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Not Quite American: the Philippine Community in the United States (1909-1943)

William Guéraiche  
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When the Treaty of Paris was signed on December 10, 1898 the Philippines became a possession of the United States. The influx of immigrants from the colony, which in American public opinion did not differ from other Asian emigrations (mainly Japanese and Chinese), began shortly after the ‘pacification’ of the islands and the setting up of regular shipping lines between the two countries in the 1910s’. From the Philippine point of view, the United States represented an *El Dorado* of sorts, where anyone could seek a better life. In addition, the U.S., with its way of life and its modernity, represented the prestige of the colonizer to the Philippine élite.

To tell the history of the Philippine community in the U.S., historians have access to official archives such as those of the Bureau of Insular Affairs (B.I.A.), created in 1902. Philippine communities in the U.S. also published journals, a double page to keep members informed of activities and the situation in the ‘home country’. This source is unfortunately not entirely reliable because of its irregularity: publishers were often unable to sustain the initiative. The recent appreciation for the usefulness of ‘oral archives’ permits the historian to gather individual perspectives in the broader context of cultural exchanges. But by no means can these be the only source<sup>1</sup>. So far, historical studies on the Philippine community in the U.S. have focused on communities on the West Coast.<sup>2</sup>

In addition to the sources mentioned above, the archives of Manuel Quezon, the first President of the Commonwealth, shed a new light on the Philippine community in the U.S. Quezon was indeed considered the *de facto* head of the community. At the beginning of his career, as Resident Commissioner, Quezon lived in the United States and established close personal ties with his countrymen. Even while in the Philippines, he kept a close eye on the overseas community. His archives, which consist of personal letters and reports that he received, differ from official correspondence in that Americans rarely intervened in the process. This therefore provides us with another source from which to reconstruct attitudes within the Filipino community.

### *Quezon and American Filipinos*

Filipino emigration occurred at the same time as the general migrations of the first part of the XX<sup>th</sup> century. The statistical office of the Immigration Bureau in the United States Department of Labor provides reliable data on migrants to the mainland. For Hawaii, the U.S. Immigration Service and the Bureau of Insular Affairs published reports annually. The confirmation of American sovereignty in the Philippines triggered the first wave of migration. In the 1910’s H. Brett Melendy stated that 2,767 Filipinos had settled in the U.S.<sup>3</sup>. Over the next decade, the B.I.A. and the Immigration Service in Hawaii counted 113,144 departures from the Philippines<sup>4</sup>. In the same year, the Philippine community had been estimated at just 26,634 individuals. The discrepancy can be explained by the mobility of this population. Few Filipinos intended to stay on the mainland permanently, and many Filipinos in the U.S. had not been recorded on official registers of the Census of Population and Housing. The Philippine community increased to 100,000 in the 1930’s and remained stable until the 1950’s (108,260; 98,535 in the 1940s’ and 122,707 in the 1950’s). More important than any other reason for Philippine migration, it should be noted that the U.S. did attract migrants from the all over the world until the Johnson laws of 1969. The U.S. was already the first industrial power when WWI broke out and was in need of manpower in agriculture as well. This was particularly pronounced in Hawaii because of the sugar plantations. As the Japanese government had

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<sup>1</sup> . Cf my article « Les archives orales, sources historiques » in *Les Archives de la parole, Histoire et Archives*, n°6, décembre 1999, pp. 145-150, where I attempt to describe the interest in and limitations of this kind of documentation. Nevertheless, interviews collected by Espiritu, Yen Le. 1995 – *Filipino American Lives*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 216 p., gathered relevant information on the American Filipinos.

<sup>2</sup> . For example, Dorothy Bint Fugita Rony. 1996 – “*You Got to Move like Hell*”: *Trans-Pacific Colonialism and Filipina/o Seattle, 1919-1941*. Doctorate of Philosophy, Yale University, 258 p.

<sup>3</sup> . Melendy, H Brett. 1977 – *Asians in America: Filipinos, Koreans and East Indians*. Boston: Twayne Publisher, 340 p.

<sup>4</sup> . Lasker, Bruno. 1931 – *Filipino Immigration to Continental United States and to Hawaii*. Chicago: the University of Chicago Press, p. 347 and sq.

restricted out-migration among its own workers, landowners in Hawaii hired Filipinos instead. In fact in 1931, there were more Filipinos in Hawaii alone (about 70, 000) than there were on the mainland (60,000). For Philippine migrants, economic reasons were nearly always the motivating factor and migrations to America must be combined with intra-island movements within the Philippines<sup>5</sup>. By and large, the desire for larger earnings was probably more important than the expectation of a higher standard of living in a 'civilized' country. A network of familial and regional solidarity quickly took root. The Philippine community was located in two main areas: nearly half settled in California (Stockton, Los Angeles, etc.). New York and Chicago were the two main areas of concentration outside of the West Coast.

While in the Philippines, Manuel Quezon maintained close relations with the Philippine community in the U.S. In May 1909, he was elected Resident Commissioner. The relationship between the colonizer and the Islands was still unclear at the time. The United States refused to admit that the Philippines was a "colony", but the archipelago was of strategic importance in the geopolitical chessboard in the Pacific. In addition Americans had begun to invest there. Therefore, the Resident Commissioner represented a kind of ambassador of the Filipino people. Officially his mission was to defend his country's interests before the American Congress. Manuel Quezon also planned to become the head of state of the newly independent nation after the Americans had withdrawn<sup>6</sup>. It was important for him to appear to be the only possible Philippine representative not only in the Philippines but among the 'overseas' Filipino community as well. He kept in contact with associations, which regularly invited him to preside at banquets in his honor, or to judge *balagtasan* competitions. Once he had acquired the confidence of these associations, M. Quezon became increasingly reluctant to visit the Filipino Clubs of Washington, New York and Los Angeles<sup>7</sup>. The same seems to hold true for the Masonic lodges of which he was a member. The Resident Commissioner understood early on how he could take advantage of his connections. In the early 1920s, Quezon's secretaries systematically declined invitations from all associations although he did at times send a representative.

Even after he became president of the Senate in 1916 and came back to the Philippines, Quezon appears to have remained the unofficial head of the Filipino overseas community. The letters that he received showed a familial attachment to him. In some instances Quezon's support was the last hope for Filipinos who wanted to lodge an appeal. In this sense the bond resembled a Philippine patron – client relationship. In May 1919, for instance, N.L., or certainly his lawyer, wrote to M. Quezon. The Filipino had been jailed for manslaughter but had received a poor defense at his trial. The president of the senate replied that the matter had already been decided by the court and: "*it will not be proper for me to intervene. I hope, however, you will obtain what you desire through good behaviour while in prison*"<sup>8</sup>. In many cases, Quezon's secretaries made no effort to reply to certain letters, such as one from L.M.G. who had been arrested in connection with smuggling opium although he claimed to be innocent<sup>9</sup>. But M. Quezon was responsive to the real distress of his countrymen. On August 25, 1930, Raymond L. Sloat, a lawyer wrote on behalf of his client. V.M.L. had murdered a girl with whom he lived: "*a woman of little or no moral sense who took from L. all the money that he earned*". V.M.L. added himself one week later that his brother was a mason like M. Quezon and asked for his help, "... *your honor, as leader of the masses of the Filipinos*"<sup>10</sup>...". Quezon's secretary replied on September 20 that he would forward the documents to Camilio Osias, the Resident Commissioner. The correspondence demonstrates that Quezon acted very much like the leader to whom each Filipino owed respect, and also represented the final authority among his countrymen, the individual with the last say. This peculiar relationship generated all manner of personal requests. A young Filipino who asked Quezon for an official position also dared to involve him in an offer of marriage! The father's bride, from Boston, asked the Resident Commissioner for information on his prospective son-in-law's "*age, character, profession, ability, married or single, family connections, financial condition, standing*

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<sup>5</sup> . Doeppers, Daniel F. and Xenos, Peter (ed.). 1998 – *Population and History. The Demographic origins of the Modern Philippines*. Madison-Quezon City: University of Wisconsin-ADMU Press, 431 p.

