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THE FILIPINO OCCUPATIONAL AND RECREATIONAL
ACTIVITIES IN LOS ANGELES

A Thesis

Presented to
the Faculty of the Department of Sociology
University of Southern California

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C357

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
Benicio Catapusan
February 1934

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This thesis, written under the direction of the candidate's Faculty Committee and approved by all its members, has been presented to and accepted by the Council on Graduate Study and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

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Date February, 1934

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INTRODUCTION

The writer wishes to express his appreciation for the kind co-operation extended by the Filipino Christian Fellowship, the Tanay Club in America, the Philippine Chamber of Commerce, and the many other Filipino clubs and organizations in this city; and also to friends who were so kind in furnishing valuable information, data, and much needed advice, which served as valuable materials for this thesis, and through which this study was made possible.

He also wishes to express his sincere gratitude to Professor E. S. Bogardus, of the University of Southern California, who suggested the topic for this thesis, and who has been very kind in giving some of his valuable time in making suggestions that served as an "eye opener" to the writer, and through which it was made possible for him to delve deeper into this subject.

Purpose. The general purpose of this thesis is to inform the American public, and the Filipinos as well, of the activities of the Filipinos in Los Angeles; what the Filipinos have thus far accomplished in business; what their occupations are; in what recreational activities they are actively engaged; to inform the public of their geographical location, during the past twelve years of their migration to the city of Los Angeles; to describe

some of the social conditions among the Filipinos; and to point out some of the problems confronting the Filipinos, so that in the course of time it may serve as an "eye opener" for those whom it may concern.

The suggestions herein given may not be the best, but they should be taken for what they may be worth.

The number of restaurants, barber shops, dance halls, the number of Filipinos employed in Filipino-owned business enterprises in this city, and the number of Filipinos engaged in the various social, and athletic activities may vary from time to time or from year to year, but for the present the figures given are the best data available.

Methods of procedures. The techniques used in finding data were, first, mixing with the different Filipino groups, using the Socratic method of asking questions that will give birth to some new ideas, thoughts, and action pertaining to that which may satisfy the desires of the writer; attending meetings of the various Filipino organizations; sitting in barber shops and pool halls listening to their conversations, and remembering as much as possible all the necessary facts that seemed useful for this study; and lastly, visiting the Filipino recreational centers or places of amusement, and pastimes, such as dance halls, parks, the Filipino Center, restaurants, cafes, and by

participating in some of the athletic activities, such as tennis, basketball, hand ball volley ball, indoor baseball, etc.

Questionnaires have been sent to various Filipino clubs and organizations, but this technique was given up, due to the inability of some of the clubs to respond. Some, however, have been unselfish enough to give their co-operation. Five employment agencies where jobs are sold to Filipinos have done me the favor of furnishing statistics as to the number of Filipinos they have actually put into jobs, and the average wage they received during the last three years. Failing to receive replies from Filipino organizations for information did not, however, impair the thesis, nor did it become a barrier, because a five year experience, personal contacts and close association with some of the Filipino leaders in the "Little Manila" seemed sufficient to furnish the writer with some of the facts and necessary materials for this particular study--"Filipino Occupational and Recreational Activities in Los Angeles, California."

This thesis is divided into three component parts. The first part deals with the Filipino geographical situation in the city (Los Angeles); the second part deals with the occupational situations, business and professional practices in which the Filipinos are engaged; the third

part is designed to deal purely with the Filipino recreational activities, and the kinds of entertainments, amusements, and pastimes with which they are associated.

Comparisons have been made concerning the undergoing changes of Filipino social life in Los Angeles covering the years 1924, 1928, 1932, and 1933, as to the number of restaurants, barber shops, pool halls, dance halls, business organizations, and the Filipino geographical distribution of this city.

Some time has been devoted to finding which are the institutions greatly interested in the welfare of the Filipinos in this city, and who were, in the past few years, furnishing the Filipinos means for social and individual expression. Special mention may be made of Mr. C. C. Chapman of the California Christian College, who has donated to the Filipinos a part of his building at Los Angeles and Sixth Streets, which is now known as the "Filipino Center." Under the guidance and careful leadership of Mr. and Mrs. Stipp the "Filipino Center" has made the Filipinos feel at home. Here we find two ping pong tables, two pianos, a social hall, a reception room, and a chapel, wherein church services are held every Sunday. On the whole it has added to the Filipinos' strange life more mirth, happiness, and satisfaction.

Apart from meetings held with the different groups

almost two hundred Filipinos have been interviewed in the course of this study, but only from a few has it been possible to quote directly.

CHAPTER I

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE FILIPINOS IN LOS ANGELES

COMPARATIVE DISTRIBUTION (1922-1933)

Between the years 1925 and 1929 there were 4,521 Filipinos admitted through the port of Los Angeles, of which 4,285 were males and only 236 were females.¹ At present (1933), the Filipino newspapers are of the opinion that there are about six thousand Filipinos now residing in Los Angeles. This estimate may be nearly correct, due to the fact that quite a number of Filipinos are coming here daily from all parts of the Union in private cars, trains, busses, and a few by airplanes.

Difficulties involved in finding the exact number of Filipinos in Los Angeles. It is sometimes difficult to get the exact number of Filipinos residing in any one place, due to their mobility, as influenced by the lack of family responsibility, the unusual seasonal flow of jobs, and too much freedom, as influenced by modern transportation thus enabling them to move from one place to another.

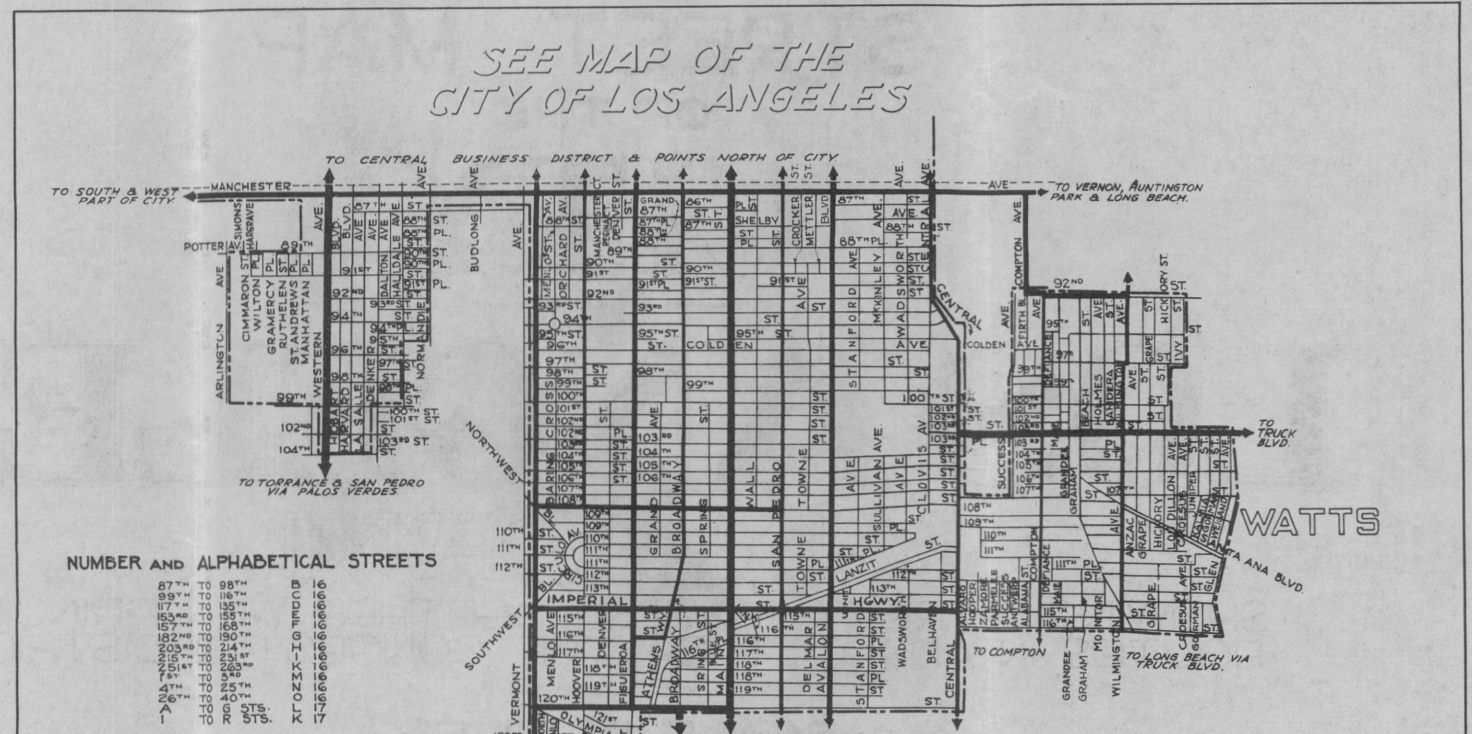
¹ Facts About Filipino Immigration into California, Special Bulletin No. 3, April, 1930, p. 43.

Today the Filipino may be in Los Angeles, but tomorrow he is in San Francisco, Seattle, or elsewhere in the United States. The influence of the weather has also a great deal to do with Filipino mobility. During the summer many Filipinos move to San Francisco, Seattle, Chicago, and New York, wherein they expect to encounter a pleasant summer atmosphere. During the winter, large numbers pour into Los Angeles where the winter is a little less disagreeable than in those cities mentioned above. The Filipinos are not permanent residents of this city. Some migrate to the agricultural industries in various parts of the State. Many seek household employment in the surrounding districts, others go north to the great orchards of Washington. They travel here and there through the States of the Pacific. A considerable number come to this city as students. They attend grammar schools and high schools. A small percentage attend local universities and colleges. Others take correspondence courses. The Filipino mobility, since he is not burdened with family responsibility, and the attitude of almost the entire group toward American residence as only temporary, makes for a slow rate of fusion into the community life of America.²

² Emory S. Bogardus, "The Filipino Immigrant Situation." Pamphlet, Council of International Relations, Los Angeles, 1929.



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AUTOMOBILE CLUB OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA
 2601 SOUTH FIGUEROA ST. LOS ANGELES

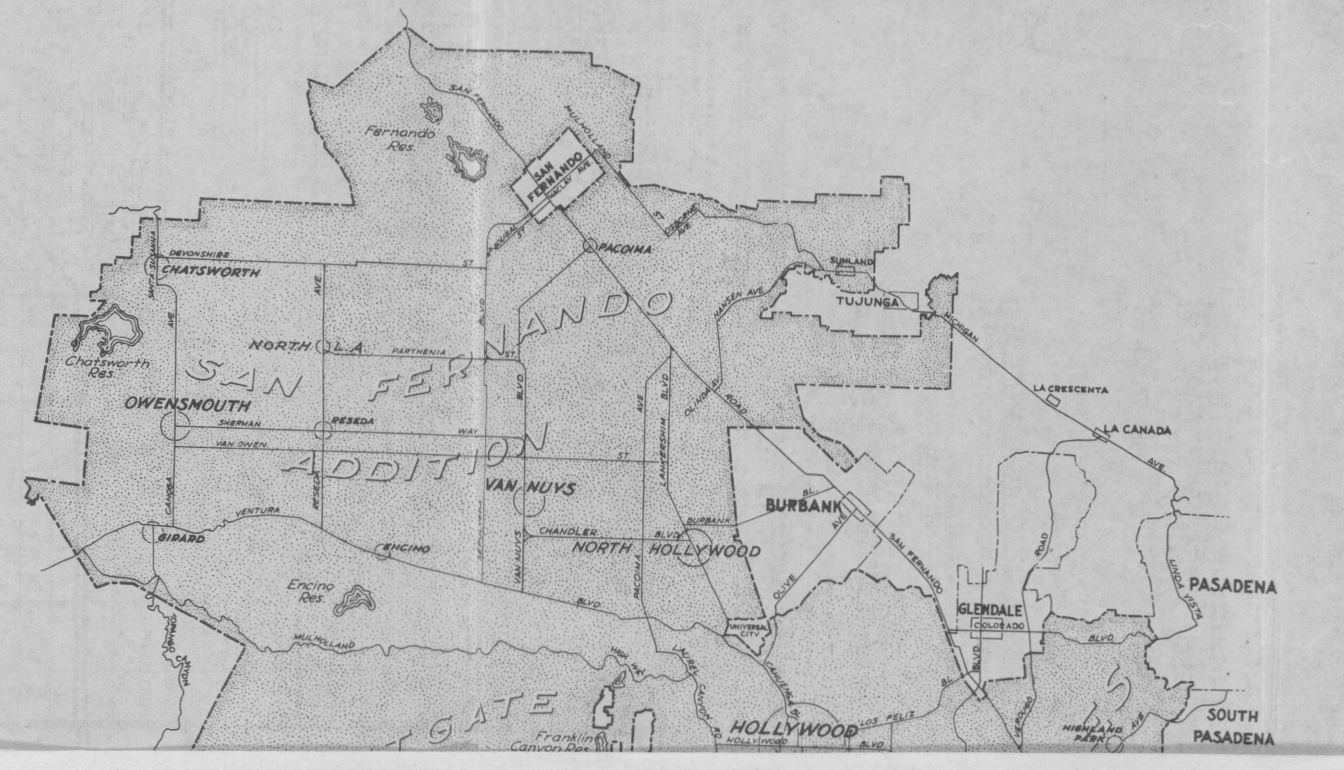
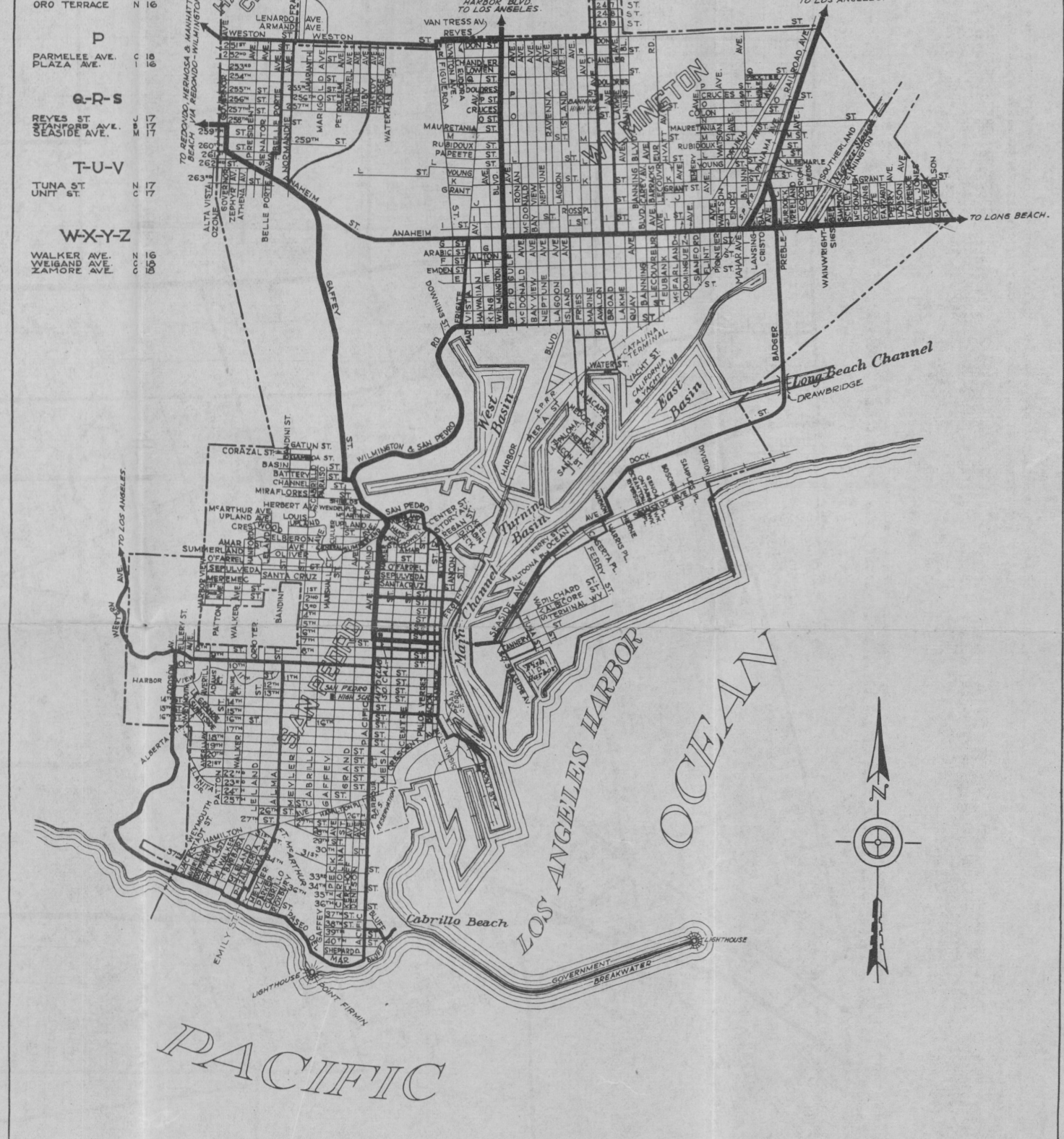


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ANNEXATIONS --OF THE-- CITY OF LOS ANGELES

SCALE IN MILES
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 2601 SOUTH FIGUEROA ST., LOS ANGELES, CAL.

STREET MAP
 OF
LOS ANGELES CITY
 AND ANNEXATIONS



PREPARED BY THE
 ROUTE AND MAP SERVICE
 DEPARTMENT

**Automobile Club of
 Southern California**

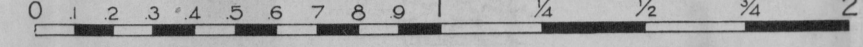
2601 SOUTH FIGUEROA STREET
 LOS ANGELES CAL.

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STREET MAP OF THE CITY OF LOS ANGELES CALIFORNIA

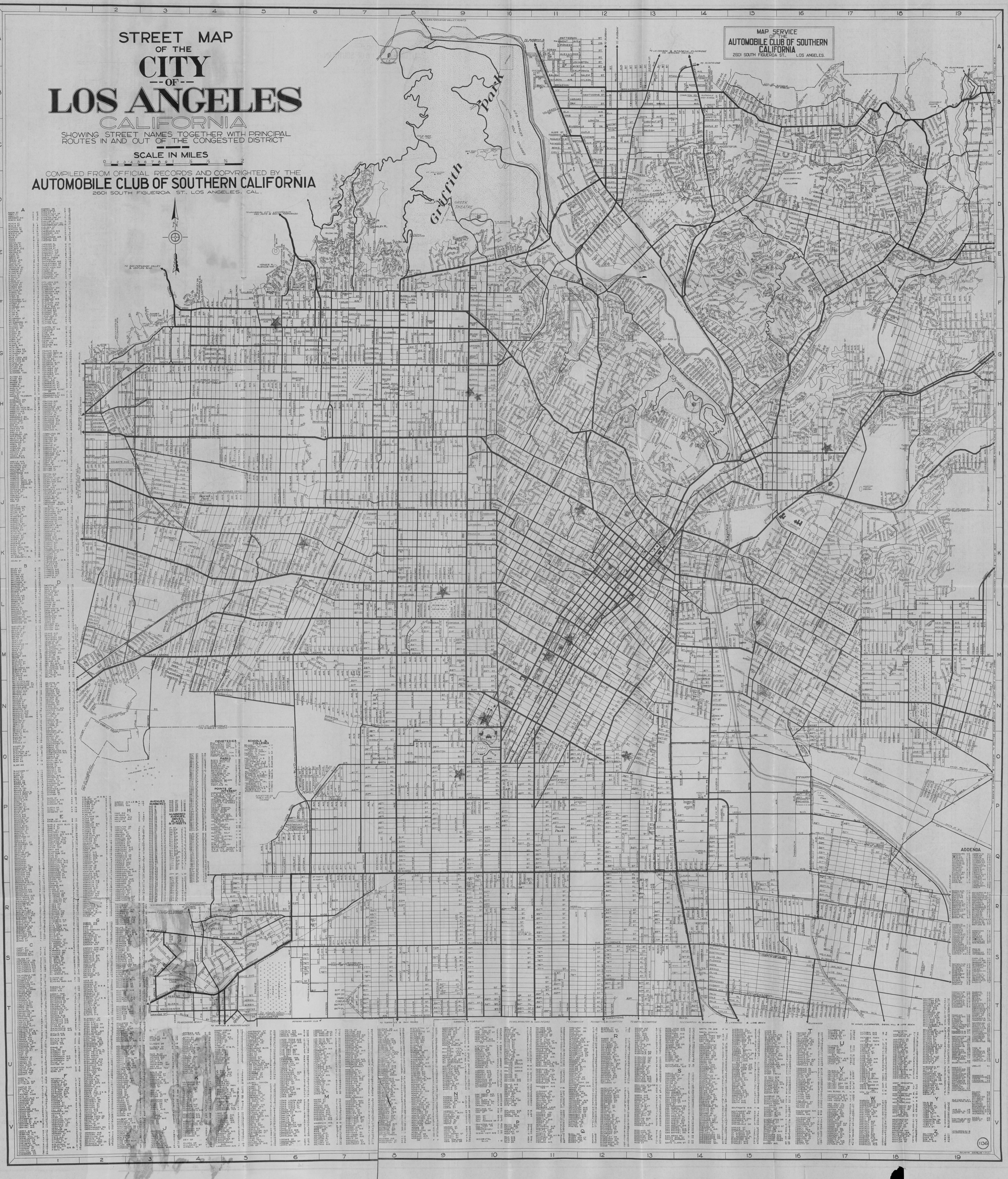
SHOWING STREET NAMES TOGETHER WITH PRINCIPAL
ROUTES IN AND OUT OF THE CONGESTED DISTRICT

SCALE IN MILES



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MAP SERVICE
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CALIFORNIA
2601 SOUTH FIGUEROA ST., LOS ANGELES



Vertical index table listing street names and their corresponding grid coordinates (e.g., A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J, K, L, M, N, O, P, Q, R, S, T, U, V).

ADDENDA table listing additional street names and their grid coordinates.

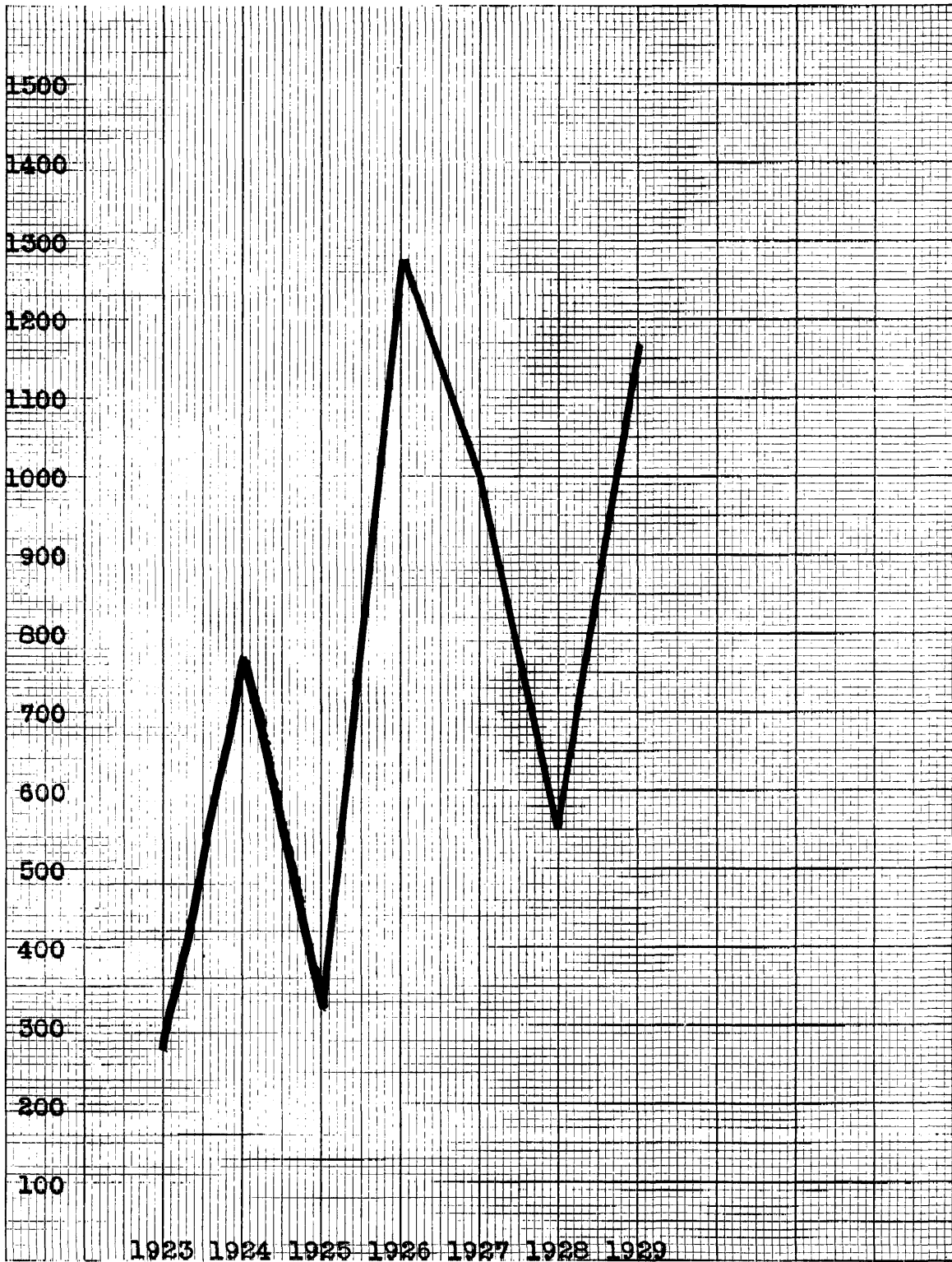
However, statistics of the port of Los Angeles revealed that between the years 1920-1929, there were 5,513 Filipinos admitted.³ There is an indication that the number of Filipinos passing through the port of Los Angeles varies considerably from year to year. In 1928 there was a drop of 53 per cent in the number of Filipinos admitted at Los Angeles as compared with the number admitted in 1926, 1927, and 1929, as may be seen in the chart on page 5.

Filipino social invasion in Los Angeles. The first Filipino "invasion" started in 1924 when 721 Filipinos settled here, arriving through the Port of Los Angeles. The second "invasion" was in 1926, there being that year a total of 1,277 Filipinos coming to this city. The third "invasion" was in 1927, although the figure for that year was 1,202, a little below the 1926 total. The fourth and the latest "invasion" was in 1929. There were 1,176 Filipinos reported to have migrated to Los Angeles in that year. The 1933 estimate of the Filipinos newspapers in this city is that there are about six thousand Filipinos residing in this city. There must have been 487 more Filipinos that settled in this city between 1929 and 1933

³ Facts About Filipino Immigration into California, Special Bulletin No. 3, April, 1930, p. 16.

CHART I

NUMBER OF FILIPINOS ADMITTED AT THE PORT OF LOS ANGELES
1923 - 1929



U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

that did not come through the port of Los Angeles. This gives us an average of 122 Filipinos migrating to this city annually from other parts of the state.

Immediate community. In a little section between Commercial and Second Streets, Main and Los Angeles Streets the Filipinos formed the very nucleus of their social life in this city. In this section there was established in 1924, by the first Filipino settlers, a restaurant, a barber shop, and an employment agency. In 1926 another barber shop and an employment agency were added. In 1928 four other Filipino restaurants and a barber shop were established. At the present time there are in this section twelve Filipino restaurants and seven barber shops, a Philippine Chamber of Commerce of Southern California, and five Filipino business corporations.⁴

Environs of Filipinos. A brief sketch of Filipinos' progress in business and their gradual and wider distribution in this city has been given, but it may also be interesting to study the environs of the Filipinos in Los Angeles, concerning which this chapter is chiefly concerned. In the period 1920 to 1924 the only section of the

⁴ See Table I.

city known to the Filipinos was around First and Main Streets. Don Gonzalo, a former student of the University of Southern California, states:⁵

In Los Angeles the people of almost all nations drift almost every hour of the day up and down Main Street and thereabouts. It is generally conceded that these are not wholesome places. There is a reason; the cheaper amusements of the city are found there; pool halls, public dance halls, sideshows which are calculated to appeal to the feelings and imagination, and other attractions make Main Street a magnet for the homeless and friendless people of the city. Among whom is the Filipino.

The map on page 3 shows us the wide distribution of the Filipinos in the city. So far, there have been four stages in their geographical distribution from 1920 to 1933. In 1920 to 1924 we found them going up and down Main and First Streets; in 1926 they were frequently seen from Olive to Los Angeles Streets, and from Temple to Third Streets, as shown in the circle. From 1928 to 1930 a larger section of the city was covered. At that time we found them from Boylston to Temple; Centennial Avenue to San Pedro, and from Sixth Street to Boylston Avenue. This year (1933) a much extended section is being utilized by Filipinos. We find them residing as far out as Burlington Avenue at Temple; at Sunset Boulevard and Alameda; at

⁵ Don Gonzalo, "Filipino Social Adjustments in Los Angeles." Sociology and Social Research, vol. 24, p. 612.

Twenty-fifth Street and Grand, where most Filipino rooming or boarding houses are located. Most Filipinos, however, are living on California and Temple Streets where the Mexican population is dominant.

The struggle for higher social status. The stages of the "Filipino invasion" thus far described showed that year after year we find some marked changes in the Filipino social life in this city. Unlike the Chinese and the Japanese, who have a community of their own, they are scattered all over the city, living in groups with Main and First Streets as their place of congregation. This wide distribution is due to effort on the part of some of the Filipinos to avoid the First Street life, despised so by the American, and subjected to bad association and disreputable influences. Housing conditions on First Street are very poor, small rooms and fourth-class hotels are about all there is to be had. There is not enough respectable territory there for better social expression. Filipinos who have families certainly will not live in such a congested section. And as a result many are moving into some distant places that will free them from First Street influences. Some, however, seek a higher status by moving into more respectable apartments and into more refined neighborhoods, where they are often times shunned

and despised by members of other races.

Professor E. S. Bogardus quotes anti-Oriental Americans as saying:

. . . 'Japs, or Chinese are not wanted'; or 'Japs get out.' Danger to property values looms up. Realtors who have taken a part in the selling or leasing of property to these conspicuously different people are threatened by the irate neighbors.⁶

What is true of the Japanese or Chinese in this situation also holds true of the Filipinos. The whites consider that the presence of these brown people lowers their social status. Silly questions are asked, complaints are made to the city officials to cut out the influx of these foreign people in their neighborhoods. "We do not want Filipinos in our neighborhood; we do not want our children to mingle with them."

A family had rented a bungalow in a certain section of Los Angeles. The day they were moving in they discovered that there were Filipinos living on the same street. The lady immediately sought the landlord to withdraw her rent deposit, and stubbornly declared that she could not possibly reside on the same street with Filipinos. They declared, "Why they are not the type of people to be in this neighborhood."

Through some indirect means the rumors reached the

⁶ Emory S. Bogardus, "Race-Relation Cycle." American Journal of Sociology, January, 1930, vol. 35, p. 612.

sensitive feelings of the Filipinos. Day by day the "social pressure" was increasingly made evident to them that they finally had to move out. They rented a small bungalow in the Mexican community. This new environment they called home. They feel they are better off, and far more respected by the Mexicans. No one now ever watches them with critical eyes while they walk in the streets. Signs and posters with insulting words tacked on their gates have been done away with. They can move freely in their yard without hearing silly criticisms, at the same time they can play their mandolin and guitar more freely. The Mexicans seem to enjoy the native music. They visit one another and enjoy the entertainments one has to offer.

From the interviews and observations made regarding this hostile attitude it was found that only a very small per cent of people of the pure American stock were creating these disturbances. The majority of those hostile, prejudiced, and antagonistic to the presence of the Filipinos in this country are those of foreign parentage and of the uneducated class.

Summary. To sum up the environmental and geographical situations of the Filipinos in this city, we find that the majority of the Filipinos are still to be found on Main and First Streets where are to be found the Filipino restaurants, pool halls, and various amusements. Many are

living on Broadway and Hill Streets near First; on Fremont between Third and Fourth; on Grand and Hope; on Figueroa at First and California Streets; on California and Pavillion; on Centennial and Temple; on Santa Fe and Tenth; on Boylston Avenue; on Burlington Avenue; on Vermont at Ninth; on Western at Sixth; on Adams at Twenty-fifth; on Maple at Fifteenth; on Brooklyn Avenue; and on Weller Street between San Pedro and Los Angeles Streets. A considerable number are also living in Hollywood and Westwood where they are employed.

The Filipinos in general find it more convenient to live in bungalows than to live in hotels, and in apartment houses. They can receive visitors; live in a family-like atmosphere; they can play their native music⁷ and cook native food; they can enjoy their jokes better; and can exercise deeper fellowship with one another to which they are accustomed.

McKenzie speaks of social invasion as:

Every invasion tends to pass through three stages in the course of evaluation. In the first place, there is the initial stage, in which the invader makes entry. This may be marked by cordiality or

⁷ Filipinos are very fond of music. They cannot display this privilege in full if they are living in hotels or apartments. Often times the noise they make irritate their neighbors; hence it becomes the source of complaints and hatred toward the Filipinos.

opposition on the part of the host, according to whether the relation established is believed to be one of mutualism or competition. Second, there is the developmental stage, characterized by increasing competition and effort at control. Finally, there is the climax stage, when the invasion has reached its culmination. This may be marked by the complete displacement of the previous inhabitants or by a condition of accommodation in both sustenance and place relations between invader and host.⁸

So far, the Filipino invasion has reached the first and second stages only--the "initial" and the "developmental" stages. There is no indication of the third stage, except in First and Main Streets where there is slight evidence that the Mexicans and other residents of that section of the town are gradually being replaced or outnumbered by the Filipinos. The total Filipino population in this city is so widely distributed that it does not appear menacing in any particular spot.

⁸ R. D. McKenzie, "The Oriental Invasion." Journal of Applied Sociology, August to September, 1925-1926, vol. 10, p. 129.

CHAPTER II

BUSINESS ORGANIZATIONS

The following Filipino business organizations had been in existence when this survey was made:

1. Philippine Merchantile Company.
2. The Philippine Chamber of Commerce of Southern California.
3. The Guideons Trading Corporation.
4. The Filipino Utopia Medical Service.¹
5. The Philippine Importing Company.
6. Orlanes Philippine Products Company.
7. The Legionarios Club.

The "Philippine Chamber of Commerce of Southern California" is working in co-ordination with the "Philippine Chamber of Commerce in Manila," and with the co-operation of the "Philippine Chamber of Commerce and Industry."

According to the president, Mr. Pedro de Vera, the "Philippine Chamber of Commerce of Southern California" has four hundred and fifty members composed of Filipino business men, laborers, and labor contractors. This chamber is working in co-operation with labor laws of the State of

¹ Not in existence.

California, has the power to act as arbitrator for Filipino labor in this state, to represent in all matters the right of members with other individuals and association legislation pertaining to general welfare conditions and in all matters pertaining to all Filipino labor conditions.

Said an editorial in one of the Filipino newspapers in Los Angeles:

The Philippine Chamber of Commerce of California is now launching a nation-wide propaganda campaign for the promotion of the Filipino-American trade. The chamber is intended to serve a three-fold purpose: To give a complete display of Philippine products in this country in order to give an accurate portrayal of industrial progress in the Philippines; to create a world-wide market for Filipino and American products, for both the Philippine and American producers and manufacturers who have no established systems of distributions of their own; and to serve as ambassador-at-large for the Philippine and American Businessmen.²

The president, Mr. Pedro de Vera, has furnished me with the following excerpts that tell in brief the ideals for the expression of which the Philippine Chamber of Commerce of California, Incorporated, is founded.

Objectives of the Philippine Chamber of
Commerce of California, Incorporated

A. Purposes:

² From an Editorial, Philippine Star Press, Los Angeles, California, August 5, 1933, vol. 3, No. 14.

1. To promote trade between the United States and the Philippine Islands.
2. To help develop Philippine Domestic Commerce.

B. Methods and Plans:

1. Monthly Journal--The Philippine Commerce Journal--published on the tenth of every month:
 - a. Presenting timely trade topics, economic issues involving foreign trade, current events, etc.
 - b. Describing the present trend of Philippine industries, etc.
2. Establishing branches at the different communities throughout the State where Filipino labor is employed to the end that the Filipinos may be recognized as an asset to American industry and life; and that the interests of our people in the part of the United States may be protected and established more or less permanently.
3. Presenting displays or exhibits of Philippine products exported into this country.
4. Conducting lectures--slides on Philippine subjects.

C. Legal Standing of the Philippine Chamber of Commerce Incorporated.

This Chamber is a non-commercial, without capital stock, organization incorporated under the laws of California. It is endorsed by the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, Foreign Trade Club of Southern California, The Department of Commerce and Communication, Manila, and the Bureau of Commerce and Industry, Manila.

D. Maintenance:

This Chamber is incorporated without shares. It cannot engage in any mercantile, commercial or mechanical business (Chase California Civil Code--1931--Section 591). It is purely a non-profit Corporation but "the carrying on of business at a profit incidental to the main purposes of the organization) Corporation and the distribution of the assets to members on dissolution shall not be deemed forbidden to non-profit corporation." Ibid., Section 593.

In the light of the above-mentioned reference

from the California Civil Code, 1931, governing the business conduct of the Chamber, persons desiring to avail themselves of the many services that this Chamber purports to offer to members, will be gratified by knowing that the functioning of this Chamber shall be financially supported by the membership fees: Regular--\$25; and Associate--\$10 per year; and by donating of persons or groups of persons who want to help promote the business of this Chamber.

E. General Remarks:

While the primary purpose of the Philippine Chamber of Commerce of California Incorporated is the promotion of the Foreign Trade between the United States and the Philippine Islands, yet the absence of a state-wide, legally recognized, strong and solid organization, run and maintained by Filipinos, who received their college education and business training in the United States, should warrant the establishment of such an organization which will properly represent the Filipinos in all matters pertaining to the general welfare and progress of Filipino life in all its phases: social, education, civic, economic, and commercial.

Inherently, the Filipinos are an intelligent, industrious, and progressive people. But without the guidance, encouragement and protection of a representative body here in this country the many obstacles to harmonious progress can scarcely be overcome. Necessarily, this is the chief aim of the Philippine Chamber of California, Incorporated.

F. Services rendered exclusively to members:

1. Legal: Representations in all matters relating to and involving rights of members with other individuals and associations. Legislations pertaining to general welfare.
2. Labor: Free Employment Bureau to members. Representation in all matters pertaining to Labor Conditions.

For further details regarding the Philippines, write to the Publicity Department of the Philippine Chamber of Commerce of California, Incorporated, 105 East First

Street, Los Angeles, California. Suite 17.

"The Legionarios Club" is incorporated under the laws of the State of California; is a member of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, and of the Philippine Chamber of Commerce of California, Incorporated. It has an authorized capital of \$25,000. Membership fees are \$25.00 for founder members, and \$5.00 annually for regular members. The privileges that may be derived from this club are:³

1. Members are accorded all rights of the club.
2. Educational access to the library of the club.
3. Athletic.
4. Insurance against travel accidents for \$5,000.00
5. Protection accorded in matters relating to civil and industrial life.
6. Free employment for members.
7. Bonds procured for bail, attachments, etc.

The Orlanes Philippine Products Company was the first Filipino business enterprise to devote itself to the importation, wholesale and retail, of Philippine curios, such as Philippine-made hats (Bali-Buntal hats); novelties such as snake, reptile, and lizard skins; sandals; slippers;

³ Material secured from an interview with the president, Mr. Roque de la Ysla.

preserved Philippine fruits, such as mangoes, santol, and coconuts.

The Philippine Importing Company imports beautiful Spanish shawls, silk shirts, silk panolitos (handkerchiefs), silk pajamas, gowns, dresses, shirts, tablecloths, napkins, pillow cases, and many other household articles.

The Guideons Trading Corporation is organized, managed, and financed by Filipinos. It is incorporated under the laws of the State of California, October 30, 1931, with the aims and purposes to promote thrift, the habit of saving and wise investment; to operate a general merchandising business in the Philippines, and, if advisable, a modest business in Los Angeles also. The corporation has the power to operate chain stores, men's stores, cafes, theatres, real estate, farms, import and export. To deal in stocks, bonds, mortgages, and trust deeds.⁴

⁴ The Guideons, vol. 1, No. 2, 1933.

CHAPTER III

OCCUPATIONAL SITUATION

During the entire period in which this study was being made, the various Filipino business and trade practices listed in Table I on the following pages were found, and also the number of Filipinos gainfully employed in Filipino-owned business. A list of occupations is contained in Table II.

The number of Filipino students this year (1933) is, so far, the highest that has ever been enrolled. In Los Angeles Junior College, for instance, the Filipinos are leading in the foreign student enrollment. "Other schools and colleges that show an increase in enrollment of Filipino students are Polytechnic High School, Pasadena Junior College, Hollywood Fairfax High School, Southwestern University, and Glendale Junior College."¹

Of all the universities and colleges in the city of Los Angeles, the Los Angeles Junior College has the greatest number of Filipino students this year, the University of California at Los Angeles next, California Christian College, third; and the University of Southern California,

¹ The Philippine Tribune, Los Angeles, California, October 2, 1933, vol. 2, No. 11.

TABLE I
NUMBER OF FILIPINOS ENGAGED IN VARIOUS OCCUPATIONS*

Business and trade	Number of Filipino employees
1. Barber Shops	47
Artistic Barber Shop	
International Barber Shop	
Luna Barber Shop	
Luson Barber Shop	
La Union Barber Shop	
Rizal Barber Shop	
Sanitary Barber Shop	
2. Restaurants and Cafes	67
Ace Cafe	
Busy Bee Cafe	
Fagel Asuncion Cafe	
Luzon Cafe	
La Divisoria	
L. V. M.--Guideon Restaurant	
La Union Restaurant	
Lucky Spot Cafe	
Moonlight Cafe	
The Three Stars Cafe	
York Lunch	
My-T-Good Cafe	
3. Pool Halls	10
The Eagle Pool Hall	
Luzon Pool Hall	
Manila Pool Hall	
4. Garage	4
The New Deal Garage	

* The material for this table is obtained by the author from various Filipino business establishments through inquiries.

TABLE I (CONTINUED)
 NUMBER OF FILIPINOS ENGAGED IN VARIOUS OCCUPATIONS

Business and trade	Number of Filipino employees
5. Grocery Stores The Hillside Grocery Store	3
6. Embroideries Manila Embroidery Abelardo Embroidery Philippine Embroidery	18
7. Importers of Philippine Products Philippine Importing Goods Orlanes Philippine Products Company	5
8. Laundry The Philippine Hand Laundry and Dry Cleaner	2
9. Tailors Abe Solomon Tailor and Designer Los Angeles Tailor De Leon's Paramount Stylebilt	6
10. Photograph Studios Dracena Photo Studio Clemente Photo Studio Jose Reyes, Photo Studio National Portrait Studio	8
11. Rooming Houses The Filipino Home The Filipino Dormitories (2) Mrs. Ventura's Place	6
12. Filipino Newspapers and Magazines Associated Filipino Press*	19

* Out of Existence.

TABLE I (CONTINUED)
 NUMBER OF FILIPINOS ENGAGED IN VARIOUS OCCUPATIONS

Business and trade	Number of Filipino employees
The New Deal*	
The Philippine Star Press	
The Filipino Youth**	
The Filipino Voice**	
The Filipino Nation**	
The Philippine Tribune	
The Modern Philippines**	
The East*	
The Philippine-American Business**	
Ang Bantay*	
13. Radio and Auto Maintenance Company	2
14. The Vim Cocoanut Grater Company, Limited*** (1)	2
15. Hebralist (1)	1
16. Tennis Shop (1)	2
17. The Filipino Amateur Moving Picture Corporation	

* Out of Existence.

** Magazine and Pamphlet form.

*** The Vim Cocoanut Grater Company, Limited, is exclusively engaged in manufacturing cocoanut graters invented by a Filipino to eliminate the laborious, old method of grating fresh cocoanut.

TABLE II
FILIPINO OCCUPATIONS

Occupations	Total number
1. Agents	20
(a) Insurance	
(b) Clothing	
(c) Automobile	
(d) Sporting goods	
2. Artists	3
3. Butchers	2
4. Barbers	37
5. Boot-Blacks	3
6. Cafe Managers	11
7. Clerks (Store)	2
8. Carpenters	1
9. Dry Cleaners	2
10. Dance Hall Attendants	5
11. Newspaper Men	27
12. Grocers	4
13. Importers	2
14. Laundrymen	3
15. Lawyers*	11
16. Musicians	15
17. News Boys	2
18. Photographers	4
19. Preachers**	3
20. Pool Hall Attendants	4
21. Tailors	6
22. Tennis Instructors	1

* The Filipino lawyers in this city are as yet not members of the California Bar Association, with the exception of one, who is an American citizen.

** There are only two Filipino preachers in the city of Los Angeles. Both are working for the Filipino Christian Fellowship of Southern California. One other Filipino preacher is in Pasadena.

TABLE II (CONTINUED)
 FILIPINO OCCUPATIONS

Occupations	Total number
23. Mechanic	1
24. Manager (Boxing)	1
25. Boxers (Professionals)*	4
26. Coast Guard	
Domestics**	
27. Butler	
28. Bus Boys	
29. Bell Boys	
30. Bar Tenders	
31. Cooks	
32. Chauffeurs	
33. Dishwashers	
34. Elevator Boys	
35. Gardeners	
36. House Boys	
37. Janitors	
38. Kitchen Helpers	
39. Maids	
40. Pantry Boys	
41. Porters	
42. Waiters	
Students	111
1933--University:	
University of Southern California	5
California Christian College	12

* The number of boxers varies from time to time. Their number is dependent upon the number of fights staged for them in this city.

** There is no data available as to the number of domestic help in this city, due to the Filipinos' wide distribution and mobility.

TABLE II (CONTINUED)
 FILIPINO OCCUPATIONS

Occupations	Total number
Students (Continued)	
Los Angeles Junior College	40
University of California at Los Angeles	14
University of the West	3
South Western University	4
Loyola University	1
Woodburry College	2
1933--High School:	
Belmont High School	8
Hollywood High School	4
Manual Arts High School	2
Los Angeles High School	3
Fairfax High School	5
Polytechnic High School (Night and Day Departments)	6
Cosmopolitan High School (Night and Day Departments)	2

fourth. Loyola University has the least Filipino enrollment, there being only one attending that university, due to the expense of transportation.

Increase of business establishments. The chart on page 20 indicates that since 1928 there has been a considerable increase of Filipino business and occupational activities exclusive of domestic work in Los Angeles. At the present time there are seven Filipino barber shops, twelve restaurants, three pool halls, two grocery stores, two importers of Philippine products, one laundry, one dry cleaner, three tailor shops, three photograph studios, three rooming houses, several Filipino newspapers,² one radio and automobile maintenance company, one automobile garage, and a manufacturing company producing coconut graters.

Two hundred and twelve Filipinos are being employed in Filipino-owned business enterprises in the city of Los Angeles. About twenty Filipinos are engaged as agents for some of the clothing, insurance, sporting goods, and automobile companies and manufacturers. Of the six thousand Filipinos residing in Los Angeles the majority are employed or employable as domestic help. Others are doing part-time

² See discussion of Filipino newspapers in Chapter IV.

work, extra and seasonal work,³ in and outside of the city. There are Filipinos who are actually in business for themselves such as those members of the "Philippine Merchantile Company," "Philippine Importing Company," "Orlanes Philippine Products," those that are running the "Philippine Chamber of Commerce of Southern California," the "Vim Coconut Grater Company, Limited," and the "Guideons Trading Corporation," not counting Filipinos engaged in newspaper business, for they do not seem to be making headway financially.

The Filipino newsboys. The Filipino newsboys mentioned in the chart are found to be selling Filipino newspapers and magazines sent directly to Los Angeles from Manila. The Philippine Free Press, Liwayway, and the Graphic are the most prominent. The boys are never seen on street corners "shouting" or "yelling" as most newsboys are accustomed to sell their papers; they go singly and quietly into the pool halls, dance halls, Filipino cafes and restaurants, and into barber shops where Filipinos are congregating. They are not trying to make a living, however, by selling papers, but are only doing this sort of work partly for fun and partly in a patriotic way. They

³ See discussion in Chapter V.

think that selling native newspapers to their fellow countrymen is one way of keeping the Filipinos informed about what is happening in the homeland, economically, politically, and religiously, although it should be admitted that the commission they are getting, however small, is a help to them.

The Filipino barbers. The Filipino barbers in this city (and the same may be said for all Filipino barbers in the United States) are engaged in one of the gainful Filipino occupations. Seldom could the Filipinos be found in barber shops operated by the whites, and in which they are usually not welcome. This is one of the reasons why Filipinos are forced to have their hair cut in Filipino barber shops. Many Filipinos living in Santa Barbara, San Diego, San Clemente, and Long Beach go to Los Angeles just to have their hair cut by the barber to whom they have been accustomed to patronize. Before the N. R. A. movement, on Thursdays, Saturdays, and Sundays there were enough Filipinos in all Filipino barber shops to keep the forty-seven Filipino barbers working till midnight.

Even in the midst of the depression no reduction from the standard rate of fifty cents for a haircut has been made. Attempts have been made to lower prices, but to no avail. Filipinos have to have haircuts, and since

they cannot have their hair cut in American barber shops, they must pay the prices charged. Their rate seems to be the only one that did not come down during the depression when everybody else in the country was cutting prices of labor or of goods.

In general, the Filipino barber is working on the "percentage basis." Fifty per cent of what he makes goes to the management, and the other fifty per cent is kept as his income. Such a scheme relieves him of further sacrifices, obligations or any responsibility in business, such as those of capital, paying rent, and employees' salary.

Law graduates. There are eleven Filipino lawyers in the city, but only one can exercise the full privilege in appearing before the court to legally defend cases. One is appearing, however, in courts occasionally, but is not legally recognized due to the fact that he is not a citizen of the United States, and hence he cannot take the bar examination of California. The former is an ex-service man,⁴ and therefore had no difficulty in becoming a citizen.

⁴ A Filipino cannot become a citizen of the United States, unless he is an ex-service man in the United States army or navy. See Eliot G. Mears, Resident Orientals on the American Pacific Coast, Chicago University Press, 1928, p. 318.

The latter took and passed the bar examination in Utah, but that is no longer recognized in the State of California. The fact that he cannot become a citizen in the United States remains a barrier and a handicap to his chosen profession.

In order to secure data as to the relative wage rate paid by the employers to the Filipinos, it would be necessary to secure data on wage rates paid by the same employers for the same kind of work formerly performed by whites and now done by Filipinos. Such an investigation has been found impossible and impracticable, for the reason that there was no way of ascertaining Filipino wage rates; for instance, the wage rates vary considerably, depending upon their experience, the number of hours they are required to work, and the size of the place where they may be hired. But from the information secured from the five private employment agencies in the city it appears that the Filipino workers are willing to accept the average wages as presented in Table V.

The highest peak was in 1926, when the average Filipino was receiving \$110 a month. From 1926 the wage paid to Filipino elevator operators dropped to only \$85 a month, with no room and board, to the latter part of 1930. Eighty-five dollars a month remained as the normal wage until the financial crash of 1931, from which time

TABLE III

WEEKLY WAGE RATES, AND AVERAGE WEEKLY WAGE RATES, OF 503 FILIPINOS
HIRED IN 1929, THROUGH CERTAIN CALIFORNIA FEE-CHARGING-PRIVATE
AGENCIES BY OCCUPATION*

Occupations	Weekly Wage Rates									
	Total		With room and board		With room only		With board only		Without room and board	
	Number	Average	Number	Average	Number	Average	Number	Average	Number	Average
Total	503	\$15.94	94	\$11.20	46	\$17.71	288	\$16.96	75	\$18.11
Baker's helper	1	18.00							1	18.00
Bed maker	1	15.00			1	15.00				
Bell boys	2	17.00							2	17.00
Bus boys	28	15.00					28	15.09		
Bus boy and dish washer	1	16.00					1	16.00		
Bus boy and porter	1	15.00					1	15.00		
Chamber boy	1	16.00							1	16.00
Cooks	23	20.19	16	17.84			7	25.57		
Cook and houseboy	1	15.00	1	15.00						
Cook and houseworkers	6	15.91	5	16.40			1	12.50		
Dish washers	191	16.11	9	14.22	5	15.00	177	16.24		
Dish washer and porter	1	16.00					1	16.00		

* "Facts About Filipino Immigration into California," Department of Industrial Relations of the State of California, Special Bulletin No. 3, April 1930, page 51.

TABLE III (CONTINUED)

WEEKLY WAGE RATES, AND AVERAGE WEEKLY WAGE RATES, OF 503 FILIPINOS
HIRED IN 1929, THROUGH CERTAIN CALIFORNIA FEE-CHARGING-PRIVATE
AGENCIES BY OCCUPATION

Occupations	Weekly Wage Rates									
	Total		With room and board		With room only		With board only		Without room and board	
	Number	Average	Number	Average	Number	Average	Number	Average	Number	Average
Drivers	2	\$16.50	1	\$15.00			1	\$18.00		
Driver and house boy	1	15.00					1	15.00		
Driver and houseworkers	2	32.50	1	40.00			1	25.00		
Elevator boys	5	17.00			1	\$14.00			4	\$17.75
Gardener	1	30.00			1	30.00				
General help- ers	7	15.64					7	15.64		
House boys	57	9.54	41	7.83	4	14.12	4	10.37	8	14.12
House workers	6	11.00	4	8.75					2	15.50
House man	1	20.00			1	20.00				
Janitors	75	18.39	1	15.00	32	17.72			42	18.98
Janitor and driver	1	25.00			1	25.00				
Kitchen help- ers	19	17.50	1	12.50			15	18.75	3	14.33
Laborer	1	8.00					1	8.00		
Pantry men	8	21.50					8	21.50		
Porters	45	18.37	1	20.00			33	17.62	11	20.45
Pot washer	1	17.00					1	17.00		
School boys	12	5.83	12	5.83						
Waiter	1	14.00	1	14.00						
Window cleaner	1	10.00							1	10.00

TABLE IV

MONTHLY WAGE RATES, AND AVERAGE MONTHLY WAGE RATES, OF 758 FILIPINOS HIRED IN 1929,
THROUGH CERTAIN CALIFORNIA FEE-CHARGING-PRIVATE AGENCIES BY OCCUPATION*

Occupations	Monthly Wage Rates									
	Total		With room and board		With room only		With board only		Without room and board	
	Number	Average	Number	Average	Number	Average	Number	Average	Number	Average
Total	758	\$67.40	492	\$66.68	108	\$51.39	90	\$86.76	68	\$73.82
Baker	1	125.00	1	125.00						
Bed makers	9	59.44	8	57.50					1	75.00
Bell boys	7	70.71	1	40.00	4	76.25			2	75.00
Bell boy and porter	1	40.00								
Bus boys	24	46.67	18	47.50			6	44.17		
Bus boys and porters	2	40.00					2	40.00		
Butlers	10	96.00	10	96.00						
Cooks	141	85.52	129	85.54			11	98.64	1	80.00
Cooks and houseboys	2	45.00	1	50.00			1	40.00		
Cooks and houseworkers	33	76.06	33	76.06						
Dishwashers	94	59.14	53	55.48			40	63.37	1	80.00
Door boys	2	47.50			1	50.00			1	45.00
Drivers	13	79.61	13	79.61						
Drivers and cooks	15	87.00	15	87.00						
Drivers and houseboys	4	65.00	4	65.00						
Drivers and houseworkers	11	73.64	10	70.50			1	110.00		

* "Facts About Filipino Immigration in California," Special Bulletin, No. 3, April 1930, page 52.

TABLE IV (CONTINUED)

MONTHLY WAGE RATES, AND AVERAGE MONTHLY WAGE RATES, OF 758 FILIPINOS HIRED IN 1929,
THROUGH CERTAIN CALIFORNIA FEE-CHARGING-PRIVATE AGENCIES BY OCCUPATION*

Occupations	Monthly Wage Rates									
	Total		With room and board		With room only		With board only		Without room and board	
	Number	Average	Number	Average	Number	Average	Number	Average	Number	Average
Elevator boys	6	\$60.83			2	\$50.00	1	\$55.00	3	\$70.00
Elevator and bell boys	1	55.00			1	55.00				
Gardener	1	90.00	1	\$90.00						
General helpers	11	51.82	10	51.00			1	60.00		
Hall boy	1	40.00					1	40.00		
Hotel boy	1	90.00					1	90.00		
House boys	94	55.21	69	51.09	8	61.98	3	50.00	14	72.86
House girls	2	47.50								
House men	18	60.55	13	56.15	3	56.67			2	95.00
House workers	16	62.81	7	52.86	6	71.67	1	65.00	2	70.00
Janitors	125	68.20	19	55.53	75	70.27			31	70.97
Janitor and driver	1	100.00			1	100.00				
Kitchen helpers	14	55.00	9	54.44			5	56.00		
Maid	1	70.00	1	70.00						
Mess men	4	50.00	4	50.00						
Night man	1	25.00			1	25.00				
Pantry men	5	96.00					5	96.00		
Porters	24	68.75	5	56.00	6	62.5	4	62.50	9	82.78
School boys	9	26.67	9	26.67						
Silver boy	1	50.00	1	50.00						
Silver washer	1	60.00					1	60.00		
Tray boys	2	52.50	2	52.50						
Valet	1	80.00								
Waiters	42	58.81	35	57.14			6	64.17	1	85.00
Waiter and houseboy	1	65.00	1	65.00						
Waiter and houseworkers	6	67.50	6	67.50						

TABLE V*
WAGES OF FILIPINO WORKERS

Wage Rates 1930-1933	Total jobs tabulated	Average Wage Rates
Hourly Wage Rates:	80	\$.32 $\frac{1}{2}$
with board only	<u>10</u>	<u>.30</u>
without room and board	70	.35
Daily Wage Rates:	24	2.89
with board only	<u>15</u>	<u>2.69</u>
without room and board	9	3.44
Weekly Wage Rates:	445	12.13
with room and board	<u>84</u>	<u>8.20</u>
with room only	36	13.71
with board only	270	12.96
without room or board	65	16.11
Monthly Wage Rates:	748	61.41 $\frac{1}{4}$
with room and board	<u>482</u>	<u>56.68</u>
with room only	88	41.39
with board only	80	76.76
without board and room	58	70.82

* The material for this table was secured from the five private employment agencies which most Filipinos frequent to find employment. The average wage rate was computed by the author from the figures furnished by the five employment agencies.

CHART II*

AVERAGE MONTHLY WAGE RATES PAID TO FILIPINO
ELEVATOR OPERATORS BETWEEN THE YEARS 1925 - 1933



*Compiled by the writer. The rates given in the chart above are based upon wages paid by eight of the leading hotels of Hollywood and Los Angeles to Filipino elevator operators.

the average wages have again dropped to those of the present level (1933). A large proportion of Filipinos are evidently in keen competition with women running elevators. In many instances, the Filipinos are losing their jobs due to the fact that many women are working for lower wages than the Filipinos.

In many cases the employment of Filipinos on elevators in hotels, office buildings, institutions, and in apartment houses has been deeply resented, because in some cases it deprived others of employment; for instance, it became difficult to place elderly people in that kind of work for which they are employable. Many employers prefer young Filipinos, however, who can do the job more quickly than the more aged workers.

CHAPTER IV

FILIPINO NEWSPAPERS¹

The Filipino newspapers in Los Angeles are much like small town daily newspapers. The average number of pages in each publication is from two to six pages. They print gossip and news about situations concerning Filipinos, but are mostly interested in Filipino political affairs here and in the homeland, especially the question of Philippine independence. To some extent the editorials are highly idealistic, bombastic at times, and critical about the Filipino social situations which are serving to emphasize the common interests and understanding between the different Filipino groups, principally the Tagalogs, the Visayans, the Ilocanos, and the Pangasinanes. In so doing they are serving to unite the Filipinos in this city into one community, and are at the same time serving to commute ideas to the people at home in the fight for Philippine independence. The Philippine Tribune,² for instance, is a chief

¹ Most of these papers are edited by Filipinos who are graduates of law schools and colleges of the many different universities in the United States. Some have had previous experience in newspaper business in the homeland.

² The Philippine Tribune is the latest Filipino newspaper in Los Angeles.

advocate for the Island's complete, immediate, and absolute separation from the United States.³

Copies of these Los Angeles Filipino newspapers are sent to friends and politicians throughout the United States, and to the homeland "gratis," so that on the whole most of these Filipino papers are not run for profits only. They are published only through the effort and sacrifices of the editors. With the little money they can collect from subscriptions and advertisements they are able to have their news and a few ideas put into print. But very often they find it quite difficult to collect payments for the advertisements.⁴ A certain Filipino editor, for instance, said that he is sending about three thousand copies of every issue of his paper to Filipino and American friends in the United States and in the homeland, but not a cent has been sent to him yet in return. "I won't go for their subscription payments. They can send them to the office if they want to." The editors who have everything to lose if their paper fails to come out of the press, have to

³ Manuel Quezon, I, is the President of the Philippine Senate and also the political head of the majority party--the Nationalista party.

⁴ Filipinos are not very good collectors. They think that to solicit and to collect money from others is another word for begging. Money collectors are regarded as a low type of profession by Filipinos.

sacrifice all their hard earned money if they wish to have their papers in circulation on a particular date.

There is no payroll to speak of in any one of these Filipino newspaper offices. All the work is done by the reporters, editors, and the staff in the spirit of service, and sometimes done for the sake of friendships existing between them. They feel that they are doing something unique for their countrymen if they can put out a Filipino paper, wherein public opinion concerning Philippine affairs can be expressed freely and at will.

None of these papers are being published with the idea of making money. The money they collect from advertisements and subscriptions are oftentimes not enough to pay the printers and sometimes they "break" just about even, after paying all of their bills. These papers are sold to Filipinos for three to five cents. If a paper has one thousand copies sold each time it comes out, it can probably make \$50.00 per issue. But I do not think that any one of these papers has that much circulation. This low circulation may be due to the fact that there is not enough news to be published. Assuming that the average income per issue is \$50.00 for each paper, they may still be on the losing side. The printer charged them from \$30.00 to \$40.00 per three thousand copies. Accounting for all the work put in by the editors, reporters and

other helpers the little amount left to them, if any, is not even enough to pay their daily expenses such as room rent, meals, laundry, street car fare, for gas, if they own a car, stationery, and office rent.

But, although financially depressed, and despite the difficulties in their way, some have been able to keep up the good work they have started--something that is much to be appreciated and admired. That there is really some intellectual struggle going on in the Filipino community in Los Angeles is evident by this desire to publish papers.

Since 1928 and up to the present time there have been published in Los Angeles, eleven Filipino newspapers,⁵ one of them was the Ang Bantay, published in the native tongue. But at present only seven are in existence, five of which are in magazine or pamphlet form, and two are like an ordinary rural paper ranging from two to six pages. Some of these pamphlets are published once a month, some quarterly, and some are published periodically, depending upon how the editors stand financially. At present, the Philippine Tribune and the Philippine Star Press come out regularly twice a month.

In a city where only six thousand Filipinos are

⁵ See complete list of the Filipino newspapers in Table I.

residing it seems foolish to have more than one Filipino paper. In comparing the Japanese population in this city with the Filipino population it seems evident that the Filipinos are overtaxing themselves with newspaper editing, in which case there seems to be a need of some readjustment to avoid the "rise and fall" of Filipino local newspapers. Suggestions are being made which may tend to smooth out the situation. One suggestion is the Filipino press unification; through such a scheme all Filipino newspapers would be united into one. Quality, then, will eventually take the place of quantity. One good newspaper well edited and well patronized is better than a dozen newspapers with amateur news-editing and very few readers. The second suggestion⁶ is to have one Filipino newspaper in this city with separate columns for each Filipino dialect. This suggestion is logical for it will gradually acquaint the different Filipino groups in the city with the different dialects; hence it may tend to promote keener and better understanding among the Filipinos. There would be some mutual exchange of ideas and at the same time the news part of it will be more condensed. Filipinos from every group will be interested to read the paper which they may call their own.

⁶ The second suggestion was made by Dr. Emory S. Bogardus in an interview.

CHAPTER V

OTHER FILIPINO OCCUPATIONS

Movie extras. There are other Filipino occupations worth giving some consideration besides those listed in the previous chapters. Some motion picture studios, for instance, have been employing Filipinos for scenes that call for Chinese, Japanese, Eskimo, Indian, or Negro characters, and sometimes to take part in the mass movements in the picture such as an uprising, strikes, war, or any such social disturbances. From January, 1932, to the earlier part of 1933, the following pictures from different studios had employed Filipino "extras": "Shanghai Express," "Hatchet Man," "Prestige," "Roar of The Dragon," "The Miracle Man," "War Correspondents," "The Painted Lady," "Bitter Tea of General Yen," "The Last Man," "Blessed Event," "The Crooner," "Red Dust," "Mask of Fu Manchu," "Rasputin," "The Empress," "Secret of French Police," "International House," "One Way Passage," "Shanghai Madness," and "The Wild Orchid."¹

Occasionally, agents from the different moving picture studios with the help of the Filipino bosses have

¹ Philippine Star Press, Los Angeles, California, August 5, 1933, vol. 3, No. 14.

launched a drive, hiring Filipinos at First and Main and in many different parts of the city where Filipinos are residing, for a brief period of time to work in the studio lots or in some distant locations.

The unemployed Filipinos find these movie "extra" jobs very helpful. They are taken to some location for several days or sometimes weeks and given food, shelter and certain wages. In 1928, the Filipinos doing this type of work were receiving five to eight dollars per day, but since the financial crash in 1931 the wage per day which the picture studios are paying to the Filipinos is from two to five dollars. When they come home from work they have a little money in their pockets to pay for their daily expenses while they are busily looking for steady jobs in the city or elsewhere.

Public entertainers. There are also a few Filipinos working in vaudeville shows and on the radio as well. It is to be noted, however, that as yet there are no organized vaudeville performers among Filipinos, but occasionally we may find Filipino singers making appearances in some of our local theaters.

In one of the Filipino social gatherings in the city three of the noted Filipino entertainers were introduced as Filipino Bing Crosby, as Filipino Douglas Fairbanks, as

Filipino Rudy Vallee, and many other assumed names of popular American singers. Many Filipinos can sing rather beautifully, but due to the lack of proper coaching and the limited opportunity, they are unable to place themselves in the front rank or even to the rank of average singers. Some of them know enough of the fundamentals of singing but are not expert or trained enough to reach the position that Rudy Vallee, Al Jolson, and Bing Crosby have attained in the music world.

Extra chauffeurs.² In large hotels, such as the Knickerbocker, the Roosevelt, Biltmore, Ambassador, Alexandria, and many other expensive hotels in the city, there are guests who during their short stay in this city would prefer to hire one of these Filipino "extra chauffeurs," than to hire a regular full-time chauffeur. This scheme is more economical and far more convenient to the employers, because they do not have to bother themselves to buy a new automobile, a chauffeur's uniform, pay garage rent, or assume any such responsibilities, for these necessities are being taken care of by these "extra chauffeurs." The gas and oil consumed in the trips are

² The word "extra" is not used here literally to mean outside of, but it is a common expression used by most Filipinos to signify non-steady jobs.

by contract to be paid by the employer for whom the service is rendered. When the contract expires or when the time has come that the employer has to leave town for some distant destination he pays the chauffeur the full amount due him, and then goes on his way uninterrupted by his much needed local transportation problems, no automobile, no driver, no garage rent left behind. This is, of course, very advantageous to the Filipinos engaged in this kind of work also. Within a very short length of time he is able to earn twice as much as he would have earned by working steadily at one job. It is to be admitted, however, that this type of work is very uncertain and that in a time like this when everybody is "hard up" for money, and nationalistic feelings are high, it is sometimes difficult to keep this work going and really make a good living wage.

Seasonal jobs. During the months of May, June, July, and August, when summer resorts, clubs, and vacation camps are opening their doors to excursionists, tourists, and travelers, many Filipinos take advantage of these few months of work by working as bus boys, waiters, dishwashers, potwashers, housemen, porters, pantrymen and cooks. From the tips and small wages which they receive while the job lasts some are able to save a little amount of money for the coming winter, when most of these resorts close

their doors again, and when jobs are very scarce. University and college students find this type of work very advantageous. It gives them opportunity to earn a small amount of money during vacation. With their savings they are able to pay part of their tuition when school days are back again.

After these months spent working at resorts, we find Filipinos pouring into the city to find new jobs for themselves. This change may mean a few weeks or months of idleness. But Filipinos who are afraid of being laid off waste no time lying idle. They take every opportunity that may come their way, doing a "bit" of work here and there that may come their way, taking jobs as window washers, bootblacks, janitors, waiters, dishwashers in hotels and restaurants, cooking and waiting on table for private families or in parties in hotels and clubs. Sometimes they work by the hour or by contract, or more often, by the day.

During the months of October, November, December, and January when work on farms is slack, and the summer resorts are closing their doors, many Filipinos find it convenient and helpful to leave the city to work in some of the fish canneries in Alaska, their transportation and lodging being provided. Others, however, may have a chance to work in the movies.³

³ See page 43.

Prize fighters. We have in this community a number of Filipino fighters who are making regular appearances in the Olympic stadium and at the American Legion stadium in Hollywood. There are about a dozen others who are constantly training in the Main Street Gymnasium with the hope that they may reach the rank that Dado, Tommy, and Garcia have attained in the ring. Once in awhile they are called to fight in the "semi-wind up" events in the prize-fight rings in our local community and in cities like San Diego and Pismo beach where boxing bouts are staged.

CHAPTER VI

RECREATION

The data incorporated in Table VI from a recent study concerning recreational activities supported by the different Filipino local clubs and organizations were found to be most representative.

The table thus far shows that there are nineteen outstanding recreational activities besides the commercialized dance halls and pool halls. Baseball, volley ball, track and field, and tennis are attracting the attention of many Filipinos in the city. Outside of the Filipino organized groups as indicated in Table VI on page 50 we find that during the summer, the average number of Filipinos playing indoor baseball at Echo Park is about fifty, including substitutions; volley ball, about thirty; tennis about one hundred fifty to two hundred on Sundays and holidays, while on Thursdays, when most Filipinos are taking their day off, we find about twenty-five Filipinos playing tennis on some of the local tennis courts. There are few more to be seen playing tennis on Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays, Fridays, and Saturdays during their few hours of leisure.

Of all the Filipinos playing tennis only twenty are

TABLE VI
GAMES AND ORGANIZED PLAY

Activities	Clubs reporting	Average number participating annually
Tennis	Laguig Laan Tennis Club Luna Tennis Club Manila Tennis Club Sarat Tennis Club Tanay Tennis Club Filipino Catholic Tennis Club	60
Track and Field Events*	Filipino Catholic Club Pangasinan Association Filipino Youth (Other teams are coming from Placencia, La Verne, and Santa Barbara)	40
Volley Ball	Tanay Club in America Filipino Christian Fellowship Filipino Catholic Club Pangasinan Association (Many other teams are coming from Chico, La Verne, and San Diego)	46
Indoor Baseball	Ilocus Sur Association of America Filipino Patriotic Association Pangasinan Youth La Union Association Catholic Filipino Club Filipino Youth Sons of Cebu	100

* In track and field sports the following events are staged: 100 yard dash, 220 yard dash, 440 yard dash, 880 yard dash, high and low hurdles, running broad jump, hop step and jump, 880 yard relay, and shot put.

TABLE VI (CONTINUED)
GAMES AND ORGANIZED PLAY

Activities	Clubs reporting	Average number participating annually
Basket Ball	Catholic Filipino Club (15) (Other unorganized groups-- 10)	35
Swimming	No organized group	-
Pool	No organized group	No avail- able data
Ping Pong	Filipino Christian Associa- tion of Southern California Filipino Christian Fellowship Filipino Catholic Club (Many other individuals par- ticipating without club affiliation)	30
Golf	Filipino Federation of America Individuals without club affiliation (2)	- 2
Boxing	Professionals (4) Amateurs (12) Curtain raisers (6)*	22
Wrestling		1
Games	Filipino Christian Association of Southern California Filipino Christian Fellowship (In private parties)	Number varies

* Curtain raisers implies boxers fighting in the semi-wind up events.

TABLE VI (CONTINUED)
GAMES AND ORGANIZED PLAY

Activities	Clubs reporting	Average number participating annually
Picnics	No organized group	60
Pageant*	Filipino Christian Fellowship	25
Christmas Program	Filipino Christian Fellowship	20
Social Dances	Tanay Club in America Pangasinan Association Ilocus Sur Association of America Barristers Association Cagayan Valley Association Gideon Trading Corporation (Social Department) Philippine Chamber of Commerce Caballeros de Dimasalang Filipino Alumni Association	300
Parties	General interest for all clubs	no data
Theater	Many Filipinos are theater goers	--
Debating Oratorical Declamation	Philippine Junior House of Representative** Filipino Varsity Debating Club	45

* Pageants shown were all under the direction of Mr. and Mrs. Frank Stipp, the Superintendent of the Filipino-American Christian Fellowship of Southern California.

** The Philippine Junior House of Representatives is an all-Filipino organization dealing chiefly with Filipino problems in this city. It is an imitation of the House of Representatives in the Philippine Islands composed of representatives from the different Filipino groups.

TABLE VI (CONTINUED)
GAMES AND ORGANIZED PLAY

Activities	Clubs reporting	Average number participating annually
Open Forum Symposiums	Filipino Debating Club Filipino University Club Filipino Youth Majority of Filipino Clubs and Associations are interested, especially in those problems dealing with the Philippines and world affairs.	varies in attendance

expert players, able to stand competition against other expert Filipino tennis teams, and about eight are good enough to compete against the Japanese, Chinese, Negroes, and some American tennis teams in the city.

Manila-Tanay Tennis Clubs. With the combined efforts of the Manila and Tanay Tennis Clubs it was made possible to purchase a large silver perpetual trophy, to be awarded to the winner of the Filipino inter-club tennis championship. These clubs feel that such a trophy will encourage more Filipinos to play tennis and play it well. The honor of competing for this trophy is open only to organized Filipino tennis clubs in the city, or to any Filipino organized tennis teams in the country. Such a limitation has been made solely for the purpose of selection, through which the Filipinos may have a better representation in tennis competition with other races. The initial tournament was held at Echo Park August 25, 1933, between the donors of the trophy ("Manila" and "Tanay" Tennis Clubs) and was won by the Manila Tennis Team. Hereafter, the tournaments to follow will be held once a year. The time and place for which will be decided by the committee on rules.

"The Laguing Laan Tennis Club" is another Filipino tennis club in the city doing work similar to that being

done by the Manila and Tanay Tennis Clubs in the promotion of good tennis among Filipinos. They are sponsoring a yearly Pacific Southwest Tennis Championship, which is open only to Filipinos with or without club affiliations, on application, and upon paying the moderate entrance fee of \$1.00 for single players and \$1.65 for doubles. Those fees entitle them to play during the entire tournament as long as their ability and skill hold out. The winner gets a silver cup donated by the Laguing Laan Tennis Club.¹

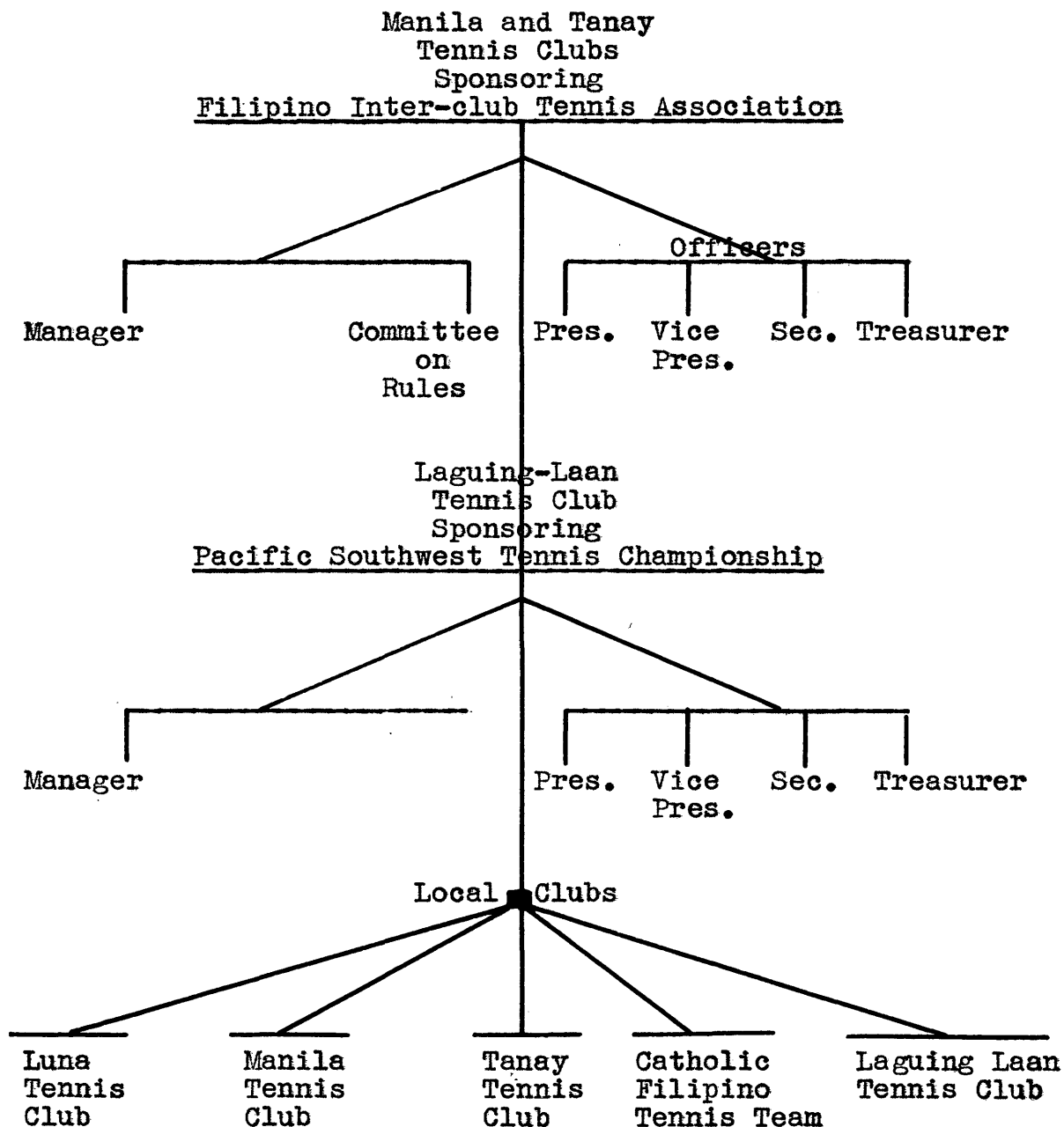
There are other Filipino local organizations, clubs, and associations, that are forming their own tennis teams, and are constantly training their interested members in tennis with the expectation that some day their club might be one of those competing for the trophy in the Inter-Club Tennis Championship or in the Pacific Southwest Tennis Championship.

It is to be noted, however, that although there are quite a few Filipino Tennis teams in this city, their activities in matters of tennis matches or tournaments are pretty well co-ordinated and regulated by the different club leaders to avoid conflict and duplication of events.²

¹ The Filipino 1933 Championship was won by Mr. Santiago Marinias.

² So far, the Filipinos in this city have not been able to organize a co-ordinating committee. Conflicts are avoided only through verbal compromise and special agreements between club leaders.

FIGURE I
 FILIPINO TENNIS CLUBS
 IN
 LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA*



* Compiled by the author.

In a personal interview with Mr. Dudley C. Shumway, director of municipal sports in Los Angeles, it was learned that there had been eleven Filipino tennis tournaments held in different city tennis courts in the past three years, each tournament having about sixty Filipinos participating. The data were based on the number of tennis court reservations made by the different Filipino organizations sponsoring the tournaments. In the summer of 1933 there were two major Filipino tennis tournaments, one was sponsored by the Manila and Tanay Tennis Clubs, and the other was sponsored by the Laguing Laan Tennis Club.³

Ping pong. Ping pong is another game in which Filipinos are pretty much interested although the number of games is somewhat limited, due to the lack of facilities necessary to play this type of game, having only three places in the Filipino community whereby this game could be played without going into a large amount of expense. Ping pong tables are available at the Filipino Christian Fellowship, 546 South Los Angeles Street, at the Filipino Christian Association in the Goodwill Industry at Main Street, and at the Filipino Catholic Club, 220½ Main Street, formerly at 800 California Street. A few Filipinos are

³ See page 54.

found playing ping pong in the Olympic Ping Pong Club at Beverly Boulevard. In a ping pong tournament sponsored by the Olympic Ping Pong Club three Filipinos have participated this year. One of them won the second place in the Pacific Ping Pong Tournament.

The Filipino Catholic Club and the Filipino Christian Fellowship are sponsoring ping pong tournaments annually in their own club rooms. Prizes and awards in the form of sweaters, neckties, and cups are given to the winners. These awards are donated by some socially minded Filipinos in the community.

Filipino Indoor-Baseball League.⁴ In 1928, there were only a few Filipino organizations in this city that had Filipino indoor baseball teams, but they had never been able to organize as they do at the present time. Table VI on page 50 shows that seven Filipino organizations are actively taking part in the league, now under the sponsorship of the Sons of Cebu.⁵ Prizes are, as usual, awarded to the winning team. The officers sponsoring this league

⁴ This Filipino Indoor Baseball League has been held traditionally at Echo Park during the past three years, and is sponsored by different Filipino organizations each year.

⁵ Sons of Cebu is one of the Filipino organizations in Los Angeles.

donated a cup for first prize, a pennant for the second prize, and a medal for the "home-run king."⁶

Due to the limited time allowed them by the city park commission, in order to accommodate other people who also wish to play on the same baseball diamond, only two games are played every Sunday, so that it takes more than three months to finish the tournament (July 7, to October 8, 1933). Mr. Tanato, the sports manager of the league, estimated that there were about one hundred Filipinos who actively participated in this indoor-baseball series, including the substitute players and the athletic managers of the different rival clubs.

Track and field events.⁷ The "Filipino Youth," another Filipino club, is staging an annual track and field event for Filipinos in Southern California, as a part of its educational plan of "building Filipino manhood."

Through the courtesy of the Board of Education of the city of Los Angeles, the Filipino Youth was granted permission for the use of the grounds, including the gymnasium, lockers and showers. This aid made its really

⁶ "Home-run king" is a common expression used by most Filipinos to signify best batter.

⁷ An athletic event of this kind is the hardest activity for any Filipino organization to undertake, due to the lack of facilities.

TABLE VII
FILIPINO INDOOR BASEBALL LEAGUE*

Team	Date	Opponent
	July 7, 1933	
Filipino Patriotic Association	vs.	Filipino Catholic Club
Pangasinan Youth	vs.	La Union Association
	July 16, 1933	
Sons of Cebu	vs.	Filipino Youth
Sequijor Association	vs.	Ilocos Sur Association
	July 23, 1933	
La Union Association	vs.	Catholic Filipino Club
Filipino Patriotic Association	vs.	La Union Association
	July 30, 1933	
Sons of Cebu	vs.	Ilocos Sur Association
Filipino Youth	vs.	Sequijor Association
	August 6, 1933	
Catholic Filipino Club	vs.	Pangasinan Youth
Filipino Patriotic Association	vs.	La Union Association
	August 13, 1933	
Sons of Cebu	vs.	Sequijor Association
Ilocos Sur Association	vs.	Filipino Youth
	August 20, 1933	
Catholic Filipino Club	vs.	Sons of Cebu
Filipino Patriotic Association	vs.	Filipino Youth

* A schedule of the Filipino Indoor Baseball League for the year 1933, supported by various representative teams from various Filipino clubs.

TABLE VII (CONTINUED)
 FILIPINO INDOOR BASEBALL LEAGUE

Team	Date	Opponent
	August 27, 1933	
La Union Association	vs.	Sequijor Association
Pangasinan Youth	vs.	Sons of Cebu
	September 3, 1933	
Catholic Filipino Club	vs.	Ilocos Sur Association
Filipino Youth	vs.	La Union Association
	September 10, 1933	
Sons of Cebu	vs.	La Union Association
Sequijor Association	vs.	Pangasinan Youth
	September 17, 1933	
Filipino Youth	vs.	Catholic Filipino Club
Sons of Cebu	vs.	Filipino Patriotic Association
	September 24, 1933	
Ilocos Sur Association	vs.	Pangasinan Youth
Filipino Patriotic Association	vs.	Sequijor Association
	October 1, 1933	
La Union Association	vs.	Ilocos Sur Association
Catholic Filipino Club	vs.	Sequijor Association
	October 8, 1933	
Ilocos Sur Association	vs.	Filipino Patriotic Association
Filipino Youth	vs.	Pangasinan Youth

first successful annual track and field meet possible. Six Filipino teams participated in the meet, but only three made a good showing. The Filipino Catholic Club won the meet with fifty-one points; Sons of Cebu, second; and Pangasinan Youth Association, scored twenty-one points, to win the third place. Said one of the Filipino newspapers in the city,

The Catholic Filipino Club track and field team won the championship of track and field meet recently conducted by the Filipino Youth under the leadership of Mr. Amado E. Dino. The meet took place April 23, 1933, at the Polytechnic High School grounds. Sons of Cebu captured second place, while Pangasinan Youth was third. Alegata of the Catholic Filipino Club was the star of the meet.⁸

Prize fights. Every Tuesday and Friday at the Hollywood American Legion Arena, and at the Olympic Stadium hundreds of Filipinos attend the prize fights. Filipinos attend in larger crowds than usual if any one of the outstanding Filipino boxers, such as Speedy Dado, Young Tommy, Garcia, or Little Pancho is scheduled to fight a boxer of a different nationality.

Filipinos are lovers of prize fights. Like football enthusiasts they can find a lot of pleasure in seeing their countrymen fighting boxers of other nationalities.

⁸ Delfin E. Tabanera, "Filipino Youth Track and Field Meet." Philippine Star Press, April 30, 1933, Los Angeles.

They cheer, yell, and "boo" with great excitement when the occasion calls for it. Sometimes the feeling runs high in the gallery, especially between different races when seemingly unfair decisions are given. It often seems as though a race riot would most likely break out. In fact, there were several instances of fights between Mexicans and Filipinos in the gallery, but the timely interception by the police prevented further developments.

The morning after the fight, reactions of all sorts could be heard from Filipinos in barber shops, pool halls and in the restaurants concerning the wonderful showing made by Speedy Dado, Young Tommy, etc., the night before. Sometimes the tales and stories told about the fight are far more interesting than the actual fight itself. There is the joy of seeing the story teller--telling, demonstrating, mimicing, imitating, and dramatizing how Dado or Garcia managed to send his opponent to the floor. Word goes around to all Filipino gatherings of the thrilling and exciting fight, and of the wonderful thrashing Dado gave his opponent. Hours are spent in discussing, commenting, and idolizing their "fighter here," especially by the idle Filipinos.

Of course, there are many evils connected with these prize fights. Secret and large-scale gambling is sometimes unavoidable, and impossible to prevent. Many men are

willing to sacrifice their very last penny, and their personal belongings are pawned or sold for a few dollars; many borrow money from friends in order to pay the admission just to be able to see the fight. Thus, their immediate desires for amusement are satisfied, while their future wants and necessities of life, such as room rent, meal tickets, and employment are sometimes, if not fully, neglected. "I must go to the fight tonight, job or no job," are the words frequently heard from many of these prize fight enthusiasts. They have to leave their jobs, finished or unfinished, in order to be in the stadium on time. The next morning we find them in the streets, thrown out of their jobs, and once more joining the army of the unemployed.

CHAPTER VII

DANCE HALLS

One of the chief amusements of a certain group of Filipinos in Los Angeles is dancing. On Main Street alone there are five dance halls in which Filipinos spend their leisure time. Among these we find The Hippodrome, The Four Hundred One Ball Room, The Olympic, The Royal Palais, and the Danceland. On Spring Street between Third and Second Streets we find the Rizal Cabaret; on Third Street between Main and Spring there is the One Eleven Dance Hall; and the Tiffany Dance Hall on Third Street between Main and Los Angeles Streets. Altogether, we find eight dance halls in Los Angeles which a large number of Filipinos visit nightly.

Generally, at eight o'clock in the evening all of these dance halls open their doors to their enthusiastic customers--the Filipinos. Eight-fifteen sees a great rush of Filipinos going to their favorite dance halls. The reason for such a rush is not because they have some special thing to do in the dance hall, but simply to avoid the paying of the admission fee of fifteen cents, that is collected after eight-thirty. It is to be noted, however, that not all Filipinos visiting dance halls are dancing

every night. Their financial situation does not allow the practice of such an expensive pastime. Having no other place to go at night, they are more or less forced or driven to these halls in their desperate attempt to squeeze a little pleasure out of life. As a matter of fact, there are often only three to six couples, at the most, dancing at one time, while hundreds are sitting and standing around the room patiently watching the dancing beauties, and listening to the "jazz" orchestra. There are many students who find here the opportunity to be "wild"--a chance to escape from the moral and social limitations of campus behavior.

The rooms in which the dances are held are large and are illuminated by red lights in the center of the hall. These are covered with decorations so the lighting results in a dull haze. Chairs are lined up against the wall as in the case of A-- dance hall. As soon as the girls enter, they go to their chairs, lined along the wall. When the music starts the men begin to mill around these chairs, wherever they may be, and are excited by the music, the dim lights, the hot dance hall air, and the beautiful taxi-dancers. But the effect of the depression upon the Filipinos was so great that their desire for pleasure could not be realized. It has taught them to be more careful in spending their hard-earned dollars. For the sake

of comparison it might be worth while to mention that in 1928 when jobs were plentiful, and money was easy to secure, it was a common sight to see Filipinos buying dozens of dance tickets; some were seen dragging a whole chain of tickets on the floor, the lot of which cost the bearer from four to five dollars, and all spent in one night. But today hardly any of these dance hall frequenters spend more than fifty cents or a dollar for this sort of thing.

A girl once admitted that she used to clear fifteen to twenty-five dollars a night, before the financial crash of 1931. But today she regretfully admitted that she could hardly make enough money to pay for her car-fare and "make-ups." She finally had to quit dancing. Now she is learning a trade as beauty parlor operator.

Means of inducing Filipinos to visit dance halls.

One of the many inducements most of these dance halls are using is the "Lucky Number" scheme. The dancing partners who may be found below the number hanging from the ceiling among the paper hangings and decorations as indicated by the point of the dial fastened on one of the posts and electrically operated, are the winners of the so-called "lucky spot." The male partner receives from the ticket manager a dollar's worth of tickets. While it is a free dance for the man, the girl is not, on the other hand,

being deprived of her much needed commission.

