FILIPINO ALASKA: A HERITAGE

Sue Ellen Liljeblad

1980

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Re: 1140/FY 80 (Filipino Alaska: A Heritage)

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Sincerely,

Joan M. Antonson
Historian

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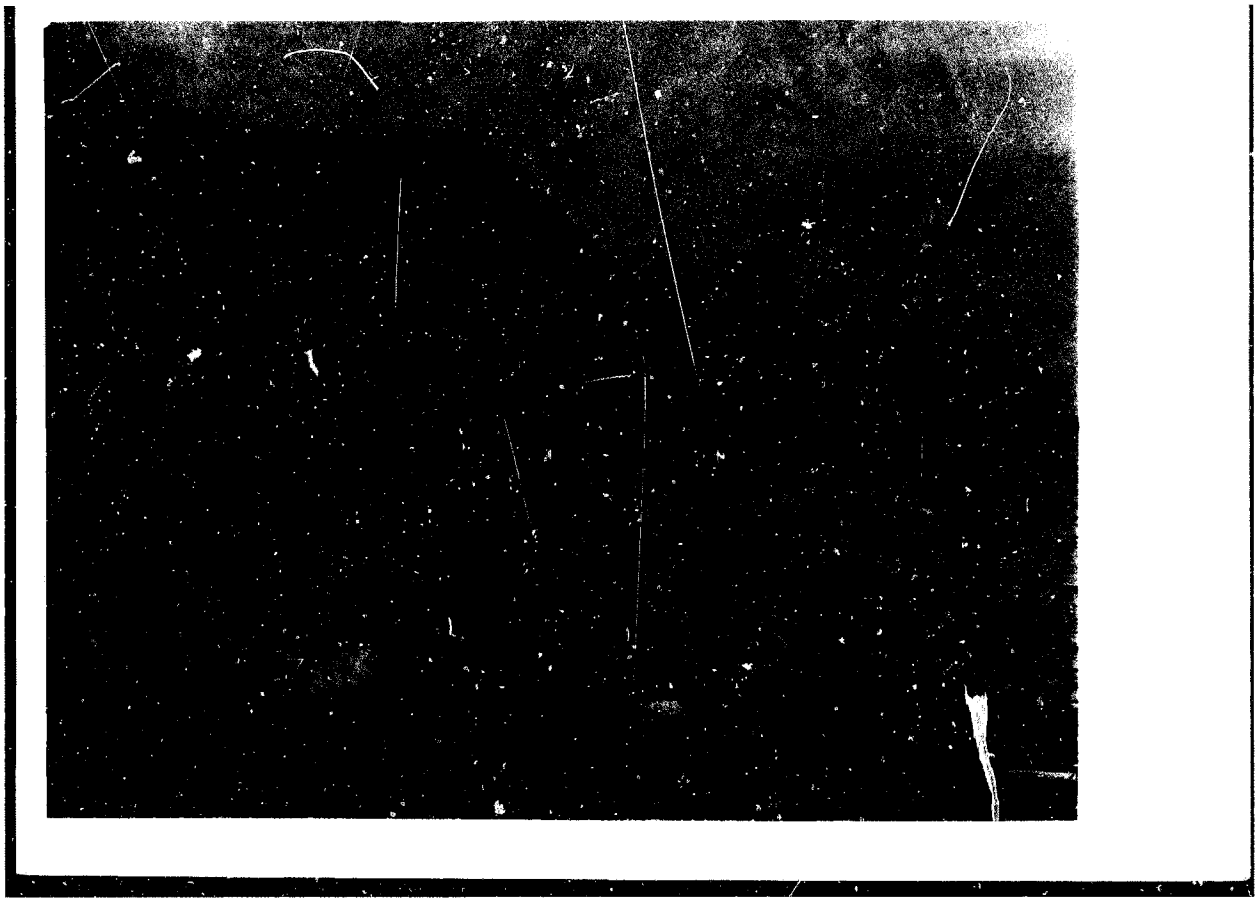

FILIPINO-ALASKA: A HERITAGE

By:

Sue Ellen Liljeblad

Alaska Historical Commission

Department of Education
State of Alaska

1981

Filipino ms.

1. add list of illustrations to table of contents - also Tables

p. ii ¶ 2 lines 1-2. Many aspects .... remains

p. 4 ¶ 2 line 12 indigenous

p. 5 ¶ 2 line 4 Filipinos

p. 6 ¶ 2 last sentence - does this sentence make sense?

p. 6 first ¶ - since there are 7 names in a list of 6 groups, should ; be used to separate groups?

p. 20 ¶ 1 line 3 United States'

p. 22 ¶ 1 line 1 adopted "S" - NOT "A"

p. 24 ¶ 3 line 4 illustratos or illustrados?

p. 27 ¶ 1 line 1 fare, is comma required?

p. 27 ¶ 3 line 4 "passage fare" is redundant (see Webster's p. 1038)

p. 28 ¶ 1 line 3 emigrator (no "d")

p. 31 ¶ 2 line 3 "steerage" not "stowage"

p. 32 ¶ 2 line 1 United States (no "s")

p. 35 ¶ 1 line 8 "survival"

p. 47 ¶ 2 line 30 (last line) needs "would" before "develop."

p. 48 ¶ 1 line 14 United States ";" not required

p. 49 ¶ 1 line 2 - Why is "gentleman's agreement" capitalized?

p 50 last line, last word - "ex/plorer" should not be split between pages

p 51 - ¶ 2 line 4 San Juaquin ("Rio")?

p. 61 last line, last word "funda/mental" should not be split between pages

p. 72 lines 6-9 - did I miss something - why only in Washington + Alaska - ~~is this~~ were they w/o mescenagetin land?

where is page 80?

p. 81 line 1, "trai" - words should not be broken between pages

p. 87 line 2 Mc "Neil"? ~~[illegible]~~ or "Neil"

p. 88 last line, last word "North/west" should not be split between pages

p. 99 last line, last word "Cali/fornia" should not be split between pages

p. 110 last line, last word "fil/lers"
word should not be split between pages

p. 111 first ¶ last 3 lines - ~~the~~ is last
sentence "although ....." appears
to be a continuation of previous sentence?

p. 113 ¶ 2 lines 2-3 "Exploding .... workers."
is something left out?

p. 114 ¶ 1 line 14 "of" "an" should be <u>and</u>

p. 115 ¶ 2 line 8 necessity of (should it
be necessary <u>for</u>)

p. 118 ¶ 2 last line white's SB whites'

p. 118 last line, last word sim/plar - word
should not be split between pages

p. 120 last line, last word File-/pine - word
should not be split between pages

p. 126 ¶ 1 line 9 "were" SB "was"

p. 130 ** line - <u>Mexicans</u>

p. 131 ¶ 1 line 13 factors; SB : or
first should begin new sentence

p. 133 last line, last word "Jap/anese"
should not be split between pages

p. 138 ¶ 2 line 5 "subergen"?

p. 138 last line, last word organ/izati
- word should not be split
between pages

p. 139 Pl 3 line 5 "benefited" (one "t")

p. 145 Pl 3 line 1 A lot space

p. 146 Pl 1 line 2 Astoria, Oregon; and Aberdeen,
Washington;

p. 146 - Pl 2 line 12 - intrigue ("G" not "Q")

p. 151 last line, last word "Dam/lap" - name
should not be split between pages

p. 154 Pl 3 line 5 "intogression" - don't find
in Webster's - infiltration?

p. 156 last line - SB justified (without
splitting word)

p. 159 ~~line~~ Pl 1 line 2 ; or :

p. 160 Pl 2 line 8 first (SB lower case f)
or : SB . (when SB .).

p. 168 line 32 regardless (not irregardless)

p. 170 "tetrarchs" (line 4) better word?

p. 175 line 5 sustenance

p. 175 lines 5-8 mixed tense "would deny" SB "denied"

p. 176 line 2 [illegible] space [illegible]

p. 176 ¶ 2 line 4 Public Information
Committee - referred to previously as
Commission - which was it?

p. 177 ¶ 2 line 2 benefited (one "t")

p. 178 ¶ 1 line 6 Table 5 delete

p. 178 last line, last word fur/ther - word should not be split between pages

p. 179 line 16 non-residents should be split at hyphen, not split twice

p. 179 last line, last word in/quires - don't split word between pages

p. 190 last line, last word - non-resident - don't split word between pages

p. 193 last line, last word - pre/vent - don't split word between pages

p. 198 first quote, last line (11) delete

p. 199 ¶ 1 line 3 Pueblo SB underlined

p. 203 end of ¶ 1 ... ?
last line, last ¶ needs to be justified

p. 211 ¶ 3 line 2 Aleskers' (add apostrophe)

p. 212 ¶ 1 line 6 benefited (one "t")

p. 215 ¶ 2 line 1 - don't split already hyphenated word Filipino - Americans

p. 218 ¶ 2 - line 1 McCarren or McCarran ?

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(2) under "Unpublished" why are

Raja
Sandan
Seattle Chamber
Whale Promoter

listed ?

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PREFACE

This study was undertaken by the Alaska Historical Commission at the direction of the Eighth Alaska State Legislature. Background research began in October, 1975, interviews in January, 1976, and in-depth research in July, 1976. Libraries and archives were searched for materials which would lend clues to the experiences of Filipinos in Alaska. Oral history interviews were conducted to gain first hand accounts of events of earlier years. It immediately became clear that Filipino-Alaskans could not be viewed in isolation. An understanding of the history and culture Filipino immigrants brought to the United States, as well as their experiences in America as a whole, was needed to place the Alaskan experience in perspective. Filipino-Alaskans were first Filipino-Americans. Their Alaskan experience was only part of a total acculturation process. What occurred in Stockton or Seattle affected Filipinos in Ketchikan and Kenai, since any one Filipino might spend time in all four places within one year. Filipino-Alaskans are not considered here as just those who resided in Alaska on a permanent basis. Rather, because of the manner of the Filipinos' involvement in Alaskan industry, this study involves the story of all Filipino-Americans who came north to work in Alaska, the Alaskeros. Therefore, a good portion of this study deals with events outside Alaska or peripheral to Filipino-Alaskan residents, but which affected the lives of all Alaskans, Filipino or non-Filipino, temporary residents or permanent residents.

The reader will also note that this study deals almost exclusively with Filipino men, the Pinoys, not women (or Filipinas as they are referred to within the culture). No Filipinas were found to have travelled north to Alaska during the time period involved in this study and since Filipinas were, at

the time, few in number and not involved in any of the major movements discussed, their history is not covered here. Their experiences were important to the total picture of Filipino-Alaska, but time and circumstances did not allow for the further research which would have been necessary to adequately cover the topic.

This work is by no means complete. Many aspects of development of individual Filipino-Alaskan communities remains to be accomplished. Yet, before any deeper analysis of Filipino-Alaska could be accomplished, the base of information found in this study had to be available. Prior to the publication of this manuscript, the only comprehensive account of Filipino-Americans was the 1930 account by sociologist Bruno Lasker, Filipino Immigration. It is hoped that Filipino Alaska: A Heritage, will provide increased understanding of Filipinos in America and in Alaska and will stimulate further research on the topic.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to extend my earnest appreciation to the Filipinos of Alaska and Washington who assisted me during this study through interviews, introduction into the Filipino-American community, and with very cordial hospitality and friendship: Toribio Andres, Bonifacio Arce, Jose Arce, Catalina Barril, Micario Billiran, Juanita Camilon, Dorothy Cordova, Leon David, Mr. & Mrs. Virgilio David, Mr. & Mrs. Salvador del Fierro, Nemesio Domingo, Andrew Escalona, Pete Figaroa, Antonio Florendo, Rudy Govina, Tony Ibarra, Marianno Kato, Julia Laranang, Dorothy Larson, Benny Lucas, Blas Malasarte, Mathew, Eleanor Nonas, Benny Noveno, Johnny Oleta, Angelo Pintang, Antonio Pintang, Rocque (who prefers to use only that name), Ventura Samaniego, Sally Smith, Carlos Taton, Nemesia Viloria, and the Filipino communities of Juneau, Kodiak, Anchorage, and Ketchikan. I also wish to thank State Representative Thelma Buchholdt for her endeavors in behalf of this study.

I wish to extend further appreciation to the staff of the University of Washington Library and to Sherry Huck, Inter-library Loan Librarian at the University of Alaska, Anchorage Library. I render thankful credit to Dr. William Adam Jacobs, Dr. Kerry Feldman, and Joan Antonson Mohr for their thorough critiques and comments on the first draft of the manuscript; to Patricia Roppel and Robert N. De Armond for their careful proof reading and comment on the second draft; and to Professor Donald Guimary for his thoughtful review of the final draft. Finally, I thank Deborah Jo Brown and Kari Suttles for the untiring typing and moral support throughout the project.

SEL

February 1981

INTRODUCTION

In 1930, in Stockton, California, a Filipino-American club house was bombed, killing one man and precipitating a race riot. During the same decade, a letter from one Pinoy to another, reflected regretfully on the Filipino-Americans' loss of self image, identity and personal fulfillment, and the warping of higher human values by failures and disappointments suffered.[1] Time has not quelled the apprehensions of 1930 nor ended the Filipinos' search for identity. Over 40 years later, in 1976, a Filipino-American lamented over the myriad of problems facing the new generation as young Filipinos search for their own identities and struggle to maintain a pride in a heritage that often appears obscure.[2] The racial tension that was once prevalent across many areas in the United States still smolders in a few places, such as in Kodiak, Alaska. Beneath the seemingly peaceful atmosphere of this small fishing village, knife fights and brawls between white and Filipino youths erupt periodically.[3]

For Filipino-Americans, any lack of affinity with American culture, or confusion as to their own identity as a specific group within that society, may well begin with the complex Philippine heritage. Because the Philippines have been historically influenced by many cultures, the islands' residents have become a composite of these influences. Not only have Filipinos experienced extended contact with several unique and dissimilar cultures, but the environment of the islands lends itself to further multiplicity. Filipino culture has been said to be where East and West meet; a mix socially and physically of Malay, Chinese, and Spanish, with a more recent addition of American.[4] The islands' residents have periodically been lumped into categories with brown-skinned people, people with Spanish surnames, Orientals, Malaysians, and many

others. One author defines Filipinos as: "...by color brown; by speech, at least 87 dialects, basically Malayan and certainly not Spanish; by religion, nominally Catholic; by culture, hybrid Malayan -- Indo-Polynesian -- Chinese -- Arabic -- Spanish-American; by lifestyle, Asian-Latin."[5] Lacking a national identity for much of their history, the Filipinos, as individuals and as a culture, are an evolving composite.

For the Filipino-Americans, ethnic allegiance is even more complex and evolutionary. The integration of past experiences with both the complex Philippine heritage and the American culture, combine to form the Filipino-Americans of today. While their identity is both individual and cultural, revealed by years of struggle and pain, joys and laughter, fulfillment and disillussionment, it has not remained constant over time. The Filipino immigrants of 1910 or 1930 were different from those of 1960 or 1970; and both, in turn, were different from United States-born Filipino-Americans.

The racism Filipino-Americans have encountered may well be an indelible part of the human condition, but it will never be eradicated if its occurrence is ignored. In the same manner, a culture's identity and a people's pride in their heritage will be inhibited if accurate and complete knowledge of their past is not available. This study provides a picture of early Filipino immigrants, their cultural heritage, and their experiences in the Western United States and Alaska. It begins to answer questions important to all Alaskans. Who were the Filipino immigrants? They called each other Pinoy, and sometimes Alaskeros, names with meanings only they could understand. They formed their own brotherhood, and created a new heritage for their progeny. This book is dedicated to them, the Alaskeros, and to each individual Pinoy, immigrants of courage and fortitude.

CHAPTER I

THE PHILIPPINES

To understand Philippine culture, one must first understand how it is affected by geography. The Philippine archipelago forms the eastern boundary of the South China Sea and is bordered on the east by the Pacific Ocean. In total it covers 115,707 square miles, divided into five major areas. The two largest of the over 7,000 islands in the chain are Luzon, covering 40,000 square miles, and Mindanao at 37,000 square miles. Situated between these two are the Visayan Islands and to their east is Palawan. The Sulu Archipelago is southeast of Mindanao. In width, Philippine territory stretches 700 miles while running 1,000 miles in length. Throughout this area, less than 1,000 of the islands are inhabited. Dense rainforests cover most of the area while rivers cut deeply through forested valleys in the primarily mountainous terrain. The climate is hot and humid, affected by seasonal monsoons, creating a tropical environment.

Prehispanic Culture

Humans have been in this area for thousands of years. Recent anthropological investigations list the Australoids as being the first inhabitants of the Philippines some 250,000 years ago.[6] Whether they ever become permanent residents is questionable. The first modern migration of humans was the ingress of Negritos over a land bridge from Asia some 25,000 to 30,000 years ago. It is believed that these people moved into the northern mountains of Luzon to avoid assimilation by Malays, who entered the archipelago from the south, through Borneo approximately 2,300 years ago. The Negritos remained

isolated until modern times.[8] Numerous later migrations from China and Indonesia, and some mixing due to trade with other Southeast Asian peoples occurred, resulting in a predominantly Malasian racial stock, but with many variants.

The settlement pattern was determined by geographic features. Villages were dotted along river systems and in mountain valleys. The isolation of the villages resulted in a decentralized polity. The people were divided into numerous local cultural groups, with independent traditions and customs. Often, each would have its own language. Throughout the archipelago over 80 different dialects were spoken, reinforcing the isolation.

Trade with China, Japan, India, and other Malasian cultures, although it was on a limited basis, was practiced for hundreds of years prior to European contact. Both Chinese and Japanese merchants became residents of the islands, and became the core of the small Philippine middle class. However, they often directed their profits back to their native country, not into the Philippine economy.

The sea and the soil allowed the Filipinos to be self sufficient. They farmed, fished, logged, and mined. The environment provided well for the Filipinos, but geographic isolation of the scattered island settlements prevented them from evolving into a single organized cultural and unified political group.

Some similarities did exist between the tribes, however. By the fifth century, A.D., the culture had become a combination of Malay, Negrito, and Indonesian. Each society was divided along kinship lines, and followed kinship rule and custom. Each village might have several hereditary chiefs who were the heads of the more powerful families. A small middle

class of less powerful families existed, often of part Chinese or Japanese ancestry, with a large body of serfs on the bottom of the social ladder. All power was vested in the local chief, but Filipinos held no concept of kingship. All chiefs were approximately equal in power.

The religious beliefs of the people, though not as formalized as in other cultures, were nonetheless deeply entrenched. Although Hinduism from Indonesia and Islam from Malaysia had penetrated parts of the archipelago, the latter replacing the former, the primary religious belief was a form of animism and belief in one supreme god. Yet the isolation of settlements prevented the diffusion of one religious doctrine throughout the islands. The early Catholic Spanish conquerors systematically destroyed all religious objects once they gained control of the islands. Hence, Philippine religious heritage prior to Spanish contact is somewhat of a mystery.

The contact came as a result of the enthusiasm for exploration that arose in Europe during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. For the Philippines, the Spanish embodied that enthusiasm.

1/6

Hispanization

When Magellan landed in the Philippines in 1521, he found a basically Malasian culture scattered throughout the islands in isolated communities. His landing on Cebu, in the Visayan Islands, was the first known European contact with the Filipinos. But it was not until Miguel Lopez de Lagazpi took possession of Cebu on February 13, 1565 with his crew, Spanish troops, and six friars that the Spanish settlement of the Philippines began. Legazpi and his men moved north slowly,

converting the peoples they encountered to Catholicism by persuasion and by force when necessary. Finally, on June 3, 1571, he gained control of Manila, and Spanish authority was entrenched.

Accounts of the hispanization of the Philippines depict systematic destruction of native culture through religious conversion and forceful subjugation to Spanish authority. The Spanish political organization set up a local, provincial, and central government system with a corresponding ecclesiastical organization that fast took advantage of the decentralized state of Filipino society. To fall under Spanish political control was to fall under Spanish Catholic control. Ninety percent of the people became Hispanicized Christians. The Spanish were fanatical in their subjugation of the Filipinos and in destruction of the Filipinos' Malaysian culture. All Filipino historical records and indiginous religious idols were burned or destroyed. The Catholic church dominated all areas of life. Friars often served as chiefs of police, magistrates, tax collectors, and in other government capacities in order to further control the populace. The friars confiscated the best lands for huge monastic estates, absorbed the taxes of the serfs, took the best of the crops, and often took the parishoners' daughters to bed.

The Spanish controlled the total life of the Filipinos, who were given little opportunity to voice dissent. Their main concern was survival. Although at times Filipinos would occupy local civil offices, their authority was negligible and always subject to Spanish approval. The provincial mayor was the local Spanish authority who enforced the law, while the governor general and the friars were the true powers.

Not all that the Spanish achieved in the Philippines was negative. They established a court system and a limited eccle-

siastical school system. From the school system a small but growing group of educated Filipinos developed. The Spanish pushed the development of agriculture beyond self-sufficiency to allow for some trade. But in 300 years of rule, progress was negligible other than the increase of trade passing through and originating from the Philippines.

Yet the Spanish colonization was not enslavement. It merely subjected the Filipino peasants, the tao, to another authority, subsistuting Spanish power for that of the local chiefs. Filipions were still considered as equally human and deserving of the salvation Spanish Catholicism offered. Under Spanish rule, the tao began to develop a concept of racial equality which, when peppered with the ideals of eighteenth century liberalism, would later cause problems in their adjustment to the racial injustice encountered within American society. To the Spanish, the Filipinos were a source of wealth and power in a period of colonial empire building, but they were nonetheless human.[9]

Social Structures

In order to maintain control, society was reorganized, making use of the existing social structure, but giving it little more than cursory social powers.

Those chiefs who, under the Spanish, held office as local administrators, were generally classified as the principalia. They were the first to receive any benefit of liberalization, and had power to effect the life of each tao over whom they ruled. Their children were able to attend the schools established by the friars, and, after 1863, were able to obtain a higher education abroad, creating a new class of citizens, the illustrado. The rulers of the Filipino people were taken

from this hereditary class. Little social mobility existed and there was virtually no Filipino middle class. The majority of the Filipinos belonged to the tao class. Here, hereditary serfdom, based on land occupancy, locked the tao into a system which offered little escape. The remainder of the people residing in the Philippines were basically unassimilated and set apart from Filipino society. This included the Moslems of Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago, the mountain people of northern Luzon, and the non-Filipino entrepreneurs. These Chinese, Japanese, and mestizos, who had control of business enterprises and haciendas, made up the middle class of the Philippines. Mestizos enjoyed the status of their Spanish blood and thus had vast economic political power.

The Filipinos were heavily taxed to support the resident government, but received few benefits. Here, as in all aspects of society, collusion to avoid paying taxes was possible by going to one's local chief and asking favors in return for allegiance.

Within the principalia, the chiefs and the illustrado shared no love for one another, although they shared upper class privilege. They differed in the amounts of power they could exercise due to education and wealth. Whereas an illustrado had wealth, education, and a certain amount of power, a chief might not have any wealth nor education, but still wield considerable power.

Consequently, Filipino society, under Spanish rule, was split into six groups; the Spanish civil authority, the Spanish ecclesiastical authority, the local chiefs, the illustrados, the unassimilated, and the great majority of people, the tao.

Revolt and Revolution

Throughout this time all was not peaceful. The Spanish regime was beset with attempts at revolution and liberalization, which intensified in the nineteenth century. Yet the Spanish civil authority and the friars refused to relinquish any power. This resulted in the creation of a bond between the upper and lower classes. A secret society, the Katipunan, was formed to effect the ideals of the revolutionary movement and to force a separation from Spain. As the illustrados worked to educate the people in their ideas, political awareness was awakened within the individual tao and the movement gained strength.

The movement for reform grew and with it grew its heros, none more influential than Jose Rizal, a European-educated poet and physician, and symbol of a moderate, rational philosophy. Rizal saw humans as moral beings and wanted to instill in the Filipinos a sense of dignity, and a sense of responsibility both to government and to effect their own destiny. He wanted recognition by Spain of the civil rights of the Filipinos, but did not feel they were yet ready for self-government. To Rizal, people had potential for progress and perfection within a disciplined life. This potential was as yet undeveloped within the Filipinos. To achieve freedom, Filipinos had to be allowed to develop their intellectual and moral faculties and at the same time preserve their self respect. Rizal chose the pen as his means of attacking the Spanish and began writing clearly separatistic attacks upon Spanish authority and religious orders. His words were widely read and added fuel to the revolutionary fire. Finally, he was arrested, given a farcical trial, and executed on December 30, 1896. Rizal became a martyr for his moral stand against the Spanish and the ideal patriot after which young Filipinos were to model themselves. Moreover, his

belief that Filipinos were not ready for self government was adopted by the moderate wing in the revolutionary movement and was to eventually assist the United States takeover of the Philippines.

In 1896, the Filipinos openly rebelled, and the Philippine revolution began. Using the techniques of guerrilla warfare, the Filipinos made considerable headway against the Spanish in a short time and quickly had them in a position to bargain. Hoping to end the hostilities, Emilio Aguinaldo, leader of the guerrillas, consummated the 1897 Treaty of Biaknabato with the Spanish governor to end the revolution. As part of the treaty Aguinaldo went into voluntary, though temporary, exile.

The treaty won many of the reforms for which the moderates had fought. However, when Madrid reviewed the treaty, it vetoed every point the rebels had won. This rekindled the revolution, and the guerrilla war continued. While in exile, Aguinaldo maintained control of the guerrillas and, in 1898, drew up Asia's first democratic constitution, but lacked the power to establish it in his Filipino homeland.

The Philippine revolution was at a standstill. Soon, events across the world altered it. With the onset of the Spanish-American War and the United States' subsequent attack on the Philippines, Aguinaldo's opportunity came. With constitution in hand, guerrilla control of most of the islands, and the support of many Filipinos, he was ready to declare a Philippine republic and return to take charge of the government.[10]

Corpuz, in his history of the Philippines, summarized Spanish rule.

> For their part, the ordinary people were of no consequence to the Spaniards except as a source of revenue. The avenues of social mobility were closed. Politics was not available to them. Education was rudimentary and intended for nothing but unquestioning acceptance of the friar's interpretation of Christian faith and morals. Economic entrepreneurship was impossible in the provinces; government policies reduced them to stagnation until the late eighteenth century. In the cities the Chinese, who had been coming in increasing numbers as resident craftsmen and traders, monopolized the service trades. Indeed a perverted system of values developed in which assignment to menial tasks in the service of the friar or some Spaniard was accorded social distinction -- but even these lowly services were reserved for the families of the Principalia. The colonial order froze the Filipino masses to permanent impotence.[11]

CHAPTER II

THE AMERICANS AND THE PHILIPPINES

The Spanish-American War led to the end of Spanish rule in the Philippines, but power was not transferred to Filipino hands. When the United States forces entered Manila harbor on May 1, 1898, they found Spanish control disintegrating. A small group of intellectuals was ready to take power and was supported by a well-trained guerrilla band who had control of most of the islands. Stimulated by United States intervention, the revolutionaries proclaimed independence on June 12, and the following fall, established a republic of Malolos, Luzon with Aguinaldo as president. With high hopes, they waited for the United States to recognize their new nation and lend them support.

The United States, however, ignored the previous advantages won by the revolutionaries and the essential aid given them by the insurgents in ousting the Spanish. The United States Navy asserted its authority as victor over the Spanish and as liberator of the Filipinos. Because the Philippines had been considered the property of Spain, at the end of the Spanish-American War the Treaty of Paris gave the archipelago to the United States as an indemnity for the war. It also left the matter of determining the Filipinos' civil rights and political status up to the United States Congress. The United States had to decide how to handle its new acquisition. When the treaty came before Congress for ratification, a lengthy debate ensued. Did the United States have a right to the islands at all...should the Filipinos be granted the independence they sought...if the Philippines were held by the United States, how should they be administered...what civil rights should be granted the Filipinos...should the Philippines be eligible for eventual statehood?

To provide the public and Congress with information about this unfamiliar land and its people, President McKinley sent an investigatory committee to the Philippines. Although many criticized this Philippine Commission as being stacked with imperialists, for using poor research methods, and for providing faulty and biased reports, certain aspects of Philippine society were obvious even to the most uninformed observer.[1]

Although all Filipinos wanted freedom, they were used only to autocracy. Power was exercised on a nepotic basis, not on a civil legalistic one, making democracy an alien concept. The educational level was low, but the achievements of a few leaders were remarkable. These men were ready and waiting to establish an independent Philippine nation.

Reasons for and against ratification were voiced throughout the United States, in the press, and in Congress. A review of the Congressional Record leaves little doubt that both arguments were heavily colored by racist attitudes.[2] Although numerous reasons were given in favor of ratification, the Filipinos' lack of experience in the democratic process was seen as the main justification. American fear of intervention by European or Asian countries who had an economic interest in the islands, fear of the establishment by the Filipinos of an autocratic government to reinforce their entrenched elitist system, and the need for an United States Pacific military base were also cited. More critical reasons for denying Filipino independence were expoused in the press. One article noted a lack of government experience, lack of self-discipline, fair play, and self reliance, and a lack of local self-direction among the Filipino people.[3]

Yet underlying these expressed reasons was the expansionist attitude prevalent in the United States at the time. The

country was at the height of an imperialistic wave. Expansionists found reason to extend our political system throughout the world. President McKinley voiced these opinions when he said that after praying to God, he knew the United States must "...educate the Filipinos and uplift and civilize and Christianize them",[4] an attitude exemplary of the "little brown brother" philosophy. Filipinos were seen to be in need of uplifting by the white race. This was as expressed by Rudyard Kipling, the "White Man's Burden", a heroic, paternalistic, endeavor.

> Take up the White Man's burden -
> Send forth the best ye breed -
> Go bend your sons to exhile
> To serve your captives' need;
> To wait in heavy harness,
> On fluttered folk and wild -
> Your new-caught, sullen peoples,
> Half-devil and half-child.[5]

The white man would civilize the world and Christianize it. The Philippines could be the far eastern outpost for the propagation of the gospel of democracy. The fact that the Filipinos had 300 years of westernization and Christianization was not seriously considered. What was considered was their lack of experience with democracy. The testimony of William H. Taft, president of the Philippine Commission before a Senate Committee on the Philippine question in January of 1902, reflected the growing opinion of the American people.

> ...the effect of giving the people independence now would be, in my judgment, to consign 90% of the uneducated people largely to the same condition that they

> occupied under Spanish rule. They would never learn individual liberty or the power of asserting it, and I am afraid they would continue separated from each other, shut out from the light of civilization by a continuance of the knowledge of no common language, which would prevent their taking in modern ideas of popular government and individual liberty.
>
> One of our great hopes in elevating those people is to give them a common language and that language English, because through English language certainly, by reading its literature, by becoming aware of the history of the English race, they will breathe in the spirit of Anglo-Saxon individualism.[6]

This statement was based on the concept that American democracy was the ultimate good to which any nation should strive. According to Taft, the mission of the propagation of this ideal to the downtrodden races was vital.

> It may take a generation, or two generations, but no matter how long it is, it is in my judgment the duty of the United States to continue a government there which shall teach those people individual liberty, which shall lift them up to a point of civilization of which I believe they are capable, and which shall make them rise to call the name of the United States blessed.[7]

Those opposed to ratification of the treaty supported the movement for immediate Philippine independence, a movement which was strong in both the United States and the islands. Some argued that the Constitution did not allow the United States to acquire territory which would be held as a colonial possession. Others felt that Filipinos had earned the right to be independent and that the treaty did not provide for Filipino welfare. Senator Desota Money of Mississippi observed that,

> ...in the very exuberance of our strength we are about to exercise it without judgment or mercy; that we esteem but lightly the rights, the liberties, the sacrifices of a people who for one hundred years have groaned under the tyranny of aliens ...Are all of these 10,000 people...unworthy of any consideration in this vast international transaction?...[8]

Blake and Barck, in their work on the United States' foreign relations, write that anti-imperialists,

> ...dislike imperialism because it involved the imposition of American rule over native populations without the consent of the governed...this violated the ideals of the Declaration of Independence and the whole philosophy on which the United States based it nationhood. This dislike for colonialism was shared by a curious assortment of prominent Americans...[including] many distinguished names, but it lacked homogeneity and leadership.[9]

Rubin F. