allowed to leave the boat. The cold climate made many sick with high fever. Two infants died. "Many of our passengers had also caught the same fever and many were thrown off board without our knowledge."[22] The trip took two months. "As we neared the Hawaiian Islands the warm climate seemed to breathe new life into everyone for people began recovering from their illness."[23]

Hawai'i residents felt anxious about the newcomers to the islands. The House of Representatives decided to investigate after Hawai'i newspapers alleged that a large number of recruits from the Philippines were "feeble-minded and otherwise physically defective individuals."[24] Its Committee on Agriculture, Forestry, Promotion and Immigration visited the Filipino camps on O'ahu plantations and, through letters, gathered information from plantation managers, health officials, and American bureaucrats in the Philippines. The committee concluded that

the HSPA was conducting the recruitment of Filipino laborers more carefully than before, but noted the "great preponderance of males" as a fault. "The islands are now well protected from any disease likely to be brought by these laborers as they are all carefully inspected by the U. S. authorities before being shipped from the Philippines."[25]

As for the Filipino "character," the committee concluded that "the Filipinos are people of average 'character'—usually peaceable and orderly, in the main honest, tractable, industrious,—generally the equal of most of the immigrants.... That they are eager to learn English and are devoted to baseball we consider good signs of assimilation. Then, too, their buoyancy may be somewhat due to the fact of their Spanish oppression and lack of opportunity in the Philippines."[26]

Buried among the letters sent back to the committee was the letter of J. Watt, manager of Ōla'a Sugar Company on the Big Island. As of March 1911, the Ōla'a plantation employed 294 Filipinos, of whom 269 were males, 16 women and 9 children. Watt found them law-abiding and good workers. He was also grateful: "We have been benefited by the fact of getting in Filipino laborers at this time as otherwise we would have lost thousands of dollars on our crops on account of shortage of labor."[27]

On the Philippine side, whatever misgivings the authorities had about sending young males to Hawai'i disappeared after Joaquin Balmori submitted his report to the Philippine Assembly. Balmori, delegate to the Philippine Assembly and chairman of the Labor and Immigration Committee came to Hawai'i in 1911. He visited twenty-six different plantations in thirty-nine days. In his report, he had nothing but praise for the conditions in those plantations.[28]



Manlapit had just turned 19 when he left the Philippines for Hawai'i to work in the sugar plantations. A common sight in the plantations was foremen or lunas *on horseback overseeing the workers in the cane fields. Manlapit had "never worked on a farm or field before" he embarked for Honolulu. (Photo courtesy of Hawai'i State Archives)*

Organizing in Hawai'i

1910–1920

2

Work and Family

Upon arrival in Honolulu, the HSPA sent Pablo Manlapit to Kūka'iau sugar plantation (Hāmākua Mill Co.) on the island of Hawai'i (the Big Island). According to his contract, his monthly salary was twenty dollars working six days a week, from ten to twelve hours per day. The contract was for three years. Manlapit soon impressed his employer probably because he knew English. After working for just a week in the fields, the plantation manager promoted him to foreman (*luna*); then later to timekeeper.[1] Apart from this information and comments from the plantation store manager, H. E. Kelsey, that Manlapit acted as an "interpreter for a bunch of Filipinos,"[2] little is known of what he did as a plantation worker before he became involved in labor-organizing activities.

In 1913 Manlapit spearheaded a strike by fellow Filipino workers when the "management reduced the price of their [harvesting] contract without notice from $4.50 to $4.00 per hectare."[3] The plantation manager reported the strike to the HSPA office in Honolulu, prompting Royal D. Mead, HSPA's Bureau of Labor director, to investigate the incident.[4] As a result, Manlapit was put on a blacklist and subsequently discharged from Kūka'iau sugar plantation perhaps in late 1913. The year 1913 is based on the information from the plantation store manager, who saw Manlapit acting as an interpreter and also noted that he had married a "German girl," presumably while he was still working

in the plantation.[5] He did marry Annie Kasby on 12 June 1912. She was from Pa'auilo, Hawai'i, and was of German-American ancestry. Alice, the first child of Pablo and Annie, was born the following year at the Kūka'iau plantation.[6] This means that Manlapit must have stayed at Kūka'iau for at least three years.[7]

The family left the plantation for Hilo probably in early 1914. Manlapit supported the family through several jobs, including interpreting for local courts, managing a pool hall, and publishing a weekly, *Ang Sandata*. By this time the HSPA had put him on its list of people to be watched. Thus, the HSPA once claimed that Manlapit had misrepresented himself as an agent of Royal D. Mead to enter the plantations and sell gramophones and sewing machines to the Filipinos. In another instance, the HSPA claimed that Manlapit was under suspicion for selling guns to Filipinos. But on the whole, the sugar planters were "unsuccessful in collecting evidence to convict him of any crime and put him out of circulation."[8] Before the year ended, the family moved to Honolulu on the island of O'ahu where the other three children were born: Annie in 1915; Sophie in 1918; and Pablo, Jr. in 1921.

Information from *Polk's Directory* shows that, again in Honolulu, Manlapit earned his livelihood by doing all kinds of jobs.[9] He republished the weekly *Ang Sandata* in 1916 while working as a stevedore. That year he also joined a longshoremen's strike and was beaten up when he urged Filipinos to stop strikebreaking.[10] In 1918 and 1919 he worked as a janitor and interpreter for Attorney William J. Sheldon who had a law office on Merchant Street in downtown Honolulu. Probably with Sheldon's encouragement, Manlapit studied during his spare time. He then applied for a license to practice law in Hawai'i. According to the *Revised Laws of Hawai'i*, the territorial Supreme Court had the power to examine and admit as practitioners in the court persons who were American citizens or had declared their intention to be American citizens.[11] Because the Philippines was a colony of the United States, Manlapit was a "national" and not a citizen of the United States. To satisfy the legal requirement, Manlapit must have signified his intention

to become an American citizen. At any rate, he passed the required test for attorneys and on 19 December 1919 was granted a license to represent clients in the district courts, thus becoming, in his own words, "the first Filipino lawyer to practice law in Hawaii."[12]

Pablo Manlapit did not fit the general profile and predominant image of the Filipinos in Hawai'i. He was married, educated, and a lawyer by profession. The majority of Filipinos were single, had little formal education, and worked as plantation laborers.

Plantation Life for Filipinos

By mid-1919, the number of Filipino workers at Hawai'i's sugar plantations had more than doubled since 1910, the year Manlapit came, from approximately 4,000 to around 10,000. The total number of Filipinos in Hawai'i that same year was 20,400.[13]

In general, they came to Hawai'i enticed by HSPA agents who recruited all over the Philippines, and by favorable reports and impressions of returnees. The term "glorya," a place of glory and paradise, was synonymous with Hawai'i. The daily newspapers published pleasant pictures of Filipinos playing baseball and Filipino weddings in Hawai'i.[14] Moreover, the new guarantee after 1915 from the HSPA, of a free return ticket for those who satisfied certain conditions also encouraged workers to try their luck in Hawai'i.

Reinforcing these "pull" factors was the economic situation in the Philippines, where the flourishing cash-crops economy benefited only a small group of landowners. Bruno Lasker argues that this situation was one of the "predisposing economic factors" pushing Filipinos to leave their native towns.[15] Other scholars have likewise argued that the landlord elite in the Philippines prospered during the American colonial period while many tenant farmers remained poor.[16]

In concrete terms, each Filipino recruited to Hawai'i had his or her personal reasons for leaving. Indeed, many left in hopes of saving enough money, returning, and buying a piece of land. Specifically, as Ruben Alcantara's study shows, many unmarried recruits from the Ilocos region

dreamed of buying a piece of land to be offered as dowries for prospective brides.[17] Hawai'i was a means to fulfill these dreams.

In mid-1919 Filipinos worked and lived in most of the forty-five plantations affiliated with the HSPA. In the plantation settlements, they had their own "camp" or housing area separate from other ethnic groups. They lived in wooden structures, called "barracks" and "longhouses," with unattached kitchen and toilet facilities. Sometimes five single males shared a room measuring ten feet square in duplex structures or single family homes. Prudencio Remigio, who investigated in 1919, criticized the housing quarters ("barracks or huts") of the Filipino workers: "In general they are of old construction and of inferior conditions both in structure and in hygiene compared to the quarters of other nationalities, especially of the Portuguese who, in the majority of cases, live in chalet-form houses, and of the Japanese who have rather comfortable and well-arranged houses."[18]

The single males reconstructed family relationships in the barracks. The oldest one in the group became the authority figure, making sure that harmony existed and that each one performed their assigned chores, such as cooking, preparing the lunch boxes, cleaning up, making sure that there was enough wood and water. Sometimes they went to the homes of co-workers whose enterprising wives prepared and sold meals and Filipino delicacies. The bachelors sometimes paid the wives for doing laundry for them. More importantly, these bachelors became godparents and uncles to the Filipino youngsters. As a group they would become role models, as Leonard Andaya recalls: "These bachelors were also extremely generous and kind to the children in the plantation camps. Since ours was one of the few nuclear families in the village, I had numerous 'uncles' among the single Filipino men in the camp."[19]

They worked in the fields six days a week, ten hours a day. Many of them had to learn sugar cane cultivation as they had only worked on rice fields before coming to Hawai'i. Because cane plants had a two-year growth, half of the plantation was harvested and replanted while the other half contained one-year-old plants. During the first six months of

the year, they harvested the cane (after the burning of the dead leaves around the stalks) and replanted the fields immediately. The work, all done manually, was backbreaking. The workers, organized in gangs, cut the cane, piled and bundled the cut cane, and loaded the bundles, using their shoulders, into the cane cars. The bundles, weighing an average of seventy-five pounds, caused infection when stalks rubbed against the neck and ears. After the harvesting and replanting season, the workers weeded, cleared irrigation canals, fertilized the fields, and repaired machineries.

Many workers disliked the fast and unrelenting pace of plantation work. They got up at dawn six days a week and worked ten hours daily with a fifteen-minute break for breakfast and a thirty-minute break for lunch. The luna made sure that the workers came to work on time and also closely followed the work pace. The workers were "constantly watched by the luna who oblige them to work with the greatest possible effort for ten hours under a tropical sun."[20] The luna scolded them "if they kill time." They did not dare explain their side or complain for fear of losing their jobs. Many workers believed they would be treated better by a Filipino luna, but most plantation lunas were Japanese and Portuguese.

They received wages ranging from $0.75 to $1.15 depending on their work arrangements with the plantation managers. The daily field laborers earned seventy-five cents. In addition, workers could receive bonuses, a fixed percentage of their wages which was computed based on the price of crude sugar in New York. The workers, according to Remigio, complained that their wages were barely sufficient for a single person and insufficient for a married worker. He (Remigio) sympathized with the workers as he noted that the cost of living in Hawai'i was more expensive than in Manila. Furthermore, the cost of living in Hawai'i, Remigio added, had risen at least fifty percent since 1912 (when Joaquin Balmori, the first Philippine investigator came), yet the wage levels had remained the same.[21]

Each plantation had a store where workers bought canned goods, clothing, and other personal supplies by paying in cash or by credit. But

all the items in the store were expensive, according to Ventura Luis who worked in a plantation for nine years. His wage was only enough to cover his food expenses; at the end of each month, his "pocket was empty" because his wage "returned" to the store to pay his debts.[22]

A major worry of the workers who talked to Remigio in 1919 was the required number of days they had to work in order to receive a bonus and the free airfare home after three years. Their average work days were only seventeen. To receive the bonus they had to work from twenty to twenty-six days a month. To get the free return airfare, they needed to work twenty-six days. The HSPA later changed the required number of days from twenty-six days to twenty days monthly, or 720 days for three consecutive years.

The lack of avenues to air their complaints likewise troubled the workers. A worker, for instance, could not argue with a luna whom he felt had humiliated or reprimanded him unfairly. If he were to leave the field and hide in his barracks, the plantation police would come and get him. His options were either to return to work or be arrested as a vagrant. The plantation police were special police paid by the plantation manager to keep order and to deliver to local authorities anyone who disobeyed laws and regulations. "They are also those who house and move out workers from their barracks and huts."[23]

People who lived outside the plantations could speak for the workers. In 1919 Pablo Manlapit belonged to a small group of Filipinos in Honolulu who voiced out the problems and concerns of Filipino plantation workers. Others in that group were Nicolas C. Dizon and Juan Briones Sarmiento. Dizon, a Methodist minister trained in the continental US, first came to Hawai'i in 1918. He worked at the Methodist Filipino mission in Honolulu, established the Filipino National Association, and published a newsletter called *Ang Mithi ni Rizal* (Rizal's Ideals). Remigio reported that Dizon's organization, active on O'ahu and Kaua'i, aimed at assisting Filipino laborers and promoting the "national aspiration of the Philippine Islands."[24] Little is known about Sarmiento except that he may have been a journalist, an occupation he would later pursue.[25]

Both Dizon and Sarmiento advocated specific aims, such as making sure that Filipino workers enjoyed their right to a free passage home after their contracts ended. Manlapit, on the other hand, advocated general issues affecting all workers, irrespective of ethnic background. He welcomed the idea of working with the Japanese to demand changes in plantation working conditions. Among those who held the same view and who may have influenced Manlapit was Attorney Sheldon, Manlapit's former employer.[26] He may have been also influenced by other labor leaders in Honolulu, like George Wright and Fred Makino, who also believed in the unity of all workers. Possibly, Manlapit's experience in the 1916 inter-ethnic stevedores' strike, mentioned earlier, must have also left an impression on him.

In 1919 the Honolulu newspaper *Advertiser* published Manlapit's views on higher wages and shorter working hours. Workers, he argued, preferred a higher minimum wage to an erratic bonus system, based on the fluctuating sugar prices in New York. These demands challenged the planters who could, in the current wage and bonus arrangements, cut and raise wages and bonuses according to their calculation of profits and losses.[27]

Briefly, in 1919—the year he also studied and prepared his license to practice law—Manlapit was busy with meetings with Filipino and Japanese leaders and workers. He emerged as the leader of the Filipino group. The *Advertiser* reported that during a general meeting of a thousand Filipinos at 'A'ala park in Honolulu on 31 August 1919, the Filipino Labor Union (FLU) was launched, superseding the Filipino Mid-Pacific Laborers Association. Manlapit was chosen to be the new organization's president. Alcantara interprets this as the result of a leadership struggle between Sarmiento and Manlapit in which Sarmiento, who was more moderate in orientation, was outvoted by Manlapit supporters. The *Advertiser* then alleged that Manlapit was dangerous and un-American because he encouraged class hatred.[28] During the following September and October, Manlapit and other leaders, including Sarmiento, conducted meetings with workers on O'ahu. Because they

were not allowed to enter the plantation grounds, they held meetings on public roads. On one occasion the Honolulu sheriff arrested Manlapit and his companions after a meeting on a public road at Waimānalo. They were held overnight without any charges.[29]

Those who spoke for the Japanese workers were also mostly non-plantation workers; some of them, like Noboru Tsutsumi, were editors of Japanese-language newspapers published in Hawai'i. He came to Honolulu on 28 February 1918 to teach in a Japanese middle school in Hilo. He joined the 240,000 Japanese residents who formed the majority of Hawai'i's population. In Honolulu and Hilo, the Japanese worked as carriage coachmen, streetcar drivers, and owners of shops, restaurants, and hotels. The Japanese laborers first came to Hawai'i in the 1880s; in the 1920s the Japanese community was big, settled, and had strong links with their homeland. They supported Japanese-language schools which second-generation Japanese attended after coming home from public schools.[30]

The Japanese formed their own organization, the Japanese Labor Federation, on 5 December 1919. Manlapit often joined Japanese leaders when they met Japanese workers on O'ahu and the other islands; Tsutsumi did the same when Manlapit attended Filipino meetings. But many Japanese leaders hesitated on working together with Filipinos. They reflected the attitude of many Japanese who distrusted and thought lowly of the Filipinos, which was nurtured by the HSPA's policy of ethnic separatism in the camps. In the plantations, according to Remigio, the Japanese were reserved and rarely interacted with other groups. Also, he observed that Filipino workers intermarried with Portuguese and others of mixed Caucasian background, but he did not see any Filipino married to a Japanese woman.[31] Undoubtedly lack of interaction bred ignorance.

Among the Japanese leaders in favor of collaboration with the Filipinos was Frederick Kinzaburo Makino. He was, as noted earlier, a leader of the Higher Wage Association which spearheaded the Japanese plantation workers' strike in 1909. He came to Hawai'i in 1899, aged 22,

to join a brother who had a store on the Big Island. He later opened his own drug store in Honolulu. Because he knew English and Japanese, many came to him for legal advice. For their role in the 1909 strike, Makino and three others were arrested and convicted. They eventually received a pardon and released from prison after serving four months. Makino then started his newspaper, *Hawaii Hochi*, which was circulating by 1912.[32] The friendship between Manlapit and Makino lasted through the years. Makino became one of Manlapit's reliable and vocal supporters when hard times descended on him and his family.

The 1920 Strike

Plantation workers in general, like other types of laborers, used both adaptation and resistance strategies to cope with their situation or deal with their employers. Ruben Alcantara's study, cited earlier, documents how the Filipino workers in a plantation town adapted, accommodated, and survived by making the best of a bad situation. Nevertheless, as Roland Takaki's study shows, plantation workers also resisted and demanded changes. They attacked cruel lunas, found pretexts not to work, escaped reality through drugs, and fled the plantations. They also joined strikes and other organized protest activities.[33]

Japanese and Filipino workers joined hands in the strike of 1920. By 1919, the number of Filipino plantation workers had grown to 10,354, or twenty-three percent of the plantation labor force, second only to the Japanese who numbered 24,791 or fifty-five percent of the total. The shift in percentage marks the growing importance of Filipino workers in the plantations. Some scholars regard the 1920 strike as unique for its class unity. This view is partly correct but it glosses over other aspects of this strike.

First, tension between the Japanese and Filipino leaders persisted throughout the long strike. In theory, Japanese and Filipino labor leaders knew they needed to cooperate but distrust between them persisted. The Japanese simply refused to send a joint petition with the Filipinos to the HSPA. Manlapit once asked his Japanese friends what they would do "if

the planters accepted the Japanese demand but rejected an identical Filipino demand."[34] He did not get a clear answer. Finally, the Filipinos and the Japanese submitted separate petitions with identical demands to the HSPA. They asked for a daily wage increase from $0.77 to $1.25; reduction of the required number of days to be eligible for a bonus; eight-hour day; double-rate pay for Sundays, holidays and overtime jobs; and improved health and recreation facilities. The HSPA rejected both petitions.

Second, tension existed between leaders and followers in both groups. In early 1920 Filipino and Japanese workers on O'ahu already wanted to strike but their leaders wanted more time to discuss and debate how to resubmit their demands to the HSPA. Manlapit, willing to yield to Japanese leaders, thrice cancelled the scheduled date for the Filipinos to go on strike. Finally, the Filipino workers in Kahuku plantation ignored his third call not to strike; they walked out on 18 January 1920. About two weeks later, the Japanese workers also walked out, ignoring their leaders who were still discussing what to do next after the HSPA had completely ignored their petitions.[35]

Third, Pablo Manlapit, whom some scholars describe as impulsive and impatient, appears in 1920 to lag behind many workers.[36] But once the strike was under way, he assumed his role as a spokesperson for the strikers. A flavor of his predicament comes through in a transcribed record of his meeting with Acting Governor Curtis P. Iaukea on 7 February 1920.[37]

That Saturday morning, Manlapit had stopped by Acting Governor Iaukea's office to request a meeting. The secretary to the governor, John F. Stone, recorded the meeting. Initially, Manlapit explained that the Filipinos had repeatedly requested wage increases "on the ground that the present wages of seventy-seven cents a day were not sufficient." The bonus system was a "scheme advantageous to the planters' side" because workers could get the bonus only if they had worked twenty days out of each month. "The reason the laborers desired a change was so the planters could be held legally responsible to give them a living wage.

They did not want to be deprived of the money they had actually earned through some failure to carry out all of the conditions of the bonus system."[38]

Governor Iaukea inquired: "You began by speaking of Filipinos driven from their plantation houses, saying that these persons had no places to sleep but on the roads." Manlapit elaborated: "Yes, last night I had the Filipino clubhouse [Smith street, Honolulu] filled up with people and their belongings. Men, women and children slept on the floor. These people were from 'Aiea. The plantations had driven them away and locked the doors, having given them one hour's notice, think of it, one hour. Yesterday a man came to me at 12:15 and told me that he had just been given notice to be out by one o'clock. The Filipinos were given no notice to get out until yesterday. To see the truth of it you can come down with me and I will show you how they have locked the doors. The remaining Filipinos are allowing them to sleep on their verandas. From Pu'uloa about 300 Filipinos out of some 400 have come to town. Fourteen from 'Ewa have gone to the coast."[39]

Manlapit was worried about feeding and housing around 2,600 Filipinos on strike. Governor Iaukea was worried too but about unsanitary and crowded living conditions of the strikers, which could mean a flu epidemic and rise in criminality. On the problem of housing, Manlapit reported that the strikers were willing to pitch tents on beaches and public parks but the YMCA did not want to lend their tents to strikers. Governor Iaukea rejected Manlapit's request for permission to use the armory because it was being used by the National Guard. "Since the strike began," according to Manlapit, "it has cost our organization about $35,000. We can still feed them." The Japanese Federation of Labor and some stores were also helping sustain the strikers. Manlapit frankly reported that his finance committee did not do its job. "They had deserted. My position now is that these people [strikers] are without shelter. I can only come and ask for your help."[40]

When the Governor asked Manlapit if he recognized the planters' right to evict the strikers, Manlapit replied, "It is within their right if they

give certain notice." And when the Governor asked how best to keep the workers from coming to the city, Manlapit answered, "The only way is for the planters to be willing to meet us halfway. I have tried to get them to conciliate and they won't listen." When pressed as to why the strike took place when apparently adequate preparations had not been made, he replied: "I wanted to call off the strike but the Filipinos did not want to stop."[41]

The Governor then suggested that Manlapit could use his influence and tell the Filipino strikers to return to work. Manlapit then frankly described his dilemma. "My position now is that I can't advise them to return to work and I can't advise them to continue the strike unless they can get houses. If I advise them not to go back and sickness comes, then I am most responsible. If I advise them to go back they may not want to go back."[42] Before leaving the room, Manlapit again said: "As far as I am concerned, I should like to call off the strike. I have thought it over and over, and I can't sleep anymore for thinking of it. I will try to feel these people out and see what they think about going back. There is only one question: The Japanese have pledged themselves to cooperate, and I don't want to break faith with them. I want to be fair to them and to my own people—to everybody."[43]

Manlapit, however, was unable to persuade the Filipinos to return to work. The strikers ignored him. Other strike leaders, Manlapit felt, were ignoring him too. He thought that the Japanese, who had befriended Dizon, challenged his leadership position among the Filipinos. Reverend Dizon, who supported the strike openly, was asked to resign his position by the Methodist Church.[44] Manlapit, his ego punctured, issued anti-Japanese statements, which he regretted later. Other Filipino labor leaders, like Sarmiento, vanished as soon as the strike began.

Manlapit's credibility was put to a test in early March 1920. Frank E. Thompson, a senior member of the law firm Thompson, Cathcart and Lewis, which the HSPA had retained on 19 January 1920 to monitor the activities of the Filipino Labor Union, alleged that Manlapit had asked him for money in exchange for his (Manlapit) calling off the strike. This

bribery charge became the basis of a petition for Manlapit's disbarment, filed on 4 March 1920 by Acting Attorney General J. Lightfoot. Four months later, the Hawai'i Supreme Court dismissed the bribery charge for lack of evidence. Among the three attorneys who defended Manlapit was William B. Pittman, who would defend Manlapit in his legal battles later with the HSPA.[45]

The planters wanted to weaken the strike by showing the rank and file how corrupt their strike leaders were. Mead, for example, announced "a program of propaganda" to produce posters smearing and making fun of strike leaders. "There is absolutely no race so susceptible to ridicule as the Japanese," Mead said, "and good cartoons will cause consternation..."[46] Among the posters distributed by the HSPA were Filipino leaders leaving Hawai'i with a sack of money and cigar-smoking Japanese leaders riding in a rented car.[47]

The HSPA also used the two main newspapers, *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* and *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, in their propaganda against the strikers, specifically against the Japanese leaders who were depicted as agents of a foreign conspiracy. HSPA President John Waterhouse, for instance, denounced the strike as "an anti-American movement designed to obtain control of the sugar business of the Hawaiian Islands."[48] Waterhouse reflected the view not only of the planters but also of other government agencies in the continental US. In the 1920s, the Federal Bureau of Investigation believed that all militant labor leaders had links with the Industrial Workers of the World, the Communist Party of the United States and the Bolsheviks in Russia. They were, from the FBI's perspective, radical, dangerous, and enemies of the American nation.

The HSPA, according to Duus, succeeded in dividing the Japanese and the Filipinos through the Japanese conspiracy theory. One account said that Tsutsumi, one of the leaders in the 1920 strike, had an ulterior motive—for Japan to colonize Hawai'i. Pablo Manlapit believed the allegation. Shocked and appalled, he immediately dissociated himself from the Japanese. He called off the strike by Filipino workers. He explained that Hawai'i, like the Philippines, was an American territory, and he preferred to protect American interests before Japan's.[49]

Thousands of strikers did not have jobs and homes. They stayed with non-plantation workers or in Japanese language schools, which served as strike camps. Some Filipinos camped on the beach. Several thousands, with their families, trooped to Honolulu where they lived in buildings rented by the Japanese Federation. The February cold weather caused influenza outbreaks which killed over 1,000 Japanese and about 1,400 Filipinos. The Japanese community contributed food and medicine for the strikers.

By July 1920 the strike was over. Many strikers returned to the sugar plantations, but returning Japanese skilled workers did not get their old positions back; they were permanently replaced. Plantation managers had also hired strikebreakers from other ethnic groups. The number of Japanese workers in the plantations declined as new recruits arrived from the Philippines. By June 1922, Filipino workers comprised forty percent of the plantation workforce. The Japanese Federation of Labor collapsed. In August 1921, twenty-one former leaders of the federation were indicted for conspiracy in the first degree. Fifteen were found guilty as charged and sentenced to prison.

In the meantime, Manlapit was fortunate to have survived the 1920 strike. As noted, the bribery charge against him was dismissed nor was he prosecuted for conspiracy. The HSPA believed that the Japanese had led while the Filipinos had merely followed. John Reinecke sums up: "Filipino strikers were depicted as ignorant cat's-paws of the Japanese."[50] Manlapit, however, remained on the HSPA's blacklist. Before 1921 ended, for example, Butler informed plantation managers that "Pedro" (for Pablo) Manlapit, "president of Filipino Labor Union" was organizing throughout the islands. Butler claimed that Manlapit was asking workers to pay a dollar as membership fee and fifty cents monthly. He called this a "graft game" by Manlapit.[51] This unfounded charge shows that Butler was doing his job: the HSPA's "program of propaganda" against labor leaders. After Japanese labor leaders were indicted, Manlapit became a clearer target for the goliaths.

From Organizer to Prisoner

1921–1927

3

Family

Pablo and Annie Manlapit had four children. Pablo, Jr. was born in 1921 when Alice, the oldest child, was eight-years-old, Annie was six, and Sophie was three. The Manlapit family lived in Kālihi-Pālama, an area near downtown Honolulu where many other immigrants lived. Initially, the family lived in a rented two-bedroom house on Morris Lane. Later, they moved to a bigger house, also rented, on Gulick Street. Alice walked across the sugar cane fields to her school, Kālihi Waena Primary School. Annie Manlapit stayed at home, took care of the children, and raised chickens for home consumption. Pablo Manlapit worked at his law office on Smith Street in downtown Honolulu.

Money was not a problem. Manlapit hired a Filipino helper who cooked Filipino food; Pablo, Jr., was introduced to and always relished the dish made of pig's blood and innards (*dinuguan*). Manlapit liked eating out in Chinese and Filipino restaurants. The children bought shoes at a store owned by L. Ayau, a family friend, by charging their father's account with the store. Manlapit also bought a piano for Alice but she played it only occasionally.[1]

Manlapit found time to play with the children. Once when playing marbles, he accidentally hit Alice's face with a marble leaving a small scar that made Alice smile as she recalled the story. Whenever possible he took the children crabbing at the Pālama stream. On Sundays the Manlapit daughters went with their neighbors to attend mass. The children had

been baptized Catholics but, for unknown reasons, Annie and Manlapit seldom took their children to mass. When the children came home from church, Annie and Manlapit would take them for picnics in Waīkikī or crabbing. "Oh, Papa enjoyed crabbing so much," Alice recalled.[2]

As a father, Manlapit taught and disciplined his children through persuasion and threats of corporal punishment. Alice recalled two incidents. One day, Alice sneaked out and deliberately missed a piano practice to participate in a swimming contest in Waīkikī. She won the first prize. When she returned home, she saw her father fuming and about ready to give her a good spanking. He did not believe Alice's story that she had just competed and won in a swimming contest. Alice then challenged him to come with her to a newspaper's office to prove that she was telling the truth. Manlapit relented. Seeing the photos of the event, Manlapit forgot his anger and praised Alice and her swimming skills.

Another incident involved Alice's smoking. "Once I was caught by my father in a chicken coop. He did not get angry, he told me to do it properly and that he was going to teach me how. Instead of smoking butts and cigarette ends, he was going to let me smoke real good cigarettes, 'Camel.' He instructed me to puff and then swallow the smoke. I almost died. I never wanted to smoke again."[3]

Overall, Alice remembers an extravagant and gregarious father. She could also joke with her parents. For example, Alice would call them "Mutt and Jeff" because Manlapit, only five feet and three inches in height, was shorter than Annie. Her father, Alice adds, was also a "flirt." Once Manlapit took Alice with him when he visited a Portuguese "girlfriend." Alice reported this to her mother who, armed with a frying pan, hunted her father around the house. She cornered him in the bathroom.[4]

By 1921 Pablo Manlapit was thirty-years-old and able to support his four children as a practicing attorney. He had been away from the Philippines for eleven years. Feeling happy and proud of himself, he went to a photo studio for a picture-taking. He sent a photo of himself to his

parents. In the photo, Manlapit looked distinguished and elegant in a light-colored suit. His eyes, peering through a pair of glasses with round frames, mildly glowed with satisfaction.

He kept abreast with Philippine affairs, particularly the independence campaign being led by Manuel L. Quezon. A few times he sent letters of support to Quezon and his missions to Washington, DC.[5] These annual lobby missions were organized after the United States Congress passed the Jones Law in 1916. The preamble stated that the Philippines would be granted independence when Filipinos proved they can run their own affairs. Though concerned, Pablo Manlapit was not planning on returning to the Philippines because Hawai'i had become home for him and his family.



At 30 years of age, Manlapit was a happy family man. He supported his wife and four children through his law practice. He was the first Filipino practicing lawyer in Hawai'i. (Photo courtesy of Hawai'i State Archives)

High Wages Movement

Instead of leading a quiet and comfortable life in Honolulu, Pablo continued his labor activities. In February 1922, the Japanese labor leaders in the 1920 strike were tried for conspiracy in the first degree. The following month, fifteen were found guilty and given prison terms. If this was an omen for Manlapit, he either did not see it or he simply ignored it. In February and March 1922, Manlapit and George Wright, labor organizer, held meetings with workers in ʻAʻala park and Waipahū. John H. Butler, the HSPA secretary, monitored these meetings and passed on the information gathered to all plantation managers and to the Hawaiʻi governor, Wallace R. Farrington.

Of the many individuals who influenced and reinforced Manlapit's ideas on giving workers a fair deal, George Wright may have been the most important.[6] Educated as an engineer on the continental US, he came to Hawaiʻi in 1917, found work in Pearl Harbor, and was an officer of an AFL branch in Hawaiʻi. In 1920, he locked horns with the planters who were pushing for a bill to change federal immigration laws to allow importation of Chinese contract workers. Wright travelled to Washington, DC to testify against the bill. On his return to Hawaiʻi, he observed and was inspired by the "Rank and File" movement there. This movement advocated inclusive unionism, unlike the AFL which excluded unskilled, black, and Asian laborers.

Manlapit also opposed the planters' scheme to get Chinese contract labor. When a federal investigating team arrived in Honolulu in November 1921, Manlapit thought of impressing the federal commissioners with a parade against Chinese labor importation. He later wrote a statement for the commission pointing out that no labor shortage existed in Hawaiʻi at that time. Wright also wrote a statement for the commission, pointing out, among other things that (1) the sugar industry in Hawaiʻi, on the average, had been prosperous; (2) the 1920 strike was not about the Japanese trying to dominate the sugar industry, as the planters had alleged; and (3) a minimum basic wage of two dollars per day be adopted in Hawaiʻi.

Manlapit supported Wright's plan of forming a United Workers of Hawaiʻi "without discrimination to race, sex, creed, craft or color...."[7] Wright wrote its charter and tried to incorporate the organization under Hawaiʻi's territorial laws. The planters believed that Wright was promoting the ideas of the "radical" and "communist" Industrial Workers of the World. The governor rejected the charter on grounds that the organization would be used by foreign labor, especially the Japanese, "for unfriendly and alien ends." For a while, Wright and Manlapit kept the idea of a united union alive.

Wright and Manlapit began to focus on plantation wages in the fall of 1922 and launched the High Wages Movement. Planned or unplanned, the movement evokes and marks a link to an earlier Higher Wage Association which spearheaded the 1909 strike. On 10 December 1922, Manlapit and Wright organized a meeting at ʻAʻala Park to discuss plantation wages. About 1,500 Filipinos attended the meeting.

The High Wages Movement gained momentum in 1923. That year Manlapit and Wright held many meetings on Oʻahu and the other islands. In hindsight, vigorous organizing must have been carried out as local and grassroots leaders held clandestine and small-group meetings inside the plantations. Workers probably aired out their grievances in the safety of their bunk houses after a day's work from the fields. Documenting these, however, is difficult because of lack of detailed materials from Manlapit and the workers. What we have are confidential memos and reports from the planters. Naturally these materials are biased and present only the planters' perspective, but in many instances, as shown below, the materials yield details on organizing for the High Wages Movement.[8]

A confidential report sent to Butler described a meeting held in Waipahū on 13 January 1923. The meeting was held at about 6 o'clock in the evening in front of the Chinese store near the bank. About 500 to 600 people attended. The plantation bookkeeper, the storekeeper, and luna also attended the meeting. Antonio Balbuena spoke in Visayan; Manlapit spoke in Tagalog and English; a Mr. Sung spoke in English;

Wright spoke in English; and "one of the plantation boys" (not identified) spoke in Ilokano. The speakers emphasized that Manlapit and Wright could not represent the workers to the HSPA unless the workers signed the petition for higher wages. About 125 allegedly signed the petition.

Geo F. Renton, Jr., manager of 'Ewa plantation, informed Butler of a scheduled meeting of "Filipino laborers" on 22 January 1923, Sunday, at 2:30 in the afternoon. They assembled on the government road near the Honouliuli ranch at the plantation's entrance. About 200 people attended, of whom 100 were 'Ewa workers. In his speech, Manlapit discussed the demands for an eight-hour workday and two dollars as a minimum wage. When he remarked that he and Wright stopped the planters from bringing into Hawai'i "50,000 coolies" (referring to Chinese workers), the audience applauded. Then Wright spoke about forming "one big union" (referring to United Workers of Hawai'i). "Then Manlapit spoke again. He stated that all improvement[s] made on plantations came from the sweat of laborers, that millions were being paid in dividends, and workers were entitled to higher wages and better working conditions." Then, Renton added, "one of our Filipino laborers identified as Santiago, Bango #4124" spoke up and heckled Manlapit. Another Filipino, "a proprietor of a dance hall at Honolulu," called Santiago a "leper." "Our police officer," according to Renton, prevented a quarrel.

From 'Ewa, Manlapit and Wright proceeded to Waialua to hold a late evening meeting. Manager Goodale of Waialua plantation sent a report to Butler. The meeting, according to Goodale, was held in the Japanese theater in Waialua. About 400 to 500 Filipinos from Waialua and other districts attended. In his speech, Wright pointed out that 'Ewa plantation earned a profit of $13 million in the last ten years; out of this, $5 million were given out as dividends while $8 million had been spent on permanent improvements and "piling up a surplus." Wright said that the $8 million "should have been distributed among the workers." Manlapit, speaking in English, repeated what Wright said. Then he

spoke "in one or more of the Filipino dialects." Then, Goodale added, "our friend Beneto Ventura, who was on the stage, spoke, attacked Manlapit and Wright." Ventura claimed that he had been fired from the plantation. Nonetheless, he was against attacking "capitalists." He warned that striking would cost money and "that Manlapit would collect money and put it into his own pockets."

Documenting how Filipino workers organized on the other islands is more difficult than on O'ahu. One account confirmed that Manlapit travelled to the Big Island. On 19 April 1923, according to an assistant manager, the "Filipino agitator, Manlapit" met laborers of Pā'auhau Sugar Co., Honoka'ā Sugar Co., and Pacific Sugar Co. At these meetings, Manlapit advocated two dollars as a minimum daily wage, double pay for overtime and Sunday work, shorter hours of work and better living conditions. He said he opposed workers being treated as "slaves." About forty to fifty attended each meeting. "Small," the manager added, because "our better class of Filipinos" were not impressed with Manlapit because they were getting good wages through the bonus system.[9]

An account from an eighty-one-year-old, former plantation employee, described Manlapit's travel to Kaua'i to organize a labor union: Manlapit "had a small box, two-by-two square feet. When he goes to the community, and then put that box on the land and stand up on that, when he delivers his speech, like that, to avoid charges of the plantation, trespassing on plantation property."[10]

Manlapit and Wright wanted the workers at these meetings to sign a petition. Eventually they collected more than 6,000 signatures. Manlapit and Wright believed that these signatures authorized them to speak for the workers. The petition demanded the following from the HSPA: raise the minimum daily pay from one to two dollars; eight hours of work daily; time-and-a-half pay for all overtime work, double time for overtime work on Sundays and holidays; equal pay for men and women doing the same work; proportionate pay increase for skilled and semi-skilled employees; abolish all forms of bonus; and, recognize workers'

right to collective bargaining. On 10 April 1923 Manlapit and Wright sent a copy of this petition to the HSPA.[11]

What was the HSPA's reaction to the High Wages Movement? As noted, the HSPA through Butler monitored and disseminated information on the activities of the two men to all plantation managers. The HSPA officials did not doubt or convinced themselves that they were dealing with "agitators" and "radicals." In addition, they continued to smear Manlapit and Wright by spreading stories that both leaders were interested in using workers' donations to enrich themselves. The HSPA had used this type of propaganda in the 1920 strike. Looking closely at the confidential reports filed in 1923, as shown below, there is evidence that the HSPA even employed hecklers to disrupt the meetings.

The best ally of the HSPA was the new Resident Commissioner, Cayetano Ligot, who arrived in April 1923. For some years the Filipinos in Hawai'i had requested the Philippine government to send a resident commissioner whom they believed would listen to their problems. They also felt that the HSPA would listen more to an official resident commissioner than to ordinary sugar cane laborers.[12] Ligot was a former governor of Ilocos Norte, a province in northern Philippines, where many laborers and strikebreakers during the 1920 strike had been recruited. There is no document, so far, showing that the HSPA had a hand in Ligot's appointment. Ligot's actions, however, indicate that HSPA officials must have been consulted, if not alerted, before Governor General Wood sent Ligot to Hawai'i.

Two months after his arrival, Ligot printed 30,000 circulars in Ilokano, Visayan, and Tagalog asking workers not to donate any money to the High Wages Movement. Butler, the HSPA secretary, sent copies of this circular to all plantation managers. Later, after four months in Hawai'i, Ligot wrote a report to Governor General Leonard Wood in the Philippines.[13] The Filipinos in Hawai'i, Ligot said, belonged to four classes: (1) demagogues and self-appointed leaders and "Pablo Manlapit is the father of this class"; (2) educated laborers and missionaries who were called plantation spies (*pusa-pusa*) by the first class; (3) the good

workers who were duped by the first class; and (4) loafers, gamblers, criminals or the "followers of the first group, the shame of the Filipino race in this Territory." In brief, Ligot believed that Manlapit was a demagogue and many other Filipinos were fools to follow him.

Ligot accepted the HSPA's version that Manlapit had solicited a bribe during the 1920 strike, ignoring the court's ruling that cleared Manlapit of the charge. Ligot held a patronizing attitude towards the workers. He was not impressed with Manlapit's credentials. "For further information, this man, Pablo Manlapit," Ligot wrote to the Governor General in the Philippines, "is an Attorney-at-law by license only, equivalent to 'Procurador Judicial,' as he did not study law in any college. He is allowed to act as a lawyer before any police-court in this Territory."[14] Ligot also claimed that Manlapit resented him because he (Manlapit) had expected to be appointed as resident commissioner.

Ligot definitely complicated Manlapit's life because the High Wages Movement was starting to take root and Ligot's presence threatened its momentum. Manlapit wrote and complained to Hermenegildo Cruz, the Philippine Bureau of Labor director. He told Cruz that he and other labor activists wanted to meet with Ligot but Ligot refused to meet with them. Instead, Ligot issued circulars against the High Wages Movement. Overall, Ligot "has adopted a policy of antagonism, conducting the affairs of his office in an arbitrary and despotic manner, refusing all friendly assistance...." Manlapit also charged that Ligot had accepted money from the HSPA to finance a publication discrediting the High Wages Movement. Manlapit accused Ligot of fomenting regional antagonism because Ligot appealed to Ilocanos, "advising them to have nothing to do with the Tagalogs or the Visayans." Therefore, a petition to recall Ligot was being circulated. He alerted Cruz that the Filipino laborers were holding meetings to discuss their working conditions and that they could go on strike to press their demands from the planters.[15]

In effect, by mid 1923 two men claimed to speak for the Filipino workers in Hawai'i. One, Ligot, had just arrived from the Philippines. The other, Manlapit, had been in Hawai'i for a dozen years and,

although no longer a sugar cane worker, thought of himself as a tested labor leader. Clearly they held opposite sympathies. Ligot sympathized more with the plantation owners; Manlapit, with the plantation workers. "We have taken his part [the worker's side]," Manlapit explained, "because we believe he is not receiving justice at the hands of the employer—that he is being exploited in a country where he has every right to expect and to demand fair play and a square deal."[16]

That Ligot and HSPA officials had close ties is confirmed by archival materials. For instance, R. A. Cooke, vice-president and manager of C. Brewer and Co., informed his plantation manager at Pāhala that, according to an HSPA report, Ligot was "very anxious to place a Filipino at Pāhala." Cooke elaborated, "It seems that Mr. Ligot has no reliable representative on your plantation, and we believe, with reservations, that it would be desirable for him to have one." Therefore, the HSPA would send one "by Monday's boat." This person may be given a "preferential job" but should be treated like any ordinary laborer.[17]



Against overwhelming odds, Filipino plantation workers took up the call to strike sounded by Manlapit. In retaliation, planters evicted the strikers from their homes, forcing them to live in makeshift quarters like this strike camp in Kapa'a, Kaua'i. (Photo courtesy of Hawai'i State Archives)

Filipino Protestant pastors allied themselves with the HSPA, as Ligot intimated in his report. At the plantations, congregational missions early on attended to building their churches and converting Filipinos. Sympathetic plantation managers helped the missionaries in building and furnishing their chapels, transporting workers to attend the services, and contributing money to help pay for the salaries of the Filipino pastors or defray the pastors' transport expenses. Some pastors, like F. Santa Ana at Ōla'a plantation on the Big Island, also acted as planters' interpreters and "researchers." Butler, for instance, relied on Santa Ana to monitor the activities of Patricio Belen, who headed the association called "Caballeros de Dimasalang." Butler was concerned that Manlapit would get Belen as an ally.[18]

As 1923 drew to a close, Wright and Manlapit, co-chairmen of the High Wages Movement, sent a petition to the HSPA for the third time. Like their first two petitions, they did not get a reply. On 16 January 1924 they put out a manifesto. They asked: "What is this Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association that treats with contemptuous indifference the respectful and just demands of their employees?"[19] Since the HSPA had not responded at all, they now planned to send the petition to every plantation. If individual plantation managers did not respond by 31 March 1924, they warned, the workers would strike.

The Executive Committee of the High Wages Movement prepared for the worst scenario. They planned a strike in which workers earning a minimum wage of one dollar daily would participate. Other non-striking workers would support the strikers financially. Local leaders on each island would coordinate their strike activities. The Executive Committee urged workers to refrain from committing violence. They reminded workers to be careful because the HSPA could use vagrancy and picketing laws to jail strikers and frame strike leaders.

The 1924 Strike

The big strike of 1924 flowed like a slow-moving lava from April through September on the islands of O'ahu, Hawai'i, Maui, and Kaua'i.

The first territory-wide strike was also violent and tragic because twenty individuals died in a battle between the strikers and the police. A full account of the 1924 strike needs to be written to include: (1) the strike leaders on the different islands; (2) the activities of the strikers; (3) the HSPA officers and plantation managers, and their allies; (4) the intermediaries, such as the lawyers who defended the civil rights of the strikers and other strike sympathizers. Only some of these will be tackled below, in the brief accounts for each island.

Workers on O'ahu struck first. In April and May some 4,000 plantation workers from Waipahū, Kahuku, 'Ewa, 'Aiea, and Waialua walked out. Evicted by the planters from their homes, the workers ended up in Honolulu where they lived in warehouses and dwellings rented by the strike leaders. These moves—you strike, you get evicted—were old procedures followed in the 1909 and 1920 strikes. The manager evicted a striking worker, and the worker knew he was bound to lose both his job and a place to stay. A newspaper account, for example, described the eviction at Kahuku plantation. Alexander Baldwin, plantation manager, told the workers that if they did not return to work, they should leave the plantation. The workers told Baldwin they would wait for instructions from Pablo Manlapit, "Filipino agitator." Manlapit and "other Filipino strike leaders" arrived; they advised the workers to remain inside the plantation. In the afternoon, Baldwin told the "five husky men employed by Arthur McDuffie," to remove the "effects" of the workers from their homes. Trucks carted the "cargo" to a waiting special train. There were seventy-two regular and special police "lined up" for the eviction process. The strikers offered no resistance. In this way, the newspaper reported, 500 Filipino strikers and their families arrived in Honolulu at 12:30 in the morning.[20]

In Honolulu, the strikers and their families depended on donations and contributions. Many also found temporary work in pineapple plantations. One of the strikers recalled later that finding employment in the city was difficult though because the HSPA had a list of strikers and pressured the establishments not to hire anyone on the list. He survived through the help of a townmate who worked as a janitor in Honolulu.[21]

On Friday and Sunday afternoons, the strikers attended big meetings at 'A'ala Park. Alice Manlapit recalls listening to her father's speeches, singing Hawaiian songs, and performing Hula dances at these rallies.[22] He was such a good speaker, people listened to him, and "you can hear a pin drop," said Alice.[23] Manlapit spoke, for example, during a big meeting on June 8 attended by about 2,000 strikers. He said that he was going to the Big Island and the other islands to encourage a strike for higher wages throughout the territory.

In early August, Honolulu's Sheriff Trask prohibited the regular meetings at 'A'ala Park because he believed that violence could result from such meetings. On August 10, Sunday, the strikers attempted to meet at the park but Manlapit, persuaded by Trask, cancelled the meeting.

Butler and the police monitored Manlapit's home, which according to Alice, was filled with strikers and their families. Alice sometimes slept on the floor right along with them. Other Filipino supporters came at night to elude the detectives watching Manlapit's home. "My father was brave. In those days the Big Five was in control; everyone was afraid of them."[24] Alice and her sister, Sophie, assisted their father in leaving the house through a back window to avoid the detectives.

Soon three charges were filed against Manlapit. The first charged that he violated the Board of Health's sanitation code because he failed to provide adequate "water closets" at the Kālihi strike camp, a converted warehouse on Middle Street which was leased under his name. Manlapit was found guilty and fined twenty-five dollars. The other two charges stemmed from an article published in *Ang Bantay* which claimed that the staff of Waipahū Hospital, operated by the O'ahu Sugar Company, forced the removal of a sick baby from the premises. The baby died. In the article, the baby's father, Pantaleon Inayuda said that R. J. Mermod, physician-in-charge, had told him to take the baby away since he (Inayuda) was not employed anymore by the plantation. Mermod contradicted Inayuda's story. On April 22, the Territory of Hawai'i charged Manlapit with libel. He was found guilty and fined one hundred

dollars. Then in mid-May Inayuda changed his story. He said that Manlapit and Cecilio Basan had prodded him to say that Dr. Mermod forced the removal of his baby from the hospital. The Territory of Hawai'i charged Manlapit and Basan with conspiracy in the first degree. Trial proceedings were to take place in September.

Conspiracy, according to Hawai'i laws and statutes, was a malicious undertaking of two or more persons to commit or instigate any offense or to do something that tended to excite offense. Among the examples listed under conspiracy was threatening workers who did not want to strike or those who wanted to return to work, and "suborning a witness." Conspiracy in the first degree, the charge against Manlapit and Basan, included preventing, obstructing, defeating, or perverting "the course of justice."[25]

John Butler, the HSPA secretary, monitored Manlapit and the strike on O'ahu and relayed information he had gathered to all plantation managers. For instance, he announced that the HSPA's Board of Trustees had decided to allow plantation managers on the other islands to hire strikers from O'ahu, except for nine strikers from Kahuku who were identified as "agitators." Butler reported that most went on strike because they had been intimidated by their leaders. Butler also charged that Pablo Manlapit was a "grafter fellow" who lied and drank. He encouraged the managers to spread the word that Manlapit ate at good restaurants. Butler wanted to contain the strike on O'ahu and to stop Manlapit from going to the neighbor islands. "It is unfortunately true that despite our surveillance we have not been able to get a good case against him. This would be highly desirable because there is no question of his many violations of law."[26]

The HSPA and the police not only tried "to get a good case" against Manlapit; they also tried to pin crimes on other O'ahu leaders and supporters. Cecilio Basan, Patricio Belen, Valentin Camacho, and Ciriaco Borja allegedly planned to burn down a Waipahū sugar cane field and plotted to put a dynamite under Ligot's house. Attorney General Matthewman, who was alerted by Manlapit, castigated police

officers for detaining Gregorio de la Cruz for forty days. He said that, legally, a person may be held in custody without charges for only forty-eight hours. "The police told him [Matthewman] they were holding de la Cruz because they were 'searching for a witness' who would say that de la Cruz once said that Cruz would set fire to a cane field."[27]

Manlapit managed to visit the Big Island on June 9. Butler sent a detective and a Filipino religious missionary to follow Manlapit around. No records of this first visit are on hand, except for a manager's assessment. "According to all information available, Manlapit has had very little support towards a strike movement on this island."[28] This confirmed Ligot's assessment. Ligot, who had visited the Big Island a week earlier and talked to Filipino pastors F. Santa Ana and Jose Alba, reported that the Filipino workers were contented and would not go on strike. While in Hilo Manlapit was arrested on a charge filed on O'ahu with conspiracy in the first degree. He returned to O'ahu on June 16 and was released on a $2,500 bail. "He disembarked from the Hale'akala loaded with leis. It is estimated that 1,000 Filipinos were on the dock to greet him, following him to his house after his release, and then to 'A'ala Park, to which he was born [*sic*] part way on the shoulders of his followers."[29] Four days later the strike on the Big Island began, contradicting the manager's assessment.

Manlapit's arrest may have spurred many workers to join the strike. The *Hilo Herald Tribune* observed: "The Ilocanos, of which there are a great number on the Island, were not in favor of the strike and did not intend to strike. The arrest of Manlapit stirred their blood and made them change their mind, according to report. They claim that the planters are prosecuting Manlapit, one of their countrymen, without justification."[30] Unwittingly, the HSPA aroused ethnic pride among the Filipinos in its effort to crush the strike. The participation of the workers from the Ilocos region belies the claim that the 1924 strike was a Visayan strike.

Jose Queja, an Ilokano speaker from Bacarra, Ilocos Norte, was assigned to a Big Island plantation upon arrival in 1922. He joined the

1924 strike. He recalls attending meetings at a park and listening to Manlapit talk about workers demanding "a little bit better living." Manlapit, according to Queja, spoke in Tagalog and English; his associates translated the speeches into Ilokano and Visayan. What impressed Queja was that Manlapit approached the strikers to talk to them "one by one."[31]

Manlapit visited the Big Island for the second time on June 25. The strike was in full swing. A plantation manager noted Manlapit's visit. "It is certainly a mystery how such a man as Manlapit can have the hold on a body of men which he has, and as fear is the basis of all this trouble we have tried to instill into [the workers] that full protection will be given the workers under any and all conditions."[32] Plantation managers, who earlier had downplayed Manlapit's role, now swung around to overplay Manlapit's influence. When the strike gathered strength, one manager hired a special police force to watch all Filipino housing camps "day and night"; he discharged suspected leaders among the workers. Another manager only partly succeeded in dividing the "Visayans and Illocanos [*sic*]." But "at Honokaa we were not successful, and practically every man stopped working."[33]

J. W. Waldron, from Honolulu, acknowledged his manager's assessment of Manlapit. "Like yourself we cannot understand a man like Manlapit, who seems to be trying to drink all the ōkolehao [liquor] he can get hold of, and who is in all other respects such a worthless individual, having such a hold on the men as he has. This passes one's comprehension."[34]

Filipino evangelical missionaries had also tried to prevent a strike on the Big Island. On June 8 they formed a labor association, with F. Santa Ana as president, that pledged support to Ligot. Santa Ana, as mentioned earlier, had also served as an interpreter at the Ōlaʻa plantation. When the workers at Ōlaʻa walked out, the manager commissioned Santa Ana as a special police, although he was not keen on being one. He reported that the strikers regarded all Filipino pastors as "plantation cats" because they did not want to join the strike.[35] Another Filipino pastor

reported why the workers joined the strike. "I am sorry to tell you that the Filipinos in the five plantations of Kōhāla district are contaminated by strike epidemic. All my members have gone away. Whatever good advice [I] have given them they would not pay attention to you at all. Nothing they had in their minds but that the two dollars a day and eight-hours work."[36]

In July the number of strikers on the Big Island soared. About 1,000 workers left the plantations of Kōhāla, Ōlaʻa, Kailua, and Pāpaʻikou. They moved to the strike camps in Kona, Kailua, and Hilo. About 500 more from other plantations struck the next month. In early August, some 3,000 strikers had moved to Hilo. In late August, the number increased to 4,000 living in thirty-five "camps," the term for rented houses, basements, and cottages for strikers.

Evidently, the Big Island local leaders, among them Hugo A. Retaga, Simeon Mercado, Roberto Ramos, and Emigdio Milanio, had things under control. They rented the premises for the strike camps. They and the "house bosses" organized the collection and distribution of funds to feed the strikers and their families. This prompted a *Honolulu Advertiser* reporter to think that "funds must be going to the strike camp from secret sources, or many of the strikers by this time would be dead of starvation, for it is known that many of them have no money and many owe balances in the plantation stores."[37] Finally, they kept the camps orderly and sanitary, passing the periodic sanitation inspections conducted by the Board of Health authorities.[38]

The Big Island leaders also organized parades and rallies. On July 27 about 1,000 Filipinos took part in a parade through the streets of Hilo. The parade started from the strike headquarters. At the head of the parade were strikers carrying a poster of Abraham Lincoln and a large American flag. A musical band followed. "Behind the band came the mass of strikers, ten in a row." The parade ended up in Moʻoheau Park where the strikers held a meeting. The strikers, according to newspaper accounts, organized two more parades in August. Like in the first parade, the strikers also carried a picture of Abraham Lincoln and the American flag.

Why Lincoln and the American flag? The strikers, by displaying the American flag, probably wanted to reaffirm their recognition not only of the United States' authority over Hawai'i but also their avowal of American values, including justice and a fair deal for everyone. The strikers also believed that Lincoln embodied American democracy. He was a great individual who espoused the rights of the common people, the immigrants, the slaves and those occupying the bottom rung of the social ladder. In one of his speeches in Chicago on 10 July 1858, Lincoln did argue that "people who came from different countries, cultures and status will be made equal in their American liberties by the Declaration."[39]

Mo'oheau Park was Big Island's equivalent to Honolulu's 'A'ala Park. On August 10, about 1,500 gathered there to hear the speeches of the strike leaders, Roberto Ramos and Hugo Retaga. "The purpose of this meeting," Ramos said, "is to advice the strikers to be sanitary and orderly and to keep within the law." He also said that food was available for the strikers. He added: "In case we run out of rice, we will live on guavas and if these are gone, we'll continue to strike though it may take a year."[40]

In the morning of August 17 "hundreds of Filipinos" stood in the rain at Kuhio wharf to greet Pablo Manlapit, the "territorial strike leader," the *Hilo Tribune Herald* reported. Manlapit and the Big Island strike leaders then headed a procession from the wharf to downtown Hilo. A group of Filipinos followed them carrying banners, including one which said, "We welcome Our Valiant Leader." Before reaching Hilo proper, Manlapit took a seat in an automobile. "As the parade wound along the wharf road toward town it was augmented in numbers by Filipinos who had not gone to the pier to meet their leader."[41] An estimated 2,000 greeted Manlapit that morning. The next day, another parade started from the strike's headquarters on Keawe street to Mo'oheau Park. At the park several leaders gave speeches. Retaga told the strikers to be patient and obey the law. Milanio told the crowd how he suffered and "the number of times he has been behind the bars." Manlapit, like

Retaga, "told the crowd to suffer peacefully, not to indulge in violent acts and to be within the law at all times."[42]

At first, Butler had belittled the strike but when in mid-July he received reports that the strike was serious, strong, and well-planned, he changed his mind. He went to Hilo on July 25 accompanied by a stenographer and Honolulu Attorney E. Stafford. Butler had a plan of action. "It is our desire," he said, "to run to earth and prosecute law violators who are intimidating labor in Hawai'i as quickly and promptly as possible, and cases which have merit should be reported promptly in order that investigations may be made and the cooperation of the sheriff and the city and county attorney be secured as early as possible."[43]

Within two days, the arrests commenced. The police arrested and charged two strike leaders (Hugo Retaga and Emigdio Milanio) and twenty-two men for picketing, assault and battery. Four strike leaders were charged with syndicalism; twelve leaders at Waiakea Mill were suddenly deported to the Philippines. Arrested strikers filled the county jail beyond its capacity. "The jail holds eighty," according to County Attorney W. H. Beers, "but with a little squeezing we may possibly be able to make room for one hundred."[44] Police jailed strikers for vagrancy if they were caught sleeping on the sidewalks. Even Manlapit was charged with passing a bad check during one of his visits to the Big Island.

Butler and Stafford used Hawai'i's laws to weaken and crush the strike in Hilo by charging criminal acts against the strikers, especially their leaders. In general, the planters liked to believe that all workers joined the strike because they feared their leaders. This fear, Butler argued, was the basis of the strike.[45] The planters used existing laws to eliminate the leaders from the scene. "Criminal syndicalism," according to Hawai'i statutes, "is defined to be the doctrine which advocates crime, sabotage, violence or other unlawful methods of terrorism as a means of accomplishing industrial or political ends." The planters also cast a wider net by using the picketing charge because they believed that all strikers who wanted to quit the strike were being forced not to quit by other strikers. Unlawful picketing, according to Section 4360, included preventing or persuading a person not to work.[46]

Hilo Attorney Norman K. Lyman defended the strikers before the courts. He once complained that Filipino prisoners were discriminated against in the county jail for they were given the worst cells and poor food. He also complained when the court imposed on the strikers excessive bonds in proportion to the crime charged. When Beers evicted 200 strikers from a strikecamp in Hilo, Lyman complained to Attorney General Matthewman that Beers was taking the law into his hands.

On the island of Maui, Manlapit also relied on the local leaders, such as Melanio Ronquillo, Pedro Villamor, Epifanio A. Taok, and Pedro Collosa, to carry on the strike. On July 11 some workers from the Pioneer Mill and the Wailuku Sugar Company struck. Manlapit visited Maui. On July 21, some 800 workers, perhaps encouraged by Manlapit and their leaders, staged a general walkout also at Pioneer Mill and Wailuku Sugar.

Manlapit, visiting Maui in August, reportedly rebuked strikers who had attacked camps near Lahaina where Filipino workers refused to join the strike. Some were caught by the police and charged with vagrancy and rioting. Maui's local leaders, as on the Big Island, were charged before the courts. For example, Ronquillo, Villamor, and other four leaders were charged with riot and unlawful assembly. "Brought to jury trial on December 6, five were acquitted and only Villamor was found guilty of (one-man) riot and unlawful assembly and sentenced to six months in jail."[47]

Maui strikers set up housing camps at Lahaina. Local leaders coordinated food and communal living arrangements. These camps, according to a newspaper account, looked like "fugitives' quarters after storms have passed away." But there was calm in chaos. "Although the strikers are undergoing hardships in the preparation of their daily meals in the open with little cooking conveniences and in sleeping outside, they all seem to work in peaceful harmony."[48]

On Kaua'i, the last island to be touched by the "strike lava," workers struck on 18 July 1924. Manlapit had visited the island beforehand. He and Kaua'i leaders (Fausto N. Caralde, Isidro Edillo, Isidoro Baring,

Lorenzo Mendoza and Leandro Alorcon, among others) determined which plantations would go on strike and located buildings to be rented as strike camps in Hanapēpē, Kōhāla and Kāpa'a. In August, about 185 strikers, mostly from plantations on East Kaua'i, lived in a rented unfinished building in Kāpa'a. A Catholic mission's Community House in Kāpa'a also housed 60 men and 20 women. About 300 strikers from plantations on West Kaua'i (Kōloa and Makaweli) lived in an empty Japanese language school building in Hanapēpē. Local leaders supervised living arrangements in these camps.[49]

On 28 August 1924, about 150 from the Hanapēpē camp marched to Waimea, a town nearby where Lorenzo Mendoza and Isidoro Baring were charged for threatening two opponents of the strike.[50] Near Hanapēpē was Makaweli plantation, where workers also went on strike. The strikers, however, came mainly from the Visayan region while workers who came from the Ilocos region reportedly refused to join the strike. When two workers, identified as Ilocanos, went to buy shoes in Hanapēpē the strikers from the Hanapēpē camp seized and detained them. Deputy Sheriff Crowell and Captain Harry Oneha arrived to investigate. Concluding that the two men were too scared to tell the truth, they proposed to bring them to Crowell's office. The strikecamp leaders rejected the proposal. The next day, September 9, Crowell and forty men returned to Hanapēpē to "arrest" the two men. After Crowell showed the camp leaders the warrants of arrests, the two men were released to Crowell's care. They were heading out from the camp when a shot was heard. A battle erupted for five minutes. Sixteen strikers and four policemen lost their lives.

Subsequently, 130 strikers were arrested. Baring, Mendoza, and Caralde, strike officials on East Kaua'i who were not in Hanapēpē when the battle took place, were also picked up. Caralde immediately protested with a hunger strike in the county jail. Governor Farrington ordered the National Guards to Kaua'i.[51]

But the strikers on East Kaua'i held on. They were in an "ugly mood" and rejected the plantation managers' invitation for them to

return to work. Sheriff William Rice reported that "they caused quite a demonstration there—yelled and screamed—said they didn't want any more leaders and that they would only go back to work on condition that they be given two dollars a day and eight hours' work."[52] Ligot arrived from Honolulu to talk to the strikers but no one showed up for the meeting.

Pablo Manlapit visited Kaua'i on September 12 "with Arthur McDuffie, Honolulu detective, at his heels."[53] He later announced that the strike on East Kaua'i would continue. He planned on personally investigating what had happened in Hanapēpē and making sure that jailed strikers would get adequate representation. The Hanapēpē battle, he said later, was a "massacre." It was "an unnecessary slaughter by sharpshooters placed in ambush, using soft-nosed bullets on men who were trying to escape."[54]

Governor Farrington accepted the report of the sheriff and the police that the strikers had shot first. The *Honolulu Advertiser* likewise accepted and publicized this version. It even asserted that the "riot was premeditated" because a search of the area found "several pistols and a large number of cane knives, some of which were especially whetted and pointed for use as weapons."[55] Governor Farrington blamed the strike leaders for the tragedy in Hanapēpē. "It is obvious that such an outbreak must have resulted from the Filipinos being misled through inflammatory counsel or speeches of their leaders...."[56]

The strike on Kaua'i, and the other islands, fizzled out after the Hanapēpē battle. Many strikers were arrested and charged with criminal violations, such as assault, unlawful assembly, vagrancy, concealed weapon, malicious burning, trespass, conspiracy and libel. Many others were deported to the Philippines. Meanwhile about 4,000 new recruits—strikebreakers—arrived from the Philippines. Manlapit had hoped in vain that the Philippine government would ban the HSPA labor recruitment during the strike. But the strikers on Kaua'i held on as long as they could. It took several months before authorities could demolish the strikecamps of some 300 Filipinos.[57]



A tragic incident, where 16 strikers and four policemen died, occurred in Kaua'i. As a result, 130 strikers were arrested, including Caralde (wearing the gray suit in this photo taken at the Kapa'a strike camp) even though he was not at the site of the battle. Caralde immediately went on a hunger strike to protest his detention. (Photo courtesy of Hawai'i State Archives)

Imprisonment and Parole

To review, Pablo Manlapit faced several legal suits in 1924. One was a libel charge that stemmed from an article in *Ang Bantay*, the High Wages Movement's publication, which blamed the staff of Waipahū Hospital for the death of a striker's baby. This article was based on the story of Pantaleon Inayuda who reported that the attending physician had told him to take his sick baby out of the hospital. The baby later died. The physician-in-charge and the plantation manager sued Manlapit for libel. Manlapit was found guilty and fined $100.

Another was a conspiracy charge against Manlapit and Cecilio Basan, lodged by the government, after Inayuda changed his story and accused Manlapit and Basan of coaching him to lie. The Territory of Hawai'i charged the two men with conspiracy of the first degree for subornation of perjury. The trial of Manlapit and Basan started on September 15, a few days after the Hanapēpē battle.[58] Attorney William B. Pittman represented them. (Pittman defended Manlapit in 1920 when he was charged with soliciting money from an HSPA attorney).

The testimony of Inayuda and of those collaborating it were "suspicious," according to John Reinecke who had scrutinized the court transcripts. Reinecke felt that "under normal circumstances a jury would have entertained a reasonable doubt as to the defendants' guilt."[59] But on September 27 the jury only took half an hour to find Manlapit and Basan guilty.

A couple of weeks later Justice Banks sentenced Manlapit and Basan to a term of not less than two years nor more than 10 years in jail. Banks claimed that the court was "not concerned with the merits of the strike" yet he evoked the recent violence in Hanapēpē. He said that strikers could not use violence to get their demands. "It is NOT an American doctrine, and you people [i.e., Filipinos] who are sitting here within the sound of my voice must not believe that doctrine is a sound one, or will justify you in any acts of violence in order to win your strike."[60] Within a month after the sentencing, the HSPA deported Inayuda and other witnesses for the prosecution to the Philippines.

Pittman, the defense attorney, denounced the sentence. He believed that Manlapit and Basan were "railroaded in the penitentiary." Pittman had viewed the Filipino strike as a fight between labor and capital and noted that the "big interests are crying for the blood of Manlapit and Basan."[61] Armed with new affidavits from witnesses for the prosecution who now admitted they had lied, Pittman took the case to the Territory of Hawai'i Supreme Court. Basan did not appeal; he went to prison. After serving a short period in jail, he was paroled on condition that he leave Hawai'i for the Philippines. On 29 May 1925 the Supreme Court rejected Manlapit's appeal on grounds that it was filed one day late. Manlapit entered O'ahu Prison the same day.[62]

Manlapit's family was stunned; hardships quickly fell on the household. "When my father went to prison," Alice recalled, "we started to have difficult time. My mother could not charge [purchases] anymore because my father was not earning. We started to eat just rice with shoyu until a Hawaiian neighbor found us and gave us food. You see, we've eaten all the chickens mother raised."[63] Debilitated, Annie Manlapit sent

her daughters first, and then her son, to the Kālihi Orphanage for temporary institutional care. Meanwhile, Annie lived in a rented house with her mother and a sister. She and her sister worked for the American Sanitary Laundry earning a total monthly income of about $90, which barely paid their household expenses.[64]

From his prison cell, Pablo Manlapit fought for his release. On November 13 he petitioned Governor Farrington for pardon because now he had a document showing that he had been a victim of a "frame up." The document, an affidavit from "Enayuda," (Inayuda) the chief prosecution witness who had been "hurried out of Hawai'i" after the trial, was secured by Manlapit's father in the Philippines sometime in July 1925. For testifying against Manlapit, Enayuda declared that the HSPA had paid him and five others $10 each when they were shipped out from Hawai'i, and $100 each upon arrival in the Philippines. Manlapit asked for Farrington's sympathy. "I am absolutely penniless and helpless at this time—treated as a felon along with murderers, burglars and others thought to represent the scum of the community."[65]

Fred Makino, publisher of *Hawaii Hochi* and Manlapit's friend since the 1920 strike, wrote Manuel Quezon and other Philippine officials asking them to support Manlapit's petition for pardon. He challenged Quezon. "You are seeking to impress the world, and America in particular, with your ability to govern yourselves. The first requisite of a responsible government is that she be able and willing to protect the interests of her nationals not only at home but abroad in other countries."[66] Makino's exhortation fell on deaf ears.

Farrington consulted his officials, including the Attorney General, the Board of Prison inspectors, and the judge of the Circuit Court. All advised Farrington against a pardon. The acting Attorney General, Marguerite K. Ashford, argued that if indeed the HSPA paid some money, it was probably because the association knew that "these witnesses were most dangerous to the sugar industry in that they were bearing an important part in stimulating the strike." And the HSPA's gesture—money payments and free transportation back to the Philip-

pines—was "a very cheap method of relieving the community of persons whom the Association undoubtedly considered dangerous agitators." Ashford believed the HSPA did right in paying Enayuda to testify against Manlapit, and then sending him away after he did a good job of it because he was an agitator like Manlapit anyway. Ashford also noted that Manlapit could not be penniless because a lawyer was representing him in a disbarment case pending before the court. She also reminded Farrington that the disbarment case arose from Manlapit's conviction. In other words, if Manlapit were pardoned, then he would be able to keep his attorney's license.[67]

Farrington refused Manlapit's petition for pardon in mid-December 1925. On 7 January 1926 the court disbarred Manlapit.

Whenever his children came to visit, Manlapit tried to be cheerful. Many friends also visited him. Surveillance reports on these visits ended up in HSPA's files.[68] He became a model prisoner and, as a trusty, was given charge of the storeroom. On one occasion he was assigned to pick up leaves on the grounds of Washington Place, the residence of Hawai'i's governor on Beretania Street. When Manlapit's friends heard of it, they came by the fence to talk to him as he worked.[69]

Manlapit could not rely on Philippine government officials for support or sympathy. Ligot had been hostile to him. So was Governor General Wood. The latter had advised Filipino political leaders Quezon and Roxas not to take a public position on the strike.[70] In October 1925 the HSPA invited Hermenegildo Cruz, acting director of the Philippine Bureau of Labor, to visit Hawai'i. He later submitted a glowing report on plantation conditions and the relationship between managers and workers. He did not try to see Manlapit in jail. Butler informed Quezon that Cruz had a "thorough cooperation" with Ligot. "I believe," Butler added, "Mr. Ligot's influence will be increased here and the influence of the malicious and unworthy elements in the town will be lessened."[71]

Manlapit's minimum sentence was to expire on 29 May 1927, with commutation for good behavior on 5 January 1927. The Board of Prison

inspectors recommended on January 4 that Manlapit be paroled on condition that he leave Hawai'i. Manlapit questioned the Board's action.[72] "If the Board has any evidence on hand tending to show that I may endanger the community or society, or any evidence that I will commit any violation of the laws of the Territory of Hawai'i, I am willing to face it." But if the Board has no such evidence and based its recommendation on "some *assumption*," then the conditional parole—to leave Hawai'i—was "unjust discrimination, unwarranted, unfair and arbitrary.... Can a man be punished for something he has not done?"[73] Leaving Hawai'i, Manlapit added, was not an option: "I simply can't go." He did not have money to pay for transportation, assuming his wife and children would agree to leave Hawai'i, which he thought unlikely. Finally, Manlapit promised not to get involved in labor activities, if he were paroled and allowed to stay in Hawai'i. "I realized that I am bound by duty to bring my family into a better stage of life." He acknowledged that his family had suffered much during his imprisonment.

A lobby organization, Volunteers of America, took up Manlapit's case. In mid-January 1927 its national supervisor, Florence Spence, travelled to Hawai'i to get more information. She later wrote to J. W. Waldron, chair of the parole board, requesting him to reconsider the board's decision and to allow Manlapit to stay in Hawai'i with his family. Waldron sent a copy of Spence's letter to Farrington with this attached note:. "The Board was informed by Mr. Butler [HSPA's secretary] some time ago that Manlapit had been assisted by a Red organization. Is this the organization? From what I can gather (and it is very little) I am inclined to believe it is."[74]

Spence dispatched letters to officials in Washington, DC, on behalf of Manlapit. In one letter she described Pablo Manlapit as "one of the unfortunate victims of the arbitrary rule which the sugar planters maintain in the Islands." She also quoted the secretary of the HSPA who told her, "WE have Manlapit where we want him and we intend to *keep* him there....[75]

Fred Makino and the staff of his *Hawaii Hochi* backed unconditional parole for Pablo Manlapit. They argued that Governor Farrington and the Board of Prisons Inspectors had vested interests in sugar and, therefore, should not sit to decide Manlapit's fate. The Board's chair, John W. Waldron, was (in 1927) the president of the Honoka'a Sugar Co., the Pacific Sugar Mill, the Hawaiian Irrigation Co., and a trustee of the HSPA. He had been HSPA president in 1922.[76] *Hawaii Hochi* also rallied support for Manlapit. For instance, it printed an editorial, "An Appeal for a Square Deal," of an English language newspaper in Hilo, Hawai'i, which described Manlapit as a cool-headed person at the height of the 1924 strike. "But it is a known truth to police officials and others on this island that, despite the strain of a vexatious espionage during the strike, Manlapit did more here to restrain violence than all the special guards and machine guns."[77]

Sometime in March or earlier, Manlapit accepted the condition for parole, to leave for the Philippines because he had assumed that his family would go with him. But Annie Manlapit was against uprooting the family. When Waldron told her to pack up immediately and get ready to leave Honolulu on March 11, she panicked. She rushed to Makino's office for help. Right away *Hawaii Hochi* publicized the case. "Trembling and broken down by worry and grief, [Mrs. Manlapit] came this morning to the office of this paper to tell her pitiable story. On the verge of a breakdown, she insisted that she did not want to leave Hawai'i where she was born and where her children were born."[78]

Representative Norman K. Lyman, who had defended Filipinos arrested on the Big Island in connection with the 1924 strike, sponsored a resolution to investigate the alleged discrimination and ill-treatment of Manlapit by the High Sheriff and the action of the Prison Board regarding Manlapit's deportation. In effect, Lyman's timely resolution stopped Manlapit's deportation to the Philippines on the President Pierce at 4:00 P.M. on March 11. Hearings and testimonies followed. After a few days, the House Judiciary Committee submitted its report. Briefly, the committee found that the High Sheriff did not discriminate

against Manlapit, and that the Prison Board had exceeded its powers when it ruled that Manlapit must never return to Hawai'i.[79]

We are not privy to hidden negotiations that must have taken place later. In July, two inspectors (S. W. Robley and H. M. Dowsett) recommended unconditional parole but the third member and chair of the board (J. W. Waldron) opposed it. Farrington called a meeting of the Board of Prison Inspectors. He talked with the Attorney General (W. B. Lymer). Using his full discretionary powers in granting paroles, he granted Manlapit a conditional parole. Manlapit must immediately leave Hawai'i.[80]

Hawaii Hochi castigated Farrington: "It is the almost universal belief in Hawai'i that Farrington committed a stupid blunder in listening to the advice of John Waldron, chairman of the prison board, and adding the condition that he [Manlapit] leave the territory to Manlapit's parole. In this the governor acted against the express recommendations of a majority of the board."[81]

Manlapit, after consulting with his friends, accepted the conditional parole and made plans to leave for California. Because of insufficient funds, he would go first and then send for his family. On 13 August 1927 his family and friends sent him off at the Honolulu harbor with leis and tearful farewells. Attorney General Lymer came by to give him some money donated by friends; Governor Farrington appeared at the pier to wish him a good voyage. Manlapit even took his ukelele along.[82] It seemed like a well-rehearsed play was being staged, except that Manlapit's deportation was real.

Manlapit's parting letter was published the next day. "My offense was not against any law of morality or against any political statute, but against a system of industrial exploitation. I was railroaded because I tried to secure justice and a square deal for my oppressed countrymen who are lured to the plantations to work for a dollar a day." He added that he was kept in jail "beyond my minimum sentence" because he valued self-respect and "refused to curry favor or seek concession from those who held power." He did not blame Farrington. "The governor of the

Territory, acting under the instructions of the little group of sugar planters who still hate and fear me, ordered me to leave Hawai'i as the price of granting me my freedom. I am convinced that the governor will some day realize his mistake."[83]

Between Two Paroles

1928–1934

4

California

Pablo Manlapit found a different Filipino community while in exile in California. Unlike in Hawai'i where Filipinos came to work in sugar plantations, the first batch of Filipinos in California came to study. They were students under government scholarships. Then laborers from Hawai'i's plantations started moving to California after completing their work contracts or absconding from Hawai'i. In the mid-1920s, large numbers of Filipinos came to work on large-scale farms on the Pacific coast. They filled a labor demand after the passage of the Japanese Exclusion Act of 1924, which blocked the flow of laborers from Japan. In 1920, about 5,603 Filipinos lived in the United States, of whom about 3,300 lived in California. Ten years later, the total number had increased to 45,208 Filipinos, of whom 30,000 lived in California. As in Hawai'i, this later batch of Filipinos were mostly single males in their teens or early twenties from the Ilocos region. The motivations were the same: they wanted to work and send money back home. But unlike the non-migrant plantation workers in Hawai'i, they were seasonal workers who picked vegetables and fruits in the valleys of California and Washington. In-between seasons, some spent summer months cleaning and canning salmon in Alaska. Others who could not find work migrated to the big cities of San Francisco and Los Angeles and the smaller cities, like Stockton, Salinas, and Fresno.[1]

Manlapit received a warm welcome from Filipinos living in Los Angeles who regarded him as a hero unjustly punished for his courage. A Filipino newspaper, the *Philippine Republic*, published in Washington, DC, reported: "Pablo Manlapit, who was a thorn in the side of the sugar plantation owners of Hawai'i, but who had a large following among the workers, is now in this city, and promises to become a prominent figure among the Filipinos here, just as in Hawai'i."[2] As expected, friends and admirers invited Manlapit to grace their public functions.

His first public appearance was on Labor Day when the International Labor Defense, an organization supported by liberal individuals and Communist Party members, invited him as its guest speaker. He spoke on the labor situation in Hawai'i to "about one thousand people of different nationalities."[3] The Filipino Christian Fellowship at the YMCA invited him as its guest speaker in a special program. A group in Pasadena organized a dinner party to honor him. In November, he toured Oakland and may have stayed with someone who had close ties with the sugar bloc in Hawai'i.[4] In early 1928 he travelled to Stockton and spoke at a gathering of about 200 Filipinos on the political situation in the Philippines.

Manlapit soon found employment. He was hired as the circulation manager of the *Los Angeles Observer*, which announced his appointment in a lead article, "Manlapit Gaining Popularity in L.A."[5] He also worked for the Citizens' International Service and Adjustment Bureau." The latter was a firm that handled, among others, insurance and bankruptcy cases. In September 1927, Manlapit sent a letter, with his business card, to Governor Farrington: "My aim is to really serve friends so do not hesitate to call upon me when you desire or need the services, advice or information which this office can supply."[6]

Soon after arriving in California, Manlapit had met Hilario C. Moncado, founder of the Filipino Federation of America. This association was originally a mutual-aid organization launched in December 1925 in Los Angeles and incorporated in 1927 in California.[7] Manlapit

was supposed to have been tapped by Moncado to head the organization's labor section but in December 1927 Manlapit left the organization for good. We do not know why but Manlapit and Moncado probably disagreed, as shown by their actions later, on workers' rights to organize and strike.

As Manlapit settled in California, the Federal Bureau of Investigation and its allied agencies spied on him. On 23 February 1928 the Los Angeles police arrested and detained Manlapit for questioning for three hours on suspicion that he was attempting "to form Filipino Labor Unions in California along the line of his Filipino Labor Unions in Hawai'i and had planned the pulling of huge strikes in various agricultural sections of the state, notably in the asparagus districts of Stockton."[8] They claimed that the Communist Party would support him; and that Mexican and Japanese agricultural laborers would also join the strike. Contemporary newspaper accounts in Honolulu and Manila vilified Manlapit. For instance, the *Honolulu Advertiser* reported that Manlapit was detained because he represented the Communist Internationale; that he planned to place 1,000 Filipino sailors in the United States Navy under the Communist Internationale; that he incited over 10,000 Filipino asparagus pickers to strike, and that he undermined Moncado's Filipino Federation of America.[9]

Manlapit denied all these charges. He admitted that he was detained and then released without charge. The detention, he added, was "an empty gesture of his invisible enemies" who were eager to discredit him among his new friends.[10] In an open letter, he declared that he was neither a communist nor a member of the All-American Anti-Imperialist League. Nevertheless, he was "in sympathy" with their principles "that big interests must not control the affairs of the government and that all nations, once prepared, as is the Philippines, are entitled to a government of their own choice."[11]

The allegation published in the Honolulu newspaper that Manlapit "undermined" Moncado's Filipino Federation of America is puzzling. Perhaps it simply meant that Moncado and Manlapit parted as enemies,

which was true. J. K. Butler confided to Governor Farrington that there was a suspicion that Moncado "double crossed Manlapit into the position of being a communist agitator and put the police after him."[12] A US navy intelligence report later said that the police used a "rival leader, H. C. Moncado and his organization, the Filipino Federation of America, to fight Manlapit."[13]

The other allegation that Manlapit had incited 10,000 asparagus workers to strike is even more puzzling and preposterous, based on what little we know of Manlapit's California years. In early February 1928, Manlapit did travel from Los Angeles to Stockton and met a group of about 200 Filipinos. He spoke on the issue of Philippine independence, and criticized the two Filipino political leaders, Manuel L. Quezon and Sergio Osmeña, for lauding the appointment of Col. Henry L. Stimson as Governor General of the Philippines.[14] But did Manlapit have another agenda? Did he go to Stockton, "the Northern California center for Filipino labor, to urge two hundred farm workers to organize a Filipino labor union?"[15]

That was Manlapit's first and last visit to Stockton, as far as is known. Although he kept out of the public limelight, he aired his opinion in *Ang Bantay*, a periodical he published in Los Angeles in 1929. For example, several articles criticized the corrupt practices of Filipino labor contractors, urged agricultural unionization, exposed how gambling operators lured young Filipino workers and rigged the games, and attacked Moncado and his Federation.[16]

Possibly Manlapit continued to talk about labor issues in small and private circles. His wife and children came to be with him, but they soon returned to Honolulu because they felt alone and lost in Los Angeles. Pablo often left them by themselves. Alice recalled that because her father was often not at home, she concluded that he was busy doing labor union work.[17]

Manlapit probably took his detention by the Los Angeles police as a warning. As a parolee, he was required to report to the sheriff in Los Angeles regularly. Moreover, he wanted credentials—status and respectability—to support his request for full pardon from the governor of Hawai'i. Seeking pardon became Manlapit's obsession. Each year, from 1928 through 1931, he sought either a pardon or a discharge from his parole. A good example is a petition written in December 1929. Here Manlapit reported that he was a publisher (of *Ang Bantay*), an insurance agent, and elected vice-president of the Philippine Chamber of Commerce of California. He had also been president of the Philippine Historical and Educational Motion Picture Corporation of America, an incorporated organization under California state laws, but the California State Corporation commissioner asked him to resign after learning "from unknown sources" that he had a criminal record in Hawai'i. "The civil status," Manlapit stressed, "is always questionable once a person is convicted of a felony, and in order that your petitioner may enjoy the full privileges of a free man, and be restored to his civil rights, a full pardon at this time is respectfully prayed for."[18] Farrington did not grant his request.

Other issues attracted Manlapit. Securing independence for the Philippines was one of them. In 1930 he recorded a speech in Tagalog and English for Columbia Records on this topic. He argued that America recognized the Filipinos' "loud cry" for independence but that she also had a "sincere desire" to prepare the Philippines "in order that we may be able to take care of ourselves against foreign invasion." He exhorted the Filipinos to work together and develop their industries and natural resources while working for self-government. Finally, he argued that the Philippines should be grateful to America. "We shall never forget the blessings which America had bestowed upon us. It is her teaching and culture which have placed our country in the enviable position in the Far East."[19]

Discrimination against Filipinos in California also stirred Manlapit. The economic depression throughout the country, and especially in the western states, created large numbers of unemployed males who, in turn, regarded Filipino males as their rivals for employment. An organized vocal minority pushed for laws excluding the Filipinos, to bar them too,

like the Japanese, from entering the United States. Discrimination against Filipinos ranged from landlords refusing them as tenants to physical attacks by white males.

Anti-Filipino mob actions took place from 1927 to 1930 in the Pacific coast. The worst one happened in mid-January 1930 in Watsonville, California, where local white males raided a clubhouse rented by Filipinos, leaving a Filipino, Fermin Tobera, dead. Apparently, local white males resented Filipino males escorting white females to the clubhouse. On 26 January 1930 Manlapit chaired a meeting of 1,000 Filipinos in Los Angeles. They adopted resolutions asking local and state authorities to investigate physical attacks on Filipinos.[20]

Manlapit also criticized the implementation of California's marriage laws.[21] The California Civil Code included a provision enacted in 1901 prohibiting marriages of white persons to non-whites, specifically persons of Negro, mulatto, Hindu, and Mongolian backgrounds. There were people who argued that Filipinos were Mongolians and should not be allowed to marry whites. As the law was not clear, county clerks interpreted the law their own way. In one Los Angeles county, the clerk refused to issue a marriage license to a Filipino who wanted to marry his white girlfriend. When challenged, the Superior Court ruled that Filipinos were Mongolians.

In another case, a Filipino was allowed to marry his Mexican-Indian girlfriend. Here Judge Walter Guerin ruled that there was no law prohibiting marriages between Filipinos and Indians. Judge Guerin also said that he would have granted the petition even if the fiancee was white. This particular case (Gavino C. Visco versus Los Angeles County) was featured in *The Three Stars* with a headline, "Are Filipinos Mongolians?" The lead article features an interview with Pablo Manlapit, described as a "Filipino leader" and a "fighter." It also quoted him. "It is now a high time for every Malayan-blooded Filipino to come to the front and help defend his nationality that is being gravely insulted."[22]

We should note that Manlapit did not say that the marriage laws were discriminatory. He argued only that Filipinos were Malays, not Mongolians, and should not be covered by the anti-miscegenation laws. In August 1933 the California legislature amended the law and provided that even individuals of the Malay race could not legally marry white persons. We have no record of Manlapit's reaction to this amendment, for by that time he had left Los Angeles bound for Hawai'i.

Return to Hawai'i

In 1930 the great majority of the 63,000 Filipinos in Hawai'i continued to live and work in the plantations. Over half of them arrived in 1927 to 1930, when Manlapit was in exile in California. The anthropologist Andrew Lind, who came to Hawai'i in 1931, observed that ninety percent of employed Filipino males were unskilled, of whom eighty-five percent worked as plantation laborers. He noted that of the 63,000, over half were males between the ages of twenty and thirty-five, and between the ages of twenty and twenty-four, the ratio was twenty men to one woman.[23] "When an unmarried young woman arrived in Hawai'i in the early 1930s," Ines V. Cayaban recalled, "the news spread like wild fire. There were many eligible young men and old men on the lookout for wives and female companions."[24]

In the early 1930s about 4,000 Filipinos lived and worked in Honolulu as clerks, court interpreters, small businessmen, and hotel workers. The unemployed were supported by friends and townmates. Roman Cariaga, who arrived in Hawai'i in 1931, enrolled at the University of Hawai'i and became one of the students of Andrew Lind. He would later write articles and publish a book that would counteract the negative stereotype of the Filipinos as uneducated, unskilled, volatile and "poke-knife." For many prejudiced individuals, the terms *manong* (older brother) and *bayaw* (brother-in-law) became pejorative terms to describe Filipinos.[25]

Manlapit had completed his maximum sentence on parole in California. He returned to Hawai'i on 29 April 1932, accompanied by Antonio Fagel, whom Manlapit had inspired to do union work in Hawai'i.[26] Less than five years earlier Manlapit had left Hawai'i with a

heavy heart. Now he was coming home treated like a hero returning to the old battlefield. On his arrival, his friends escorted him to ʻAʻala Park where they had arranged a "Filipino mass meeting." Manlapit rose to the occasion. He gave a rousing speech on promoting the welfare of the Filipinos in Hawaiʻi and the need to form a Filipino Labor Union.

His wife, four children, and a baby granddaughter welcomed him back. Annie Manlapit had become the anchor of the family. Initially, she had supported her children by doing laundry for other people. Later she had found work with the American Steam Laundry at Kākāʻāko, Honolulu. Her main job was pressing delicate and embroidered apparel. Alice, the eldest child, also worked there but she disliked using heavy pressing iron and working in a hot room for hours. "I was married when I was 17," Alice recalled. "Why? Because I thought by marrying I did not have to work no more. Working in the laundry was too hard. But then I soon found out I had to work more after marriage."[27] Alice got married and gave birth to a baby girl when Pablo Manlapit was still serving his parole in California.

Manlapit relied mainly upon his family for financial support because now he had limited options. He had lost his license to practice law after his conviction in 1927. Some of the few educated Filipinos in Hawaiʻi served as clerks or interpreters for the judicial courts. His brother-in-law, Alfred Ocampo, and a former labor union colleague, Pedro Esqueras, worked as court interpreters.[28] But Manlapit's criminal record possibly disqualified him from working in the courts. Some other educated Filipinos had been "picked out by the HSPA and given white-collar offices lest they become labor agitators."[29] Clearly this option was long closed to Pablo.

The planters, in fact, were nervous again—almost driving themselves into a frenzy about Pablo Manlapit—based on classified information from the FBI and associated agencies. An agent assessed Manlapit as "probably the most able, the most intelligent and the most dangerous radical Filipino [*sic*] in the world" and added that he was "an attorney, well-educated, a convincing writer and a convincing speaker." The same

agent predicted widespread troubles. "In my opinion he and his activities will constitute a menace both in the Hawaiian Islands and in the Philippines, and he will probably eventually become one of the foremost oriental leaders of the communist international [*sic*]."[30]

Manlapit kept a busy schedule upon arrival, speaking in public meetings on Oʻahu, the Big Island, Maui and Kauaʻi. And as before, John Butler, still the HSPA's secretary, kept tabs on Manlapit.[31]

On 1 July 1932 Butler informed all plantation managers that, according to a printed announcement he had received, Manlapit was planning to visit several plantations to talk about the organization of a labor union, the recall of Manlapit's old adversary Cayetano Ligot, and ways to remedy the current unemployment problem. Speakers to accompany Manlapit included Teodoro G. Biano, president of "Progressive Ilocano Organization" and editor of the *Filipino Chronicle*; Isidro Edillo, secretary of the Unemployed Filipinos of Hawaiʻi; and, Antonio Fagel, identified as secretary of a labor union. Biano would speak in Ilokano, Edillo in Visayan, and Fagel in Ilokano and English. We assume that Manlapit would speak in Tagalog. These meetings, Butler continued, were arranged by the Filipino Labor Union whose president was Epifanio Taok.[32]

In another letter, Butler alerted plantation managers on the Big Island of a possible visit from "this agitator" (Manlapit). Plantation manager W. P. Naquin reported later that Manlapit did come and held a meeting at Honokaʻā village "attended by a considerable number from camps." He "attacked the plantation viciously" and pinpointed J. W. Waldron as the one who, he said "crucified him on the prison board." Naquin was also worried. "We certainly would hate to see their morale broken down by parasites of the type of Manlapit."[33]

Manlapit tried to allay these fears in his publication, *The Union*. The new Filipino Labor Union, he explained, was "a social, economic and educational bureau" designed to promote "improvements" among the Filipinos. It was also "an institution designed to cooperate with other agencies for the development of civic and communal consciousness

among the Filipino elements as composing a part and parcel of the community." Finally, it was also a "protective and social service agency" to help Filipinos meeting difficulties in Hawai'i. "Contrary to the insinuations and intimidations of resenting factions," Manlapit added, "the Filipino Labor Union does not advocate any attitude of rebelliousness or radicalism, nor does it desire to look forward to another Filipino strike."[34]

Indeed Manlapit, Taok, and Fagel focused on the immediate problem of unemployed Filipinos. In May 1932 Taok sent to Governor Judd a petition of 149 Filipino residents in Honolulu who had no jobs, food, and transportation money to return to the Philippines.[35] A report in March the following year noted 620 and 843 unemployed Filipinos



As champion of the plantation workers, Manlapit made many powerful enemies who "railroaded" him into prison. John W. Waldron, former president and trustee of the Hawai'i Sugar Planters' Association, was also chair of the parole board when Manlapit was denied parole. (Photo courtesy of Hawai'i State Archives)

in Honolulu and on Maui, respectively. The unemployed on Maui included those coming from the islands of Lāna'i and Moloka'i where the pineapple industry had collapsed.[36] The full impact of the Depression was yet to hit Hawai'i after the mid-1930s.

Cariaga also noted the new thrust of the union. "The most conspicuous Filipino economic organization in Honolulu is the Filipino Labor Union, which is a carry-over from the plantation uprising of 1924. During the last two years the Union has attempted to take charge of the Filipino unemployed."[37]

The HSPA repatriated some 7,200 Filipinos in 1932 to avoid relief expenses for the anticipated unemployment.[38] It also discouraged further migration of Filipinos to Hawai'i. This subsequently reduced the number of Filipinos coming to Hawai'i through the HSPA. In 1932 only 953 males and 151 females came, as compared to 5,597 males and 217 females the year before. In 1933 the total number plummeted to 41.[39]

To Manlapit, repatriation was a tolerable option since Filipinos could not get work outside the plantations. As non-US citizens, Filipinos were not allowed to work for government agencies and institutions. In Hawai'i they were not allowed to work in any governmental projects (federal, territorial, city or county). "Inasmuch as the Filipinos are not considered American citizens, and not even eligible to citizenship, and cannot be employed in government jobs; therefore the only way to get rid of them is sending them back to the Philippines. This must be understood, however, that it is not compulsory, but only those who wish to return to the Philippines at the expense of the government shall go."[40]

Manlapit and N. C. Villanueva, editor of *The Union*, blamed Ligot for the excess in labor supply. "By his intensive and extensive propaganda, he has succeeded in bringing to this country approximately 25,000 Filipinos, more than the actual number of Filipino laborers needed, which surplus laborers are now without work."[41] Villanueva repeated the criticism that Ligot, as the "publicity director" of the HSPA, ignored the problems of workers.

In late November 1933 Governor Frank Murphy of the Philippines dismissed Ligot. He then appointed Jose Figueras to take Ligot's

place but with a new title of "Inspector General." This upset Butler, especially when he learned that Francisco Varona, a politician and labor leader, had written Manlapit and Taok asking them to cooperate with Figueras. Butler rushed a letter to Quezon. "My goodness, Casey [Quezon], what does it mean when a fellow like Varona expects a couple of chaps of this type to be sponsors for the new Philippine representative?" Manlapit and Taok, Butler continued, would use Figueras to promote themselves. "What's likely to occur is that Figueras will have a hard time finding out that Manlapit and his crowd do not represent the Filipino."[42]

Manlapit and others welcomed Figueras partly because he, unlike Ligot, acknowledged and treated Manlapit with respect. The Filipino community in 'Aiea, Manlapit reported, gave Figueras their vote of confidence because he had investigated and listened to the workers' complaints. One of these was, Manlapit noted, "the restraint of personal liberty" of plantation workers who must get permission from plantation managers to receive visitors in their homes; otherwise, their guests could be charged under trespass law. This law was used, Manlapit added, to oppress workers and to prevent them from joining labor organizations.[43]

Figueras recommended better treatment of Filipino laborers and appointment of Filipinos as camp bosses. Moreover, he wanted Manlapit to be recognized as the workers' representative when bargaining with the HSPA. Displeased, the sugar bloc wanted Figueras removed. They urged Governor Judd to press Governor Murphy to discharge Figueras because his conduct "was prejudicial to the Territory."[44]

Butler may not have changed his views on Manlapit but now he modified his view of Filipino workers. In the 1920s he believed that they went on strike because they were intimidated by Manlapit and other leaders. Now Butler advised the managers to be more careful. "A Filipino is quick to feel injustice and if he believes that one of his compatriots is being unjustly and arbitrarily treated, he is easily induced to support him even if that means jeopardizing his own comfort and earning status."[45] For example, Butler added, Filipino laborers on Waimānalo, Waialua, and Honolulu plantations went on strike because the foremen treated Filipino laborers arbitrarily. These strikes must have been spontaneous and autonomous because Butler did not mention Manlapit or the Filipino Labor Union.

The HSPA arranged and sponsored a radio program for the Filipino community, lasting fifteen minutes every Sunday morning. This "trial effort," Butler said, aimed to provide amusement to Filipino laborers.[46] Many Filipinos enjoyed it. "Not very long ago under the leadership and initiative of Atty. N. C. Villanueva, a Filipino hour was included to the delight of radio fans. Since then the Filipino masses have been entertained with speeches by our Filipino spokesmen combined with Spanish and Filipino songs and melodies given by our people."[47] Villanueva had modified his views. As editor of *The Union*, published by Manlapit two years earlier, he used to assail the HSPA.

The HSPA's policy towards labor organizers remained the same. Plantation managers arrested labor organizers who entered the plantations; they repatriated strikers to the Philippines. For example, after a strike at Hāmākua Mill Co., Pa'auilo on the Big Island, the manager learned that the HSPA "will gladly return to the Philippines any Filipino" designated "undesirable" and whose presence in the plantation "may cause further disturbance."[48]

On 23 March 1934 Taok, president of the Filipino Labor Union, was arrested and charged with "gross cheat," a violation of Section 4246 of Hawai'i's Revised Laws of 1925. A union member testified that he gave five dollars to Taok. Fagel, the union's secretary general, declared that the testimonies against Taok came from "well-trained witnesses and hirelings of the sugar planters." He accused the HSPA of framing up and railroading labor leaders to jail.[49] A jury found Taok guilty and Circuit Court Judge N. D. Godbold sentenced him to nine months imprisonment. Taok appealed his case. On 12 September 1935 the State Supreme Court reversed Taok's conviction.[50]

Manlapit, in the meantime, had left the Filipino Labor Union to form another organization called the Hawai'i Labor Association. The

purpose of this new organization is unclear, but it soon merged with the United Labor Federation, an organization formed in Hilo by a former member of the American Federation of Labor. The merger gave birth to the Hawai'i Labor Federation with Manlapit as president. Other officers were: V. L. Cochran (General Vice-President); M. L. Alverne (General Secretary); L. Ayau (General Financial Secretary); T. L. Biano (General Recording Secretary); and Melvin D. De Lonais (General Organizer and Business Agent).

Despite his many activities, Manlapit worked at obtaining full pardon. As soon as he arrived in Hawai'i in May 1932, Manlapit must have sent a petition for pardon to the Hawai'i governor. There is a record of the Board of Prison Inspectors denying his petition on grounds that the "time since discharge was too short and no extenuating circumstances of sufficient weight to warrant granting of request."[51] Again on 16 April 1934 Manlapit petitioned Governor Joseph Poindexter for a "full and free pardon and restoration of my civil rights" because "I have lived an honest, upright, and law-abiding life since my discharge from prison."[52] In response, the governor asked Manlapit to supply him with the recommendations of the presiding judge and the prosecuting attorney so he could consider Manlapit's petition.

Manlapit, however, could not follow up on the petition because of other pressing problems related to the fledgling labor federation. De Lonais, the general organizer and business agent, criticized Manlapit for refusing to submit financial reports. He accused Manlapit of failing to account for the sum of $858.00 which Manlapit allegedly collected during membership drives. In June 1934 the board members of the federation ousted Manlapit.[53]

Secondly, Manlapit was charged before the US District Court for overcharging Juan Ephong, a World War I veteran of the United States Army.[54] Federal statutes specified that the fee for assisting a veteran should not exceed ten dollars. Ephong was able to get a loan of $170.50 from the Veterans Administration in Honolulu but he paid Manlapit $90.50 assistance fee. The crime did not seem serious, especially after the

jury was dismissed on July 31. On October 3, a second jury convicted Manlapit but asked the court for leniency in sentencing. After his conviction, Manlapit wrote US Attorney I. M. Stainback: "I have noted an exception to the verdict as contrary to the evidence and made a motion for a new trial, but I am financially unable to carry on the fight." He had been informed that the court, following the jury's recommendation for leniency, "might be willing to suspend sentence and place me on probation provided I leave the territory. Accordingly, I respectfully request you to recommend the court that I be placed on probation and I will be glad to leave for the Philippine Islands [on] October 10 on the President Coolidge."[55] On October 8, Judge Edward K. Massee, instead of following leniency, sentenced Manlapit to serve a one-year prison term in the city and county jail. Manlapit decided to leave for the Philippines on October 10.

Why did Manlapit commit this crime and why did he choose to be placed on probation in the Philippines? He claimed that the idea of serving a probation in the Philippines came from the prosecuting attorney, but why did he accept the suggestion? There are no clear answers. It is highly unlikely that Manlapit did not know the federal statutes on assisting war veterans. The probation period, five years, was a long one. The other option was imprisonment for one year, but at least he would be "near" to give moral support to his family, especially to Alice. At that juncture, Alice's marriage was on the rocks; that year she and her husband separated, leaving her with two small children to raise.

Alice alleged later that the "rich people helped together to deport" her father.[56] She added that his family did not go with him because of lack of means. In fact, they had to raise money so he could go "home." Moreover, Alice explained, they chose to stay behind because they did not speak Tagalog at all.[57]

Perhaps Manlapit and his friends agreed that going back to the Philippines was a better option. Probably, Manlapit also talked to Attorney General W. B. Pittman, who had been Manlapit's defense attorney in 1924. On October 9, the day before Manlapit left Honolulu

for the Philippines, Pittman penned a brief letter addressed to "Pablo Manlapit, Honolulu, T. H. [Territory of Hawai'i]":

> Replying to your letter of recent date as to whether or not I am still of the opinion that you were innocent in 1924 and convicted on perjured testimony will state that I have reviewed the case on several occasions and have on each occasion became more convinced of your innocence and that a grave injustice was committed when you were refused a new trial. The feeling was so tense that it was impossible for you to get a fair and impartial trial.
>
> No one could read the affidavits filed on Motion for new trial by you and not be convinced of your innocence and that you were railroaded.[58]

The Filipinos gathered in 'A'ala Park to say good-bye to Manlapit and to express their confidence in him. Before leaving Honolulu on October 10, he wrote a letter to Judge Massee charging that the court "has been used by the dignified racketeers of Hawai'i to get me and they got me." He denounced the sugar interest for being selfish and exploitative. "I hope the day will come when the government couldn't be used as tools of this big interest to crush and destroy men who speak for the toilers."[59]

Homeland

1935–1948

5

With the Elite

Pablo Manlapit saw Manila Bay again in 1934. He was now forty-three-years-old, returning home alone after an absence of twenty-four years. His parents had died while he was away. His three brothers, a sister, and their families welcomed him back. Eulogio, his eldest brother, ran a printing firm; Guillermo managed a flourishing brokerage company; Victor worked for the Bureau of Customs; and Luisa was a dressmaker. Manlapit's brothers' careers had taken off during the first two decades of the twentieth century as colonial bureaucracy expanded and Manila became the country's principal city. They lived in Manila, supported mainstream politics, and rubbed elbows with the political elite. As far as I know, they had not been active in trade union work.

Manlapit lived with Eulogio's family. His stay with them paved his transition into unfamiliar but friendly surroundings. He found a sympathetic ear in Juliana, Eulogio's eldest daughter, then a law student at the University of the Philippines. Juliana recalled: "He [Pablo] told me that he fought the sugar planters who tried to bribe him, and that he was railroaded."[1]

His brothers were then backing the Nacionalista Party, popularly perceived as the party that always championed Philippine independence. And to many people, Manuel L. Quezon was the most dedicated politician of all in the pursuit of Philippine independence.[2] Manlapit had met Quezon and others a few times in Honolulu and Los Angeles during

stopovers of the annual Independence Missions between Manila and Washington, DC. Overall it seemed natural for Pablo Manlapit to follow the political steps of his brothers.

As outlined in the Tydings-McDuffie Law, a ten-year transitional commonwealth government would be established in the Philippines. Quezon was among the three presidential candidates for the envisioned Philippine Commonwealth that would be launched after the November elections in 1935. On 19 August 1935, also Quezon's birthday, Manlapit delivered a speech in Tagalog over radio station KZLB supporting Quezon as the next president. He believed Quezon was the best candidate for the office because he had worked steadfastly for Philippine autonomy. Moreover, he believed that Quezon was "clean" (honest), talented, and capable. Quezon was sincere about serving the Filipino people because he was not in the habit of "kissing the hands" of capitalists.[3]

Still uppermost in Manlapit's mind was securing pardon from Hawai'i officials. In April 1935, barely six months after his return to the Philippines, he wrote Hawai'i Governor Joseph B. Poindexter asking for a full pardon "in order to restore his civil rights." He reminded the governor of his case and how he was "convicted on a perjured testimony and was railroaded to jail and railroaded out of the Territory." He then quoted in full Attorney General Pittman's letter, dated 10 October 1934, to support his claim. He also stressed his "good record" when "he was kept in jail" in Honolulu and when he was an "exile" in California. "The petitioner [himself] returned to Hawai'i on the 29th day of April 1932 and [stayed there] up to October 10th, 1934—when he was again railroaded out of the Territory. On the 29th day of May, 1935, the full ten years has been served and that your petitioner either guilty or not has been punished to full term of the law." Manlapit also reported his good credentials: president of a civic organization and a political party. Finally, he indicated his intentions to enter politics. He said that he will be "a candidate on the forthcoming election under the Commonwealth Government, and that his civil rights must be restored before he can be elected on an elective position."[4] No official reply came.

Hawai'i officials, apparently, received Manlapit's petition and gave it careful attention. Governor Poindexter, upon receipt of Manlapit's petition, made inquiries from Judge S. C. Huber, United States District Court, Territory of Hawai'i, on questions involving "loss of civil rights," a point Manlapit had raised in his letter. Judge Huber, after reviewing the provisions of the United States Civil Code, reached the opinion that "a defendant who is a citizen of Hawai'i, upon conviction of a crime which may be punished by a term of imprisonment exceeding one year, by the act of conviction loses his civil rights to vote and hold office and can have them restored only by a pardon granting such restoration."[5] Thus, as a citizen of the Philippines, which was in 1935 still a United States territory, Manlapit indeed needed a full pardon to restore his civil rights.

The Hawai'i Board of Prison Directors also met to consider Manlapit's petition. On October 23, they voted unanimously to recommend denial of the petition because he had a federal conviction and that "the reason presented for favorable action is not of sufficient weight to justify favorable action."[6] We take this to mean that they believed Manlapit's desire to enter electoral politics did not warrant the granting of a full pardon. However, the next month, on November 13, the Board reconsidered Manlapit's petition and agreed to recommend conditional pardon, "said conditional pardon to contain some provision to the effect that he [Manlapit] shall not again return to the Territory of Hawai'i or to the United States...."[7]

Back in the Philippines, Manlapit did not have a clue as to what was happening to his petition. He wrote two follow-up letters, in June and in September, but still no word from Hawai'i. Before the year ended, on December 1935, Manlapit again wrote Governor Poindexter, after reading in Manila newspapers that in October the Hawai'i Board of Prison Directors had recommended against pardon, and that in November it rescinded its decision, recommending conditional pardon instead. This conditional pardon, Manlapit wrote Poindexter, was "similar to that of Governor Farrington in my former parole that I shall never return to Hawai'i. The news is quite amusing."[8] Manlapit requested the

governor to clarify by writing to him directly. In early January 1936, Attorney General W. B. Pittman, as instructed by Governor Poindexter, wrote Manlapit a letter confirming that the governor was willing to grant conditional pardon "with the provision that he could never return to Hawai'i...."[9] Manlapit rejected the offer of a conditional pardon. He knew that it meant he could never see Hawai'i and his family again.[10]

Never one to give up, Manlapit again petitioned for full pardon in January 1937. He described his employment record to strengthen the petition. He had just completed his work as a special investigator into agrarian conflicts for the Bureau of Labor and had begun working for the private Kanlaon Management Corporation as its stock sales manager. He was requesting a full pardon from the Hawai'i governor because "the end of justice has been served and no longer your community will fear that your petitioner may violate any of the Territorial laws or be incompatible to the society in Hawaii."[11] No official reply came from Hawai'i.

What about his interest in Hawai'i's workers? In 1937 he learned that the Filipino plantation workers in Pu'unēnē, on the island of Maui, had gone on strike. He immediately requested the Philippine Department of Labor to send a representative there to investigate.[12] And when he learned that Antonio Fagel (who had once joined Manlapit on his return to Hawai'i from Los Angeles) and other strike leaders were jailed on a conspiracy charge, he immediately sent a cable: "Sometimes to be in jail is just like a rest, purifying our courage to carry on a militant spirit."[13]

Meanwhile, the labor movement in Manila and the provinces grew and flourished in the 1930s. In Manila, for instance, the cigar and cigarette workers, printers, dock workers, among others, organized strong unions. Sugar cane workers in Luzon and the Visayas were also active. A group of peasants with the *Sakdalista* organization launched an uprising in 1935; one of its leaders was a former plantation worker in Hawai'i. Manlapit did not get involved in any of these. Instead, he followed the path taken by several former Manila labor leaders: enter electoral politics or become political leaders for Quezon.[14]

In October 1941 Manlapit organized the National Workers and Employees Association, ostensibly for government workers and employees. It sponsored a lunch banquet at Moonlit Terrace restaurant with Assistant Secretary of Labor Jose Figueras (the former Inspector General in Hawai'i) as the keynote speaker. Figueras praised Quezon and his brand of socialism.[15] This and other events indicate that Manlapit had chosen to be inside the national political arena, not the labor one.

When the Japanese invaded the Philippines in 1942, Manlapit was in Manila with his second wife and a small son. (Pablo and Annie Manlapit officially divorced in December 1939.) Ponciana Calderon, his second wife, was born on 14 March 1914 to small farmers in barrio Magubay, Calbayog, Samar. She and Manlapit had met in Quiapo, Manila, where Ponciana and a friend managed a small eatery.

Pablo and his family stayed in Manila throughout the three-year Japanese occupation of the Philippines. He served in the government that was closely watched, if not controlled, by the Imperial Japanese Forces in the Philippines. On 13 April 1943 Jose B. Vargas, chair of the Executive Commission, appointed Manlapit as member of the Advisory Board on Labor.[16] The following year, President Jose P. Laurel of the Japanese-sponsored Philippine Republic, appointed Manlapit as executive officer of the Labor Recruitment Agency.

Laurel decided to set up this agency because he feared that the Japanese Imperial Forces, having failed to induce laborers to sign up, would resort to outright conscription. He believed that at least a recruitment agency could negotiate for the working conditions of laborers. Manlapit may have agreed with Laurel's thinking that this type of collaboration actually shielded the laborers from greater abuse.[17]

On 5 October 1944, Manlapit filed a general report for the period 1 April through 30 September 1944. He praised himself for doing the "most difficult and delicate task of negotiating the workers' wages and working conditions with the Imperial Army and Navy. He claimed that the labor agency recruited 166,729 laborers throughout the country at the expense of only 134,508 pesos. He had saved money for the

government because 1,374,540 pesos was the total appropriation for the period. Moreover, he claimed that the workers now had confidence that the government could protect them. Abuses in the past included maltreatment, violations of working agreements, forcible transfers of workers to work sites, and missing workers.[18]

Romeo, Manlapit and Ponciana's son, recalled that their life during the Japanese period was comfortable because the government provided transportation for his father's official work and supplied them with adequate rations of rice, sugar, oil, and clothes. Romeo also believed that his father diverted fifty percent of supplies for the neighborhood associations to support underground resistance against the Japanese.[19]

Early Post-War Period

The "Liberation Period" at the end of 1944 destroyed many lives. The Japanese soldiers pillaged and abused civilians as they left Manila for a northward retreat. The Japanese army moved President Laurel to Tokyo, while Manlapit and other government officials in subordinate positions stayed behind. To make ends meet, Ponciana became a sales agent dealing in houses, house lots, and jewelry. Manlapit worked for his brother, Guillermo, as assistant in his customs brokerage. He also served the United States Navy as a "consultant on labor matters."[20]

Soon after the Japanese forces had been defeated and the Americans returned, Pablo Manlapit turned his attention to the national political scene. He formed the "Roxas for President Club." In 1946, Manuel Roxas (Liberal Party) and Sergio Osmeña (Nacionalista Party) were running for the presidency of the new, independent Republic of the Philippines. Why didn't he support Osmeña? Manlapit said that he questioned Osmeña's patriotism and he believed that Osmeña was "anti-labor" because he opposed the nationalization of the retail trade and of labor.[21]

Other factors were probably at work. First, Manlapit presumably knew Roxas better than he did Osmeña because Roxas had also worked for the Japanese-sponsored government. (Osmeña fled with Quezon to the United States, where they organized a commonwealth government in exile.) Secondly, one of his brothers (Guillermo) was a family friend and financial backer of Roxas.[22] Trinidad Roxas (Manuel Roxas's wife) was a wedding sponsor (*ninang*) of one of Guillermo's daughters.[23]

Thus in July 1946, after winning the presidential election, Roxas invited Manlapit to banquets, including the reception and ball on 4 July 1946 in honor of the guests who attended the inauguration of the new Republic.[24]

Manlapit reaped benefits for his efforts as a respected minor political leader and campaigner. From November 1946 through 30 April 1947, he served as a technical assistant to Senator Ramon Torres, former Secretary of Labor, with a monthly salary of 500 pesos. Manlapit owed this appointment to Senate President Jose Avelino.[25]

But instead of sitting comfortably among the elite, he stuck his neck out concerning the "racket in army surplus goods."[26] Briefly, this problem arose during the presidency of Manuel Roxas over the military surplus worth 200 million pesos that the United States turned over to the Philippine government. In mid-March 1947, the Commission on Appointments deliberated on the appointment of the chairperson and two members to the Surplus Property Commission. Manlapit decided to speak up. "Charges of discrimination and grave irregularities in connection with the disposal of Philippine surplus property have been filed with the Commission on Appointments in Congress by Pablo Manlapit, former Filipino leader in Hawai'i and organizer of the first Roxas-for-President club."[27] Manlapit charged that the surplus commission sold materials to the Philippine Long Distance Company at prices lower than those offered by the Public Works department. He also claimed that tractors were sold to Marsman and Co. and to Judge Quinine at prices lower than a group of Filipino capitalists had earlier offered. He, Manlapit, was then an agent for this group. Finally, he alleged that the government lost out when the commission awarded a contract to the Material Distributors (Phil.), Inc. to sell government property at the Cebu base, which also had United States military surplus.

Journalists dug up more details.[28] The alleged surplus anomaly triggered investigations, including a visit from three FBI men sent by the United States War Department. The Philippine Congress also conducted its surplus probe. But from the outset, Executive Secretary Emilio Abello criticized Manlapit for "barking at the wrong tree" because the tractors were sold before the formation of the Surplus Property Commission. Finally, in early May, the Commission on Appointments approved the three Surplus Property commissioners because, apparently, President Roxas had approved the contended surplus sales before the surplus commission was constituted.

Manlapit declared that he sensed a "whitewash" in the surplus probe because people who knew of shady deals did not want to testify out of fear. Therefore, he intended to stop "denouncing the high priests in our government who are not above suspicion." His consolation was that he had done his duty as a "freedom-loving citizen" and that "if I failed, it is only because I was alone and too small and work[ed] to overpower single-handedly the 'goliaths' in our government."[29]

Pablo Manlapit's wife and son recalled that Roxas had initially wanted Manlapit to take care of the disposal of the surplus property. The plan was to sell the property through biddings and raise funds for the government.[30] Why Roxas changed his mind, if indeed he did, needs further research. One journalist who pursued the issue did unearth irregularities in biddings and faked invoices.[31]

Perhaps because of the surplus probe, influential people in Manila admired and feared Manlapit. It proved that he was honest and upright but also unreliable as a team player. In mid-July 1947 rumors circulated that he was being considered for the directorship of the Bureau of Labor. A sector within the Liberal Party reportedly endorsed him but he did not get the job.[32] In early February 1948 he was given a job away from Manila as land superintendent for a government settlement project in Mindanao.

Manlapit's immediate superior in Mindanao was Antonio D. Paguia, an attorney and labor leader in the 1930s. Like many prewar labor leaders, Paguia had entered politics and backed Quezon. During

the Japanese occupation he had also worked for the Bureau of Labor. President Elpidio Quirino, who became president after Roxas's sudden death in mid-April 1948, appointed Paguia as manager of the National Land Settlement Administration (NLSA).

Briefly, the NLSA was created during the Quezon presidency. The rationale was that it was more effective, economical, and advantageous to open new lands than buy landed estates for redistribution to tenants. Lack of funds and the Second World War stunted the NLSA; no reserved areas or public domain had been surveyed and subdivided. At Cotabato's Koronadal and Ala valleys, for example, there were in May 1948, 3,000 squatters and the same number of settlers (applicants) who could not be given lots because some 60,000 hectares had not been subdivided.[33]

As superintendent of the Ala Valley Project in Cotabato province, Mindanao, Manlapit ignored these problems and exuded only positive energy and enthusiasm. He believed that with adequate machinery the land settlement program could lead to abundant grain production. He was defensive when people criticized the NLSA staff's lack of credentials. "As a matter of fact, I know what I need in the job I am in. I need a million pesos with which to buy more tractors, plows, and other farm implements which [are] vital in the project in the Ala Valley."[34] He said he knew about mechanized farming from his years in Hawai'i.

He showed the same enthusiasm when Paguia sent him to Davao, Mindanao, to investigate the situation in the Compostela Valley NLSA reservation. The situation there was equally confusing. Land had not been officially subdivided but settlers and landgrabbers had moved in. Manlapit, nevertheless, declared that the land would be subdivided and awarded to those willing to work. He was dreaming and boasting. "Davao should be a paradise. If Filipino labor made Hawai'i what she is now there's no reason why we can't make Davao a paradise.[35]

Only an extraordinarily positive person like Manlapit could have uttered those words about the NLSA projects. First of all, the NLSA lacked funds to implement its minimum responsibility. Policymakers doubted that government-sponsored colonies could succeed. Specifi-

cally, Muslim officials and local residents opposed land settlement projects in Cotabato. There were clamors to abolish the NLSA altogether.[36] In June 1948 Paguia and Manlapit sent a letter to Executive Secretary Emilio Abello (Manlapit's former opponent during the surplus scandal), enclosing a petition signed by 1,334 Ala Valley settlers, to protest against the proposed abolition of the NLSA.[37] In less than two years, President Quirino abolished the NLSA.

In the midst of these problems, Manlapit sent a petition for pardon to Hawai'i Governor Ingram M. Stainback. This petition, dated 21 June 1947, was the first of the many petitions he would write after World War II. He stressed that he had been law-abiding and peaceful during his "residence" in California and in the Philippines, and that since October 1934 he had been a "useful" citizen in the Philippines. He added that "he could not be [of] any threat to the sugar interest in Hawai'i nor to the people of that territory now that he is 5,000 miles from that shore."[38]

The Hawai'i Board of Paroles and Pardons met in September to consider Manlapit's petition. It accepted a report by a "Mr. Herman" who alleged that Manlapit "was still engaged in shady labor activities." Manlapit, reportedly an "associate of the American Hawaiian Philippine Labor Union in the Philippines," was involved in charging ten pesos from laborers who were being recruited for work abroad. By a unanimous vote, the Board recommended to Governor Stainback that Manlapit's petition be denied.[39]

As far as I know, Manlapit did not receive any official letter in 1947 denying his petition. He also probably did not know that he had been accused of "bleeding" laborers who wished to work overseas. This charge against Manlapit is hard to believe. Evidence shows that in the early postwar years, Manlapit held responsible positions in the Philippine government. Moreover, as discussed earlier, he had been a vocal critic of corrupt practices by Philippine officials in the sale of military surplus materials and equipment.

In the meantime, Manlapit had also been thinking of returning to Hawai'i to visit his children. This would be his first, and last, journey to Honolulu since leaving in 1934.

Securing Pardon

1949–1952

6

Filipinos in Hawai'i, 1940s

Large-scale Filipino immigration to Hawai'i ended during the Depression. Furthermore, the Tydings-McDuffie Act, which outlined the establishment of the Philippine Commonwealth, placed the Filipinos under an official immigration quota of fifty persons each year (entry to Hawai'i and continental US). No Filipinos came to Hawai'i through the HSPA from 1935 through 1945.

How World War II changed the Filipino community in Hawai'i deserves more research. Briefly, the wartime situation helped promote ethnic pride as Filipinos contributed to the war effort. They also expressed and demanded recognition of a change in their life goals. Whereas in the 1920s and 1930s they regarded Hawai'i as their temporary home, now they began to consider Hawai'i as their permanent home. Paradoxically, those who felt patriotic towards the Philippines also commenced a campaign to become American citizens.

After the Pearl Harbor attack and the Japanese invasion of the Philippines in 1942, some Filipinos in Hawai'i regarded the Japanese as their enemy. The war, Benjamin Menor observed, created a minor disturbance in Pāhoa plantation. "The word 'Jap,' synonymous with the enemy was occasionally applied to the local Japanese."[1] On the Big Island, the district commander went on the air to appeal to Filipinos reportedly thinking of reprisals against the Japanese.[2]

Filipinos in Hawai'i worried about their loved ones back in the home country. Partly to ease these anxieties, the authorities allowed the publication of Filipino magazines, such as *Philippines at War* and *Wagayway*. An editorial reported that since December 1941, communications between the Philippines and Hawai'i had been cut off, leaving the 52,000 Filipinos in Hawai'i completely helpless. The magazines printed articles on the Filipino war effort, the national hero Jose Rizal, the speeches of Quezon and other exiled leaders in Washington, DC, as well as pictures of movie stars and the Philippine countryside. The magazines also published official policies and wartime activities in the home front.

In February 1942 the Hawai'i military governor urged Filipino workers in other islands to stay there, and not come to Honolulu. Sometime in mid-1943, Governor Stainback popularized the slogan, "Work Will Win the War," aimed at plantation workers. *Wagayway* picked up the slogan: "Filipino men now in the sugar and pineapple plantations, timekeepers, defense workers, in fact any work which we have at this time is war work—let us do it to win."[3] Filipino publications joined the statewide campaign to buy United States war bonds to help "Uncle Sam" preserve democracy for all peoples, including Filipinos.

Wartime conditions opened the door slightly for Filipinos who wished to become citizens. Prior to the war, the only way a foreign-born Filipino could become a citizen was to serve the US armed forces for three years. It was almost impossible, however, to join the army. During the first draft call in October 1940, many Filipinos who had volunteered were rejected because they were not citizens. But with the passage of the new Selective Service Act, Filipinos who had filed a declaration of intention to become a citizen could volunteer for the draft.

For many Filipinos in Hawai'i, this avenue for citizenship was too restrictive. "We who have resided long enough in Hawai'i or in the United States [should] also have the option of becoming eligible to be citizens," a writer in *Wagayway* declared.[4] Others argued that Filipinos, who were contributing to the war effort at home (working in the plantations, raising bonds, volunteering for the Red Cross, etc.), should

also be given the right and privilege to become citizens. Filipino organizations, especially the Equal Rights Committee formed in April 1943, supported the campaign for the passage of a naturalization bill. Hawai'i officials backed the campaign. Finally on 2 July 1946, two days before the inauguration of the Philippine Republic, the US Senate passed a bill which allowed Filipinos and Chinese to be eligible for naturalization. A local civic action group, the Timaraws, offered to help the prospective naturalization applicants.[5]

Wartime inspired many Filipinos to find work outside of the plantations. In the process, they confronted strong racial prejudice towards Filipinos. Joe Queja, mentioned earlier, decided to escape from the Big Island to Honolulu. In 1944 he applied for work in the US naval shipyard, Pearl Harbor, but when the shipyard staff learned that Queja came from a plantation on the Big Island, he was told to find work in a plantation on O'ahu instead. Queja later found a job as a utility man in the Coca-Cola Bottling Company.[6] On the other hand, Fausto Cardenas had a good career with the US Navy. Cardenas came to Hawai'i in 1928, worked for a year on a Kaua'i plantation and then joined the Salvation Army. In 1940 he moved to Honolulu and tried to find work in a dairy and a gas company. He recalls hearing the following statements after job interviews: "Are you a Filipino? Go back to the plantation." He was forced to accept manual work in the naval shipyard because, he recalls, people believed that that was the only work a Filipino could do.[7]

Other Filipinos were able to leave the plantations by working in the docks where they joined the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU). The planters could no longer block organized labor because federal and state laws had guaranteed unionization. In the postwar years ILWU organizers attempted to build a strong union composed of sugar and dock workers.

For Abraham Palacay, the ILWU gave Filipino workers a weapon to claim self-respect and assert ethnic pride. Palacay's father died when he was just two-years-old. In 1923, Valentina Ranjo Palacay, her two daughters, youngest son Abraham, who was eight-years-old, and a *pareha* (faked partner or husband) arrived in Hawai'i in 1923. Valentina

and the eldest daughter supported the family by wrapping rat poisons for the Puhi Grove Farm Plantation on Kaua'i. Palacay recalls the physical hardships he and many Filipinos tolerated in the plantations. He also recalls that plantation managers and bosses treated workers like dirt. For this reason in 1943 Palacay left Kōloa plantation to work as a stevedore. He became an organizer for the ILWU "... because of the Union, they [managers and bosses] recognize you as a person, as an individual, as a human being. But before, without the Union, you like one dog! Just like the Filipino. Filipino was the lowest class those days."[8]

Meantime, because many workers left the plantations after the war, the planters decided to invoke the special provision in the Tydings-McDuffie Act which allowed them to waive the quota restriction on Filipino migration to Hawai'i. Opposition to the HSPA's plan included those who argued, like Cariaga, that the new group of Filipino workers might impede the assimilation process of the Filipinos in Hawai'i.[9] Prior to Philippine independence on 4 July 1946, the HSPA managed to recruit 6,000 men and their families (which totaled 7,361). The new recruits arrived in Hawai'i on the wake of the first ILWU plantation workers' strike. To the dismay of the planters, who in the prewar period had brought over fresh recruits to be strikebreakers, the new arrivals supported the strike.

One of the ILWU organizers was Carl Damaso. As noted earlier, he was an associate of Fagel and had been blacklisted after the 1937 plantation strike. He worked as a stevedore after the war. (He would rise from the ranks to become the ILWU president in 1964.) In 1949 Hawai'i's longshore workers organized a strike that lasted for about six months. Damaso rallied Filipino workers at the docks and the plantations for support.[10] As Damaso went about building support for the dock strike, Manlapit was preparing for his journey to Hawai'i.

Hawai'i Visit

On 30 June 1949 Pablo Manlapit alighted from the airplane happy and eager to see his children again. Fifteen years had gone by since he left

Honolulu and his family in 1934. But his dream of a happy reunion vanished when immigration officers detained him for hours. Alice was at the airport eager to welcome her father but she could not go near him. The immigration authorities, Alice recalled, "pushed" her father around and treated him like a "criminal."[11] Eventually, immigration officers released Manlapit to the custody of the Philippine consul after he promised not to attend any public meetings, including mass in church, write to newspapers, or speak on the radio. This was "worse than communist rule," Manlapit recalled.[12]

What had he done to be treated like that? Apparently, some government people thought that he would do something in connection with the longshore strike. That strike began on May 1, several weeks before Manlapit's arrival. Although Manlapit publicly announced that he was not in any way connected with the strike, Hawai'i officials still suspected that his return during a strike was not coincidental.[13]

Manlapit's visit to Hawai'i lasted twenty-one days. He spent much of his time in his room at the Alexander Young Hotel in downtown Honolulu. He did not have to pay for his hotel because he was a "guest" of Alice, who had been working there for some years as a waitress.

Opened for business in 1903, the elegant six-story Alexander Young Hotel on Bishop and Alakea Streets had modern rooms with telephones and hot water. A cafe was added to the hotel in 1906. Subsequent renovations included a roof garden where patrons gathered on New Year's eve for dinner and dancing or listening to singers from the continental US. In the 1930s the Alexander Young Hotel was regarded as a bastion of Hawai'i's aristocracy. Tourists and dignitaries stayed there before hotels mushroomed in Waīkikī. Alice had been working as a waitress at the hotel dining room when her father returned to the Philippines in 1934. At first, she felt nervous about working there because she knew that it catered to a social class which viewed people like her as "dumb Kanaka" and "dumb Filipino." Thus, she believed that her family background might be a disadvantage. Eventually, she discovered that she enjoyed working there: the manager supported her and hotel

guests were interesting people. Moreover, she was earning good money, including tips, to support her two small children. Except for a brief period during World War II, when she and her second husband went to the continent, Alice worked continuously at the Young Hotel until 1960.[14]

Manlapit also met his other two children: Sophie who worked as a business woman on Moloka'i and Pablo, Jr., who was employed by the city and county of Honolulu. His other daughter, Annie, was away; she was a civilian employee for the United States Army on Okinawa. His first wife, Annie, had remarried. Manlapit counted eleven grandchildren and one great grandson. They may have gone on a picnic one day as two family photographs show Manlapit with Alice's two children and her first grandchild, and again with his three children and several grandchildren. The sun blazed; yet Manlapit wore a suit.

Because Manlapit was forbidden to attend public gatherings, groups came to visit him at the hotel. One group from the Filipino community, composed of Valentin Galan, Alfred Ocampo, Juan Regala, and E. A. Taok, came to ask him to address through the radio a gathering of Filipino strikers involved in the dock strike. They asked him to advise Filipinos to stop following labor leaders identified as communists. Manlapit agreed and wrote a draft of his speech.

Manlapit revealed his thoughts in this draft. He observed that the Hawai'i press constantly attacked the waterfront strike, and that the Filipinos were being led by communists. He urged Filipinos in Hawai'i to reject communism because "it appears that the communists are a menace to the world peace. Today our country [Philippines] is menaced by the Chinese communists who are now supporting the Hukbo Lahap [Hukbalahap; People's Army Against Japan]. This is the dissident element in the country." He also encouraged Filipinos in Hawai'i to unite for a "just cause, such as the cause of labor" for higher wages and better working conditions. He and others fought for these in 1920 and 1924. "It is unfortunate that I have to confess that the strike was a failure when I was sent to prison on a frame-up charge. So the strike collapsed. Seeds that were planted then made it possible today that organized labor

in the Territory of Hawai'i could accomplish the desired increase in salary."[15] Manlapit showed the draft to immigration officers for approval and permission, but was denied.

Another group, composed of dock strike leaders, such as Jack Hall, Reverend Yadao, and Tony Rania, also visited Manlapit. Perhaps they came "to pay their respects" because Manlapit had been a courageous leader, even considered "radical" by others in the prewar years. Manlapit, allegedly told them that he disapproved of Jack Hall and Harry Bridges. "He [Manlapit] is also alleged to have pointed out that Filipinos should enjoy leadership provided by their own kind and not 'leadership by remote control' as exemplified by Bridges who is ignorant of local conditions."[16] Hall, ILWU's regional director, and Bridges, head of the ILWU's Pacific region, were militant labor leaders. Their opponents believed them to be communists and unpatriotic.

Meanwhile, Manlapit fumed at how he was being treated like a criminal by the immigration officers. He now resumed his effort to cleanse his criminal record by securing an absolute pardon. Manlapit believed that had he been granted pardon before 1949, the immigration authorities could not have suppressed his civil rights when he arrived in Hawai'i.[17]

On 12 July 1949, Manlapit sat down in his hotel room and typed another petition for pardon to Governor Stainback. It was brief and straightforward. "I have the honor to apply for a full pardon in connection with my conviction for alleged crimes committed in the Territory of Hawai'i many years ago." He mentioned that on 11 October 1924 he was sentenced for a conspiracy in the first degree, and on 8 October 1934 he was convicted for a violation of a United States Code provision, "the sentence of which I did not serve on condition that I go back to the Philippines." Since then he "has led an exemplary life" and worked for the Philippine government. "I am now superintendent of Ala Project in the Koronadal Valley in the Island of Mindanao, Philippines, where I supervise thousands of rich agricultural lands." Finally, he was asking for

"full executive clemency so as to have my name cleared for the sake of my family and children."[18]

Manlapit mobilized his friends in Honolulu to support his petition. N. C. Dizon, an old colleague from the 1920s, now Minister of the Filipino Community Church, wrote Governor Stainback "to add my voice" in support of Manlapit's petition. The Board of Directors of the Filipino Businessmen's Association of Hawai'i also sent a petition asking Governor Stainback to grant a full and unconditional pardon to Manlapit because "the purposes of justice [had] been served and his debt to society had been paid," and he had been "leading an exemplary" life as permanent resident in the Philippines."[19] Aurelio Quitoriano, Acting Philippine Consul General, requested Walter D. Ackerman, Jr., Attorney General of Hawai'i, to respond to Manlapit's petition before he (Manlapit) returned to the Philippines.

Everett U. Afook then investigated the case for the Attorney General's office. He interviewed, among others, Judge Carrick Buck who worked with W. B. Pittman during Manlapit's trial in 1924. Judge Buck told Afook that the evidence submitted against Manlapit in 1924 was "not conclusive enough to justify a conviction," and the conviction was "in a great degree, due to the tension of feelings at the time. There was a great deal of resentment against Manlapit's influence in the Filipino strike of 1924, and it was no secret that his deportation was desirable from some sources." She supported pardon because Manlapit "has been punished enough" and his good conduct the past years should be recognized.[20]

Afook also interviewed Manlapit on the nature of his visit to Hawai'i. Manlapit told him that he himself paid the Philippine Air Lines ticket; there was no truth, Afook reported, to the rumor that employers involved in the dock strike paid his fare. "He came here with no intention of involving himself in the strike and will do nothing to aid in breaking the tie-up because he believes strongly in unions." But Manlapit reportedly wanted an opportunity to give a speech in person or on the radio on the dangers of communism. Finally, Manlapit wanted to return to the

Philippines as soon as possible. "Manlapit stated that he has no intention of ever returning to the Territory [Hawai'i] to reside permanently. He merely wants to be able to visit with his children whenever he feels the urge and, above everything else, he desires a full and free pardon in order to clear his name."[21]

Within three days after receipt of Manlapit's petition, the Attorney General recommended pardon. But Governor Stainback was torn because, he believed, granting pardon would allow Manlapit to give that radio speech against communism. This, in turn, would make "labor" wonder if there was a "deal" to "purchase" Manlapit's radio broadcast. The desire to avoid creating this impression was the true reason why Governor Stainback did not grant pardon. It seems that at the time Manlapit had no inkling of Stainback's dilemma. He came back home on 21 July 1949 empty-handed. But before leaving Hawai'i, he must have requested Harriet Bouslog, a local attorney, to inquire further on his case. Bouslog later asked the Immigration and Naturalization Service in Washington, DC how Manlapit could clear his name and remove it from the category of "being an undesirable alien and inadmissible to the United States...."[22]

Full Pardon Granted

Back in the Philippines, Manlapit resumed his job with the National Land Settlement Administration. He had been optimistic and hopeful of the settlement projects although problems and complaints were already aired out before he left to visit Hawai'i. The old problems were still there—lack of funds to carry out infrastructure programs, basic land surveys, and protests from local Muslim residents—but new ones appeared that spelled doom. A farm administrator reported to President Elpidio Quirino that the Koronadal and Ala Valleys were neglected and grossly mismanaged. He also reported that many settlers asked for the removal of Paguia as the NLSA manager.[23] In December 1950 President Quirino suspended Paguia for alleged "misuse of funds, incompetence, favoritism, and using his office to advance his own interest."[24]

President Quirino demolished the NLSA by creating another land settlement and development corporation, which created more problems.[25] Meantime in early 1951 Manlapit and 800 other employees lost their jobs. They filed a claim to the Court of Industrial Relations for gratuities and lay-off pays against the new land settlement project.

No one has charged, as far as we know, that Manlapit enriched himself while working as a land settlement superintendent. His wife recalls that he did not take advantage of his position to acquire a piece of land in Mindanao. He told her and their son that it would be unethical to apply for a piece of land from a public domain under his supervision and which was reserved for the landless.[26] A nephew also recalls that Manlapit "did not make money" as a land supervisor in Mindanao: "He could have, as government officials do."[27]

The Cold War hysteria influenced Manlapit. He believed that communist leaders had been responsible for the Huk peasant rebellion in 1948, and in the successful organizing of the ILWU. That in the 1920s his opponents had called him a radical, communist, and Bolshevik did not stop Manlapit from lumping activists and militants into one mold. The Philippine government copied the United States and organized its own committee to investigate un-Filipino activities. Pablo Manlapit, as president of his newly-formed National Civic and Patriotic League, one of the ephemeral organizations he headed, urged President Quirino to outlaw communism in the Philippines. "The present Korean War between the communist-inspired North Koreans and the Republic of South Korea supported by the United Nations," he wrote, "immediately warrants, for the future security of our Republic, the outlawing of communism in the Philippines."[28]

Manlapit distanced himself from the Congress of Labor Organizations, a militant labor federation led by both communists and non-communists alike. Amado Hernandez, the federation's president, assailed the government's red-baiting tactics. He took a different view on the Korean situation. He opposed Philippine involvement in the Korean War on the side of the United States, but if the Philippine government

wanted to get involved, then he suggested that it send a "super-quality brigade" composed of cabinet members and legislators and other "patriotic Filipinos." This would accomplish, Hernandez noted, three things: help the United States army in Korea, end graft and corruption in the Philippine government, and solve the peace and order situation in the Philippines.[29]

Meantime, the ascension of a new Hawai'i governor in 1951 spurred Manlapit to continue his petition for pardon. On 9 December 1951 Manlapit petitioned Governor Oren Long "for a full pardon for I believe that the punishment that I suffered has met the end of justice." Manlapit hoped that Governor Long would include him in the "Christmas pardon." Friends and supporters sent letters of support to Governor Long.

In his letter, Philippine Senator Emilio T. Tirona reminisced that he first met Manlapit in 1919 in Honolulu when he was a member of the Philippine Independence Mission to the United States. "He was looked upon by our people in Hawai'i as their leader." Tirona renewed his acquaintance with Manlapit when the latter returned to the Philippines in 1934. "From the time of his arrival in the Philippines up to the present he has been a model citizen but the brand of ex-convict is still a burden to his life and a handicap to his future."[30]

Manlapit did not get the pardon he wished for that Christmas but the new year brought new hopes. In January, Governor Long asked for all materials on the Manlapit case. Attorney General Ackerman gave him his old report submitted in 1949, and once again recommended that the Governor grant pardon to Manlapit.