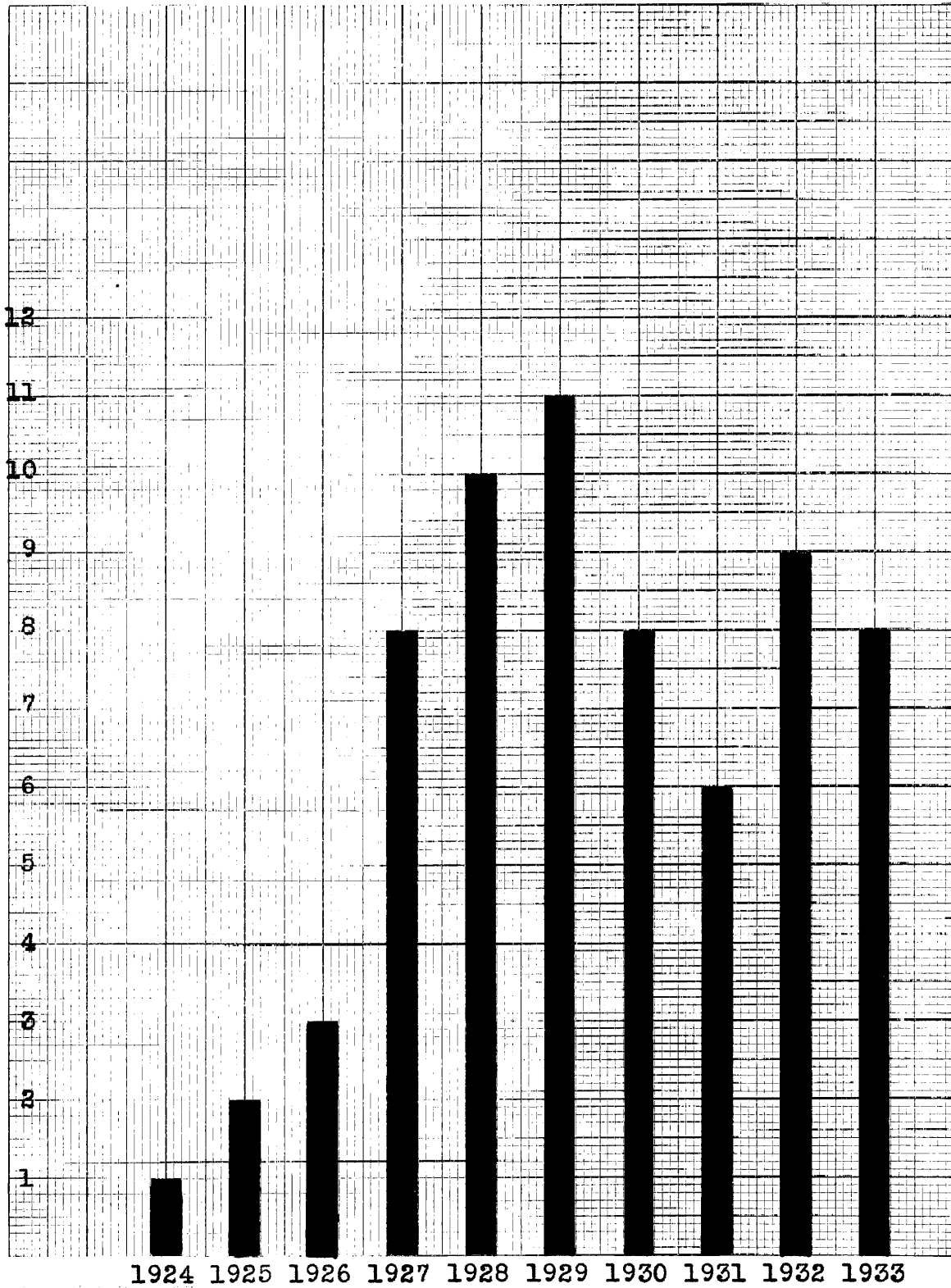
The second inducement is the "Lucky Door Ticket." One end of every ticket purchased at the door is deposited in the box at the door, while the other end is retained by the purchaser. Both ends have the same number. The number that appears on the lucky end withdrawn from the box is the "lucky number," for which the holder of that number receives a five-dollar cash prize. The second number that appears in the second withdrawal is the second prize winner and usually wins two dollars or two dollars and a half. Many are taking chances and willing to gamble their last fifteen cents in buying a door ticket to win the cash prizes. The management of this particular dance hall, B--, is succeeding in getting the boys interested in visiting their dance hall. In fact, more Filipinos could be seen every day in this hall than in any other dance hall in the city.

Besides the "lucky door ticket" inducement, this same dance hall (B--) features a Sunday program, some social affairs, such as entertainments in the form of exhibition dances, games, singing, and tricks. And in addition cookies, cakes and other refreshments are served which, on the whole, is making these dance hall frequenters feel at home. At eleven o'clock the business part of the game starts. They then begin to start charging the regular

fee of ten cents per dance. The whole scheme is very timely and psychological. The Filipinos who are then in their highest mood of gratitude to the management are made to feel that they must dance. On the other hand, the associations and the acquaintanceships they have made with the girls during the informal hours are sometimes too pleasant to terminate, and the only means of continuing these relationships is to dance, this time at the Filipinos' expense. Sometimes when the man has more money to spare, he may induce the girl to go to the bar with him where more intimate conversation without interruption can be accomplished, but that only means more business for the girl, since the longer they stay there the more soda, beer, or sandwiches they are forced to eat or drink, and which are sold at exorbitant prices. The ordinary bottle of soda, for instance, is sold for twenty-five cents; a bottle of beer is sold for fifty cents; and an ordinary sized bottle of ginger ale is sold for one dollar, drinks that could be bought in any soda fountain for five, fifteen, and twenty-five cents respectively. Fifty per cent of the cost of what they drink in the bar goes to the girl, and the other fifty per cent goes to the management. Here is an instance, wherein Filipinos are spending more than what they can earn, which in itself is a false economy.

Consensus of opinion among old Filipino residents

NUMBER OF DANCE HALLS IN LOS ANGELES
FREQUENTED BY FILIPINOS



in this city discloses that in 1928 there was reached the highest number of Filipino-patronized dance halls; that year there were eleven dance halls, as the table on page 70 indicates. A considerable and gradual reduction, however, was shown in 1931, due to the financial crisis of that year. Many employers are quitting business; many Filipinos have lost their jobs; many have had their salaries greatly reduced so that it made it impossible for them to continue their usual "night life." The drop in 1933 is to be accounted for the consolidation of two dance halls, namely, the "Blanchard" and the "Red Mill."¹ The "Liberty" dance hall was forced to close its doors due to the numerous complaints from religious organizations in the city, especially from the Catholic groups who vigorously protested against the existence of some of these dance halls near their churches. But the same dance hall opened its doors again, despite the numerous protests, only assuming the name "Tiffany Dance Hall." Very few Filipinos are to be found in this hall. The same may be said about the "Olympic" and the "Royal Palais" dance halls, for the simple reason that there are whites and Mexicans also frequenting these places. Large numbers of

¹ Neither the Blanchard nor the Red Mill Dance Hall is in existence.

Filipinos are to be found in the "One Eleven Dance Hall," "Danceland," and in "Hippodrom Dance Palace," on Main Street; and in the "Rizal Cabaret," for there are no other races there except a few Japanese and Chinese, who are very friendly to the Filipinos.

Evils of dance halls. The Filipinos, unaccustomed to being kept in the house doing menial domestic work, monotonous house cleaning, cooking, silver polishing, carpet sweeping and the like, find it difficult to stay at home after a hard day of labor. They are young, lonesome, sometimes homesick, weary, despondent about their particular situation, so that the desire for companionship is natural, and almost inevitably they could not help but go out at night to squeeze a little pleasure from life. It is in seeking for pleasure that many Filipinos are falling into the pit of ruin and exploitation. Young in age, with no parental control and supervision, they are left free to decide for themselves which course of life they are to follow. But often times they are misled by their own conviction and led astray in the complex life of American society. "Eat, drink, and be merry for tomorrow we die," and "enjoy life while we are young," becomes their philosophy. This belief makes them care less for the future, but seek more for pleasures of the minute. Having no

other place to express those desires, they often find themselves in pool rooms and dance halls. And pretty soon it becomes a habit--a habit that is hard to break. Said a Filipino:

My friend took me to the dance hall one night and there I met a beautiful girl. I fell in love with her. Night after night after finishing my work I could not help but go out to see her, and dance with her. For a while we were both very serious with one another. She finally asked me if I would marry her, and I consented to it, having spent a large sum of money for her already. My boss didn't seem to like the idea of my going out every night so she decided to get somebody to take my place. My girl friend felt that because of this sudden change I wasn't quite so generous to her as before, so she turned me down. Now all the money that I have been saving for years is all gone. My friends have deserted me. Now I am nothing but a helpless beggar.

Without going into the psychological explanation, experience will tell us that staying up late every night is injurious to the health. This practice is, in general, very common among the dance hall frequenters. They cannot help but get into the every night habit. As soon as they get started they do not know when to stop, not realizing that their work requires early rising. If one is a janitor or has to get up before six o'clock to clean the lobby and get the steam and the boiler going before the tenants rise in the morning; if one is a cook, one has to prepare breakfast before one's employer wakes up in the morning. Many more instances of this type could be given, but the above examples are probably enough to show what insufficient

sleep would do to his health in the long run. Due to the lack of rest and sleep one is unable to do one's work diligently the next day. One may be able to keep one's self awake while working, but is nevertheless greatly handicapped. One is like an old engine, so worn out that one cannot function properly, stalling on the highway, needing someone to push him on. One is not interested in one's job. At times one's head seems empty, cannot think intelligently, is nervous and easily excited, has a mean disposition, is sleepy and too tired to work, his mind is not on his job but somewhere out yonder, thinking of the good time he has the night before, and the good time to come. At night, if he is working in a private home, one wants to finish his work at the earliest time possible so that he can go out, not minding how he cleans the kitchen, how he washes the dishes, nor where he puts them away. The employer, upon seeing such negligence and conduct, would naturally get unfavorable reactions, and finally lose confidence and trust in such an employee. It only seems natural that when things are not going the way the employers wish them to, they cannot help but insist on better service. When the employers keep on insisting, the employees would wonder about the service they are rendering. They finally become disgusted with themselves and the employer. Indifference prevails, not from the employers'

fault, but from the fault of the employee. He thinks he is not wanted anymore, that he is not being treated rightly, that his employer has already someone in view to take his place and that is why whatever he does is not appreciated. Accommodation failed in its purpose. There are only two ways to meet the situation. He may either quit his job voluntarily, or wait until he gets fired.

Another evil connected with the dance hall is the desire to buy automobiles and expensive clothes. Some times Filipinos pay more money for their clothing and for pleasures than what they earn. Students of economics will admit that spending more than what you can earn is poor economy. Buying a car on the installment plan made it possible for the Filipino to drive a car temporarily. If he loses his job, which is mostly likely to happen; if he keeps on running around every night, it means postponment of monthly payments until finally he loses the car, and with it also goes his hard earned money.

A Filipino who is working in one of the Hollywood hotels bought a new car. A few days after buying the car his girl friend borrowed it from him. He could not refuse, so he gave the car to her. A few hours after the news came to him through the telephone that the car was involved in an accident. It was almost completely demolished. The girl was taken to the hospital with serious injuries.

Before he could put the car on the highway again he had to spend sixty-five dollars for repairs. In the meantime his salary was reduced, and that made it impossible for him to pay the expenses and monthly payments for the car, so he had to give it up.

Another sad thing about these dance halls is that many Filipinos are being cheated by these dancers. They never hesitate asking a Filipino for a pair of shoes, hats, overcoats, rings, and various feminine needs. If he has to maintain the relationship between the girl and himself, he is compelled to buy the things she asks. Then he may go to the store and buy her an overcoat or whatever the case may be on credit. When the girl leaves town she takes the coat with her, while the Filipino has to pay the balance. Thus we find him paying a good deal for nothing in return. No law could keep the girl from leaving the town, nor could she be compelled to pay for the overcoat for her name does not appear in the contract. Here is a sample of one of the troubles that one of our boys has gotten into:

A dance hall girl talked a Filipino into buying her some clothes in one of the credit clothing concerns downtown. The amount was \$150.00. The poor Filipino signed the contract. In a week or so, the girl went to the dance hall details office of the crime prevention department in our city and reported that she was 'checking out.'

While it is unpleasant for the Filipino to be paying for clothes which he never gets the benefit of using, yet

the officers of the law cannot keep the girl from going to other places, for after all she has the right to go wherever she pleases.

In many cases these women live with Filipinos, sometimes even getting married to them in order to rob them of all they have, and then disappear, to live with another man.

Making "dates" with these girls sometimes creates a considerable number of disturbances between Filipinos themselves. In fact, many Filipinos have lost their lives in these places, due to jealousy over the same girl, or between the dancers themselves.² Often the girl who has too many "dates" with other men is unable to fulfill all of her promises. She either keeps other men waiting or just by chance two or three men may call on her at the same time. When they see her in the dance hall the next night the men whom she has disappointed accuse her of being a "double-crosser." To avenge such an insult she will call on her boy friend for help. Without question her boy friend will start "eying" and placing himself on a careful lookout on his supposed rival. If the job is too much for one man to handle, he calls on his bodyguards and his gang for

² Girls who are very popular with boys are usually hated by her fellow dancers.

help. On the other hand the other party is also making similar preparations to meet the opposition. Two rival gangs will thus begin fighting for a cause which is unknown to both. All are armed with knives, revolvers, pipes, or rods; one gang will trail the footprints of their rivals like the bloodhounds trailing criminals in the wilderness. When they meet, serious injuries can be expected. Many land in prison, lose their jobs, and join the army of the unemployed. If they do not respond to the dictates of their girl friends, they are called "yellow" and cowards. However, otherwise, the Filipinos seldom figure in major crimes. Their sole conflict with the law may be traced back to their dance hall proclivities. Some have been arrested on violation of the moral ordinances, due to their associations with disorderly companions.

Filipino inter-marriage with dance hall girls. The inter-mingling of Filipinos with dance hall girls results, no doubt, in many mixed marriages. It ought to be recognized that no matter how rigid the laws that prevent various groups of people from marrying, they cannot ultimately prevent a gradual intermixture, and hence from such social relationships inter-marriage must be expected. Having no records available to show how many marriages have taken place between these dancers and the Filipinos,

there are certain cases that will throw some light on this subject. Four boys, whom the writer happened to know personally, have been married to women of another race and brought their wives to the homeland. Whether or not these marriages will be a success, they are nevertheless worthy of observation and experimentation.

Should the interracial couple return to the Philippines with their children, a new problem presents itself--the isolation of the American wife. While she may have the respect of her husband's kinfolk and the community, she may find it difficult to establish rapport with them. Language handicaps and wide cultural differences play a part, and, in addition, it is naturally very difficult for her husband's family to forget that she is, "first of all an American and only secondarily their son's wife." It is also hard for the home folk to accept her, owing to the common knowledge that some of them were of questionable character, or "did not come from a good family" in the United States. In the words of one discerning Filipino,

If I took an American wife back to the Philippines, I'd always be obliged to prove that my wife was a nice educated girl and came from a good family in the States. We'd have to frame her college diploma and hang it in the parlor.³

³ P. G. Cressey, The Taxi-Dance Hall (University of Chicago Press, 1932), pp. 172-173.

The American wife's opportunity for contact with other Americans in the Philippines is also very unsatisfactory. As the wife of a native she finds herself completely ostracized by those of her own race. Out of contact with others of her own race in the Philippines, and a month in time-distance from America, she leads an isolated life in her new home. While occasionally she may be treated as the "queen" of the village, she lives, in most cases very probably, until well assimilated, a lonely and rather uneventful life.⁴

She is more often than not branded as a social outcast, for if she were not, she probably would not take a Filipino for her husband. Somehow there is that common feeling that when a white woman is seen with men of a colored race one unconsciously thinks that another "white" has gone to the "devil." The Filipinos have that impression also when a member of their own race marries one of these undesirables. When they go for an automobile ride, or go to some public place such as parks, theaters, and beaches, they often times hear some one shouting words of insult at them.

In the well-ordered community etiquette and the accepted social conventions tend to encourage a married

⁴ P. G. Cressey, op. cit., p. 174.

couple to draw more closely toward each other. But in the case of an interracial marriage, all the forces of the community seem to be organized to break down the rapport existing between husband and wife while either party alone may be acceptable in his own circle within the community, as a couple they can never be admitted. A few intimate friends may make an exception and admit them to their society, but the community as a whole will not. Thus arises the pathetic isolation of the interracial couple.⁵

Who would be happy under such a condition? Wherever they go they feel as though they were out of place, and that their presence is not desirable. Whatever the psychological explanation which may be given, they cannot seem to act natural in the midst of other people. In the midst of the white people the Filipino has his own battle to fight. He cannot make himself feel that he is really a part of the group. At times he is afraid to talk, sometimes he is completely overcome with fear and shyness so that he prefers to remain silent rather than to say things that may not be properly understood by the people around him, due to his peculiar accent and his foreign mannerisms, which, if not always, are usually the subject of criticism. Whatever he does, he is being watched. If he moves freely about, there is the danger that it might cause irritation to some one. If he remains quiet in his seat, he is being accused of being "old-fashioned," or otherwise stupid.

⁵ P. G. Cressey, op. cit., pp. 170-171.

On the other hand his wife has to meet the same difficulty in the midst of the Filipinos. When the Filipinos start to speak in native dialects, she is shut off from the conversation. She may try to listen with interest, eagerness, and may even try to understand what the conversation is about; she laughs occasionally for the sake of courtesy, and she even tries to show that she is really a part of the group, but somehow or other that feeling of "belonging" is lacking. This lack of common interests in life, differences in race and cultural backgrounds, standards of living, and lack of education for the most part to be able to appreciate one another, are often times the cause of indifferences and misunderstandings, from which marital discords often result.

Many of these dance hall frequenters and taxi-dancers are unfit to marry, for they are often times the victims of social diseases such as syphilis, gonorrhoea, etc. Any man in the medical profession will tell us that individuals who are infected with those diseases should refrain from marrying, for if they do, they are only going to produce physically defective children who will later in life be a burden to their parents and to the community. "Marriages of persons with venereal disease is not only unfit; it is a hideous and dastardly

crime."⁶ Children born from such unfortunate matings are better not born, if they are going to suffer and not be able to enjoy life.

The resultant relationships between the Filipino youth and the white taxi-dancers may be passing incidents. Often they are the cause of sharp conflicts--fights, shootings, and stabbings, between Filipinos and white men, and more often between Filipinos themselves. The white men resenting the association of white women and the Filipinos has resulted in many race riots.

In spite of whatever difficulty that may be incurred by them, it seems only natural that such a thing could be expected. Said one of the priests in our local community, "Natural loneliness in a strange country is the beginning of the evil." Having no home life, devoid of female influence, not welcome in better homes, and lacking proper control, direction, and guidance, many Filipino youths perforce turn to the lower strata of social life. Social intercourse with his own kind is denied him, but he is naturally gregarious and he will eagerly seek company where he finds it. This social pursuit leads him to the greatest evil. He must face the danger of bad associates in the

⁶ C. B. Davenport, "Fit and Unfit Mating." Carnegie Institute of Washington (Published by N. E. A., Salt Lake City), p. 773.

lower class, disreputable environments, and harmful pastimes.

Conclusion. These commercialized dance halls serve several purposes; they provide release from repression. For the girls, they serve as an avenue toward monetary gain, for they provide many responses from one or more men. They offer amusements to a group.

Filipinos who have well-defined goals and who have a desire to achieve success do not readily become a part of this unstable dance-hall life. But for others the drawing power of the dance hall, the thrill of dates with American girls, and the material demands made upon them by these girls are sufficient to induce them to abandon their life ambitions.⁷

⁷ P. G. Cressey, op. cit., p. 174.