<sup>6</sup> . On the competition between M. Quezon and S. Osmena, see my article: "In the eye of the colonizer: political stakes through the independence process (1907-1923)", Manila, to be published.

<sup>7</sup> . Clubs, associations, B. 23-25 and Free Masonry B 135 for the following examples.

<sup>8</sup> . Filipinos in the States, B. 184.

<sup>9</sup> . Filipinos in the States, B. 183.

<sup>10</sup> . Filipinos in the States, B. 184.

*among his people, army record and standing, position regarding government to recent elections in Philippines (sic), vote at that time, and in fact the information you would know regarding the man your daughter would care to marry*<sup>11</sup>!

The first generation of Filipino migrants was culturally very similar to the Filipinos back in the Philippines. They behaved as they did in the Philippines: they asked for free transport, recommendations, positions and even money, like the workers who heard in December 1914 that the war for independence had begun. They said that they had "... *decide[d] to going back home to help in our motherland (...)*". The Resident commissioner replied that: "*It is not true that there is a revolt in the Philippines. We expect to get our independence by peaceful means*"<sup>12</sup>. After 1935, the president of the Commonwealth felt comfortable in the role as the moral authority of Filipinos. M.N, a student, probably brilliant, asked M. Quezon about a position in the future Foreign office. The president's secretary looked into the applicant's background and discovered that M.N. was careless with his money. M. Quezon took the opportunity to lecture M.N.: "*you are even liable to get into trouble which might cause you to lose whatever position you may succeed in occupying in the civil service of the Commonwealth*". M. Quezon could afford to be outspoken because he was dealing with someone who, having been educated in the United States, was probably less sensitive to such speech. In one area Quezon was particularly powerful. He could facilitate the process of going to study in the United States.

### ***Students and other Pensionados***

According to official records, 896 Filipino students attended American universities in 1930. This figure is confirmed by Manuel Adeva, president of the Filipino Christian Association, who stated that 905 students were enrolled in different colleges and universities in that year<sup>13</sup>. Most of them came directly from the Philippines, and encountered many different problems, including access to scholarships and funding, gaining admission into prestigious universities and simply adjusting to life in the United States. For example, Camilio Osias, the Resident commissioner received a letter reproaching many Filipinos for belonging to Ku Klux Klan. After making inquiries, Osias learned that the students were members of an association bearing the initials K.K.K, the *Kataastaasang Kagalangalang Katipunan*<sup>14</sup>!

In spite of the creation of the University of the Philippines in 1906 and the high quality of teaching there, Filipino students continued to go to the American mainland. This stream continued throughout the colonial occupation. American officials and nationalist leaders understood early on that there were advantages to this migration and attempted to manage it. Americans took to their own account the institution of old Spanish *pensionado*: young Filipinos studying in the mainland on scholarships who were to work for the colonial administration on graduating. After the First World War, the procedure was clearly outlined. In the spring of 1919, W.W. Marquardt became the Philippine Education Agent, working for the Bureau of Insular Affairs. This civil servant knew the habits of the élite well and always tried to avoid any pressure from them. In November 20, 1920, he wrote a small guide, *Roster for Philippine Government Students. Suggestions and Instructions*, which outlined the rules of the game for the *pensionado*. In the introduction, the author emphasizes that each *pensionado* is a representative of the Filipinos, and that Americans will judge the whole people by the way that the individual *pensionado* behaves. Students had been sent to the U.S. not just to acquire a good education but also for: "*The development of your moral fiber and the maintaining of high moral standards are essential for your future usefulness in life as well as for the instilling of a high conception of Filipino character in the minds of the American people*". The Council of State created under F.B. Harrison, the most liberal American governor-general, chose a limited number of students (about thirty a year, regular and part time), who received an allowance of \$40 a month and in \$60 per month in 1922 plus tuition, books, clothing, travel and medical expenses. W.W. Marquardt said that he could take action to send students doing unsatisfactory work back to the Philippines. But the selection

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<sup>11</sup> . Filipinos in the States, B. 185.