In February, Modesto Farolan, former Philippine consul general of Hawai'i, returned to Manila and told Manlapit that Governor Long needed an "assurance" on a labor matter in Hawai'i. Manlapit wrote Long: "I wish to assure Your Excellency, that I am not interested to go to Hawai'i for the purpose of participating in any of the two contesting labor organizations."[31]

In March 1952 Alice sent a letter to Governor Long. "My mother and I feel that after twenty-seven long lonesome years, my father, if guilty, must have suffered enough to now have earned his freedom." In April Alice thanked Governor Long for his response and assured him that her father would not come back to live in Hawai'i, but just visit his children and grandchildren and "to be treated like a human being and not a criminal as he was treated the last time he came to visit us."[32] In June, Manlapit thanked Governor Long for informing him that his petition was under consideration and that Long regarded it "meritorious." He reassured the governor again that he did not "intend to have a permanent residence in Hawai'i as I know that I am only entitled to be in Hawai'i as a temporary visitor and not as a permanent resident."[33]

Finally, on 20 June 1952 Governor Long granted Pablo Manlapit a full and free pardon. Manlapit received the document around 7 July 1952, the day a jubilant Manlapit sent Governor Long a thank-you note for an act which "ended my unhappy 28 years of mental suffering."[34] An "aging labor leader," observed one journalist, "cried like a child" upon receiving the pardon from Hawai'i. Manlapit thanked God, "from whose fount the waters of justice and mercy everlastingly flows." Manlapit told the same journalist that in Hawai'i he was at the mercy of powerful sugar planters who were determined to destroy him, "this puny man who has come to bring trouble where no man, much less a Filipino, had attempted doing before." Referring to the planters sending him to California as a condition for parole, Manlapit said, "I was booted out of the island like a common criminal."[35]

Someone who understood Manlapit's troubles wrote Governor Long: "Permit a humble Filipino citizen to thank His Excellency, the Governor of Hawai'i, for giving the long-awaited 'justice' by granting pardon to a Filipino citizen, Mr. Pablo Manlapit."[36]

Another victory for Pablo Manlapit landed like a Christmas gift this time. As mentioned, Manlapit and 800 employees of the dissolved National Land Settlement Administration filed a claim for gratuities and lay-off pays in early 1951. The Court of Industrial Relations decided in

favor of Manlapit and the group but the defending party raised the case to the Supreme Court. In December 1952 the Supreme Court upheld the previous ruling in favor of Manlapit and his colleagues. The case involved a total of 300,000 pesos.[37]

The year 1952 was good for Manlapit. And it remained unmarred because, fortunately, he did not visit Hawai'i that year. Unknown to Manlapit, intelligence agents in Honolulu and Washington, DC, were busy digging up his dossier. In January 1952, the FBI sent this misinformation to Honolulu: "The Immigration and Naturalization Service on November 5, 1951, advised that according to the latest information available to their agency, Manlapit was in the Philippine Republic as a communist functionary."[38] Obviously, the secret agents had not done their research. Otherwise they would have known that Manlapit worked for the Philippine government as a resettlement administrator and had publicly denounced communism in 1949. The Cold War hysteria also enveloped Hawai'i; seven suspected communists were tried in Honolulu. Because prosecutors heard "rumors" that Manlapit could return to Hawai'i as a defense witness, agents in Honolulu solicited damning but useful information. "The Bureau [FBI] and the Los Angeles office are requested to furnish to Honolulu any information in file which may be used to discredit MANLAPIT should he appear as a defense witness. This should be handled expeditiously as the trial is now under way."[39]

Manlapit was turning sixty-two in January 1953. He had several things on his mind for the coming year but visiting Hawai'i was not one of them.

Dusk

1953–1969

7

In Politics

Manlapit once described himself as a "puny man" fighting against the sugar planters and as a lone man fighting against the "goliaths" or politicians who got rich in the government surplus racket. In the surplus scandal of 1947, Manlapit challenged the political supporters of President Roxas. In 1953 through his organization, United Labor Political Action Council (ULPAC), Manlapit challenged President Quirino himself.[1]

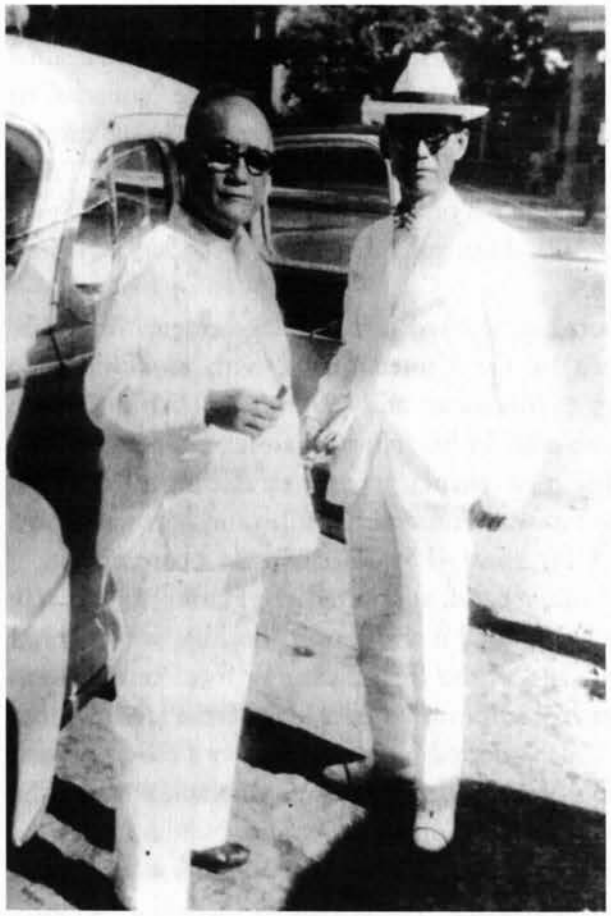
The Hardie Report had sparked off the disagreement. Robert S. Hardie had been hired by the United States, with the Philippine government's blessings, to investigate and recommend solutions to the Philippine agrarian problems. In his report, Hardie proposed, among other things, the abolition of tenancy and the establishment of farms owned and operated by farmers. President Quirino and other conservative politicians rejected the report; they called Hardie a communist.

Manlapit, on the other hand, supported the Hardie Report. He announced that he had examined it and found "nothing which could justify the spirited criticism of the report coming from certain local political quarters."[2] Senator Quintin Paredes, a Liberal Party member like President Quirino, also rejected his political party's official assessment of the report and of Hardie. Interestingly, Manlapit at that time was a technical assistant at the law office of Senator Paredes.[3]

Soon after the Liberal Party had shelved the agrarian reform issue, Manlapit and his group organized a new political party, the Labor Party.

Formed in September 1953, its founders included Manlapit and other colleagues from the ULPAC, such as Cipriano Cid, Vicente Arniego, and Vicente A. Rafael. One member of its national directorate was Antonio A. Fagel, representing Davao. Fagel, as mentioned earlier, had met Manlapit in Los Angeles and accompanied Manlapit back to Hawai'i in 1932.[4]

The Labor Party launched Manlapit as its congressional candidate for the first district of Manila. A Manlapit campaign brochure, which included his photo and a statement of purpose, was issued by Arniego,



Forced to return to the Philippines, Manlapit (left) continued to fight for the working man, first, as a politician, and then later, as a labor organizer.

the party secretary. The phrasing and words used in the brochure, however, suggest that Manlapit had written it. "Why should we vote for Pablo Manlapit?" The answer cited Manlapit's courage and commitment to workers beginning many years ago in Hawai'i, a "puny man who refused to be bought and [was] booted out of the island [Hawai'i] and suffered incarceration by false charges of conspiracy in the first degree...." Like a "missionary," the brochure said, Manlapit chose to forsake an easy and peaceful life "to take up the cudgels for the common man...."[5] Now, in the 1953 Philippine election he was still a fighter for the common man, who was competing against other candidates "supported by highly financed and mechanized political party in the Philippines."

Recalling that election, Ponciana, Manlapit's wife, said she helped in the campaigns, riding on vehicles with loudspeakers urging people to vote for Manlapit. But the "puny man" was not elected. He lost, according to Ponciana, because other labor leaders abandoned him, supporting instead a candidate of a mainstream party who had money: "We lost because that candidate killed a cow but we only killed a pig for the voters."[6] Romeo, Manlapit's son, recalled that his father lost because of lack of money and a party machine to supply poll watchers.[7]

Return to Organized Labor

That was the first and last venture of Manlapit into electoral politics. Now he turned his attention to a labor organization called the Philippine Labor Unity Movement (PLUM), organized by Vicente Rafael in 1953 after the passage of the Industrial Peace Act that year. This Act guaranteed workers' unionization and provided for collective bargaining instead of compulsory arbitration. Rafael claimed later that as a technical adviser in the President's office, he had pushed for the passage of this Act.[8]

Why Manlapit chose to join PLUM is unclear. He could have joined instead the Philippine Association of Free Labor Unions (PAFLU) headed by Cipriano Cid. Manlapit knew both Cid and Rafael, having worked in other organizations with them. Cid's background may have

deterred Manlapit. Cid had been president of the Congress of Labor Organizations, which the government had banned in 1951. Many of its officers, but not Cid, were jailed. Others left Manila and joined the ongoing rebellion against the Philippine government. The PAFLU became a predominant general union until the middle of the 1970s.[9]

As technical adviser for PLUM, Manlapit participated in negotiations between workers and management. These included the strike at the National Development Company; collective bargaining at the National Shipyards and Steel Corporation; and the petition by more than 100 workers of Sta. Cecilia Sawmills, Inc. in Tagkawayan, province of Quezon, for overtime work payment. These labor disputes received attention from the press.[10] Manlapit later told the press that 100 workers should receive 349,787 pesos as overtime pay from the Sta. Cecilia Sawmills, Inc.[11]

Manlapit's activities in PLUM need further research, assuming there are available sources. Unfortunately, because he was not considered a regular staff member, Manlapit's name is not among PLUM's official personnel files.[12]

Manlapit, according to his son, developed strong ties with many people in the town of Tagkawayan. He gave time, energy, and money from his own pocket to support the workers at Sta. Cecilia Sawmills. He met Timoteo Valencia, Jr., the local leader who led the workers against the Morato family, the owners of the sawmills. Manlapit later helped Valencia when he ran for mayor of Tagkawayan.[13]

As he became more involved with labor issues, Manlapit's financial situation gradually worsened because he used his personal money to help out strikers and their families. In 1958 Manlapit sold the family home in Sta. Cruz, Manila, to support Valencia's election campaign. Afterwards, the family had to change their residences several times for cheaper rents.[14] Although poor financially, he was proud. A nephew recalled later that Manlapit usually wore white pants and the Filipino shirt, *barong Tagalog*. He also preferred taking a taxi, so this nephew sometimes gave him money for the fare.[15]

Romeo, then a university student, had to quit his studies to help out. "My mother told me that now we had many monthly obligations, such as house rental plus the consumption of heat, light and water and the economic means of ups and downs prompted me to work early at the laborer level.[16] At age twenty, Romeo worked as a timekeeper for the Department of Public Works and Highways. (His father, too, worked as a timekeeper in Hawai'i at about the same age.) From a casual, daily laborer earning five pesos daily, Romeo found another job, through the intervention of a senator, as a surveyor in the Bureau of Coast and Geodetic Survey. He would work for this bureau for thirty years. He would also find time to continue his studies at night and get a bachelor's degree in commerce from Trinity College in Quezon City.

Other better-off relatives helped the Manlapit family, especially when Pablo became ill with throat cancer. But, Romeo claimed, no labor leaders or workers came to visit his sick father. He remembered that his father "would look at me and my mother sitting on his bed at a charity hospital, then sigh."[17] The sigh, Romeo interpreted, was his father's regret that he had nothing to bequeath to his family. On 15 April 1969, aged seventy-eight, Pablo Manlapit passed away.

Ponciana Manlapit, following her husband's instructions, announced his death in the newspapers. Shortly afterwards, President Ferdinand Marcos invited her to Malacañang Palace and presented her with a certificate honoring Pablo Manlapit. PLUM, the labor federation, also presented her with a medal recognizing Manlapit's work for labor.[18]

Alice Manlapit did not hear much from her father after he was pardoned in 1952. She continued to work at the Young hotel but lost her job in 1960 because a young manager "didn't like old ladies; he laid the old ladies off and I was one of them...."[19] She later found work as a bartender in Honolulu and then as a waitress, hostess, and cashier at Bentley's cafe. She also kept other part-time jobs because she needed the money to support herself and her mother. Always feeling sorry for her mother, Alice spent her spare time and extra money on her. "She worked very hard to keep us going. We were small, all the troubles my father had. She worked in the laundry and tried to pick up things."[20]

The period 1963 to 1973 brought much sorrow to Alice. Her daughter died on 30 November 1963; her twenty-year-old grandson, a budding artist, was killed in Vietnam in 1968. The following year she received news of her father's death in the Philippines. In 1973 her mother died at the age of eighty.

EPILOGUE

Remembrance and Summing Up

For a long time Alice kept an image of a distant father who had become rich, happy, and comfortable in the Philippines. But she realized, after reading her stepbrother's letter from the Philippines, that her father had not changed much after leaving Hawai'i. "My father helped everybody. We had to sleep on the floor when the people from the plantation had no jobs and had no place to stay. They came to our house. We had a big house. Some of them slept on the floor, we slept on the floor right along with them.... So I can understand the letter where [it said] he helped the Filipinos there but we didn't know he was helping the Filipinos there. I just now understand why he didn't write."[1]

When Romeo Manlapit, age twenty, quit his university studies in 1957 to help support his parents, his father was already 66-years-old, although showed no signs of slowing down. Like his father who worked as a janitor and had taught himself law, Romeo persevered. He worked and studied part-time until he finished a degree in commerce. Pablo Manlapit's life as a father had been harsh. "Pablo Manlapit's past," wrote Romeo, "is sad and bitter for the family that he left behind. Both in Hawai'i and in the Philippines, the children he left behind had broken wings as they tried to stand on their own and to overcome hardships."[2]

Nevertheless, the son admires his father. "My mother and I have no regrets about the past. The foundation that Pablo built for his family in Hawai'i and the Philippines shows his character based on his principles and feelings as a Filipino. It is wrong for people to think only of their own

personal interests and material comforts. It is true that he tried hard but he lacked adequate resources to improve his life. His past should be a lesson to those he left behind. I consider him a good man. Possibly I have achieved half of his intelligence on how to live truly."[3]

Hawai'i, Romeo adds, shaped his father's attitude and sincere regard for the poor and downtrodden. His attitude never changed once he returned to the Philippines. Other leaders helped only those who could afford to pay but Manlapit was different. "He did not feel close to those labor leaders who allowed themselves to be used by the rich people."[4]

In 1990 there were approximately 168,700 Filipinos in Hawai'i representing fifteen percent of the state population. The Filipino community expanded after 1965 when immigration laws allowed family reunions to take place. As a result, there are second and third generation "American-Filipinos" who grew up in the plantations. And there are recent "Filipino-Americans" who have migrated to Hawai'i and still maintain strong links with their homeland.[5] Many have not heard of Pablo Manlapit.

On 27 April 1991 Alice and other members of the Manlapit family attended a benefit banquet sponsored by friends and alumni of Operation Manong, University of Hawai'i-Mānoa. The banquet raised funds towards a scholarship (named after Justice Benjamin Menor) for students of Filipino ancestry at the University of Hawai'i. A part of the evening's program honored the memory of Pablo Manlapit. A young Hawai'i-born Filipino, Ferdenan Damo, who grew up in Kunia plantation, read Manlapit's farewell statement when he left Honolulu in 1927 to serve out his parole in California. The Manlapit family also received a portrait of Pablo Manlapit, drawn by Danilo Campos, a local artist. After the banquet, Alice took the portrait home. She hung it on the middle wall in her apartment and said: "See Papa, it took thirty years but they remembered you."[6]

Scholars on Hawai'i's labor history have written and assessed Pablo Manlapit's role in the 1924 strike. John E. Reinecke observes that from

a "trade union viewpoint," the 1924 strike was "hopeless" and "irresponsible" because Manlapit, Wright and other leaders launched the strike "almost without much preparation." From a trade union viewpoint, Reinecke contends, a strike "should be called only if there is a reasonable chance of success or if the workers' backs are to the wall."[7]

Edward D. Beechert agrees with Reinecke that if one uses the "traditional, American Federation of Labor pattern for a labor action" as a gauge, then the 1924 strike was a failure. But, Beechert argues, if one uses another gauge, such as looking at the strike's impact on the industry, then the conclusion is different. Although the strike had failed to attain its goals of two-dollar daily minimum wage and eight-hours work day, the HSPA admitted huge "losses" as one of the strike's results. In addition, the HSPA later reformed the labor-management relations in the industry. Beechert also cites Manlapit's legacy to Hawai'i's organized



The author raises Manlapit's portrait in front of an audience who gathered to honor his memory and legacy. Alice Manlapit Savard, his daughter (arm in a sling), accepts the honor and remembers a father and a great man who stood for justice. Others in the photo are members of Alice's family: Holly Bachini, her granddaughter, David, her son, and Vanny Ainoa, her daughter-in-law.

labor: Manlapit had been a mentor to Antonio Fagel who led the 1937 strike; Carl Damaso, the future president of the ILWU, was one of Fagel's aides.[8]

Dean T. Alegado offers another perspective. He argues that Manlapit and other officers of the Filipino Labor Union played new and important roles. During Manlapit's times, Filipino workers, who were mostly young single males, lived in self-contained plantations with no families and supporting institutions. The closed plantation economy encouraged divisions along ethnic and regional lines among the workers. Manlapit and his associates took that first leap over the plantation fence to form a territorial-wide organization and foment a territorial-wide political action.[9]

There are many ways to remember Pablo Manlapit and to find meaning in his life. Interpretations are diverse depending on where the interpreter sits or on what events in Manlapit's life the interpreter decides to concentrate. Manlapit's children remember with pride their father's activities to help others; they also recall the hardships their families suffered as a result of their father's labor activities. Some labor scholars focus on the 1924 strike, an important and tragic episode in Hawai'i's labor history. They analyze what Manlapit did and did not do, his failures and achievements in that particular strike.

Looking at Manlapit's entire life story, from his life in Hawai'i to California and the Philippines, I discern at least three qualities in the man. I present a discussion of these qualities based on the sources I have consulted for this study.

First, Pablo Manlapit had courage to speak up and lead organized resistance against established power holders. In pre-World War II Hawai'i, the sugar planters crushed any attempts by workers to demand higher wages and better working conditions. After the 1909 and 1920 big strikes, for example, the authorities arrested and jailed Japanese labor leaders. But instead of being cowed, Manlapit and his associates launched another big strike in 1924. He took the risk of losing both his career and his freedom for a cause.

Second, Manlapit had integrity. In those days, the HSPA officials discredited labor leaders by depicting them as crooks, drunks, and greedy individuals. In 1920 the HSPA charged that Manlapit solicited money from them in exchange for calling off the Filipino strike. The HSPA wanted Manlapit's license as an attorney cancelled on the basis of this charge but the court cleared Manlapit. The case in 1934, in which Manlapit was accused and convicted of overcharging a Filipino veteran, could be a blemish on his integrity. But on the whole, did Manlapit enrich himself as a labor leader in Hawai'i? The answer is clearly in the negative. For his labors, Manlapit was jailed, disbarred, and deported. His wife struggled to support their children left in Hawai'i.

His integrity remained intact in the Philippines. Although beholden to the national elite, Manlapit attacked corruption by high officials in the new republic. Likewise as a government official in a land resettlement project, he did not use his position to acquire property for his family.

Finally, Manlapit had optimism; he had faith in democracy and the principles of equality and justice for all. Many other Filipinos shared Manlapit's views when they held posters of Abraham Lincoln and waved the American flag during their rallies and parades. A self-taught lawyer, Manlapit believed that the law would protect individuals from powerful men. And he had friends, some of them attorneys, who shared his confidence in the democratic legal process. Manlapit started his campaign to clear his name immediately after entering O'ahu Prisons in 1925. Finally, Hawai'i Governor Long admitted the error of his predecessors by granting full pardon to Manlapit in 1952.

Summing up, Pablo Manlapit's life story could be an inspiration, a lesson, or a warning for those contemplating any political action. How far does one go? How to fight a goliath? The sacrifice required may be greater in an uneven match but the person who seems weaker could still emerge as the victor.

APPENDIX

Pablo Manlapit's Farewell Statement

13 August 1927

I am leaving Hawai'i without malice or hatred toward any individual on account of the unjust treatment I have received. During the time that I have been in prison I have had an ample opportunity to study and to think over the situation. I am convinced that even those who were most determined in their persecution of me are themselves the victim of a system that is terribly wrong. I shall work hard to prove that I am innocent of any crime, and to show to the people of the United States the dangerous folly of allowing the institutions of government to come under the control of ruthless, soulless industrial machines, as has happened in Hawai'i.

My offense was not against any law of morality or against any political statute, but against a system of industrial exploitation. I was railroaded to prison because I tried to secure justice and a square deal for my oppressed countrymen who are lured to the plantations to work for a dollar a day. I was kept in prison far beyond my minimum sentence because I refused to curry favor or seek concessions from those who held the power. I would not sacrifice my self-respect even for the sake of liberty.

I wanted to stay in Hawai'i, where I am confident that there is still work for me to do, but my friends and advisers, from the very first, urged me to go to the mainland, where they assured me that I would be free from persecution of my enemies, and in a position to do a great service to Hawai'i. However, I wanted to go of my own free will, not under compulsion.

The governor of the Territory, acting under the instructions of the little group of sugar planters who still hate and fear me, ordered me to leave Hawai'i as the price of granting me my freedom. I am convinced that the governor will someday realize his mistake.

I hold it to be a shameful thing that Hawai'i should bow to the will of a few men in private life who are not responsible to the citizens for what they do. But that is the case here, and I shall try to make this plain to the people on the mainland.

I want to take this opportunity to thank the many friends who have interested themselves in my case and who have carried the burden of the fight for my parole. For the fair treatment of my case before the public I wish to thank the *Hawaii Hochi*, *The Honolulu Advertiser*, the *Hawaii Sunday News*, the *New Freedom* and the *Weekly Times*.

I have no desire to pose as a martyr, or to make the people of Hawai'i suffer from shame on account of the injustice of a few men. Now that everything is settled, I am glad I am going to the States, for I believe I can do more good there than if I remained here under the harsh restrictions of the sugar planters' parole regulations.

I have learned many things from my association with other men confined in Oahu prison, some of whom had also incurred the displeasure of the sugar interests. Documents of a startling nature came into my possession, and I have entrusted them to a friend in Hawai'i who will use them if and when the occasion demands.

I do not believe the people of Hawai'i will forget me. I think their memory will be refreshed from time to time by reports from the mainland.

And I assure my countrymen and friends that I will be back again as soon as the terms of my parole permit.

Source: *Honolulu Advertiser*, 14 August 1927, pp. 1, 8.

Notes

Introduction

1. See Ronald Takaki, *Pau Hana; Plantation Life and Labor in Hawaii, 1835-1920* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1983); Edward D. Beechert, *Working in Hawaii: A Labor History* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1985).
2. John E. Reinecke, *The Filipino Piecemeal Sugar Strike of 1924-1925* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996).

Chapter 1
Dawn

1. Juliana Manlapit (Pablo's niece/eldest child of Eulogio, Pablo's brother), interviews by author, Quezon City, Philippines, 21 August 1991 and 21 December 1993; Romeo Manlapit (Pablo's son), interview by author, Quezon City, Philippines, 27 January 1994. Both claim that the older Manlapits originally came from Bataan province.
2. Teodoro M. Kalaw, *Aide-de-Camp to Freedom* (Manila: Teodoro M. Kalaw Society, 1965), 1. Kalaw's family belonged to the professional class.
3. Glenn Anthony May, *Battle for Batangas* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991). Using a variety of sources, May identifies the leading families of Lipa: Calao, Catigbac, Africa, Solis and Roxas. Manlapit is not mentioned at all in this study.
4. Pablo Manlapit, unpublished autobiography, 1959, Pacific Collection, Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.
5. Juliana Manlapit, interview, 21 August 1991.
6. Daniel F. Doeppers, *Social Change in a Late Colonial Metropolis, Manila 1900-1941* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1984), 138.
7. Juliana Manlapit, interview, 21 August 1991.

8. Manlapit, *Autobiography.*
9. Delfin Manlapit Dimagiba, interview by author, tape recording, Quezon City, Philippines, 7 August 1991. See *Rosenstock's Manila Directory* for 1915, 1917, and 1922. Miguel Cornejo's *Commonwealth Directory of the Philippines, 1939-1940* lists Guillermo as the manager of Philippine Brokerage.
10. For a detailed discussion on this topic, see Melinda Tria Kerkvliet, *Manila Workers' Unions, 1900-1950* (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1992), chap. 2.
11. Alice Manlapit Savard, interview by author, Honolulu, Hawai'i, 23 July 1990; and Delfin Manlapit Dimagiba, interview.
12. Takaki, 20.
13. For detailed accounts, see Gavan Daws, *Shoal of Time: A History of the Hawaiian Islands* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1968) and Lawrence H. Fuchs, *Hawaii Pono: A Social History* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1961).
14. Daws, 313. Daws also traces the missionary backgrounds of the sugar barons.
15. Roland Kotani, *The Japanese in Hawaii: A Century of Struggle* (Honolulu: Hawaii Hochi, 1985), chap. 2.
16. Ruben Alcantara, "1906: The First Sakada," in *The Filipinos in Hawaii... The First 75 Years* (Honolulu: Hawai'i Filipino News Specialty Publications, 1981), 28.
17. Kotani, chap. 3 on the strike and chap. 4 on Makino.
18. *Taliba*, 27 March 1913, 2. Manlapit himself did not read this issue but he may have heard or read other ads about Hawai'i containing these details.
19. Thomas G. Thrum, *Hawaiian Almanac & Annual*, 1909 ed., 27.
20. *The Philippine Republic,* March 1924, 12.
21. Everett U. Afoot, Report for the Attorney General, 19 July 1949, 1. File 575, Records of Quasi-Judicial Executive Actions, Hawai'i State Archives.
22. Dolores Quinto, "Life Story of a Filipino Immigrant," *Social Process in Hawai'i*, 4 (1938):79.
23. *Ibid.*
24. Hawai'i (Territory) Legislature, "Report of the Committee in Agriculture, Forestry, Promotion and Immigration in response to a Resolution requiring Inquiry into the Question of Filipino Immigration," 1911.
25. *Ibid.*, 4.
26. *Ibid.*
27. *Ibid.*, 19.

28. Joaquin Balmori, "Report of the Investigation made by Joaquin Balmori, Delegate from Pangasinan about Conditions under which Filipino Laborers are working in Sugar Plantations in the Territory of Hawaii" (Manila: 1912).

Chapter 2
Organizing in Hawai'i

1. Manlapit, *Autobiography.*
2. H. E. Kelsey to Gov. Wallace R. Farrington, 16 November 1925. File 146, Records of Quasi-Judicial Executive Actions, Hawai'i State Archives.
3. Manlapit, *Autobiography.*
4. Ruben Alcantara, "The 1920 Hawaii Plantation Strike: Ethnicity and Class in Hawaii Labor Organizing" in *Festschrift in Honor of Dr. Marcelino Foronda, Jr.*, ed. Emerita S. Quito (Manila: De La Salle University Press, 1987), 185. He cites as his source the microfilmed records of the Hawaiian Agricultural Company, Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.
5. Kelsey to Farrington.
6. Alice Manlapit Savard, interview by author, Honolulu, Hawai'i, 4 May 1991.
7. Manlapit stayed at Kūka'iau plantation for three years, according to the *Philippine Republic*, March 1924, 12.
8. Alcantara, "1920 Hawaii Plantation Strike," 185.
9. Reinecke, *Filipino Piecemeal Sugar Strike*, 5.
10. Beechert, 158.
11. *Revised Laws of Hawai'i, 1915*, 894-898.
12. Manlapit, *Autobiography*, 2.
13. Alcantara, "1920 Hawaii Plantation Strike," 202; Prudencio A. Remigio, *Report of the Filipino Commissioner in Hawaii, 1919.* trans. Edgar C. Knowlton (Honolulu: Filipino Historical Society of Hawai'i, 1982), 18. The latter cites the figure of over 11,000 Filipino workers "on the estates and centrals."
14. "Pagkakaisa ng Bayan," Tagalog section of *Consolidacion Nacional*, 4 April 1913, 8. Succeeding issues published the same pictures while advertising for recruiting agents.
15. Bruno Lasker, *Filipino Immigration to Continental United States and to Hawaii* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931; reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1969), chap. 14.
16. John A. Larkin, *Sugar and the Origins of Modern Philippine Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

17. Ruben R. Alcantara, *Sakada: Filipino Adaptation in Hawaii* (Washington, DC: University Press of America, 1981), 8.
18. Remigio, 12.
19. Leonard Y. Andaya, "From American-Filipino to Filipino-American," *Social Process in Hawai'i,* 37 (1996):101.
20. Remigio, 19.
21. *Ibid.*, 14-16, 20.
22. Ventura Luis to Manuel Quezon, 1 April 1922, "Quezonian Papers on Filipinos in Hawai'i," Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.
23. Remigio, 17.
24. *Ibid.*, 24.
25. Alcantara, "1920 Hawaii Plantation Strike," 184. Dizon claimed that the Filipino National Association had 2,000 members.
26. In October 1919, Sheldon reportedly warned that the Japanese would be committing a serious mistake if they did not cooperate with laborers from other nationalities. Cited in a footnote by John E. Reinecke, *Feigned Necessity: Hawaii's Attempt to Obtain Chinese Contract Labor, 1921-23* (San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, 1979), 101.
27. Manlapit's views as published in the *Advertiser* are mentioned in Alcantara, "1920 Hawaii Plantation Strike," 186-187.
28. *Ibid.*, 188.
29. Fuchs, 214.
30. Masayo Umezawa Duus, *The Japanese Conspiracy: The Oahu Sugar Strike of 1920* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), chap. 1.
31. Remigio, 25.
32. Kotani, 44.
33. Takaki, chap. 5.
34. Fuchs, 190.
35. Alcantara's account, "1920 Hawaii Plantation Strike," is an excellent account showing the intricate relations among the participants, especially between the "followers" and their leaders. Takaki's account tends to gloss over most of the inner conflicts as he extols the 1920 strike as a class revolt or what he calls beyond "blood unionism."
36. Manlapit and his "small band of leaders" were impatient and hasty, according to Beechert, 201.

37. "Conference held on Saturday, February 7, 1920 with Pablo Manlapit, President of Filipino Labor Federation," Miscellaneous File, Strike Data, 1920, "McCarthy Papers," Hawai'i State Archives. The correct name of the organization is Filipino Labor Union.
38. *Ibid.*, 2.
39. *Ibid.*
40. *Ibid.*, 6.
41. *Ibid.*, 6-7.
42. *Ibid.*, 8.
43. *Ibid.*, 11.
44. Dizon recalled later: "The plantation people might not like me here, but I think this is because they feel that I am not on their side because of my sympathy for the laboring man. This is also one reason that led me to resign from the Methodist mission here, for whom I worked for ten years." N. C. Dizon to Manuel L. Quezon, 3 June 1929, "Quezonian Papers," Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.
45. Hawai'i First Circuit Court, Docket #10.
46. R. Mead, Director, Bureau of Labor and Statistics, to the Manager, Laupāhoehoe Sugar Co., Pāpa'aloa, Hawai'i, 13 February 1920, Folder 5/3, Laupāhoehoe Sugar Company, HSPA Plantation Archives, Special Collections, Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.
47. See posters in Duus, after 66.
48. Takaki, 172.
49. Duus, 84-85. Duus cites a report Manlapit had sent to the Philippine Bureau of Labor. This documentation is important in showing Manlapit's frame of mind at that time.
50. Reinecke, *Feigned Necessity,* 90.
51. J. K. Butler to All Plantation Workers, 12 November 1921, Folder 22/14, Puna Sugar Co., HSPA Plantation Archives, Special Collections, Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.

Chapter 3
From Organizer to Prisoner

1. Alice Manlapit Savard, interviews by author, Honolulu, Hawai'i.
2. Manlapit Savard, interview, 26 October 1991.
3. Manlapit Savard, interview, 1 February 1992.

4. Manlapit Savard, interviews, 23 July 1990, 15 August 1990, and 25 October 1990.
5. Manlapit to Manuel L. Quezon, 4 January 1922. Resolution signed by Manlapit and attested by Domingo E. Los Baños, 28 May 1922. Both documents are among the "Quezonian Papers," Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.
6. Reinecke, 697.
7. Beechert, 213.
8. Unless otherwise stated, the source used is Butler's letter to Gov. Farrington on 5 May 1924 which documents the activities of Wright and Manlapit in 1923, "Farrington Papers," Hawai'i State Archives.
9. Assistant Manager, Honoka'a Sugar Co. and Pacific Sugar Mill, Honolulu, Hawai'i to F. A. Schaefer & Co., Ltd., 23 April 1923, Folder 8/12, Honoka'a Sugar Company, HSPA Plantation Archives, Special Collections, Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.
10. Lamberto Aqui, interview, 18 August 1978. The 1924 Filipino Strike on Kauai, vol. 1, transcript, Ethnic Studies Oral History Project, Ethnic Studies Program, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, June 1979, 6.
11. The demands are listed in Manlapit, *Filipinos Fight for Justice; Case of the Filipino Laborers in the Big Strike of 1924, Territory of Hawaii* (Honolulu: Kumalae Publishing Co., 1933), 35.
12. The "Quezonian Papers" contain these letters asking for a Filipino resident commissioner in Hawai'i: M. A. Fonseca to Manuel Quezon and Sergio Osmeña, 29 May 1922; Pablo Manlapit to Manuel L. Quezon, President, Philippine Senate, 25 October 1922; and Liga Filipina of Hawai'i to Manuel L. Quezon, Pangulo ng Senado, 10 February 1923. Liga Filipina was also the name of a nationalistic organization formed by Jose Rizal in 1892.
13. Cayetano Ligot, Resident Labor Commissioner, to Leonard Wood, Governor General of the Philippine Islands, 10 September 1923, "Quezonian Papers," Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.
14. *Ibid.*, 12.
15. Manlapit, Chairman, High Wages Movement, to Hermenegildo Cruz, Acting Director, Bureau of Labor, Manila, Philippine Islands, 11 October 1923. File 2736-2-3, Record Group 165, National Archives, Washington, DC.
16. Manlapit, *Filipinos Fight for Justice*, 69.
17. R. A. Cooke, Vice President and Manager, C. Brewer and Co., to James Campsie, Manager, Hawaiian Agricultural Co., Pāhala, Hawai'i, 9 December 1923, Folder 4/2, Kaū Sugar Co., HSPA Plantation Archives, Special Collections, Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.

18. On F. Santa Ana, see the March 1923 exchanges between J. K. Butler and A. J. Watt, Folder 23/8, Puna Sugar Co., HSPA Plantation Archives, Special Collections, Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. On the relationship between the plantation managers and Filipino missionaries, see the reports and letters on the Filipino Evangelical Church, archives of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association, Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library, Honolulu, Hawai'i.
19. Manlapit, *Filipinos Fight for Justice*, 58.
20. *Honolulu Advertiser*, 8 April 1924, 1-2.
21. Alcantara, *Sakada*, 28.
22. Manlapit Savard, interview, 23 July 1990. Accounts on the strike were published in the *Honolulu Advertiser*, April-November 1924 issues. For example, the issue on 8 June 1924 reported a mass meeting at 'A'ala Park attended by more than 2,000 strikers.
23. Manlapit Savard, interview, 15 August 1990.
24. Manlapit Savard, interview, 30 March 1991.
25. *Revised Laws of Hawai'i, 1925,* Vol. 1, 1449ff.
26. Butler to Plantation Managers on Hawai'i and Maui, 6 June 1924, Folder 1/8, Mauna Kea Sugar Co., HSPA Plantation Archives, Special Collections, Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.
27. *Honolulu Advertiser*, 26 August 1924, 1.
28. P. H. Bartels, Assistant Manager, to F. A. Schaeffer and Co., Ltd., 19 June 1924, Folder 9/8, Honoka'a Sugar Company, HSPA Plantation Archives, Special Collections, Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.
29. *Hilo Tribune-Herald*, 17 June 1924, 1. The article was filed from Honolulu.
30. *Hilo Tribune-Herald*, 21 June 1924, 1.
31. Jose Queja, interview by author, Honolulu, Hawai'i, 19 April 1975.
32. Manager, P. A. S. & Co., Ltd. to F. A. Schaeffer & Co., Ltd., 25 June 1924, Folder 9/8, Honoka'a Sugar Co., HSPA Plantation Archives, Special Collections, Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.
33. P. H. Bartels, Assistant Manager, to F. A. Shaeffer and Co., Ltd., Honolulu, O'ahu, 29 July 1924, Folder 9/8, Honoka'a Sugar Company, HSPA Plantation Archives, Special Collections, Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.
34. J. W. Waldron, F. A. Schaefer & Co., Ltd., to Manager, Honoka'a Sugar Co. and Pacific Sugar Mill, Haina, Haiwa, 27 June 1924, Folder 9/8, Honoka'a Sugar Co., HSPA Plantation Archives, Special Collections, Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. Waldron's allegation that Manlapit drank a lot was part of the HSPA's official campaign to smear Manlapit's character. No evidence of a drinking problem has surfaced.

35. F. M. Santa Ana to Rev. N. C. Schenck, 21 July 1924 and 22 October 1924, Hawai'i-Ōla'a, archives of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association, Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library, Honolulu, Hawai'i.
36. R. T. Bansuelo to Rev. N. C. Schenck, Superintendent, Filipino Department, Hawai'i Board of Mission, Honolulu, 22 June 1924, Hawai'i-Hāwī, Kohala Pilgrim Church, archives of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association, Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library, Honolulu, Hawai'i.
37. *Honolulu Advertiser*, 10 August 1924, 7.
38. *Hilo Tribune-Herald*, 22 August 1924, 2.
39. Garry Wills, "Storm Over Jefferson," *New York Review of Books*, 23 March 2000, 18. According to Wills, Lincoln embraced and extended the meaning of Thomas Jefferson's formulation that "all men are equal."
40. *Hilo Tribune-Herald*, 11 August 1924, 2.
41. *Hilo Tribune-Herald*, 16 August 1924, 1.
42. *Hilo Tribune-Herald*, 18 August 1924, 6.
43. Butler to all plantation Managers on Hawai'i, 25 July 1924, Folder 24/3, Puna Sugar Co., HSPA Plantation Archives, Special Collections, Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.
44. *Hilo Tribune-Herald.*, 9 August 1924, 1.
45. For an elaboration of Butler's theory, see W. O. Cogswell, "Primitive Fear Cause of Strike, J. K. Butler Says," *Hawaii Tribune-Herald*, 9 August 1924, 1, 2.
46. *Revised Laws of Hawai'i*, p. 1455 for criminal syndicalism and p. 1456 for unlawful picketing.
47. Reinecke, *Filipino Piecemeal Sugar Strike*, 70.
48. *Honolulu Advertiser*, 5 August 1924, 11.
49. See, for example, the account of Isabel Ganade on communal living in Hanapēpē strike camp. Aqui, 71-109.
50. Reinecke, *Filipino Piecemeal Sugar Strike*, 74.
51. *Honolulu Advertiser*, 11 and 12 September 1924. The latter, on p. 1 and p. 8, has pictures of strike leaders and Rev. Father Hermann from the Makaweli Catholic Church and Rev. G. R. Runes from the Filipino Methodist Episcopal Mission at Waimea at the graveside where the dead strikers were buried.
52. William Rice, Sheriff, County of Kaua'i to Gov. W. R. Farrington, 20 September 1924, "Farrington Papers," Hawai'i State Archives.
53. *Honolulu Advertiser*, 13 September 1924, 1.

54. Manlapit, *Filipinos Fight for Justice*, 67.
55. *Honolulu Advertiser*, 12 September 1924, 1.
56. Gov. Farrington to Gov.-General Leonard Wood, Philippines, 6 October 1924. "Farrington Papers," Hawai'i State Archives.
57. Some officials on Kaua'i disagreed with the plan to demolish the camps. See Department of Land and Natural Resources Series 314, Box 314, Hawai'i State Archives.
58. Reinecke observes that the trial dates were set before the battle in Hanapēpē happened, "so its timing was a piece of sheer luck for the prosecution." Reinecke, *Filipino Piecemeal Sugar Strike*, 170, footnote 1, chap. 12.
59. *Ibid.*, 99.
60. *Ibid.*, 103.
61. *Honolulu Advertiser*, 12 October 1924, 2.
62. Supreme Court of Territory of Hawai'i, Case #1604. Basan dropped his appeal in the conspiracy case. Basan himself had his share of legal suits including malicious burning of sugarcane fields. He might have served a few months in prison and then was sent back to the Philippines. See Reinecke, *Filipino Piecemeal Sugar Strike*, 94.
63. Manlapit Savard, interview, 16 November 1991.
64. Margaret Bergen to Gov. Farrington, 26 January 1927. File 146, Records of Quasi-Judicial Executive Actions, Hawai'i State Archives. Bergen was the manager of the Social Service Bureau, formerly Associated Charities of Hawai'i.
65. Manlapit's letter and a copy of Enayuda's affidavit, which had been translated from Spanish to Tagalog, are in Special Proceedings #62, Hawai'i First Circuit Court.
66. A copy of Makino's letter, dated 16 November 1925, is in "Quezonian Papers," Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. Makino hired George Wright, discharged from his job at Pearl Harbor, because of his labor activities, to write for *Hawaii Hochi*. Reinecke, *Filipino Piecemeal Sugar Strike*, 48-51.
67. Marguerite K. Ashford, Acting Attorney General, to Gov. W. R. Farrington, 19 November 1925. File 146, Records of Quasi-Judicial Executive Actions, Hawai'i State Archives.
68. For instance, J. K. Butler sent a copy of a report on Manlapit's visitors to J. W. Waldron on 10 January 1927. This document is in File 146, Records of Quasi-Judicial Executive Actions, Hawai'i State Archives.
69. Manlapit Savard, interview, 15 August 1990.
70. Larry Arden Lawcock, "Filipino Students in the United States and the Philippine Independence Movement: 1900-1935" (PhD diss., University of California, 1975), 193, footnote 98. Lawcock cites BIA 3037/88 in Record Group 350, United States National Archives.

71. J. K. Butler to Manuel L. Quezon, 6 November 1925, "Quezonian Papers," Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.
72. Manlapit to Board of Inspectors, First Judicial Circuit, 25 January 1927. File 146, Records of Quasi-Judicial Executive Actions, Hawai'i State Archives.
73. All quotes from *ibid.*
74. J. W. Waldron to Gov. Farrington, 9 February 1927. File 146, Records of Quasi-Judicial Executive Actions, Hawai'i State Archives.
75. A copy of this letter, dated 2 July 1927, is in File 146, Records of Quasi-Judicial Executive Actions, Hawai'i State Archives.
76. See a copy of the editorial "Disqualified," in the English section, *Hawaii Hochi*, 19 May 1927, File 146, Records of Quasi-Judicial Executive Actions, Hawai'i State Archives. Hawai'i's Attorney General's Office also has *Hawaii Hochi* and *Nippu Jiji* files relevant to Manlapit's case.
77. Editorial, *Hawaii News*, 3 July 1927. Reprinted in *Hawaii Hochi*, 9 July 1927.
78. "Is There Justice in Hawaii?" *Hawaii Hochi*, 9 March 1927.
79. *Journal of the House of Representatives of the Fourteenth Legislature of the Territory of Hawai'i*, Regular Session, 1927, 391-393, 490-493.
80. Documents on Manlapit's parole, too numerous to cite here, are in File 146, Records of Quasi-Judicial Executive Actions, Hawai'i State Archives.
81. *Hawaii Hochi*, 17 August 1927, 3.
82. *Nippu Jiji*, 14 August 1927; "Manlapit Leaves for Mainland," *Hawaii Hochi*, 13 August 1927.
83. Manlapit's full statement was published in the *Honolulu Advertiser*, 14 August 1927, 1ff. See Appendix for the full text of the statement.

Chapter 4
Between Two Paroles

1. For more background information, see Bruno Lasker, *Filipino Immigration to Continental United States and to Hawaii* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931; reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1969) and Brett H. Melendy, "California's Discrimination Against Filipinos, 1927-1935," in *Letters in Exile: An Introductory Reader on the History of Pilipinos in America* (Los Angeles: University of California, Los Angeles, Asian American Studies Center, 1976), 35-44.
2. *The Philippine Republic*, 15 October 1927, 19.
3. *The Los Angeles Observer*, 23 September 1927, 3.

4. On 17 November 1927 Manlapit thanked a Gust. Kretzsmar for a "kind offer." On 20 November 1927 Kretzsmar wrote Gov. Farrington of Hawai'i: "Things shaping themselves nicely, Manlapit is going to stay in my house in Oakland, and I will have all the chance to reverse his present attitude towards Hawaiian affairs." The rest of the letter is cryptic. Both letters are in File 146, Records of Quasi-Judicial Executive Actions, Hawai'i State Archives.
5. *The Los Angeles Observer*, 23 September 1927, 3.
6. Manlapit to Gov. Farrington, 17 September 1927. File 146, Records of Quasi-Judicial Executive Actions, Hawai'i State Archives.
7. Later the Filipino Federation of America organized branches in Hawai'i and in the Philippines. Moncado, its spiritual leader, also displayed to the world his wealth, pomp and elegance. For more details on him, see Michael Cullinane, "'The Master and Juan de la Cruz': Hilario C. Moncado–Prophet, *Politiko, Charlatan*," a paper prepared for the Association for Asian Studies Annual Meeting, Washington, DC, 6-9 April 1995.
8. Office of Naval Intelligence document, 11 May 1932, Department of the Navy Headquarters, Navy Criminal Investigative Service, Washington Navy Yard, Washington, DC.
9. *Honolulu Advertiser*, 25 February 1928, 1, 3. See also the *Manila Times*, 27 February 1928, 2.
10. Manlapit to Gov. Judd, 14 December 1929. File 155, Records of Quasi-Judicial Executive Actions, Hawai'i State Archives.
11. Manlapit letter to the *Filipino Informer*, March 1928, 1, quoted in Larry Arden Lawcock, "Filipino Students in the United States and the Philippine Independence Movement: 1900-1935" (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1975), 221.
12. J. K. Butler to Gov. Farrington, 18 September 1928, "Farrington Papers," Hawai'i State Archives. Other documents in these papers show that Butler had also been busy spying on Moncado and his federation, especially on their activities in Hawai'i.
13. The document, dated 11 May 1932, was an agent's memorandum to the Navy Department, Office of Naval Intelligence, Washington, DC. See note 8 above.
14. Lawcock cites the *Philippine Republic*, 9.
15. Howard A. DeWitt, "Pablo Manlapit: A Filipino Labor Organizer and the Hawaii-California Years," 14, paper presented at the 72nd Annual Meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association, 10 August 1979, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. DeWitt argues that Manlapit helped plant the idea of a labor union among Filipino agricultural workers. More research work may support DeWitt's argument.
16. Information on the contents of *Ang Bantay* is from Lawcock, 224.
17. Manlapit Savard, interview, 15 August 1990.

18. Manlapit to Gov. Judd.
19. I thank Professor Raymond Nunn for giving me a copy of this record. He found two copies of it at one of the annual Friends of the Library sales in Honolulu. He gave the other copy of the record to the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa's Hamilton Library, Hawai'i and Pacific Collections. Surprisingly, the FBI dossier on Manlapit does not have this information.
20. Lawcock, 237. For more on the Watsonville riot, see Appendix E in Lasker.
21. "Anti-Miscegenation Laws and the Pilipino," prepared by the editorial staff of *Letters in Exile: An Introductory Reader on the History of Pilipinos in America* (Los Angeles: UCLA Asian American Studies Center, 1976), 63-71.
22. *Three Stars* (Stockton, California), May 1931, 1.
23. Andrew W. Lind, *An Island Community, Ecological Succession in Hawaii* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938), 123, 129.
24. Ines V. Cayaban, *A Goodly Heritage* (Hong Kong: Gulliver Books, 1981), 71.
25. Roman R. Cariaga, "The Filipinos in Honolulu," *Social Science* 10, no. 7 (1925): 39-46. On the role of Cariaga as a cultural broker, see Jonathan Y. Okamura's article, "Writing the Filipino Diaspora: Roman R. Cariaga's *The Filipinos in Hawai'i,*" *Social Process in Hawai'i* 37(1996):36-56.
26. Fagel, who became a labor leader in his own right, awaits research. Little is known about him. He came to California in 1917 and completed his high school studies in 1927. This information is from "A Report of E. J. Eagen on the Hawaiian Islands," to the US House of Representatives, Special Committee to Investigate the National Relations Board, 3 May 1940, 28.
27. Manlapit Savard, interview, 30 May 1991.
28. Ines V. Cayaban, *Heritage,* 67-70 (on Pedro Esqueras) and 75 (on Alfred Ocampo). Cayaban, a nurse, arrived in Hawai'i in 1931. Alfred Ocampo married Annie Manlapit's sister.
29. Serafin E. Macaraig, *Social Problems* (Manila: The Educational Supply Co., 1929), 214.
30. From a report appended in the letter from W. K. Kilpatrick, Commander, US Navy, Office of Naval Intelligence, to Charles A. Appel, Jr., Department of Justice, Washington, DC, 17 May 1932, Department of the Navy Headquarters, Navy Criminal Investigative Service, Washington Navy Yard, Washington, DC.
31. *Hawaii Hochi* advised the sugar planters to be "sensible" and not throw "fits" every time Manlapit said "'BOO!'" Copy of the editorial dated 15 July 1932 in "Lawrence Judd Papers," Miscellaneous: Unemployment Committee file/folder, Hawai'i State Archives.

32. Butler to Plantations on O'ahu, 1 July 1932, Folder 25/5, Honoka'a Sugar Co., HSPA Plantation Archives, Special Collections, Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.
33. W. P. Naquin, Manager, to F. A. Schaefer & Co., Ltd., 26 July 1932, Folder 16/2, Honoka'a Sugar Co., HSPA Plantation Archives, Special Collections, Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.
34. Manlapit, "What is the Filipino Labor Union?" *The Union,* 15 October 1932, 2. Described as the "voice of the working man in Hawaii," this weekly was edited by N. C. Villanueva and published by Manlapit.
35. E. A. Taok to Gov. Judd. "Lawrence Judd Papers," Hawai'i State Archives.
36. Statement of Mr. Richard Cooke, Chairman of the Governor's Work Relief Commission before the Senate of the Legislature of Hawai'i, 7 March 1933. "Lawrence Judd Papers," Hawai'i State Archives.
37. Cariaga, "The Filipinos in Honolulu," 44.
38. Beechert, *Working in Hawaii: A Labor History,* 253.
39. Mary Dorita, "Filipino Immigration to Hawaii" (M.A. thesis, University of Hawai'i, 1954), Table I, 132.
40. Pablo Manlapit (President, Hawai'i Labor Federation) to President of the United States, 28 March 1934. File 3037, Record Group 126, Bureau of Insular Affairs, United States National Archives. A microfilm copy of this file has been deposited at the Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa; see No. S10381.
41. Editorial, "What has the HSPA to Say?" *The Union,* 15 October 1932, 2.
42. J. K. Butler to Mr. Manuel Quezon, 2 December 1933, "Quezonian Papers," Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.
43. Pablo Manlapit to Manuel L. Quezon, 6 January 1934, "Quezonian Papers," Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.
44. Fuchs, *Hawaii Pono,* 236. Fuchs cites as his source the work of Mary Dorita, 99, see note no. 39, this chapter.
45. Butler to All Agents, HSPA, 27 June 1933, Folder 22C/11, Laupahoehoe Sugar Company, HSPA Plantation Archives, Special Collections, Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.
46. Butler to All Plantation Managers, 22 July 1933, Folder 22C/11, Laupahoehoe Sugar Company, HSPA Plantation Archives, Special Collections, Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.
47. Editorial, "The Filipino Community Program," *The Outlook,* January 1934, 8.

48. W. Pfluegger, Assistant Director, Bureau of Labor Statistics, HSPA to Hamakua Mill Co., Pa'auilo, Hawai'i, 16 March 1934, Folder 22C/12, Laupahoehoe Sugar Company, HSPA Plantation Archives, Special Collections, Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.
49. Flyer issued by Fagel, an appeal for contribution to the Defense Fund of Taok, "Quezonian Papers."
50. Reinecke, *Filipino Piecemeal Sugar Strike,* 125. The transcript of this case (No. 776, Court Case C-12965, 11 April 1934) is in the Hawai'i State Archives.
51. Statement of Facts re Pablo Manlapit [26 October 1935], 2. File 244, Records of Quasi-Judicial Executive Actions, Hawai'i State Archives.
52. File 216, Records of Quasi-Judicial Executive Actions, Hawai'i State Archives.
53. Board of Directors, Hawai'i Labor Federation, to the Attorney General, Washington, DC, 12 July 1934. Resolution No. S-5, which ousted Manlapit, is in File 3037, Record Group 126, United States National Archives (or Microfilm No. S10381, Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa).
54. The case arose from the investigation of a local representative of the United States Secret Service. Statement of Facts prepared by the Board of Prison Inspectors, October 1935, File 244, Records of Quasi-Judicial Executive Actions, Hawai'i State Archives.
55. *Star Bulletin,* 8 October 1934, 1, 2.
56. Manlapit Savard, interview, 12 October 1991.
57. Manlapit Savard, interview, 23 July 1990.
58. File 575, Records of Quasi-Judicial Executive Actions, Hawai'i State Archives.
59. Reinecke, *Filipino Piecemeal Sugar Strike,* 27 and footnote 14, 184.

Chapter 5
Homeland

1. Juliana Manlapit, interview, 21 August 1991, Quezon City, Philippines.
2. At times, Quezon and others used the independence issue to advance their political careers. See Theodore Friend, *Between Two Empires; The Ordeal of the Philippines 1929-1946* (Manila: Solidaridad Publishing House, 1969).
3. "Kung Bakit Dapat na Ihalal ng Bayan sina Quezon at Osmeña" (Why the People Should Elect Quezon and Osmeña), *Taliba,* 28 August 1935, n.p., "Manlapit Papers."
4. Manlapit to Gov. Joseph B. Poindexter, 20 April 1935, File 244, Records of Quasi-Judicial Executive Actions, Hawai'i State Archives.
5. S. C. Huber to Gov. Poindexter, 4 June 1935, File 244.

6. Joseph Ordenstein, Secretary of Board of Prison Directors, to Gov. Poindexter, 26 October 1935, File 244.
7. *Ibid.*, 15 November 1935, File 244.
8. Manlapit to Gov. Poindexter, 13 December 1935, File 244.
9. W. B. Pittman to Gov. Poindexter, 3 January 1936, File 244. I have not seen any document showing Pittman's position on Manlapit's petition. It must have been difficult, if not awkward, for Pittman to tell Manlapit that his petition for a full pardon had been denied. Pittman passed away on 20 December 1936.
10. Manlapit recalled his reaction, later, to Everett U. Afook. See Afook's Report for the Attorney General, 19 July 1949, 6, File 575, Records of Quasi-Judicial Executive Actions, Hawai'i State Archives.
11. Manlapit to Gov. Poindexter, 17 January 1937, File 244.
12. *Liwanag,* 15 May 1937, 4.
13. Sanford Zalburg, *A Spark is Struck! Jack Hall & the ILWU in Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1979), 25.
14. For details supporting this argument, see Melinda Tria Kerkvliet, *Manila Workers' Union, 1900-1950* (Quezon City: New Day Press, 1992).
15. *Taliba,* 27 October 1941, "Manlapit Papers."
16. Jorge B. Vargas to Manlapit, 13 April 1943. The original document is in "Manlapit Papers."
17. The Japanese, according to Theodore Friend, treated labor more harshly in Indonesia than in the Philippines because the Philippines had a "stronger buffer" from local officials and already had the beginnings of labor unionism in the prewar period. See his *The Blue-Eyed Enemy: Japan Against the West in Java and Luzon, 1942-1945* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 168.
18. Pablo Manlapit, "General Report of the Activities of the Labor Recruitment Agency from April 1, 1944 to September 30, 1944," compiled by Mauro Garcia, in "More Documents on the Japanese Occupation in the Philippines," *Historical Bulletin,* 11 (March 1967):73.
19. Romeo Manlapit to author, 16 February 1994; Romeo Manlapit, interview by author, 12 May 1995, Quezon City, Philippines.
20. C. Parsons, Cmdr., USNR to Manlapit, 24 September 1945, "Manlapit Papers."
21. Manlapit to Roxas, 22 November 1945, "Roxas Papers," National Library, Philippines. The letter was typed on a stationery marked "Philippine-Hawaii-America Labor Union Incorporated." It had a listing of officers; Manlapit was identified as president.
22. Romeo Manlapit to author, 30 March 1994.

23. Romeo Manlapit to author, 16 February 1994.
24. Invitation cards are in "Manlapit Papers."
25. Jose Avelino to Manlapit, 1 November 1946, "Manlapit Papers."
26. Leon O. Ty, "Racket in Army Surplus Goods," *Philippine Free Press,* 12 April 1947, 4-5.
27. *Manila Chronicle,* 15 March 1947, 1.
28. See Leon O. Ty, cited above; Rodrigo C. Lim, "Quezon and these Surplus Scandals," *Philippine Free Press,* 26 April 1947, 14.
29. "Deplores His Aloneness in the Fight," news clipping, citation incomplete, "Manlapit Papers."
30. Romeo Manlapit to author, 16 February 1994, 4.
31. Leon O. Ty, "Solution to the Surplus Mystery," *Philippine Free Press,* 10 May 1947, 4.
32. *Bagong Balita,* 11 November 1947, "Manlapit Papers."
33. Antonio Paguia, Manager, National Land Settlement Administration, "Memorandum for the Honorable Members of both Chambers, Congress of the Philippines," 8 May 1948, Box 39, "Quirino Papers," Ayala Museum and Library, Makati, Philippines.
34. *Manila Chronicle,* 2 March 1948, clipping, "Manlapit Papers."
35. *Mindanao Times,* 1 December 1948, 1.
36. Senator Salipada K. Pendatun claimed that the government wasted public money on the NLSA. *Manila Times,* 13 January 1948, clipping, "Manlapit Papers."
37. Emilio Abello to Manlapit, 12 July 1948, "Manlapit Papers." There were conflicts in the use of roads between NLSA towns and neighboring towns. See *Mindanao Cross,* 14 August 1948, clipping, "Manlapit Papers."
38. Manlapit to Gov. of Hawaii [Ingram M. Stainback], 21 June 1947, File 444, Records of Quasi-Judicial Executive Actions, Hawai'i State Archives.
39. Arthur A. Hoke, Acting Secretary, Board of Paroles and Pardons, to Gov. Stainback, 13 October 1947, File 444.

Chapter 6
Securing Pardon

1. Benjamin Menor, "Filipino Plantation Adjustments," *Social Process in Hawai'i,* 13 (1947):51. Menor, who came to Hawai'i in 1930 at the age of seven, later served in the Hawai'i Supreme Court from 1974 to 1982.
2. Gwenfread Allen, *Hawaii's War Years, 1941-1945* (Connecticut: Greenwood Press Publishers, 1971), 350.

3. *Wagayway,* June 1943, 2.
4. *Wagayway,* March 1943, 5.
5. Some of the members of the Timaraws had been active in Filipino affairs during the war years: N. C. Villanueva (president), Ricardo Labez (Press Relations Officer), Roland D. Sagum, Rene Lichauco, R. Z. Alhambra, M. G. Salve, Stanley Sabihon, E. L. Fernandez, R. L. Tupas, Frank Farinas, and J. O. Cayaban. Information from *Honolulu Star Bulletin,* 8 July 1946, 14. As noted earlier, Villanueva served as the editor of a publication by Manlapit in 1932.
6. As mentioned in Chapter III, Queja joined the 1924 strike on the Big Island. He returned to the plantation after the strike and worked as a foreman for 14 years. He started as a utility man in the Coca-Cola Bottling Co.; he retired as a filler operator in 1966. Jose Queja, interview by author, 19 April 1975, Honolulu, Hawai'i.
7. Cardenas later asserted himself. He was sent to a training school for radio technicians. He worked as a radio mechanic and then as an electronics mechanic for the US Navy until his retirement in 1966. Fausto Cardenas, interview by author, 26 March 1975, Honolulu, Hawai'i.
8. Abraham Palacay, interview by author, 3 November 1990, Lihue, Kaua'i. Palacay was connected with the ILWU for 36 years, retiring as its Kaua'i regional director in 1979.
9. For a detailed discussion on the 1946 recruitment, see Steffi San Buenaventura, "Hawaii's '1946 Sakada,'" *Social Process in Hawai'i,* 37(1996):74-90.
10. Dean T. Alegado, "Carl Damaso: A Champion of Hawaii's Working People," *Social Process in Hawai'i,* 37(1996): 36-56.
11. Manlapit Savard, interviews, 23 February 1991 and 16 November 1991, Honolulu, Hawai'i.
12. Manlapit, *Autobiography,* 3.
13. *Star Bulletin,* 12 July 1948, 2; *Honolulu Advertiser,* 6 November 1952, 2.
14. Melinda Tria Kerkvliet, "Alice Manlapit's Story: Survival of a Labor Leader's Family in Hawaii," paper for the fourth International Philippine Studies Conference, Canberra, Australia, 1-3 July 1992.
15. Manlapit, "Proposed Speech to Waterfront Strikers," 13 July 1949, in Afook, "Report for the Attorney General" (Subject: Pablo Manlapit). See note 10, chap. 5.
16. Afook, "Report for the Attorney General," 5.
17. Earlier chapters referred to some of Manlapit's petitions. Documents, including the petitions and official responses to the petitions, are in the Records of Quasi-Judicial Executive Actions, Hawai'i State Archives.
18. Manlapit's letter is in File 575, Records of Quasi-Judicial Executive Actions, Hawai'i State Archives.

19. *Ibid.*
20. Afook, "Report for the Attorney General."
21. *Ibid.*
22. Bouslog & Symonds to Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington, DC, 10 April 1950, "Manlapit Papers." According to Alice, Bouslog talked to her father at the Young Hotel several times. Manlapit Savard, interview, 23 July 1990.
23. Perfecto Balili, Farm Administrator, Polomalok Settlement District, to President Qurino, 6 September 1950, Box 39, "Quirino Papers."
24. Folder, "Graft and Corruption," Box "EQ Memoir Materials," "Quirino Papers."
25. The new settlement project is called LASEDECO (Land Settlement and Development Corporation). Some materials on irregularities in LASEDECO are in Box 39, "Quirino Papers."
26. Ponciana Manlapit, interview by author, 21 January 1994, Quezon City, Philippines; Romeo Manlapit to author, 30 March 1994.
27. Delfin M. Dimagiba, interview by author, 7 August 1991, Manila, Philippines.
28. Manlapit to President Elpidio Quirino, 21 July 1950, in *Report on I. The Illegality of the Communist Party of the Philippines; II. The Functions of the Special Committee on Un-Filipino Activities,* the Special Committee on Un-Filipino Activities (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1951), 12.
29. Melinda Tria Kerkvliet, *Manila Workers' Unions, 1900-1950* (Manila: New Day Press, 1992), 102.
30. Tirona's letter, File 575, Records of Quasi-Judicial Executive Actions, Hawai'i State Archives.
31. Manlapit's letter, *ibid.*
32. Both letters, *ibid.*
33. Manlapit's letter, *ibid.*
34. Manlapit's letter, *ibid.*
35. *Evening News,* 11 July 1952, clipping, "Manlapit Papers."
36. Leon S. Cruz to Gov. Long, File 575, Records of Quasi-Judicial Executive Actions, Hawai'i State Archives.
37. *Manila Times,* 15 December 1952, clipping, "Manlapit Papers." Further research is needed on the final outcome, particularly the release of the money to the claimants.
38. Memo from Director, FBI, to SAC, Honolulu, 7 January 1952.
39. Memo from SAC, Honolulu, to Director, FBI, 13 November 1952.

Chapter 7
Dusk

1. There is little information on ULPAC. It was organized sometime in 1952 by Manlapit and other older and moderate labor leaders. See *Evening News,* 31 October 1952, clipping, "Manlapit Papers." Manlapit showed a tendency to form and head short-lived organizations.
2. Quoted in Paul M. Monk, *Truth and Power: Robert S. Hardie and Land Reform Debates in the Philippines, 1950-1987* (Monash University, Center of Southeast Asian Studies, Monash Paper, no. 20, 1990), 59.
3. Romeo Manlapit to author, 18 December 1991.
4. As noted earlier, Fagel also led a strike in 1937. I have only scant information on Fagel's return to the Philippines. Romeo Manlapit recalls that his father assisted Fagel in acquiring land in Mindanao. Romeo Manlapit to author, 16 February 1994 and 20 May 1994.
5. The Manlapit brochure is in "Manlapit Papers."
6. Ponciana Manlapit, interview by author, 27 January 1994, Quezon City, Philippines.
7. Romeo Manlapit to author, 18 December 1991.
8. Vicente A. Rafael, interview by author, 17 March 1978, Manila, Philippines.
9. More research needs to be done on Cipriano Cid and the PAFLU. For a general background, see Elias T. Ramos, *Dualistic Unionism and Industrial relations* (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1990), 109-111.
10. For the NDC, see the *Sunday Chronicle,* 18 March 1954, 10; for the NASSCO, see the *Manila Times,* 5 April 1954, 11.
11. *Bagong Buhay,* 19 November 1954, clipping, "Manlapit Papers."
12. Jesus P. Robleza, interview by author, 9 May 1995, Manila, Philippines. At the time of the interview, Robleza was PLUM's president. Manlapit, according to Robleza, could deliver an effective and bombastic speech as the politicians.
13. Romeo Manlapit to author, 16 February 1994 and 30 March 1994.
14. *Ibid.*, 7 August 1994.
15. Delfin M. Dimagiba, interview. When Delfin was a freshman at Torres High School, he ate lunch at the home of Pablo and Ponciana Manlapit.
16. Romeo Manlapit to author, 16 February 1994,
17. *Ibid.*, 30 March 1994.
18. Ponciana Manlapit, interview. She also showed me two pictures taken during the ceremony.

19. Manlapit Savard, interview, 2 November 1991.
20. *Ibid.*, 23 November 1991.

Epilogue
Remembrance and Summing Up

1. Manlapit Savard, interview, 16 November 1991. Alice read the letter of Romeo Manlapit to author, 2 November 1991.
2. Romeo Manlapit to author, 30 March 1994.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*
5. Leonard Y. Andaya, "From American-Filipino to Filipino-American," *Social Process in Hawai'i,* 37(1996):99-111.
6. Telephone conversation by the author with Alice Manlapit Savard, 30 April 1991, Honolulu, Hawai'i. Alice used "30 years" figuratively, to mean, "it's been a long time."
7. Reinecke, *The Filipino Piecemeal Sugar Strike,* 27.
8. See Chapter 19 (revised by Beechert) and Postscript (by Beechert) in Reinecke, *The Filipino Piecemeal Sugar Strike.*
9. Dean T. Alegado, "The Filipino Community in Hawai'i: Development and Change," *Social Process in Hawai'i,* 37(1996):16.

Bibliography

Manuscripts and Special Collections

Hawai'i, State. Department of the Attorney General. The Pablo Manlapit case file has approximately 71 pages of English translations of news articles from *Hawai'i Hochi,* and 53 pages of correspondence involving the Attorney General, the Governor, and the Parole Board. Materials in the case file cover the years 1925 through 1931. The author read only the *Hawai'i Hochi* file.

_____. First Circuit Court, Honolulu. The indexes for the years 1919-1981 have several entries on Pablo Manlapit. Docket numbers 9134 and 9135 are the conspiracy case files stemming from the 1924 strike. Sadly, transcripts of the trials had been, apparently, discarded.

_____. Supreme Court, Honolulu. File numbers 1264 (box 53) and 1604 (box 74) are about Manlapit's disbarment and unsuccessful appeal, respectively.

Hawai'i State Archives. The files and papers of prewar and early postwar Hawai'i governors were consulted: Walter F. Frear, Lucius E. Pinkham, Wallace R. Farrington, Lawrence M. Judd, Joseph B. Poindexter, Ingram M. Stainback, and Oren E. Long. The records of Quasi-Judicial Executive Actions have seven files (146, 155, 216, 244, 260, 444, and 575), all related to Manlapit's parole and pardon. The records of the Department of Land and Natural Resources (series 314) contain files on the Filipino strike (1924) camps in Kapa'a, Kaua'i. The archives recently acquired court records, including a full transcript of the trial in which the Territory of Hawai'i prosecuted Epifanio A. Taok for gross cheat; and a segment of Pantaleon Inayuda's testimony in the libel case.

Hawaiian Evangelical Association. The archives of this association include materials on the Filipino evangelical church written by Filipino pastors. These describe the state of the missions, the pastors' relationship with plantation managers, and their view of workers' demands and strikes. The archives are housed at the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library, Honolulu.

Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association (HSPA). In 1996, the HSPA donated the records in its plantation archives to the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. They are now housed at Special Collections, Hamilton Library, and are known as the HSPA Plantation Archives. These are reports and letters exchanged between the HSPA's secretary and plantation managers on Manlapit's activities and the strikes.

Manlapit Papers. Romeo Manlapit has some of his father's papers, including an invaluable personal scrapbook of news clippings which Pablo Manlapit had clipped and pasted himself.

Quezonian Papers on Filipinos in Hawai'i, 1914-43. A total of 454 leaves in portfolio, this collection is a photocopy of the original correspondence, manuscripts and other materials among the papers of former President Manuel L. Quezon at the National Library, Manila. This collection and a microfilm of this collection (S01474) are in Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.

Quirino Papers. The papers of former President Elpidio P. Quirino are housed at the Ayala Museum Library, Makati, Metro Manila. Particularly useful to this study is Box 39, which has materials on the government's land settlement projects, and Box "EQ Memoir Materials," which contains a folder "Graft and Corruption."

US Department of Justice. Federal Bureau of Investigation. Selected and screened intelligence information, consisting of exchanges between and among intelligence units in continental United States and Hawai'i (before statehood in 1959), were made available to the author through the Freedom of Information Act.

_____. Division of Territories and Island Possessions. Bureau of Insular Affairs, National Archives, Washington, DC. Record Group 126. File No. 3037 has materials on the Filipino immigration to Hawai'i, 1906-1946. A microfilm copy of this file (S10381) is at Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. Record Group 165, File 2736-2-3 contains Pablo Manlapit's letter to Hermenegildo Cruz.

Newspapers and Periodicals

The Fil-Am Courier. Honolulu.

The Filipino Outlook. Honolulu.

Hawai'i Hochi. Honolulu. (Clippings only)

Hilo Tribune-Herald. Hilo, Hawai'i.

Honolulu Star Bulletin. Honolulu.

Honolulu Advertiser. Honolulu.

Manila Chronicle. Manila.

Manila Times. Manila.

Manila Tribune. Manila.

Pagkakaisa ng Bayan. Manila.

Philippine Free Press. Manila.

Philippines at War. Honolulu.

The Union. Honolulu.

Wagayway. Honolulu.

Interviews and Letters

Ainoa, Vanny

Cardenas, Fausto

David, Isabel Dimagiba Manlapit

Duvauchelle, Edwina Manlapit

Dimagiba, Delfin Manlapit

Manlapit, Juliana

Manlapit, Ponciana

Manlapit, Romeo

Queja, Jose

Palacay, Abraham

Rafael, Vicente A.

Robleza, Jesus P.

Savard, Alice Manlapit

Other Sources

Alcantara, Ruben. "The 1920 Hawaii Plantation Strike: Ethnicity and Class in Hawaii Labor Organizing." In *Festchrift in Honor of Dr. Marcelino Foronda, Jr.*, ed. Emerita S. Quito. Manila: De La Salle University Press, 1987, 182-206.

_____. *Sakada: Filipino Adaptation in Hawai'i*. Washington: University Press of America, 1981.

_____. "1906: The First Sakada." In *Filipinos in Hawai'i...The First 75 Years*. Honolulu: Hawaii Filipino News Specialty Publication, 1981, 27-52.

Allen, Gwenfread. *Hawai'i's War Years, 1941-1945*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1971.

"Anti-Miscegenation Laws and the Pilipino." Prepared by the staff of *Letters in Exile*. Los Angeles: UCLA Asian American Studies Center, 1976, 63-71.

Asian Labor Education. *Major Labor Federation in the Philippines.* Quezon City: University of the Philippines, 1963.

Balmori, Joaquin. "Report of the Investigations made by Joaquin Balmori, Delegate from Pangasinan about Conditions under which Filipino Laborers are working in Sugar Plantations in the Territory of Hawaii, Manila, 1912. Hawaiian Collection, Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.

Beechert, Edward D. *Working in Hawai'i: A Labor History.* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1985.

Bottomley, Allen W. T. "A Statement Concerning the Sugar Industry in Hawaii; Labor Conditions on Hawaiian Sugar Plantations; Filipino Laborers Thereon, and the Alleged Filipino 'Strike' of 1924," Honolulu, 1924. Hawaiian Collection, Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.

Bouslog, Harriet. "Memorandum on History of Labor and the Law in the Territory of Hawaii, 1948." Prepared for Civil No. 828 in the US District Court for the District of Hawai'i. ILWU vs. Walter D. Ackerman, Jr. Hawaiian Collection, Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.

Bulosan, Carlos. *America is in the Heart.* Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1943.

Cariaga, Roman R. *The Filipinos in Hawai'i, Economic and Social Conditions, 1906-1936.* Honolulu: Filipino Public Relations Bureau, 1937.

_____. "Some Filipino Traits Transplanted," *Social Process in Hawai'i,* 2(1936):20-23.

_____. "The Filipinos in Honolulu," *Social Science,* 10, no. 1(January 1935):39-46.

Cayaban, Ines V. *A Goodly Heritage.* Hongkong: Gulliver Books, 1981.

Cruz, Hermenegildo. "Report [about Hawaii] of the Director of Labor...." Issued as vol. 7 of the Bulletin of the Philippine Bureau of Labor, March 1926.

Cullinane, Michael. "'The Master and Juan de la Cruz:' Hilario C. Moncado—Prophet, *Politiko,* Charlatan." Draft prepared for the Association for Asian Studies Annual Meeting, Washington, DC, 6-9 April 1995.

Daws, Gavan. *Shoal of Time: A History of the Hawaiian Islands.* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1968.

Dewitt, Howard A. "Pablo Manlapit: A Filipino Labor Organizer and the Hawaii-California Years." Paper presented at the 72nd Annual Meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association, 10 August 1979, University of Hawai'i.

Doeppers, Daniel F. *Social Change in a Late Colonial Metropolis: Manila 1900-1941.* Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1984.

Dorita, Mary. "Filipino Immigration to Hawaii." MA thesis, University of Hawai'i, 1954.

Duckworth-Ford, R.A. *Report on Hawai'ian Sugar Plantations and Filipino Labor.* Honolulu: 1926.

Duus, Masayo Umezawa. *The Japanese Conspiracy: The Oahu Sugar Strike of 1920.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.

Eubank, Lauriel E. "The Effects of the First Six Months of World War II on the Attitudes of Koreans and Filipinos toward the Japanese in Hawaii." MA thesis, University of Hawai'i, 1943.

Evangelista, Susan. *Carlos Bulosan and his Poetry: A Biography and Anthology.* Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1985.

Felipe, Virgilio M. "The Vibora Luviminda and the 1937 Puunene Plantation Strike," unpublished paper, 1970. Hawaiian Collection, Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.

Friend, Theodore. *The Blue-Eyed Enemy: Japan Against the West in Java and Luzon, 1942-1945.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988.

_____. *Between Two Empires: The Ordeal of the Philippines 1929-1946.* Manila: Solidaridad Publishing House, 1969.

Fuchs, Lawrence H. *Hawai'i Pono: A Social History.* New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1961.

Hartendorp, A.V.H. *The Japanese Occupation of the Philippines.* Vol. 2, Manila: Bookmark, 1967.

Hawai'i Reports. Vol. 28. (Cases decided in the Supreme Court of the Territory of Hawai'i, June 27, 1924 to February 26, 1926).

Hawai'i, Territory. House of Representatives. "Report of the Committee on Agriculture, Forestry, Promotion and Immigration in Response to a Resolution requiring Inquiry into the Question of Filipino Immigration." 1911.

_____. *Revised Laws of Hawai'i.* 1915, 1925.

_____. *Journal of the House of Representatives of the Fourteenth Legislature of the Territory of Hawai'i.* Regular Session, 1927.

Kalaw, Teodoro M. *Aide-de-camp to Freedom.* Manila: Teodoro M. Kalaw Society, 1965.

Kerkvliet, Benedict J. *The Huk Rebellion: A Study of Peasant Revolt in the Philippines.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982.

Kerkvliet, Melinda Tria. "Interpreting Pablo Manlapit," *Social Process in Hawai'i,* 37(1996): 1-25.

_____. "Alice Manlapit's Story: Survival of a Labor Leader's Family in Hawaii." Paper for the Fourth International Philippine Studies Conference, Canberra, Australia, 1-3 July 1992.

_____. *Manila Workers' Unions, 1900-1950.* Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1992.

_____. "Pablo Manlapit's Fight for Justice," *Social Process in Hawai'i* 33(1991):153-168.

Kotani, Roland. *The Japanese in Hawai'i: A Century of Struggle.* Honolulu: Hawaii Hochi, 1985.

Lal, Brij V. with Munro, Doug and Beechert, Edward. *Plantation Workers: Resistance and Accommodation.* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1993.

Larkin, John A. *Sugar and the Origins of Modern Philippine Society.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.

Lasker, Bruno. *Filipino Immigration to Continental United States and to Hawai'i.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931. Reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1969.

Laurel, Jose P. *War Memoirs.* Manila: Laurel Memorial Foundation, 1962.

Lawcock, Larry Arden. "Filipino Students in the United States and the Philippine Independence Movement, 1900-1935." PhD diss., University of California, 1975.

Ligot, Cayetano. "Authoritative Statement Relative to Filipino Laborers in Hawaii, Report of Cayetano Ligot, Resident Commissioner in Hawaii, to Governor General Leonard Wood, 1924." Microfilm no. 740, Hawaiian Collection, Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.

Luis, Anastacio & Sensano, Herman. "Some Aspects of the Filipino Family," *Social Process in Hawai'i,* 3 (1937):64-69.

Macaraig, Serafin. *Social Problems.* Manila: The Educational Supply Co., 1929.

Manlapit, Pablo. Handwritten Autobiography, 1959. Pacific Collection, Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.

_____. "General Report of the Activities of the Labor Recruitment Agency from April 1, 1944 to September 30, 1944." In "More Documents on the Japanese Occupation in the Philippines," ed. Mauro Garcia, *Historical Bulletin,* 11 March 1967, 76-92.

_____. *Filipinos Fight for Justice: The Case of the Filipino Laborers in the Big Strike of 1924, Territory of Hawai'i.* Honolulu: Kumalae Publishing Co., 1933.

_____. "Message to Filipinos" and "Talumpati." Columbia Records, 1930. Long-playing record. Listening Center, University of Hawaii at Mānoa.

May, Glenn A. *Battle for Batangas: A Philippine Province at War.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991.

McCoy, Alfred W. "The Iloilo General Strike: Defeat of the Proletariat in a Philippine Colonial City," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies,* 15, no. 2 (September 1984):330-364.

Melendy, H. Brett. "California's Discrimination Against Filipinos, 1927-1935." In *Letters in Exile: An Introductory Reader on the History of Pilipinos in America.* Los Angeles: UCLA Asian American Studies Center, 1976, 35-44.

Menor, Benjamin. "Filipino Plantation Adjustments," *Social Process in Hawai'i,* 13(1947): 48-41.

Monk, Paul M. *Truth and Power: Robert S. Hardie and Land Reform Debates in the Philippines, 1950-1987.* Melbourne: Monash University, Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, Monash Paper no. 20, 1990.

Nieva, Pepi. "Talking Story." In *The Filipinos in Hawai'i...The First 75 Years.* Honolulu: Hawaii Filipino News Specialty Publications, 1981.

Okamura, Jonathan Y. with Agbayani, Amefil R. and Kerkvliet Melinda Tria, eds. *The Filipino American Experience in Hawai'i.* Honolulu: Special issue of *Social Process in Hawai'i,* 33, 1991.

Okamura, Jonathan Y., ed. *Filipino American History, Identity and Community in Hawai'i.* Honolulu: Special issue of *Social Process in Hawai'i,* 37, 1996.

Owen, Norman G. "Philippine Economic Development and American Policy: A Reappraisal." In *Compadre Colonialism: Studies on the Philippines Under American Rule,* ed. Norman G. Owen. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, Michigan Papers on South and Southeast Asia, no. 3, 1971, 103-128.

Paderanga, Cayetano W., Jr. *A Review of Land Settlements in the Philippines.* University of the Philippines for Integrative and Development Studies, Mindanao Studies Reports, no. 2, 1995.

Philippine Islands. Bureau of Labor. *Labor,* Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor, vol. 7, no. 25, 1926. (Report by the Director of Labor, Hermenegildo Cruz to Governor General Leonard Wood on the conditions of Filipino workers in Hawai'i.)

Philippines, Republic. Congress, Special Committee on Un-American Activities. *Report on I. The Illegality of the Communist Party of the Philippines; II. The Functions of the Special Committee on Un-Filipino Activities.* Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1951.

Quinto, Dolores. "Life Story of a Filipino Immigrant," *Social Process in Hawai'i* , 4(1938): 71-78.

Ramos, Elias T. *Dualistic Unionism and Industrial Relations.* Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1990.

Reinecke, John E. *Feigned Necessity: Hawai'i's Attempt to Obtain Chinese Contract Labor, 1921-23.* San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, 1979.

_____. "The Filipino Piecemeal Sugar Strike of 1924-25." Honolulu: Unpublished paper, first draft, 1976. (Edward D. Beechert and Alice M. Beechert edited the manuscript, which was published by the Social Science Research Institute, University of Hawai'i in 1996.)

_____. *A History of Local 5: Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International Union (AFL-CIO).* Edited by Edward D. Beechert. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i, Industrial Relations Center, 1970.

Remigio, Prudencio A. *Report of the Filipino Commissioner in Hawai'i, 1919.* Translated by Edgar C. Knowlton. Honolulu: Filipino Historical Society of Hawaii, 1982.

Rosenstock's Manila City Directory. 1915-1922.

San Buenaventura, Steffi. "The Master and the Federation: A Filipino-American Social Movement in California and Hawai'i," *Social Process in Hawai'i,* 33(1991):109-193.

Stern, Bernard W. *The Aloha Trade: Labor Relations in Hawai'i's Hotel Industry.* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i, College of Continuing Education and Community Service, 1988.

Sturtevant, David R. *Popular Uprisings in the Philippines, 1840-1940.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1976.

Takaki, Ronald. *Pau Hana, Plantation Life and Labor in Hawai'i, 1835-1920.* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1983.

Teodoro, Luis V., ed. *Out of This Struggle.* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1981.

Thrum, Thomas G. *Thrum's Hawai'ian Almanac & Annual.* 1909-1921.

University of Hawai'i, Ethnic Studies Program, Ethnic Studies Oral History Project. *The 1924 Filipino Strike on Kauai,* 1, June 1979.

US Department of Labor, Women's Bureau. *Earnings and Hours in Hawai'i Women-Employing Industries.* Washington, DC: Bulletin 177, 1940.

US House of Representatives. "Industrial Conditions in the Hawaiian Islands, 25 January 1911." Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration. Washington, 1913.

_____. "Special Committee to Investigate the National Labor Relations Board." 76th Cong., 2nd, 3rd sess., 11-23 October 1940, "Report of E. J. Eagen."

Wentworth, Edna Clark. *Filipino Plantation Workers in Hawai'i: A Study of Incomes, Expenditures and Living Standards of Filipino Families on an Hawai'ian Sugar Plantation.* Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh, 1941.

Zalburg, Sanford. *A Spark is Struck! Jack Hall and the ILWU in Hawai'i.* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1979.

About the Author

Melinda Tria Kerkvliet received her doctorate in history from the University of Hawai'i. Her book, *Manila Workers' Unions, 1900-1950,* was published in 1992. She is a former director of Operation Manong (now Office of Multicultural Student Services) at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. Her research interests include worker histories in Hawai'i, the Philippines and Vietnam; Philippine Masonry; and Philippine public school teachers.