CHAPTER VIII

POOL HALLS

Other places of amusement for Filipinos are pool halls. Between First and Second, and Main and Los Angeles Streets there are to be found three Filipino-owned pool halls.¹ While these places are being commercialized, it might be well to admit that to some Filipinos pool halls are serving as outlets for social intercourse with their own kind. It is in those places that they can meet their friends and talk to them freely in the manner in which they are accustomed. Intimate friendships, companionships, and associations are formed in these disreputable places. Exchanges of greetings, jokes, laughs, stories of their own experiences in their adventures are being told and re-told and are adding more fun and mirth to their conversations. All of these and a game of pool releases all worries and helps them to forget some of the difficulties of life.

They are obliged to pay a certain fee, depending upon the game they are playing and that also is adding some zest and interest to the game. As a rule the loser

¹ See list of pool halls in Table I, page 20.

pays the fee. Their friends are gathered around the table, jeering and teasing the loser. Sometimes their jokes are annoying and aggravating, but never could anyone frown, nor show any sign of disgust to their spectators, for such an act is considered by Filipinos as poor sportsmanship.

The way the Filipinos play pool may not be as quiet and as formal as the Americans play it. They usually make many and loud noises--laughing, giggling, shouting, and teasing one another so that one can hear it in the distance. The more noise they make the merrier they become. Although such is the case with the majority of Filipinos playing pool, there are others who play this game in a formal way. They are, to be sure, the ones who are playing pool for money. When actual money is at stake no one dares make any sarcastic or unnecessary gestures, neither does one attempt to tell the other player what he should do, as the other group of players often do, but they simply remain silent on the side lines and watch the game as it is played.

From the above discussions we have noticed that there are two groups of Filipinos playing pool--the professionals² and the amateurs. The former make their living

² The word professional is a common expression among Filipinos playing pool to mean or to imply a certain group of Filipinos who are playing pool for money. They do not teach pool.

by playing pool, while the latter are playing pool only for pleasure, and as a pastime. The problems and the evils in pool halls lies greatly in the first group. In the first place any form of betting is gambling and is contrary to the law; second, win or lose, he is forced to play more pool. After winning a "lump" sum of money he would refuse to do any kind of work. Why should he work when he can make enough money to take care of himself for a short length of time, not realizing that it may last only for a day or two? The misfortune frequently comes when he loses some of his hard-earned money. It generally induces him to play more pool, take all kinds of chances, and to sacrifice all his money, even to the last penny, in order to regain the money he lost. If he is working, he generally quits his job, or just simply loses it for negligence and disinterest in his work. It seems evident that no man could be made to be interested in any one thing if his mind is not in it, as in the case of these pool players whose interests are focalized on gambling. After losing all his money he turns his attention to his belongings, suits, hats, trunks, overcoats, or whatever he may have, and pawns them for the most money he can get for them, just so he has some money to get along with even for a few days. After losing his personal belongings and luck is still against him, he is forced into the street, and thereby

resorts to begging or asking help from his countrymen. It is not surprising to see these individuals living under such conditions for a period of time on the wrong side of life. Realizing that there is nothing more left to them, nothing more to live for, they begin to be careless of themselves, of others, and of society at large. They then join the "gang of lost souls" as the only possible means of compensating for their failures in life.

Through association with bad characters in the cheap pool rooms, in the dance halls, in restaurants of low reputation, young Filipinos often come into contact with the underworld and, through ignorance, through loneliness, or through general disappointment with the conditions of life in America are led astray.³

Having pointed out some of the evils connected in pool halls it might be interesting to note the reasons why so many Filipinos are visiting these despised and disreputable places. In most of these places, we find many jobs are being secured through friends or through friends' friends. Occasionally there may be someone looking for "extra help" to wait on table for parties in clubs or in private families; to do some janitorial work in hotels or in apartment houses; to take the place of someone who

³ L. Bruno, "Social Problems." Filipino Immigration (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press), p. 100

is quitting his job. In fact, many Filipino labor contractors find it easy to hire Filipino laborers in pool halls where many of them congregate expecting such an opportunity. It not only makes it handy for those looking for some help, but also relieves many Filipinos from paying exorbitant employment fees, and enables them to secure and be on the job a lot more quickly than those placed in jobs by the commercialized employment agencies. The hiring contractors usually furnish free transportation for the laborers ready to leave for the camps on a minute's notice, whereas when jobs are secured from employment agencies the problem of transportation is always dominant. Here, too, we find many other forms of amusement such as checkers, story telling, miniature ping pong (silver king), and smoking, which, on the whole, serve as perfect pastimes for idle Filipinos.

Pool halls are recognized by Filipinos as not being a healthful place in which to pass the time. But having no other place to which they may go, where they may make themselves feel at home, they find frequenting pool halls a means for social expression although of the lower type.

Code language in pool halls. When an unknown white man enters any one of the Filipino pool halls suddenly the

word "mainit"⁴ is heard throughout, in loud voices from one corner to another of the pool room. When that word is heard, it is a sign that a suspicious character, usually a detective, a member of the vice squad, or of the police is coming in; it is a warning that any form of betting or gambling, if there is any such thing going on in the room, must stop or be conducted in an unnoticeable manner. Through this means of communication they have been able to prevent the many possible arrests and without interruptions.

Kinds of pool the Filipinos play. The most common games played in any Filipino pool rooms are rotation, three cushion, fifteen balls, twenty-one balls, and king and queen. The majority of players are playing rotation, for it is the easiest game to play. It does not require so much skill to sink the balls in the pocket, yet one will be able to enjoy the game thoroughly, if one is willing to spend some of his time in attempting to sink the ball in any of the side pockets. Very few can play three cushion, it being a difficult game to play. It requires accuracy and skill. Most Filipinos who play pool for money play the "Fifteen Ball" and "Twenty-one." The former

⁴ The word "mainit" means "hot" in the Tagalog dialect.

is played by picking up the balls numbered from ten up to fifteen. Then the balls are placed in a triangular formation on the table. One of the players breaks the ball formation by hitting first the cue ball which in turn hits and breaks the ball formation. The player who sinks the ball numbered "15" wins the game, regardless of how many balls his opponent has sunk in the pocket. It only takes from two to five minutes to play this kind of games, so that if a player is skillful and lucky, he is often able to win some money in a very short time, depending upon the nature of betting taking place.

Number of Filipinos frequenting pool halls. A rough estimate of the number of Filipinos to be seen daily in pool halls varies from twenty, at least, to about a hundred. Very few are to be seen in these places in the morning, but as the day progresses more and more come, especially in the evening when almost everyone is at leisure. On Sundays and holidays the largest crowds are usually congregated in these places. Not all, however, are playing pool, but they are there for the reasons⁵ previously mentioned.

This number is a good deal lower when compared with

⁵ See pages 88-89.

the number of Filipinos frequenting pool halls in the years 1928, 1929, and 1930, when there were from fifty to two hundred regularly visiting these places daily. The decline was effected by (1) the increase of Filipino restaurants, where Filipinos can now spend their leisure time; (2) the increase of Filipino club rooms; (3) the numerous entertainments the dance halls are offering to the Filipinos; (4) the increase of Filipino boarding houses in the city; (5) the increase of Filipino tennis teams; (6) the increase of Filipino organizations which are offering some form of amusement for their members such as social gatherings, dances, parties, and picnics; and lastly, it is partly due to the criticisms now penetrating into all Filipino minds concerning the harmful effects pool has to offer upon one's physical being. The trend is now toward athletic activities such as baseball, tennis, basket ball, ping pong, track and volley ball.⁶

⁶ See Table VI, page 50, for complete list of athletic activities in which the Filipinos are mainly engaged.

CHAPTER IX

OTHER CHANNELS FOR AMUSEMENTS

The Rizal Day Celebration. Rizal Day is a day that means much to every Filipino wherever he is to be found living. It is on this day that a great festival is held in Los Angeles or in any city in the United States where Filipinos are residing. It is the one occasion that every Filipino joins hand in hand in commemorating the death of this great Filipino martyr, Jose Rizal, through whose writings and teachings the Filipinos were able to see with an open mind the Spanish aggression in the Islands. The Rizal Day commemoration is the most elaborate celebration that the Filipinos of Los Angeles take part in. Rizal Day is December 30. No greater Filipino crowds are ever seen than on that day. All pay tribute to this great revolutionary leader.

To make the celebration more effective a Rizal Day Commemoration Association of Southern California has been formed and is supported by the different Filipino clubs,

¹ Jose Rizal is a Filipino national hero. Through his writings it was possible for the Filipinos to see the Spanish tyrannical rule in the archipelago, and through which they were forced to take up arms and overthrow the Spanish rule.

associations, and organizations in the city. The offices are distributed among the Vizayan, Tagalog, Ilocano, Cagayan, and Pangasinan groups, so that the responsibilities will be shared equally among them.

In connection with the Rizal Day Celebration is the Rizal Day Queen Contest, which is begun many months before the day of celebration. Candidacy for the contest is open to every Filipina² or to any woman who has sympathy and understanding for the Filipino cultural life, and is a resident of the city of Los Angeles. Usually these candidates are supported by individual clubs or organizations with which they are affiliated or with which they may happen to be most familiar. The campaign is determined by the usual procedure--the candidate who receives the most votes becomes the queen for the Rizal Day Celebration. Campaigns for raising money for their own candidate is done in the form of benefit dances, banquets, meetings, conferences, and selling tickets to everyone whom they think will be interested in this cause.

Besides the "Queen Contest" there are the oratorical and declamation contests sponsored by some of the Filipino associations in the city. The subject for the contest is

² Filipina denotes Filipino women.

centered around the life of Dr. Jose Rizal and his philosophy and its influences on the Filipino national life.

Mr. Taylor, a prominent American planter in the Islands, donated to the Filipino Youth Association a perpetual silver trophy to be awarded to the winner of the oratorical contest. The same individual is also given the privilege of reciting his winning oration on the night of the Celebration, in which the majority, if not all, of the Filipino groups are represented. Similarly, Mr. and Mr. F. Stipp³ have donated a silver cup for this same cause. Many other socially minded Filipinos are giving away medals, and other awards to the second, third, and fourth ranking orators. The whole movement is attracting a great number of Filipinos to this city from year to year, especially high school, junior college, and university students. An average of forty-five Filipinos annually are actually participating in the contest, including all of the Filipino organizations in the city, who send their own representatives to the contest. These oratorical contests do not only provide wholesome pastimes for Filipinos, but also provide an adequate means of self-expression in

³ Mr. and Mrs. Stipp have been working with Filipinos for about fifteen years. They have been in the missionary field in the northern provinces of Luzon for ten years, and given five years of service with the Filipinos in this city as superintendent of the Filipino American Fellowship.

public speaking.

Clubs and organizations. In Chapter One we found that competition in all athletic activities has been made possible, the success of which depends largely upon the individual club or organization. Having no recreational center for Filipinos in the city, it is only fitting that most Filipinos resort to the best amusements his individual club has to offer.

At present there are sixty-four Filipino clubs and organizations in Los Angeles. While the purpose of most of these organizations is purely fraternal and social, yet some are taking the responsibility of keeping their members from harmful pastimes as much as possible by inculcating to their members the value of physical exercise to man and by pointing out the evils and the harmful effects the dance halls and pool halls can have upon the individual. As a result of these efforts we find many Filipinos voluntarily withdrawing from these halls of vice and so engage themselves in some form of athletic activities. For instance, we find seven Filipino organizations with an average of one hundred participants during the entire indoor-baseball league; and four tennis teams who were actively engaged in tennis competition last summer, when there were two major tennis tournaments held in this city for Filipinos.

There are other Filipino organizations also who are trying to meet the social and recreational needs of their members. Numerous social activities are given, typical of which are social dances, dinner parties, picnics, programs, debates, oratorical and declamation contests, open forums, farewell parties honoring members, such as those who have graduated from schools and colleges, inauguration balls, initiations of club members and installations of officers. Social activities of these sort are usually held in the months of June, July and August.

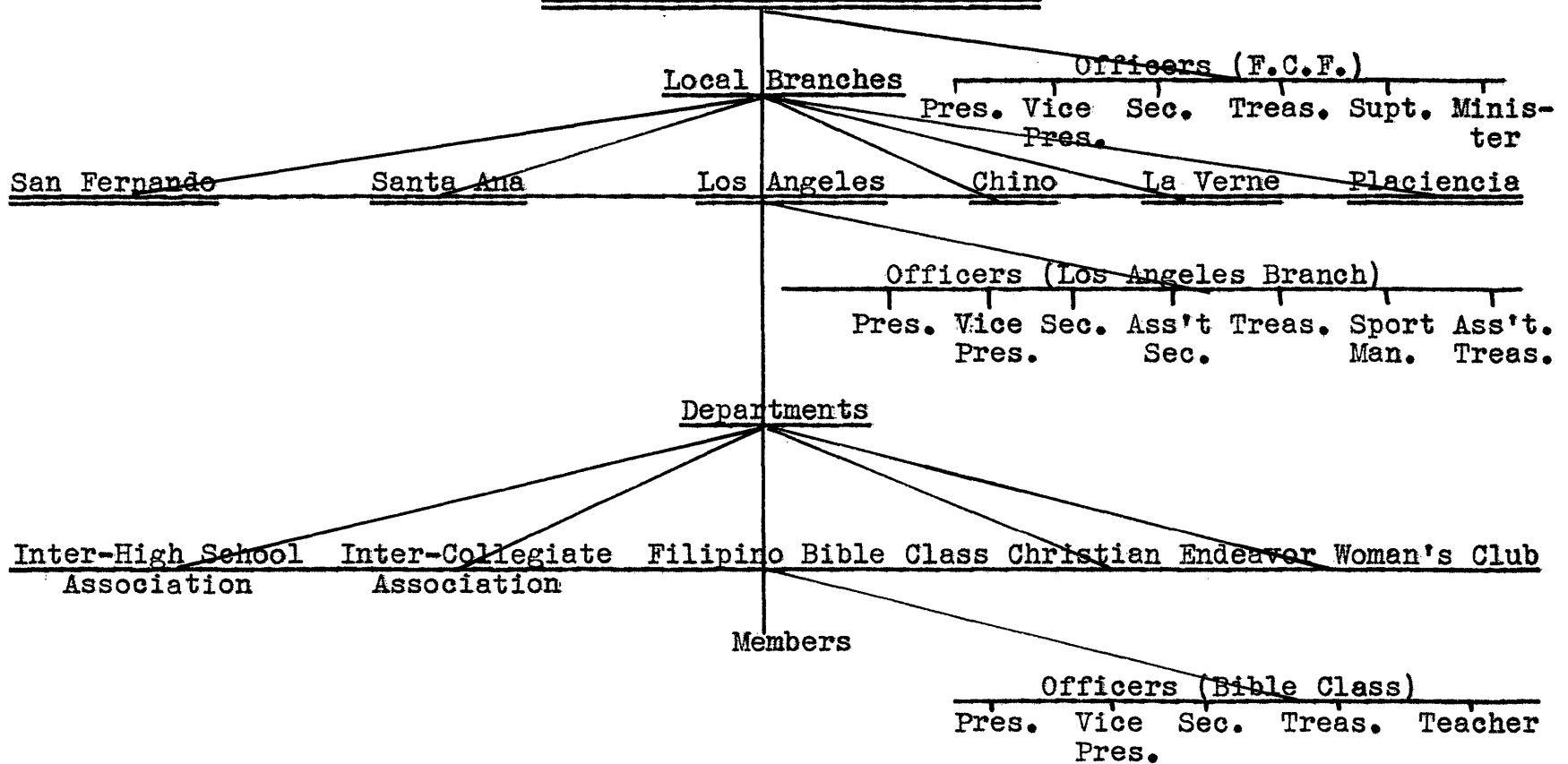
Annual musical concerts and conventions are being conducted by the Filipino Federation of America. The Musical Club of Southern California is also doing a fine piece of work in stimulating many Filipinos to be music-minded, and encouraging the appreciation of good music. The Filipino Christian Fellowship gives a monthly banquet, holds weekly meetings, and presents a pageant once a year under the guidance of Mr. and Mrs. Stipp. This is the only Filipino organization in the city that is interested in the spiritual and religious side of the life of the Filipinos. Friday evenings in the Filipino center, 546 South Los Angeles Avenue, are utilized by the different branch organizations of the Filipino Christian Fellowship. Meetings are held here from eight to ten o'clock. For instance, the inter-high school group meets on a certain

Friday of the month; the inter-collegiate group has their meetings on another Friday night, and the Filipino Women's Club has theirs every third Friday night of the month. The fourth Friday is held open, so that a joint meeting of all Filipino groups in the Christian Fellowship may take place or it may be used by other groups for special meetings. It may be utilized for symposiums, debates, and discussions or just an ordinary meeting may be called. On Sunday church services and bible classes are held. On Sunday afternoons at four o'clock the Christian endeavor meetings are held which last until about six o'clock in the evening. Occasionally tea, cakes, and other forms of refreshments are served after the meeting, depending upon the nature of the occasion for which it is given. On week days the hall is open to all Filipinos in which they may have the opportunity of utilizing the amusements there are offered. They may play ping pong, read magazines, and newspapers, play on the piano, and practice singing. On the whole the Filipino Center is a happy meeting place for a certain group of Filipinos.

The Filipino Social Relief Service. The Filipino Social Relief Service was organized on January 1, 1932, and was granted a permit by the City and County of Los Angeles, on March 24, 1932. Since January 1, 1932, this

FIGURE II

FILIPINO CHRISTIAN FELLOWSHIP*



Organization of the Filipino Christian Fellowship

1. The general officers constitute the General Board.
2. The general officers and the presidents of the various local branches constitute the General Council.
3. Every department has its own officers (Pres., Vice-Pres., Sec., Treas.).

* Diagram by Mr. Felix Pascus, Pastor of Filipino Christian Fellowship, 1929.

organization has been giving one free meal a week and from two to three hundred unemployed Filipinos have availed themselves of this free offering every Sunday.

The Filipino Social Relief Service was organized by a group of men who felt keenly the great distress of Filipinos, owing to the general unemployment and economic depression that has swept over this country. In the beginning, funds to defray expenses were furnished by the organizers themselves out of their own pockets. After securing a permit from the city, they have solicited and obtained contributions from private individuals, business men, organizations, and associations of Filipinos who are in sympathy with its charities. Benefit dances held with the co-operation of the Hippodrom Palace, and the money accumulated thereby is turned over to the Social Relief Service.

Amusements in restaurants, cafes, and barber shops.

The increase of Filipino restaurants and barber shops is adding to the Filipino life in this city more color and some degree of satisfaction. In these places Filipinos are drawn together and find it possible to hear and speak their mother tongue and where familiar things greet their eyes. Here they find the pleasure of eating native food; of meeting old and new friends; of exchanging jokes, gossip, and telling stories about their adventures and

experiences in the distant past in the homeland or elsewhere in this country.

