Writing the Filipino Diaspora: Roman R. Cariaga's *The Filipinos in Hawai'i*

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> The study which follows is very far indeed from representing a comprehensive work on the Filipinos of Hawai'i. Yet it may well serve as a foundation for more detailed research in this field which is so rich in hitherto untouched and valuable material for social science investigation and theory (Cariaga 1937: iii).

The year 1996 marks not only the ninetieth anniversary of Filipino immigration to Hawai'i, but it also means that it has been sixty years since Roman Ruiz Cariaga wrote his seminal master's thesis on Filipinos in Hawai'i (1936a) which indeed has served as a foundation for further research. It would not be an exaggeration to state that Cariaga's thesis in anthropology at the University of Hawai'i is the major contemporary work on Filipinos by a Filipino during their period of plantation labor recruitment to Hawai'i (1906 to 1946). Without Cariaga's writings on Filipinos, which include a published version of his master's thesis (1937), several scholarly articles and papers (1935a, b; 1936a, b, c), and numerous newspaper and magazine articles, our knowledge and understanding of the Filipino American experience during that period would be especially limited, if not distorted. If Bulosan (1943) is acknowledged as the major chronicler of Filipino American work and life on the West Coast prior to World War II, then Cariaga similarly can be credited for documenting and analyzing the community in Hawai'i.

In this paper I assess the significance of Cariaga's writings from the perspective of the larger political, historical and spatial contexts in which they were produced, particularly in terms of the oppressed social status and extreme negative stereotyping of Filipinos in Hawai'i during the Depression years of the 1930s. I focus especially on the publication of Cariaga's master's thesis as *The Filipinos in Hawai'i: Economic and Social Conditions 1906–1936,* which was the first academic work on their community. I discuss this book as a social and cultural text both by and about the Filipino community and argue that it can be read as a manifestation of Filipino subjectivity in reclaiming and expressing their collective identity in the incredibly racist Hawai'i of the 1930s.

The Man and His Writings

Cariaga was born in 1904 in Santo Tomas, Batangas in the Philippines. He appears to have been from a rural family because he wrote of having to walk ten miles each day to attend public grade school (Cariaga 1937: 77). His family

probably was of some financial means since he later attended the private St. Thomas Academy for high school and boarded with a family "in the town" (presumably Santo Tomas) because as the nearest high school it was fifty miles away from his home. After teaching for a year, in May 1927 at the age of twenty–three, Cariaga went to Syracuse University in New York where he studied economics, joining thousands of other young Filipinos who journeyed to the United States for their college education during this period. It is not clear how he financed his education; perhaps as a bright and promising student, Cariaga received a scholarship from Syracuse, or he may have worked his way through college as did many other Filipino students.

Cariaga went to study at the University of Hawai'i in 1931, his reasons for doing so and whether he completed his degree at Syracuse not being known. He did receive a bachelor of arts degree in sociology three years later at a time when there were very few Filipino students at the university. Cariaga (1937: iii) has written of the "background and valuable training" for his later research that he gained from courses with two of the leading sociologists at the University of Hawai'i at that time, Romanzo Adams and Andrew Lind.

Even though sociology was perhaps the leading social science department at the university, Cariaga entered the master's degree program in anthropology, possibly because of the offer of a research fellowship from 1934–1936 under the tutelage of Felix Keesing. He was the first chair of the fledgling Department of Anthropology, and Cariaga may have wanted to study with Keesing because he had conducted fieldwork in the Philippines and taught a course on Philippine culture at the university.[1] Cariaga received an M.A. degree in anthropology in June 1936 for his thesis on "The Filipinos in Hawai'i: A Survey of Their Social and Economic Conditions," thus joining a select group of Filipino students (e.g., Catapusan 1934; Coloma 1939) during the 1930s who wrote master's theses on Filipinos and their communities in the United States.

As a graduate student in anthropology, Cariaga conducted fieldwork in rural and urban Filipino communities on O'ahu for his thesis. Some of his field research was conducted at Ewa plantation in August and September of 1935 while he was engaged in a study on Filipino standards of living for the Institute of Pacific Relations (Cariaga 1937: iii). Much of the paper (1935a) that resulted from this research was incorporated into his master's thesis, and some of his data were used for a published study on income and expenditures of Filipino plantation families (Wentworth 1941). Cariaga (1936a: 2) also did "short but intensive" field studies at Waialua plantation in 1935 and 1936 during which he lived with a Filipino plantation family. He also gained knowledge of plantation

life while teaching evening classes for Filipinos in Waipahu and 'Aiea in 1932 and by living in the latter Filipino community during the summer of that year. In addition, he conducted a "semester's survey" of Filipinos in Honolulu (1935a) under the direction of a professor in the geography department. Besides research, Cariaga taught a course on Filipino culture at the University of Hawai'i in 1937, very likely as one of if not the first Filipino instructor at the university.

In addition to his scholarly writings, Cariaga wrote numerous articles on Filipinos in Hawai'i and on the Philippines as a correspondent for the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* and the *Honolulu Advertiser.* In 1934 he wrote a "Who's Who Among Filipinos" series on prominent Filipinos in Hawai'i for the *Star-Bulletin* that included several of the individuals who would be described in his book three years later. The following year and again in 1939 he contributed a series of feature articles on the Filipino community for the two Honolulu newspapers. After returning to the Philippines in 1946, Cariaga continued to write featured series for the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* in that year and again in January 1948 ("Today in the Philippines") and April 1950 ("The Philippines in 1950").

Cariaga's articles also appeared in local magazines (*Paradise of the Pacific*) and Filipino community newspapers in Honolulu (*Philippine News Tribune, Commonwealth Chronicle*). In both his scholarly and mass media publications, his writing is clear, highly informative, insightful, and at times quite colorful. The following is from his description of the Santa Catalina day fiesta in Hawai'i (Cariaga 1936c: 36):

> musicians brave in spotless white trousers and picturesque *barong Tagalog* (shirt); actresses, dancers, and feminine spectators ablaze with gorgeous hues – magenta, orchid, cerise, russet, gold and turquoise – fluttering hither and yon like Brobdinagian butterflies in their beautiful Filipina dresses.

As a highly educated person with a professional position, Cariaga was a recognized community leader and served as an officer in several Filipino community organizations (Okamura 1981: 74–75). He was vice president of the Filipino Community Council of Honolulu that was established in April 1945 and was elected president the following year.[2] In 1946 Cariaga also was elected president of the first association to be known as the United Filipino Council of Hawai'i. This organization served as the liaison office in Hawai'i for the Philippine Resident Commissioner in Washington, D.C. In his inauguration address Cariaga said that the primary responsibility of the council was to maintain the "harmonious relationships as obtained during the war between the Filipinos and the other elements of the larger community" (*Honolulu Star-Bulletin* 1946a: 14).

Cariaga returned to the Philippines in May 1946 to attend the inauguration ceremony of the new Philippine republic on July 4. He appears to have decided to remain there because by late July he was reported to be a high school teacher in his hometown of Santo Tomas, Batangas (*HSB* 1946b). Two years later he was still teaching in Santo Tomas, but in 1950 he was said to be the head of a business research and consulting agency (*HSB* 1950). I have been unable to obtain information on his life since then, but it appears that he did not return to Hawai'i on a permanent basis.

Writing *The Filipinos in Hawai'i*

The year after its submission to the university, a revised version of Cariaga's master's thesis was published in 1937 by the Filipino Public Relations Bureau of which he served as the director. This organization very likely was a private concern; its listed address (332 North King Street in the Palama area near downtown Honolulu) was also the address of the Cebu Barbershop and the J. Gonzales Store (Cariaga 1937: vii, 175). Although it is not known how many copies of the book were published, it probably cost a significant amount since it was a hardbound book printed on glossy heavyweight paper.

The Filipinos in Hawai'i apparently was published through contributions from individual, overwhelmingly male Filipinos whose photographs and biographical sketches are included in a lengthy section (65 pages, 3 persons each page) on "Filipino Personalities in Hawai'i" that comprises one–third of the book. In the introduction to this section, Cariaga (1937: 82) expresses his appreciation to them for their "material support without which this volume could not have been published." This acknowledgment was no exaggeration since one can only conjecture as to the financial resources of the Filipino Public Relations Bureau about which very little is known. That these contributions from individual Filipinos were made during the Depression is also noteworthy because they were impacted harder by the economic decline than any other group with thousands of Filipinos losing their jobs. The pineapple crash of 1931 alone resulted in 6,000 Filipinos joining the ranks of the unemployed (Cariaga 1935a: 44). In 1930 90 percent of employed male Filipinos were unskilled laborers, 85 percent of whom were plantation workers (Lind 1980: 82, 85). Under these dire economic conditions, the publication of the book was a remarkable accomplishment for Cariaga and particularly for the Filipino community.

Printing costs also very likely were met through paid advertisements that appear towards the back of the book. Several of these ads were for Filipino businesses such as the J. Gonzales Store ("The home of perfumed pomade: *ilang*

ilang, banana, bouquet and brilliantine, and Philippine magazines in Tagalog, Ilocano and Bisayan dialects") and the Insular Life Assurance Company of Manila that had recently opened branch offices in Hawai'i. But a greater number of ads were messages of greetings and best wishes from nonFilipino companies, including three of the Big Five corporations (e.g., Alexander and Baldwin, American Factors, and C. Brewer & Co.) and sugar and pineapple planters' associations. While Cariaga might be criticized for appealing to these oppressors and exploiters of Filipino workers for financial support, it also can be argued that the ultimate source of that support were those same Filipinos whose labor at low wages generated profits for those corporations and the plantations they represented.

For that and other reasons, I consider the Filipino community as implicit contributors to *The Filipinos in Hawai'i.* As noted above, Filipino individuals and businesses contributed to the production of the book, and the biographies of the former comprise a very substantial part of its contents. Rather than view Cariaga as the sole author of the book, it can be better appreciated as a cultural product of the Filipino community since it is very much both by and about the community and its hardships, struggles and hopes.

Nonetheless, as the principal author of the book and in his other writings on Filipinos in Hawai'i, Cariaga assumed the role of a "cultural worker/broker in diaspora" insofar as such writers serve as "providers of knowledge about their nations and cultures" (Chow 1993: 99). Cariaga can be seen as such a cultural intermediary in his efforts through his academic and popular writings to contribute to greater understanding and awareness of Filipino culture and behavior, especially by creating and expressing a more positive identity for Filipinos in Hawai'i during the extremely difficult Depression years of the 1930s. Several years later, another notable Filipino cultural broker, Carlos Bulosan (1973: 180), also discovered the power and emotion of writing in diaspora:

> Then it came to me, like a revelation, that I could actually write understandable English. I was seized with happiness. I wrote slowly and boldly, drinking the wine when I stopped, laughing silently and crying. When the long letter was finished, a letter which was actually a story of my life, I jumped to my feet and shouted through my tears: "They can't silence me any more! I'll tell the world what they have done to me!"