<sup>12</sup> . Filipinos in the States, B. 181.

<sup>13</sup> . (Lasker 1931, 375) and Students in the U.S., B. 176.

<sup>14</sup> . Students in the U.S., B. 178.

process seemed to be efficient. The only exception was in 1915, with a student was expelled from Georgetown because of his lack of familiarity with English<sup>15</sup>.

The Philippine Education Agent strove to recruit students on their own merits and not because of their family background. In September 1914, the future president of the first Philippine Republic, Manuel Roxas, took postgraduate courses in chemistry but he did not need be to be a *pensionado* because he came from a wealthy family<sup>16</sup>. All students were not therefore equal. While W.W. Marquardt drafted his guide, Rafael Trias, son of the General Trias, won a scholarship to the University of Chicago. He had to sign an agreement in which he committed to attend courses, to conform to all rules and, after the end of his studies, to return to the Philippines. Like each *pensionado*, he was obliged to accept: “*appointment and faithfully perform the duties thereto in the office or bureau from which I was appointed, at a salary fixed by competent authority for a period of time at the rate of one and one-half years for every year spent abroad at the expense of the government, unless sooner separated from the service by competent authority.*” To what extent could R. Trias serve the colonial apparatus inasmuch as he attended the college of commerce and business? R. Trias counted on the support of J. P. Laurel, chairman of Committee on government *pensionados* and even on American officials like F. McIntyre, the chief of the B.I.A. who wrote a letter of recommendation to the Dean of the University of Chicago, a former classmate<sup>17</sup>. Emilio Aguinaldo JR, the son of General Aguinaldo, who was for a short time president of the first Republic in 1898, provides an example of how some of the wealthy families behaved themselves. On April 5, 1922, the general sent a telegram to M. Quezon, requesting money for his son. The government allowance of \$ 100 was inadequate to meet his needs and he requested an advance of \$ 500<sup>18</sup>. His son planned to enter Yale to study commerce and finance. A few weeks later, E. Aguinaldo Jr was in the United States. He contacted W.W. Marquardt and said that he wanted to enter West Point. The Philippine Education Agent replied that he had to ask his father and get permission from the *pensionado* committee beforehand. Moreover, he would have gained admission to West Point if had he met the entrance requirements. So Aguinaldo Jr called the Department of War! As a result, wrote W.W. Marquardt to Manuel Quezon, the Secretary of War asked General Wood, Governor General of the Philippines, to designate Emilio Aguinaldo Jr as a *pensionado* but pointed out that “*this goes not give him very much chance to get in*”. Quezon was quite indignant: “*There is no reason why this boy should get more than other pensionado. In a democracy, the son of no man deserves more consideration than any other citizen. Individual merits and not inheritance is what should count*”. Governor General Wood interceded and asked F. McIntyre to provide the funds to E. Aguinaldo Jr. Apparently the latter got the money but did not, in the end, attend any university.