Generally speaking the Filipino Community life may be characterized as one replete with all sorts of get-togethers. Some of these are weekly or week-end parties attended by say, thirty or more persons in one of our cafes. The character of these parties depends mainly upon the purpose for which they are given. It may be a birthday celebration, installation of officers of a certain club; a farewell party, given in honor of a friend or friends, who are leaving for the old country or for some distant point of this land, or it might be just as an important affair.⁴

This is well illustrated by one of the meetings of the Philippine Junior House of Representatives⁵ in one of the Filipino restaurants, the "Lucky Sport Cafe," September 25, 1933. The meeting started with an opening song, "Philippines, My Philippines," and later followed by the American National Hymns, "Star Spangled Banner" and "America." The dinner was followed by the usual procedure; a program composed of native songs, banjo and piano solos, mandolin recitals and speeches. After the party hearty congratulations, cordial greetings, and heart to heart talks were exchanged between friends or between everybody present in the party.

⁴ F. Carbonel, Our Community and Its Problems (Associated Filipino Press, May 8, 1933).

⁵ The Philippine Junior House of Representatives of Southern California is one of the Filipino local organizations. The purpose of which is to discuss the many unsolved problems of the Filipinos in this city.

In one of the Filipino barber shops, if one visits this place frequently, one may be able to see a group of Filipinos in one of the corners of the barber shop playing checkers, miniature ping pong, reading newspapers, magazines, or letters just received from the homeland, while in some parts of the shop one may be able to hear someone singing native songs, and American popular music as well; someone playing a mandolin, guitar, saxophone, or a ukelele. These are usually played by the patrons though sometimes by the barbers themselves during their leisure hours.⁶

Filipino students, on the other hand, have a group of their own which can be heard discussing the numerous Filipino situations here and in the homeland, from the simple to the most complex problems--the economic, political, religious, social, and the Philippine independence questions. Phases of national, international, and some philosophical subjects are usually the subject of discussions.

⁶ The Filipino laborers are accustomed to work to music and seem to be able to work more quickly and more efficiently when music is going on.

CHAPTER X

CONCLUSION

Filipino population in Los Angeles. At present there are in Los Angeles about six thousand Filipinos. They are so widely distributed that they do not appear menacing in any particular spot. The great majority of them are found in the neighborhood of Main and First Streets, where are found also the Filipino restaurants, pool halls, dance halls, side-shows, and various other amusements.

Between the years 1922 and 1933 they have made some progress in business and trade practices, having established within this period seven barber shops, twelve restaurants, three pool halls, one garage, one grocery store, three embroidery shops, two importers of Philippine products, two laundry and dry cleaning establishments, three tailor shops, four photograph studios, three rooming houses; eleven newspapers, including magazines, pamphlets, and bulletin forms; one radio and automobile maintenance company, one cocconut grater company, one herb studio, one tennis shop, and one amateur moving picture corporation.

Out of the total Filipino population in this city

there are only one hundred and eleven students. The majority are engaged in domestic works, and in semi-skilled labors. Their average wage rate per hour is $\$.32\frac{1}{2}$; their daily wage rate is \$2.89; their average weekly wage rate varies from \$5.00 to \$12.13, and their monthly wage rate varies from \$15.00 to \$61.41 $\frac{1}{2}$.

A few are occasionally found working as movie extras, as agents, as public entertainers, and in seasonal jobs, and a few are engaged in prize fights.

There were seven Filipino business organizations doing legitimate business with Filipinos here and in the homeland.

Aside from retail services such as grocery stores, restaurants, dry cleaners, and tailoring establishments, all in small structures, the Filipinos have found few occupational outlets in business dealings with the white race, although there are a few Filipinos who have succeeded, so far, in winning the confidence of a white clientele. Consequently, the professionally trained young Filipino is forced to limit his practice to his own group.

The great bulk of Filipinos show no sign of progress in economic life or otherwise from month to month.

In a large proportion of cases, the Filipino wage earners in Los Angeles are evidently in competition with women rather than with men.

The Filipinos receive their recreation in self-directed activities, such as baseball, tennis, ping pong, boxing, pool, basketball, dancing, games, parties, picnics, debates, declamations, symposiums, open forums, or oratorical contests, pageants, and other forms of celebration; viz., the commemoration of Dr. Jose Rizal, flag day, mother's day, etc.

They have five organized tennis teams, a few ping pong players, seven baseball teams, and a variable number of prize fighters.

A considerable number are found indulging in unwholesome recreations; viz., dance halls, pool halls; and low types of amusements found on Main Street.

The Filipinos have founded clubs, organizations, and associations, now numbering sixty-eight. On the whole these organizations are playing a large part in the social life of the Filipinos in this city.

They have a little church of their own.

They seem to be paternalistic, yet individualistic in respect to some forms of social life.

They are law abiding, and never plan major crimes.

The struggle for existence. In many cases, the Filipinos are employed in private homes, in hotels, in office buildings, in institutions as elevator boys, as

janitors in apartment houses, and as kitchen helpers, but in the last-named occupation they are being gradually replaced by women who can work for lower wages than men. At the same time there are evidences that the employment of Filipinos as elevator operators is deeply resented, because they are eliminating elderly people, who have difficulty in finding employment except in this kind of work, since it does not require skill, efficiency, or physical exertion.

This situation is seemingly made worse for the Filipinos by certain local patriotic organizations, that are trying to discriminate against them. Campaigns have been made in many hotels, restaurants, apartment houses, and even in private homes in order to replace the employed Filipinos with whites. Not long ago the "Pig'n Whistle" establishments were persuaded to discharge hundreds of their Filipino employees. Managers of large hotels in Hollywood and in downtown areas, who are employing Filipinos, have been approached with threats that the Filipinos are to be discharged in order to give way for white laborers. Many, however, are socially minded enough to ignore the appeal, while many have been easily swayed by this selfish propaganda.

While these patriotic organizations may be working for the best interests of the white workers in order to

promote in a bigger way the so-called "hundred per cent Americanism," yet on the other hand, it may serve as "slow suicide" for the Filipinos, who, like any other human beings must work to earn a living. But this cannot be done, if there are groups of individuals who are always undermining this privilege, and who are trying to snatch from them their means of existence--work. If Americanism means the removal of industrial and social unrest, and if American idealism implies "equality of opportunity," it seems that this group of individuals is not working toward that end, but against it. True enough, the Filipinos are not and cannot be citizens of the United States except in specific cases. Again Filipino labor from a certain point of view is a menace to the white labor, that is, there is under-cutting of American wage standards to create employment for themselves, but why pick on the Filipinos and the Orientals alone? Why do not these individuals, who are preaching the gospel of a hundred per cent Americanism make a similar campaign against immigrants from Europe in order to reserve all work for American laborers, rather than discriminate against the Filipinos and other Orientals.

The truth is, these Filipinos are here now and are residing in the American community; and they should be given an equal chance to earn their livelihood. They should also be given equal protection and a square deal. They are

not asking for a "dole," but only for a chance to work without being interrupted by some organized intruders. If the Filipinos cannot work, and even if they do find work, there is always fear of losing it; what initiative will there be left for them? Would you blame them if they develop a feeling of defeat, and excessive idleness, and, if this attitude perseveres, that they should become a public charge? What then is better than to give them a chance to work so that they may live independently and remain self-supporting?

While the American extremists are doing this sort of thing on their own accord, without any legal sanction from the government and only to make themselves known as the champions of the people, and while such actions are creating racial conflicts, it seems necessary that the social workers become aware of the real objectives of this movement. By making these facts known and their cause understood, it becomes possible to meet the problem and to solve it. Only then will we be able to procure justice for these people who are at the bottom of the social ladder.

Recreational problems, their solution. In checking over the records we found that the most serious problems confronting the Filipinos in this city are commercialized

vice, unwholesome recreations, and the problems of reconstructed views of life. However, the increase of Filipino restaurants, barber shops, clubs and organizations in which minor amusements are available, and the steady increase of the number of Filipinos engaged in outdoor sports, such as tennis, indoor-baseball, volley ball, hand ball, and basket ball, are tending to decrease the attendance in pool halls, dance halls, and other cheap entertainments or side-shows on Main Street. This does not mean, however, that they should be let alone and no attempts made to better conditions.

The writer is of the opinion that the dance hall proclivities can be greatly reduced if only a wholesome recreational, or a regular, meeting place for Filipinos can be assigned to them. This may take the form of a clubhouse wherein the different Filipino groups or organizations can meet to perpetuate closer relationships between themselves, or with other groups of people as well. From personal interviews with the various Filipino group leaders it was observed that they all seemed to express the need for a decent meeting place. This clubhouse can be made a self-supporting enterprise. In it, meals can be served for special parties and banquets. The hall may be rented to Filipino groups who may want to use it for their meetings, or for special entertainments; viz., dancing, programs,

celebrations, debates, conventions, symposiums, and open forums or for various contests. Of course, this clubhouse must not only satisfy the needs of a certain group of Filipinos, but it must have special attractions or interests in order to hold the attention of most Filipinos. It has been pointed out in Chapter VI that there are enough organized games, athletic activities, and other forms of amusement in which the Filipinos are actively taking part. It was also pointed out that there are about sixty-eight Filipino clubs and organizations having occasional parties or banquets in some of the high class hotels in the city in which they were not whole-heartedly welcomed except for their business. This merely shows that if proper care could be taken to accommodate the needs of the different Filipino groups it would no doubt make this clubhouse a self-supporting enterprise, while at the same time it would serve the social needs of the Filipinos in this city.

What will happen later is that the dance hall frequenters, seeing that there is a place where they can go in their leisure hours, where they are free to use whatever amusements there are to offer, will eventually withdraw from these despised places--the dance halls--and will follow the example of those Filipinos engaged in wholesome recreations. And as a result of this, the dance halls will be forced to close their doors due to the lack of

customers.

A clubhouse alone may not be enough to serve as a weapon against the dance hall life of many Filipinos. But it can be made more effective if the city officials will co-operate in working out a plan that will lead to the closing of these dance halls. Hundreds of Filipinos have been exploited, many have been stabbed, wounded and killed in these places, and without question of a doubt these places are the breeding places of the increasing Filipino delinquencies in this city. It has been pointed out again and again that prevention is better than cure. There is only one way out of this problem, and that is, we must strike at the very source--close these dance halls.

Many individuals are worried over what these dance-hall frequenters would do with their leisure time should the dance halls be closed. Some think it would increase the Filipino criminality in this city; that it would throw some Filipinos out of employment, and that the city would lose part of its income received from taxes paid by the "night" establishments. The answer to that is easy. Close the dance halls first and watch for results. Likewise, the closing of the dance halls may create a new situation which may lead the Filipinos to think of something better for the development of their social life. This city is filled with wholesome recreational facilities. There is

no doubt that the Filipinos will be willing to take advantage of these privileges, if some encouragement is given them. It will be more so, if proper guidance and direction were furnished as to the advisability of using this opportunity.

The quest for amusement. It has been pointed out before that in the public parks it would be easy to get a large number of Filipinos to attend a baseball game, to take part in athletic contests, or to do almost anything that American youths like to do. But unfortunately, Filipinos in groups are often times regarded as invaders tending to monopolize and eventually to deprive American citizens of these recreational facilities. They were often times regarded as being too aggressive in their demand for social equality; and sometimes public opinion reacts against this demand. There were occasions when, while they were playing, they were surrounded by antagonistic groups of American boys, mostly of high school age, who shouted insults at the Filipinos at every opportunity. This does not happen very often, but enough to precipitate trouble. The effect of such incidents is very harmful to the Filipinos. Retaliation on the part of the Filipinos is usually taken by the white onlookers as being more serious than it is, or the work of a group of trouble

makers. If the trouble becomes serious, it may be a cause for banning the Filipinos from the public playgrounds.

The need for recreational guidance. Because the Filipinos are too poor and sometimes too unorganized to provide themselves recreational facilities, they were unable to make their athletic activities appear interesting. However, some religious institutions, seeing the difficulties the Filipinos are experiencing, voluntarily came to their aid and provided clubrooms for those willing to abide by the rules of membership. The Y. M. C. A., the All-Nations Community House, the Magnolia Christian Church, the First Christian Church at Tenth and Hope Streets, the Goodwill Industry, and the Catholic Church open their doors to the Filipinos, but few Filipinos, except those of the student type, seem to be attracted. The Main Street Gymnasium and the C. B. B. Athletic Auditorium are permitting Filipinos to practice boxing and play basketball on their property. But somehow that feeling of belonging in using these places is lacking. There are many psychological factors involved in it. In the first place there is that general feeling that those privileges given them are only temporary; in the second place, there is the feeling that they were being studied as a group; thirdly, they are not quite a part of the institutions that are

giving this much needed help so that they feel somewhat limited in using the things afforded them; fourthly, it is too obliging to use other property; and fifthly, they may not be able to repay the kindness showed to them.

This fact also indicates the advisability of having a Filipino clubhouse, wherein that feeling of oneness, freedom, and belonging will be felt assured. In order to produce best results, the presence of a man or competent social worker who understands the Filipino thoroughly is needed in order to advise, assist, guide, and direct the Filipino youth to form and acquire desirable habits.

Americanization program for Filipinos. Throughout the country the Americanization program is reaching almost every group of immigrants, but never has it been able to reach the Filipino groups in any given place in the United States. That is probably due to the assumption that since the Philippine Islands is a United States territory, the Filipinos already know what is to be learned about American life. As a matter of fact they know little about American social life, except what they have learned from geography, from United States history, and from the United States government directly. Many Filipinos came to this country with the expectation that they might learn something from American social life, particularly its economic, political,

and educational values. But this high idealism and high regard for knowledge, and the desire to better their condition they only find defeated by circumstances. An American observer points out why the Filipinos are oftentimes the victims of an unwholesome and discriminatory type of recreation.

He says:

Filipinos in this city have had the experience of being refused service in restaurants. Even in colleges, and in many religious institutions Filipinos sometimes find themselves ostracized and prevented from taking part in campus activities. They seldom, if at any time, are welcome as guests in good families. They are apt to find themselves unwelcome at dances; co-eds seen with them on the campus are more often under criticism. Religious associations endeavoring to find invitations for them in private homes for holidays have more difficulty.

This merely shows us a sample of what experiences the Filipinos are undergoing. The result is clear. They have added nothing worth while in their quest for knowledge, except to acquire some of the negative aspects of American community life. If Americanization "involves getting acquainted with the best American traditions and current standards,"¹ then a thoroughgoing Americanization program must be sought, and through this aid alone they

¹ Emory S. Bogardus, Americanization, p. 16.

may be kept socially alive; they may acquire new ideas, and right attitudes about American life, so that when they return home they will bring with them a feeling that they have been benefited by their stay in the United States, and always in their life they will show respect and high regard for the United States, and a clear understanding of American life.

This program may be carried into effect in the same clubhouse suggested previously. A committee should be formed, through whose auspices and with the help of the county welfare department, this Americanization program may be carried out for the best advantage. This body of men should be asked to arrange lectures and addresses by someone outside the group or by a member of their own group on some subject of vital interest to the Filipinos. To these lectures or addresses the public should be invited. Illustrated pictures depicting typical American life, whenever available, should be shown so that the Filipinos may be helped to emulate a higher standard of living than the one to which they have been accustomed. Classes may be held once or twice a week for the purpose of teaching these persons the desired things in their life; viz., English, history, civics, the meaning, privileges and responsibilities of good citizenship, healthful recreation, games, and sports. This committee should also endeavor to keep

the Filipinos informed about their home country so that they may not lose sight of it, and so that they may always be inspired to return home. In the public recreation hall dances may be arranged once or twice a month with the help of a certain group of people in the community. In this way the Filipinos may learn something of American recreational life, and at the same time may be instrumental in fusing them with the American social life, which is necessary to all Americanization work. Such fusion, of course, may be brought about by their meeting one another in helping to get ready for the dances. The attendance of American guests will add greatly to the merit of the dance as an Americanization factor.

Bridging the Pacific. Although it may appear contrary to what may be expected in this study, it seems necessary to point out some important factors in the training of the Filipino immigrant before he crosses the Pacific. The following recommendations represent a point of view developed through a number of years of modest effort in the promotion of movements that may safeguard Filipinos in foreign nations.

To begin with, the writer is of the opinion that in order to avoid unnecessary failures, misfortunes, and preconceived notions about American life, the Filipinos who

are intending to come to the United States must be fully informed about the life situation of the Filipinos in this country--what kind of work they are doing, what wages most Filipinos are receiving for their labor, how they are treated in this country, their recreational outlets and educational opportunities, and above all they must be thoroughly informed about American life, such as the climate and standard of living, before leaving the Philippine shores.

This program may be carried on or taught in a special school for the "would-be-immigrants," or it may be included in the public school curriculum which will serve as a connecting link between the two countries--the United States and the Philippines. Such work should only be entrusted to competent individuals who are very well informed about Filipino social life in the United States. Taking such a course should be made obligatory by the Philippine government. No Filipino should be allowed to leave the Philippine ports without a written statement or evidence signed by the principal of the school which he attended saying that he or she had taken the courses in "Filipino Social Life in America" and "American Social Life." The name of the course may be altered to suit the educators' point of view, but it must definitely deal with the subjects mentioned above. In addition, they must be taught

also what to wear, how to take care of themselves, how to act in the ship, how to behave in foreign ports, where and how to find employment in the United States. A scheme must be developed to familiarize these "would-be-immigrants" with work conditions in the United States; viz., how to do janitorial work, or in general domestic work.

The effect of such a program on the Filipinos would be such that they will be prepared to meet the life situation in this country; they will know exactly what to expect and what not to expect in their strange life; they will feel that they are well equipped with the necessary tools, and ready to use them whenever there is need; they will realize that there is a tremendous task ahead of them which requires hard work.

Health examination. Already there is a law in the Philippines requiring all Filipinos to have a doctor's certificate before leaving the Islands. But even in the presence of such a law there are too many loopholes, and too many evils connected with it, for the simple reason that such health certificates can be secured from any private doctor. Leaving this privilege to private doctors is subject to "quackery" and bribery. An individual, because of his intense desire to see America, would be willing to sacrifice a few dollars as a bribe in order to

have his physical examination approved so that a health certificate could be issued to him. For the quack doctors, it is well and good. To avoid such evil practices the physical examinations must be entrusted to federal doctors who have the necessary instruments for a thorough physical examination, and who would not sacrifice their names for a few dollars. This will eliminate the wholesale grants of health certificates to the physically and mentally unfit.

Persons having various types of mental disease or defects are not to be allowed by law to leave the Philippine ports, yet owing to certain deficiencies in the administration of health examinations due to the lack of laboratory methods of applying mental tests, we may not be able to keep even feeble-minded persons from going to the United States.

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