Like Bulosan (Campomanes and Gernes 1988: 30), Cariaga's "act of writing bore the impulse to build intersocial and cross–cultural bridges of communication" that were so greatly needed in pre–World War II Hawai'i.

Being Filipino: Community and Nation

Read as a social and cultural text, *The Filipinos in Hawai'i* reveals much of how the Filipino community perceived itself and its place in Hawai'i society. The major difference in content between Cariaga's master's thesis and its published version is the addition of the above mentioned biographical sketches and photographs of primarily men in the book. Their inclusion can be understood as a direct consequence of the community's painful awareness of the stigmatized identity and lowly status assigned to it in Hawai'i. Those sketches and photos represent an effort by Cariaga and implicitly the community to construct their own collective identity and to claim a higher social status for Filipinos than generally was accorded them by the larger society at that time. As he noted, Filipinos "are given little attention ... by the society of which they wish to be an integral part" (Cariaga 1935a: 46).

Certainly, *The Filipinos in Hawai'i* and Cariaga's other articles were written from an assimilationist perspective. This is hardly surprising since assimilation was the dominant sociological approach applied to immigrant minorities in the 1930s, and Cariaga very likely was schooled in this paradigmatic perspective in his sociology and anthropology courses at the University of Hawai'i. Thus his emphasis that the Hawai'i born second generation were "Americans of Filipino ancestry," were "thoroughly American in their ways of thinking and acting" (Cariaga 1937: 6), and moreover "want to be Americans" (Cariaga 1935a: 46) should be understood as resulting from his theoretical orientation. Cariaga can be criticized for exagerrating and privileging this American component of their ethnic identity while obscuring their Filipino cultural heritage, but Japanese also were engaged in a similar process of "Americanization" from the 1920s through the 1950s. Both groups did so primarily because of the rampant racism and discrimination from the larger society that generally did not allow them to be or express being Filipino or Japanese.

While Cariaga (1937: 82) maintained that the individuals in *The Filipinos in Hawai'i* were a "representative cross section" of the Filipino community, it is clear that they represented instead its more socially and economically prominent members which is evident from the information provided on their employment status, educational attainment, and community activities. This group was part of a small minority of Filipinos who were struggling against great odds in the racist Hawai'i of the 1930s to traverse the great cultural, political and economic divide that separated Filipinos from the rest of Hawai'i society. Although the individuals very likely paid to have their photos and brief biographies included in the book, this should not be quickly dismissed as an exercise in personal self

glorification directed primarily to the Filipino community. They can be viewed more significantly as making a collective statement of resistance, not merely about themselves but the larger Filipino community, to the wider society and thereby confronting its ignorance, prejudice and injustice against Filipinos.

The biographical sketches and accompanying photographs contradict the predominant stereotype of the uneducated, unskilled, unmarried and unpredictable Filipino plantation field laborer widely prevalent in Hawai'i throughout the pre–World War II period. An appendix to Cariaga's master's thesis (1936a: 123–124) includes a number of stereotypic characteristics attributed to Filipinos in Hawai'i by sixty–three students of "diverse racial origin" who were primarily school teachers. They were enrolled in a summer course on "The Filipino and His Cultural Trends" taught by Felix Keesing at the University of Hawai'i in 1934, perhaps one of the first courses ever offered on Filipinos at an American university. The traits assigned to Filipinos included "emotional, excitable, temperamental," "low standard of living," and "primitive, simple minded, child like."[3] In this regard, Cariaga (1937: 75) observed that "Newspapers have tended to play up their misbehavior so that the public has been constantly made conscious of the Filipino in a bad light. Whenever a serious crime is committed by a Filipino, his nationality is designated – Juan de la Cruz, a *Filipino* is charged" (emphasis in original). As a result, "Racial prejudices were ... crystallized in their minds" such that "the tendency is for them to regard the Filipinos as of inferior stock" (Cariaga 1937: 71). Filipinos were very much essentialized and marginalized as the archtypical racialized other to a far greater extent than were other groups in Hawai'i during the 1930s.

Prejudice and other deprecatory attitudes towards Filipinos were quite evident in surveys on ethnic preferences conducted between 1930 and 1940. Three studies (Lind 1938, Ozaki 1940, Wong and Wong 1935) were concerned with ethnic preferences for marriage mates, while a fourth study (Masuoka 1936) pertained to ethnic choices for playmates for children. The samples in these surveys were comprised of University of Hawai'i or public school students and differed in terms of ethnic composition. Nonetheless, the results indicated that Filipinos were rated last or second to the last (before Puerto Ricans) in order of preference in all the studies (Okamura 1983: 227).

These demeaning stereotypes and prejudicial attitudes against Filipinos were challenged by the individuals included in *The Filipinos in Hawai'i* who represented the range of employment engaged in by Filipinos at that time. Only a small minority of the profiled men were field laborers which indeed was the dominant occupation of Filipinos. Many of the individuals sketched were still

employed on the plantations, especially on the neighbor islands where alternative economic opportunities were not as prevalent as on O'ahu. But these plantation employees held predominantly skilled positions as *luna* (field supervisor), interpreter/clerk, bookkeeper, welfare worker, electrician, carpenter, machinist, painter, plantation store manager or clerk, camp overseer, police officer, or chemist's assistant. For the most part, the men in the book held a wide diversity of nonplantation jobs such as draftsperson, mechanic, carpenter, store clerk, postal clerk, bank teller, insurance underwriter, minister, salesperson, court interpreter, and police detective. One of these individuals, Richard Adap, was the first and at that time the only Filipino public school teacher. Born on the island of Hawai'i in 1909, he exemplified his personal advice to other Filipinos, "Work your way through school and you will appreciate your education more," by working as a *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* correspondent while attending the Territorial Normal School (Cariaga 1937: 113).

Many of the men were the manager and proprietor of their own business which included tailoring, barber, laundry and hat cleaning, and shoe repair shops, photo studios, taxi and bus services, pool halls, restaurants, and grocery, general merchandise, and Philippine import stores. The profile of one of these individuals (who was the store manager) describes how thirty "ambitious" Filipino workers at Ola'a plantation in 1929 together started a general merchandise store to cater to the needs of the Filipino community (Cariaga 1937: 122). Largely unbeknownst to the wider society in Hawai'i, thirty years after their arrival in 1906 a significant degree of occupational diversification and private enterprise had obviously occurred among Filipinos. Nonetheless, Cariaga (1937: 72) maintained that "City people still tend to feel that the Filipinos 'belong to the plantation, and should stay there'," indicative of the hostile attitudes towards them and the consequent difficulty they experienced in obtaining nonplantation employment.

With regard to their educational background, many of the men had graduated from high school in the Philippines, while several others obtained diplomas from private and public high schools in Honolulu such as I'olani, Mid–Pacific, Punahou, St. Louis and McKinley, very much unlike the great majority of plantation laborers who had very little formal education. Several had attended college in the Philippines, in the continental United States (Stanford, University of Southern California), or at the University of Hawai'i. Even though most of the men had arrived in Hawai'i through the HSPA and initially worked on the plantation, in many cases their primary objective in leaving the Philippines was to obtain an education in the continental United States, plantation labor being accepted as a necessary first step toward their ultimate goal.

To attain this goal, many of the men were enrolled in correspondence courses in a wide variety of fields including law, business management, bookkeeping, business English, aviation, photography, surveying, radio mechanics, electrical engineering, and Bible teacher training. A few others took University of Hawai'i extension courses. This indicates a strong and ongoing desire for personal advancement and learning given the lack of opportunity for such, especially on the neighbor islands. A young plantation electrician on Kaua'i "participates in the social and literary activities of the Lihue young people's group and enjoys reading for recreation, especially scientific and mechanical books. Always working toward self improvement and supplementing his academic education with practical home study courses, he is now taking typewriting by correspondence" (Cariaga 1937: 99). While this gentleman was not representative of Filipino plantation workers, there were many others like him of whom the larger society of nonFilipinos was totally unaware. Several men, some of whom were former teachers in the Philippines, taught adult courses in English and Ilokano (for illiterate plantation workers) in evening schools sponsored by Filipino Protestant churches. Perhaps Cariaga taught English at one of these schools in Waipahu or 'Aiea in 1932.

Several of the men were well known authors in the community. Faustino R. Gamboa, a former plantation worker who became editor of the *Kaua'i Filipino News*, wrote several novels in Ilokano including *Linglignay* (Happiness) which was published in Hilo in 1935. Another former plantation laborer who later became an established businessman, Asisclo B. Sevilla, wrote a biographical novel *Iti Tayak ni Gasat* (In the Field of Fortune). Marcos Baguinon, who after finishing his three year labor agreement started the Philippine Trade and Supply Company, was a well known Ilokano poet in the Philippines, and "one of the most popular literary men" among Ilokanos in Hawai'i. Macario C. Alverne in 1930 wrote the *Manual for the Filipino Progressive Laborer*, an English grammar and reading handbook that included an English–Ilokano–Visayan dictionary of words, phrases and sentences and sample business correspondence. Author of "one of the most popular of Filipino novels," *Ulilang Kalapate* (Lone Pigeon), Maximo Sevilla was a well published Tagalog novelist and poet besides being editor of the *Philippine News Tribune* of Honolulu. The literary legacy produced by these authors writing in diaspora is itself worthy of future research for what it might reveal to us about how Filipinos perceived life and work in Hawai'i and their homeland.

The men included in *The Filipinos in Hawai'i* were active members of the church, particularly the Congregational and Methodist churches rather than the Catholic church. This is understandable since Cariaga had relied on Filipino

Protestant ministers on each island "for their splendid assistance in gathering the material for the biographical section" of the book. For the same reason, fourteen of the men were pastors of Congregational or Methodist churches. In some cases, they had been trained in the Philippines (e.g., at Union Theological Seminary in Manila), while others came to Hawai'i as plantation workers and were recruited by the church to become preachers. The Congregational Hawaiian Board of Missions recruited Filipino plantation laborers for religious training at its Christian Workers Institute in Honolulu. After a three year course of study, they were assigned to Filipino Congregational churches in plantation communities throughout the islands. In a few cases, after their training and serving the community, the Hawaiian Board of Missions sent Filipinos to theological colleges in California for further education. One of these enlisted laborers was the Rev. Emeterio A. Centeno, pastor of the Filipino Congregational Church at Pu'unene, Maui, who arrived in Hawai'i in 1910 and worked as an irrigation laborer (Cariaga 1937: 87). "Deeply impressed with the need for Christian leadership among his fellow countrymen in Hawai'i," he enrolled at the Christian Workers Institute and after completing his training was assigned to the church at Pu'unene.

The Methodist Board of Missions also recruited Filipinos to become lay preachers and religious workers in far flung plantation communities and similarly sent some of them to schools in California for formal training. Other Filipinos served their church by assisting the minister in services, teaching or supervising Sunday school for adults, serving as lay preachers and church deacons, and being officers in church organizations. Their participation in these church activities is all the more remarkable since Cariaga (1937: 70) observed that, even though Filipino ministers had been assigned to almost all the plantations in churches built by the Congregational and Methodist Missions for the sole use of Filipinos, "only a small group of Filipinos attend their services." In contrast to these Protestant Filipinos, very little mention is made of Catholic Filipinos, although the great majority of Filipinos were Catholic. The Protestant church, especially the Methodist church with its services conducted partly in English, was viewed as a means of social mobility by Filipinos, and many community leaders were converted Protestants.

The individuals profiled differed in several other ways from the male Filipino community. Many of them were married and had their families with them in Hawai'i in contrast to the majority of Filipino men who were either unmarried or who had left their families in the Philippines because their low wages made it very difficult to support them. The men were commonly not

merely members but officers in Filipino voluntary associations such as the community or plantation camp club, bachelors' club, sports club, hometown or provincial association, the Filipino Commonwealth Club, Rizal Trailblazers, and fraternal organizations such as the Brown Brothers Society, Legionarios del Trabajo, Caballeros de Dimas Alang, and Gran Oriente Filipino.

While many of the men had arrived in Hawai'i as labor recruits through the HSPA, others came as "independent travelers" on their own, oftentimes with the primary goal of obtaining an education. A significant number were among the first Filipino laborers in Hawai'i (1907–1912) including a Cebuano who came in 1908 and remarked that there were only two Filipinos at that time, both of whom played in the Royal Hawaiian Band.[4] The individuals profiled represented the major ethnolinguistic groups in the Philippines including Visayans (e.g. from Cebu, Negros, Siquijor) and Tagalogs (e.g. from Batangas, Bulacan, Nueva Ecija, Tarlac) rather than primarily Ilokanos who comprised a substantial majority of Filipinos in Hawai'i.

The photographs of the men appear to have been formally produced at a studio with them dressed in coat and tie and some with a fountain pen in their breast pocket which was a prestigious sign of status, particularly white collar work. In quite a number of cases, the photos include wives and children and occasionally an unmarried brother. Given the relative scarcity of Filipino women during this period, the single men may have used this opportunity to be visually presented in the company of other prominent members of the community as a means of possibly attracting a future wife.

Like the men who generally were well known figures in local Filipino communities, some of their wives also were "active in the social and civic affairs" of the community. These women served as officers of the island or community Filipino Women's Club and/or were active members of the Congregational or Protestant community church serving as Sunday school teachers or musical accompanists. A few of them were members of the Filipino Committee of the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) in Honolulu, officers of Filipino women's clubs organized by the YWCA, or delegates to the annual Territorial Filipino Women's Conference sponsored by the Honolulu YWCA during the 1930s. Two of the women were officers of the Pearl of the Orient Club, an educational organization that fostered kindergarten activities among Filipino children. Several of the wives were nurses employed at plantation hospitals, while the others held a diverse range of occupations including school cafeteria supervisor, kindergarten teacher, boarding house operator, Philippine import store owner, and laundry operator. But in most cases no mention is made of the wife's occupation which may be an indication that they were generally unemployed. Indeed in 1930 only 7.8 percent of the 5,800 female Filipinos ten years and older were employed, almost one–half of them in agricultural work (Cariaga 1937: 29).

While the book has many photographs of wives (including several nonFilipinos[6]) with their husbands and children, there are only two pictures of individual women with their biographical sketches, both of whom are dressed in terno gowns as are some of the wives. One woman, Pilar M. Sua, has a description but no photo. She is described as a "prominent business woman of Honolulu ... carrying on the tradition of the Philippines where most of the retail trade operated by the Filipinos is in the hands of the women, who possess great business acumen" (Cariaga 1937: 143). This statement is useful to counter Cariaga's (1937: 30) own argument that the relative absence of commercial enterprise among Filipinos in Hawai'i was partially due to their having left retail trade and commerce in the Philippines "almost wholly" to Chinese and other foreigners.

Perhaps the best argument that can be made concerning the socially prominent status of the personalities in *The Filipinos in Hawai'i* is that many of them eventually emerged as leaders of the Filipino community, if they already were not so. Some of their names, e.g., Blanco, Los Baños, Pablo, Yadao, became quite well known both among Filipinos and nonFilipinos throughout the islands. In addition, Roland Sagum, then a police detective, would become a highly respected leader of territory and state wide Filipino community organizations including serving as the first president of the statewide United Filipino Council of Hawai'i in 1959. Juan Valdez Suyat, then a private mail carrier for the Pu'unene Post Office on Maui delivering mail to more than 6,000 Filipino families who engaged his services, was the father of Cecilia Suyat Marshall, the widow of former U.S. Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall, and Stanley Suyat, assistant director of the Peace Corps. Also on Maui, Asisclo B. Sevilla, who died in July 1995 at the age of 85, was a successful businessman, the first Filipino candidate (albeit unsuccessful) for political office in Hawai'i, and a member of the Maui County School Board. Fortunato Teho, the first Filipino to graduate from the University of Hawai'i in 1927 at the age of nineteen, was an agriculturalist with a plantation on Kaua'i before becoming a popular writer on gardening for the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*.