Apart from the *pensionados*, many of the Filipino students in the U.S. managed to pay for their education. Manuel Quezon never refused to help a deserving student *en route* to the U.S.<sup>19</sup>. On June 25, 1923, Arsenio Arellano received a letter of introduction and other missives to facilitate his sojourn. One letter of introduction was addressed to Vicente G. Bunuan, Director of the Philippine Press Bureau, who was asked to do his best to give the bearer a position: “*even as a messenger*”. Another was addressed to F. McIntyre. A. Arellano: “*... is a poor boy, he would like to find some means to earn his livelihood while there [Washington]. If you could help him in any way, I shall immensely appreciate it*<sup>20</sup>.” The same year, the B.I.A. eased some regulations to help students from the Philippines who were not on scholarship. It was probably the consequence of a letter written by Pedro Baguio to M. Quezon in August 1922. This student suggested that the Philippine Education Agent investigate students with good records who had finished their courses. And he could: “*send them home with government’s aid in the same way as pensionados and give them work as soon as they arrive*<sup>21</sup>.” D. Rosales got in touch with M. Quezon on March 7, 1923 because he heard of a scholarship offered to Filipino students “*who are already in America or Europe and*

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<sup>15</sup> . Students in the U.S. B. 177.

<sup>16</sup> . Students in the U.S., B. 177. M. Quezon wrote about him in a letter of recommendation: “I am personally very much interested in the success and the future of this young man”.

<sup>17</sup> . Students in the U.S., B. 177.

<sup>18</sup> . Students in the U.S., B. 176. The basic allowance was \$ 60 per month.

<sup>19</sup> . See my article “Sociability and personal bonds in the Philippines under American rule” in *Asia-Pacific Social Science Review*, Manila, March 2002.

<sup>20</sup> . Letters of recommendation, B. 207.

<sup>21</sup> . Students in the U.S., B. 177.

who are making good showing in their line of pursuit". A few weeks later, he sent an application to the B.I.A.

M. Quezon certainly had ulterior motives when he attempted to bring students back to the Philippines. Once in the U.S., the brightest and poorest students could find work and send money back to their families. Sons and daughters of the elite nearly always returned to the Philippines. Philippine students who decided to settle in the U.S. were considered a "loss" to the country. Yet even American officials were aware that the Philippines needed competent staff to join its administration. The B.I.A. was always reluctant to extend stays. In June 1912, a *pensionado* asked to stay one more year at his own expense. F. McIntyre, chief of the B.I.A. replied that this young man: "*is losing an opportunity by not returning in the Islands and beginning practical work. (...) For a young graduate the opportunity in the Philippine Islands is ample*"<sup>22</sup>. The following day M. Quezon admitted that his friend was right. It was always difficult to make the right decision. In 1913, a doctor asked for a scholarship, and was granted one. He returned to the Philippines the following year but, according to F. McIntyre, left again for the reason that the B.I.A. had not offered him a suitable position<sup>23</sup>. The doctor had cleverly interned at an American hospital when he asked for a new fellowship to be trained in X-ray technology that he could bring back to the Philippines. Finally Quezon argued that, due to the conflict, no scholarship would be granted. Conversely, Quezon did not hesitate to support Ambrosio Torres, a Philippine *pensionado* who asked to stay one more year to continue his studies in engineering. "*If in your opinion, wrote the chief of the B.I.A., he is worthy of such privilege, I shall be pleased to suggest that his request be complied with*". One month later, Ambrosio Torres got his extension.

#### *To return or not?*

All things considered this was the definitive question for Filipinos far from their native soil. Migrants have always debated whether to return and how they should settle in the foreign culture. Communities are torn between assimilation, dissolving one's identity into the larger culture, and integration, keeping alive one's cultural traits. For most of the first generations of migrants, the answer was not clear. Individually, they knew why they left their homeland (usually for economic reasons), but the decision to return was the result of more varied personal experiences, the job they got or didn't get, the solidarity they found, or simply their hopes for themselves or their children. Manuel Quezon was informed of the Filipinos' situation, either through the individuals who needed his support, or through the presidents of various Philippine associations. As he rose to power, M. Quezon lost personal contacts with the community. In addition, the situation of American Filipinos had evolved. The depression represented a turning point, and in May 1928, Congressman R. J. Welch of California proposed a bill for the exclusion of Filipinos from the mainland.