In contrast to their stigmatized ethnic identity as Filipino migrants, *The Filipinos in Hawai'i* can be read as asserting a national identity for Filipinos as Philippine citizens. The establishment of the Commonwealth of the Philippines

in 1935, just two years before the publication of the book, heightened nationalist sentiment among Filipinos in Hawai'i because the legislation that established the Commonwealth also provided for Philippine independence ten years later. Even before the inauguration of the Commonwealth, Filipino communities throughout the islands regularly observed the major Philippine national holiday, Rizal Day, on December 30 in honor of Dr. Jose Rizal, the national hero who was executed by the Spanish colonial government in 1898 for sedition. Rizal's birthdate on June 18 also was commemorated by the community. Commonwealth Day on November 15 became the other major national holiday celebrated by Filipinos until Philippine independence was granted on July 4, 1946.

The Filipinos in Hawai'i is replete with signifiers of this nationalist orientation and patriotic pride including the full text of the Constitution of the Philippine Commonwealth and photographs of the Philippine President, Manuel L. Quezon (inside of first page), Vice President Sergio Osmena, and the Resident Commissioner in Washington, D.C. Other photos that indicate this nationalist perspective are of the inauguration ceremony in Manila of the first president of the Philippine Commonwealth, and Commonwealth and Rizal Day observances in Hawai'i which were major community events. These holidays, especially the Rizal Days, were commonly celebrated each year with parades, banquets, balls, literary readings, dramatic productions, musical performances, sporting events, and live radio broadcasts from plantation communities and 'A'ala Park in downtown Honolulu, the focal point also for Filipino labor organizing rallies at that time. The photos of these celebrations were intended to demonstrate to the larger society that Filipinos, while employed as unskilled migrant laborers in an American territory, nonetheless were citizens of their own nation which had a constitution similar to that of the United States and which would be an independent republic in less than a decade. During this period, the national identity of being Philippine citizens was of greater collective significance to the community than the denigrated ethnic identity of being Filipino migrants in a U.S. territory. Cariaga (1937: 76) noted their far greater interest in Philippine rather than Hawai'i politics which is understandable since in the 1934 elections only 102 Filipinos were registered voters.

The Filipino Diaspora in Hawai'i

In his various writings, Cariaga provided sufficient description of the Filipino community in the 1930s to conclude that it represented a diaspora, although he did not use that specific term. A diaspora approach to the community

during this period is especially appropriate because of the substantial ties that linked Filipinos with the Philippines, including returning home permanently since working in Hawai'i was still viewed by many of them as a temporary "sojourn" (Cariaga 1937: 27). Then and now, diasporas are transnational in their scope and nature rather than being mere immigrant or ethnic minorities situated in a given nation–state (Okamura 1995b).

Anticipating such current conceptual views of diasporas in terms of ongoing transnational relations with the country of origin, Cariaga (1935b: 22) observed that "A chain of economic ties links Filipinos ... throughout the territory of Hawai'i with the homeland." These linkages were evident in transnational circulations of people, consumer goods, capital, and information between Hawai'i and the Philippines that at least in form are quite comparable to contemporary such movements. One obvious difference with the past when steamships took two weeks or longer to cross the Pacific is the speed at which that space can now be traversed; capital and information can be electronically transmitted virtually instantaneously from Hawai'i to the Philippines (Okamura 1995a: 391–392).

As for transnational movements of people, by the mid 1930s few Filipinos were arriving in Hawai'i from the Philippines because of the Depression and the passage of the Tydings–McDuffie Act that restricted Philippine immigration to the United States to fifty persons per year. The greater movement in the 1930s was from Hawai'i to the Philippines (31,000), and there also was a small migration to the continental United States (2,900) to join diaspora communities in California and Washington (Cariaga 1937: 1). Destitute and unemployed Filipinos were returning or being returned by the HSPA to the Philippines; in June 1933 the HSPA reported to a Honolulu newspaper that during the previous eighteen month period it had repatriated 9,200 Filipinos, many of whom were among the unemployed in the city (Alcantara 1973: 15). This homeward movement resulted in an absolute decline in the Filipino population of Hawai'i from 63,000 in 1930 to 53,600 in 1936 (Cariaga 1937: 1). Many men still hoped to return home because of the hard life they faced, the great difficulty of starting a family in Hawai'i, and the near impossibility of having their families join them because of the Tydings–McDuffie Act. As sojourners rather than immigrants, for "the vast majority of plantation men, ... their hearts are focused on the homeland and their energies are bent upon acquiring capital to invest in Philippine soil" (Cariaga 1937: 23). Of the nearly 122,000 Filipinos who migrated to Hawai'i between 1907 and 1935, more than one–half returned to the Philippines and another 15 percent moved on to the U.S. mainland (Cariaga 1937: 1).

With the onset of the Depression, it became even more difficult for Filipinos to finance a return trip home. As a result, "going home" societies, a type of rotating credit association which offered its members travel benefits to the Philippines, were organized by Filipinos. Many of these organizations were started in the latter half of the 1930s in Honolulu and the larger plantation towns such as Hilo, Wailuku and Waipahu. Members generally were assessed a monthly dues payment, and after a specified period of time they were entitled to the cost of a trip to the Philippines. In one of the larger organizations, the Oriental Benevolent Association, members paid dues of $2.00 per month for each membership and could hold as many as three memberships. After six months, they were entitled to a trip of more than 2,000 miles and also received an annual payment of $100.00 for each membership they held.

Several of the men profiled in *The Filipinos in Hawai'i*, e.g., Juan A. Quindara and Felipe R. Gamponia (Oriental Benevolent Association) and Faustino R. Gamboa (Inanama Mutual Benefit Society) were leaders of going home societies. Started in 1933 with its main office in Wailuku, Maui, the Oriental Benevolent Association was perhaps the most affluent and largest of the going home organizations, at one time having more than 21,000 memberships (Okamura 1983: 305). During World War II when travel between Hawai'i and the Philippines was suspended, the assets of the association increased tremendously as members continued to pay their monthly dues. Its financial statement for 1945 indicated that it had assets of over $2 million with the bulk invested in securities such as $600,000 in bonds purchased during the war. However, the Oriental Benevolent Association went the route of other going home societies when its members voted in 1947 for dissolution in the face of possible court action and increasing financial constraints.

Most of the going home organizations seem to have been plagued by financial and legal problems despite the considerable assets amassed by several of them. Their financial weakness was that travel benefits were paid directly from the income from membership fees such that there were insufficient funds when no new members were recruited. Legislation also was enacted in Hawai'i in 1937 that required the organizers of mutual benefit societies to obtain an operating license; in consequence, going home associations became the object of close scrutiny for over a decade beginning in the mid 1930s by government officials who seemed to consider their operation a "veritable racket."

Linkages with the Philippines also were maintained through the considerable sums of money that were regularly sent home by Filipinos to their relatives. During the very prosperous sugar years of 1927 ($2.2 million), 1928 ($3.2 million) and 1929 ($3.3 million), vast amounts of money were remitted through postal money orders to the Philippines (Lasker 1931: 252 as cited in Cariaga 1937: 35). Returning "Hawayanos" as Filipinos living in Hawai'i were called, also sent money home through the HSPA, and this totaled $650,000 in 1932 and $625,000 the following year. It is quite problematic to reconcile these substantial sums of money with the continual complaints of inadequate pay voiced by laborers. Cariaga (1937: 38) remarked on the "Mazarin task for the laborer to live according to his desires in Hawai'i and still save money." One explanation advanced is that individual workers were able to accumulate a significant amount of cash to remit home through their membership in rotating credit associations (Alegado 1991: 15–16), which Filipinos called *cumpang*, a Hawai'i Creole English term for "company" (Cariaga 1937: 38). Nonetheless, according to the annual reports of the Treasurer of the Territory of Hawai'i, individual Filipino savings deposit accounts averaged more than $200 in the midst of the Depression between 1929 and 1934 (e.g., $4.6 million in 21,300 accounts in 1932) (Cariaga 1937: 35). These savings may well have been amassed after many years of toil and a spartan existence (Okamura 1983: 76).

Money also was sent to close relatives or friends in the Philippines to be invested in retail merchandising or purchasing land since a "great many" of the plantation laborers hoped to become land owning farmers upon their return home which was one of their primary objectives in migrating to Hawai'i (Cariaga 1935b: 22). Some of the men profiled in *The Filipinos in Hawai'i* spoke of returning and engaging in "scientific farming," perhaps based on the knowledge gained through plantation agriculture.

Another transnational circulation was evident in the consumer goods from the Philippines that were available in import stores. In Honolulu alone, Cariaga (1937: 31) noted there were six such Filipino owned stores including the appropriately named Cababayan (compatriot) Store on North King Street which sold Philippine made "slippers, shoes, mats, rugs, wall hangings, books, lamps, curios, barong Tagalog [long sleeve dress shirts], Filipina dresses [terno gowns], perfumes and cosmetics." Businesses such as the Manila Trade and Supply Co. imported foodstuffs such as bottled *bagoong* and dried fish and distributed them throughout the islands.

In the opposite direction, relatives in the Philippines were sent "all types of American made goods: sweaters, woolen suits, enlarged pictures, watches, and the like" (Cariaga 1935b: 22). In terms that would still apply sixty years later, Cariaga (1935b: 22) commented that "Anything made in the magic land of America is eagerly sought in the Philippines, and increases the prestige and

social standing of the owner." At present, Japan, Saudi Arabia, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Canada, Australia, and various European countries can be added to the magic land of global consumer culture into which Filipinos have been incorporated as a result of working abroad or having relatives who do.

Information also flowed between Hawai'i and the Philippines, although at quite a slow pace through letters carried on ships crossing the Pacific. A more direct transfer of information and ideas about life and work in the diaspora was represented by returning Hawayanos whose personal appearance in remote barrios dressed in stylish "Hollywood" suits contributed to false images of the riches to be easily earned as a plantation laborer. The purchase of land and new homes by these returnees also conveyed ideas about Hawai'i as a veritable land of opportunity such that by 1926 the HSPA no longer had to pay the fare of labor recruits given their great desire to travel to the islands on their own. As Cariaga (1937: 20) noted, "Money began to pour back to the home families, laborers returned affluent, and the rush to migrate was on." Returning overseas Filipinos, now called *balikbayan*, continue to transmit information, images and ideas as well as consumer goods and capital from what is presently a "global Filipino diaspora" that has extended its space to far flung corners of the world (Okamura 1995b).

Conclusion

A superficial reading of *The Filipinos in Hawai'i* might lead one to criticize it in the same terms that have been directed to a more recent photographic and narrative work on Filipino Americans (Cordova 1983) as "a symptom of the conflicted subaltern compensating for its supposed lack by impressing the public eye with an overwhelming multiplicity of images of family/communal togetherness, images of smiling faces ... enough to generate illusions of normalcy and progress" (San Juan, Jr. 1993: 158). In highlighting the individuals in *The Filipinos in Hawai'i* (some of whom indeed are smiling), I am not arguing that they in any way were representative of the larger community which continued to be suppressed and disdained during the Depression decade of the 1930s. These men were very much a small minority, and as such their existence was not especially well known to the larger society that preferred to continue essentializing Filipinos as uneducated plantation laborers and sexually driven and violent criminals. It was this intractable ignorance and the racism and discrimination which it bred that Cariaga and the Filipino community were resisting and contesting through the production of *The Filipinos in Hawai'i.* The book should not be read as an attempt to obfuscate the extreme subordinate political and economic status of Filipinos since that status, which is clearly delineated in the text, was the primary catalyst for the book's production.

It needs to be asked what were the other ways besides producing a book for the Filipino community to assert and represent itself in the economic and political arenas in the 1930s. In the labor field, the same year that *The Filipinos in Hawai'i* was published a Filipino labor union, the Vibora Luviminda, won a wage increase after an initially unplanned strike on a plantation at Pu'unene, Maui, the first such victory along with union recognition by plantation management in the then 100 year history of the sugar industry.[7] There were several other strikes, some successful and some unsuccessful, led by Filipino sugar and pineapple workers in the late 1930s, i.e., at Moloka'i, on the Hamakua coast of the Big Island, at Kahuku plantation on O'ahu, and at Kekaha plantation on Kaua'i (Beechert 1985: 231). But the Filipino labor union, the Higher Wages Movement, that had led the 1920 and 1924 plantation strikes was long defunct by then, and union leader Pablo Manlapit had been banished to the Philippines in 1934 (Kerkvliet 1991: 163). Not until 1946 would all Filipino and other plantation workers be organized into a common union, the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, and win the first industry wide and territory wide strike.

In electoral politics, severely hampered by their relatively small number of eligible voters, a Filipino would not be elected to political office until 1954. Filipino political activities were more directed to events and issues in the Philippines, especially with impending independence, than to those in Hawai'i. Another possible means of political activism was community organizations, but there were none during this period that could effectively organize the community or represent its collective interests (Okamura 1981: 74). In the absence of effective economic and political organizing at least in the 1930s, writing can be seen as an alternative mode of political expression and advocacy that contributed to the historical struggle of an extremely marginalized and oppressed people.

Endnotes

I would like to express my appreciation to Steffi San Buenaventura for reading and commenting on a previous draft of this paper.

1. Keesing wrote several books on the Philippines including *Taming Philippine Headhunters: A Study of Government and of Cultural Change in Northern Luzon* (1934, coauthored with his wife) and *The Philippines, a Nation in the Making* (1937).

2. This association may have developed from an ad hoc "Filipino Committee of Thanksgiving" that had been organized at the suggestion of the Philippine Resident Commissioner in Washington, D.C. that Hawai'i Filipinos hold a thanksgiving mass for the liberation of Manila.

3. The more positive characteristics included "hardworking," "thrifty," "eager to learn" and "musical."

4. One of these men may have been Lazaro Salamanca about whom Cariaga wrote an article in the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (May 15, 1935, p. 3). Salamanca and three other Filipinos joined the Royal Hawaiian Band in 1888 when their troupe of twelve musicians and acrobats from Manila decided to stay in Honolulu following a salary dispute with their manager (Okamura 1983: 85).

5. "Fountain pen boys" was a mildly derisive term used in the Philippines to refer to Filipinos who had studied in the United States during this period.

6. Because of the relative paucity of Filipino women of marriageable age, Filipino men had an outmarriage rate of 37.5 percent between 1930 and 1940, particularly with Hawaiian and Portuguese women (Lind 1980: 114). Several of the latter were married to men in the book including a Mrs. Josephine Perreira Javier who "speaks fluent Tagalog and felt very much at home during her visit to the Philippines in 1923."

7. This is oftentimes referred to as the last major "racial" plantation strike in Hawai'i, i.e., involving workers from only one racial/ethnic group.

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"Pineapples," "Hawayanos," and "Loyal Americans": Local Boys in the First Filipino Infantry Regiment, US Army

Linda A. Revilla

This article is an exploratory study of the ethnicity and ethnic identity of the second generation Filipinos, young men who joined the army or were drafted during World War Two and served in the "First and Second Filipino Infantry Regiments, US Army" in the Pacific. These soldiers had the unique experience of being in a unit comprised of older Filipino immigrants in their thirties and themselves, second generation teenagers, born and raised in Hawai'i.

I discuss the manifestation and affirmation of ethnicity by the second generation; how, why, and when they thought of themselves as "Americans," or "Pineapples," or "Hawayanos." I examine how ethnic identities are negotiated and constructed through the experiences of everyday life in Hawai'i and through the military experience. As Isajiw describes, "in this approach ... ethnicity is something that is being negotiated and constructed in everyday living ... a process which continues to unfold. It has relatively little to do with Europe, Africa, Asia, etc., but much to do with the exigencies of everyday survival" (1993-94:12). The ethnic identity of the young men from Hawai'i was what would now be described as "local" identities, identities tied to their life experiences as Filipinos born and raised in plantation-era Hawai'i. This "local" affiliation was to color the interactions that the men had during their stay in basic training on the U.S. mainland and during deployment in the Philippines. This approach is useful in examining the ethnicity of the Filipino community in Hawai'i, which differs in many ways from Filipino communities in other parts of the United States, in the Philippines, and elsewhere around the world.

Asian American Second Generation Ethnicity and Identity

The different expressions of ethnicity and ethnic identity by Hawai'i Asians and mainland Asians have been noted in previous research (Alcantara 1975; Matsumoto, Meredith & Masuda 1973). However, few studies have looked at second generation Asians before the 1960s; fewer studies have looked at second generation Filipinos. Many older American models of ethnicity and ethnic identity posit most immigrant second generations as "the assimilation generation," striving to forget the immigrant culture to embrace "Americanization," or being confused about being in two worlds (Smith 1927).