In the 1910s', relations between Americans and Filipinos appeared to be difficult. "*Since the time of my arrival in the United States [Seattle] from the lovely Philippines, wrote Pedro Del Mondo to Quezon on September 4, 1914, I found out that the Filipinos are suffering a struggle for life which deprived them from being equal to other strangers (sic)*"<sup>24</sup>. Filipinos, who Americans could not distinguish from other Asians, were often victims of racism. On August 12, 1911, Filomeno de Silva was ejected from Thompson's Café in Seattle: "*on the account of our skin being dark*"<sup>25</sup>. Seamen and agricultural workers faced hostility of their foremen. Three sailors employed as coal-passers and firemen aboard an American boat were insulted and badly treated by an officer. When they refused to do work that was different from what they had been employed to do, they were chained, hands together, for three hours. The Resident Commissioner was powerless to sue the offenders. Still in Seattle, the situation of the workers was not enviable. In January 1914, Manuel Quezon forwarded complaints from Filipino workers to the American administration. F. McIntyre sent a letter to the U.S. Attorney General but without consequence. In January 1922, the Secretary of War was compelled to intervene with the Attorney General: "*The complaints have been sufficiently numerous and insistent to warrant my bringing them to the attention of your Department for*

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<sup>22</sup> . Students in the U.S., B. 176.

<sup>23</sup> . Students in the U.S., B. 177.

<sup>24</sup> . Filipinos in the U.S., B. 182. Dorothy Bint Fujita Rony, *opus cite*, drew a complete picture of the community in her doctorate.

<sup>25</sup> . Filipinos in the U.S., B. 181.

*possible investigation*<sup>26</sup>. Workers were not in a position to defend themselves because they were foreigners in the eyes of the law.

Inquiries in the 1910's about U.S. citizenship are frequent. A seaman, working for the Navy at the end of the WWI wondered why he has not received: "... *the 'citizenship' pay since we are governed and subject to the same law*<sup>27</sup>." Here, a worker living in Alaska for six years attempts to register and to vote, and there a student is denied his application for citizenship in Los Angeles. The replies to such requests referred to the Act of June 29, 1906 on the naturalization of Filipinos. According to the law some Philippine citizens were eligible to become naturalized citizens of the United States, while others were not. The Supreme Court, via the Bureau of Naturalization decided on all matters, which meant that the process of naturalization was not standard. The legislation, whose purpose was to protect U.S. citizens from a massive migration from the colony, made things difficult even for those who had not asked for citizenship, even for students. In February 1920, two Philippine students who were at Kansas State University studying military sciences were informed that they could not continue the course on the grounds that they were not American citizens. L.V. Carmack, chief clerk of the B.I.A. investigated and finally found a satisfactory solution for the students<sup>28</sup>. The recruitment of Filipino soldiers during WWI altered the situation, because officially only Americans could enlist in the army. During the crisis of 1929, many demands for naturalization arrived in Washington and Manila. Arguments like those used by M.M. Brown were irrefutable. While he was not American he had served in the Navy. M.M. Brown asked Quezon to secure legislation to admit Filipinos like himself to citizenship. But with the birth of the Commonwealth in 1935, under which independence would be granted within the next ten years, nationalist leaders had no interest in facilitating these transfers of qualified workers.

It was significant that the first issue of the journal published by the community of Vallejo (California) in February 1937 was entitled *Filipino American* and not "American Filipino". The second generation, the children of the first waves of migrants, educated in the U.S., was less inclined to defend a particular identity. Their parents sought respectability and dignity, the affirmation that they were not a primitive race, as Americans were quick to believe. In April 1913, Ledesma Jalandoni informed Quezon that she would organize a protest against an *'infamous exhibition'* on Igorots, probably showing them as barbarians practicing headhunting. 25 years later, the president of the Commonwealth received a similar complaint. In March 1939, Mrs. Francisco Bautista read an article in *Life Magazine* on the Igorots "*which caused undue embarrassment to me and my children who are attending school*". Jose B. Vargas, Quezon's secretary, replied that for the benefit of the teacher (sic), it should be made clear that the Igorots are not representative of all Filipinos. "*The Igorots belong to a disappearing, primitive but domestic tribal group (...)*." Filipinos have reached civilization but: "*however civilized or advanced a nation is, it still has – in its almost inaccessible regions – its own backward, or primitive, or mountain people. To that truism, the Philippines lays claim to no exception*<sup>29</sup>." Although there were American Filipinos who were proud to come from the islands, they more often than not were ashamed of the behavior of their countrymen.

The heads of the Filipino clubs were in the habit of sending annual reports to the Resident commissioners and to M. Quezon. These heads were usually well integrated 'Americans', or American civil servants, former officials of the B.I.A., or municipal representatives. These reports always focused on the lack of morality of many Filipinos and the troubles that befell some. In September 1926, Nicolas Rodriguez, president of Filipino Club of Los Angeles pointed out that the first problem that the Filipinos experienced was loneliness and isolation. "*Some go the numerous gambling houses to seek forgetfulness. Others spend their leisure hours in Pool rooms conducted by other Filipinos, Japanese and Chinese. The great majority of them find enjoyment in many cabarets of the city. They are attracted by the artificial beauty of the "white ballerinas". Consequently the majority are living only for today without thoughts for tomorrow*<sup>30</sup>." This trend seems to continue. In 1943, Manuel Adeva stated in the 5<sup>th</sup> annual conference of the Philippine organization of the western states, held in Stockton, that it was common knowledge in every Filipino

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<sup>26</sup> . Filipinos in the U.S., B. 184.

<sup>27</sup> . Filipinos in the U.S., B. 183.

<sup>28</sup> . Students in the U.S., B. 176.

<sup>29</sup> . Filipinos in the U.S., B. 181.

<sup>30</sup> . Filipinos in the U.S., B. 185.

community that: *“our countrymen are wasting both their time and their earnings in gambling places<sup>31</sup>”*. These denunciations always preceded recommended solutions. In the first case, N. Rodriguez suggested the creation of a central Filipino club capable of dealing with American authorities or employers. In the second case, M. Adeva recommended the creation of a co-operative saving plan for Filipinos. Finally presidents of associations always sought to increase their own power within the Filipino the community and their legitimacy in American society. Filipino workers were badly affected by the crisis of 1929. Philippine associations tried to provide some help to the unemployed. In the midst of the depression all expected, like the Filipino Community Center of Chicago, *“the most generous gift”* from other Philippine families in the U.S. In October 1933, the F.C.C. succeeded in sheltering and feeding an average of 60 men per day. This solidarity spread through the U.S. but did have its limits. Many took advantage of the crisis to solve the disturbing problem of unemployment in the Philippine community. In January 1931, W.H. Lawrence, a San Francisco lawyer and president of the Philippine Society, sent a resolution to M. Quezon. His association opposed the American Congress, which wanted to exclude Filipinos from the mainland. Nevertheless, the association suggested that: *“the repatriation of indigent Filipinos would not only reduce by so many the number of the unemployed of this country, but would have the effect of discouraging the further migrations of laborers from the Philippines to the United States (...)”<sup>32</sup>*. The President of the Senate replied that the resolution was excellent and hoped that something could be done. The economic situation in the colony was relatively healthy at the time and. Quezon believed that migrants could be better used within the archipelago, particularly in Mindanao.

The depression revealed a dichotomy in the Filipino community. One group consisted of those who were perfectly integrated into American society. The other group consisted of marginalised workers, who spoke poor English, and were in a more precarious position. The children of the first group behaved, for all intents and purposes, like most American children. Some of this second generation considered coming back to the Philippines, but only under certain conditions. In September 1934, for example, Jose B. Fernandez, on behalf of the Aero Student Club of New York, sent a petition to the president of the Philippine Senate. The Philippine members of the association wanted to help develop aviation in the colony for both commercial and military purposes. They submitted their application to become instructors for: *“the training and education of native Filipinos in the art of aeronautics (...)”*. Therefore, the young ‘Filipino Americans’ thought that they could return to the Philippines only if they could keep their privileged position<sup>33</sup>. They did not want to take any risks. This is why the rule became to apply for a job in the colonial apparatus only in the Philippines. Applicants were therefore obliged to leave the United States beforehand. In April 1937, Celedonio Salvador, acting Director of Education, replied to Leon Cadaos: *“I desire to advise you that no consideration to your application can be given in view of the fact that you are still in the United States.”* Deprived workers as well apparently wished to go back. In February 1937, M.J. Arciaga affirmed that most of the 20 000 Filipinos in the Pacific Coast had the desire to return to their native land and that 75 % of this number would have liked to: *“have vocational training before returning”*. While the President of the Salinas community applied for funds to open such a school, it is doubtful whether the Filipinos in question really expected any training. But what is almost certain is that most of them did not want to remain in the United States. The motivations of this segment of the community are difficult to understand, because even if the workers did have the means to return, they might not have, because it would have meant a loss of face with their family or community.

Social distinctions became less pronounced in the Second World War. J.M. Elizalde, the Resident Commissioner, gathered reports from the whole community to get an accurate representation of American Filipinos. Two years previously, he had suggested that the various Filipino clubs organize themselves. In parallel, a Pacific Coast Agency was constituted to protect the rights of workers before unscrupulous employers or *“self-appointed Filipino leaders”<sup>34</sup>*. In addition there were representatives, like Manuel Adeva, who reported for the 26 communities of the West Coast. He found no unemployment in these Western communities. The demand for labor in army transportation, farms and in canneries was so great that Filipinos had their pick of jobs. The Resident Commissioner helped resolve the difficulties that they

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<sup>31</sup> . Filipinos in the U.S., B. 181.

<sup>32</sup> . Filipinos in the U.S., B. 184.

<sup>33</sup> . At the time, flying was an expensive hobby that only the very wealthy could afford.

<sup>34</sup> . Filipinos in the U.S., B. 183.

encountered with regard to the citizenship requirements. Manuel Adeva did however balance out the picture. *“The fall of Bataan and Corregidor had depressed quite a few Filipinos to the extent of creating the attitude of “Bahala na”. (...) On the whole, the Filipinos are much better treated now all over the United States than before Bataan. (...) But there still remains however some discrimination in cities like Chicago, Los Angeles and San Francisco, where they can not rent a room or apartment in certain sections of the city, notwithstanding their social standard or ability to pay.”* Afterwards, the Attorney General of the California rendered his opinion that the State’s Alien Land law was not applicable to Filipino citizens, who were then permitted to buy and run farms.

When Independence was granted in 1946, relations between the Philippine community in the U.S. and the Americans normalized. A page of history had been turned. By and large, American Filipinos possessed one trait common to all migrant communities. They were torn between the desire to be integrated into their new country and the longing to go back to old one. Second-generation immigrants on the other hand had to manage their double identity, and there is also information on the new ‘American élite’ and the children of the lower class. But beyond the syndrome common to all migrant groups, Filipinos in the U.S. had one peculiarity: they tried to retain the same social organization that they had in the archipelago. Filipinos who had enhanced their social status behaved like the upper classes in the Philippines. It would be interesting to look into this phenomenon: for example, in what ways did the ‘new rich’ play the role of ‘patron’ within their communities? It would also be interesting to trace the fortunes of these families through the century. It is not clear whether and to what extent these families, after several generations, kept their Asian traditions. As far as Quezon was concerned the Filipino migration to the mainland was a ‘necessary evil’. After the implementation of the Commonwealth he never aided migrations to the United States and in fact encouraged the return of his countrymen.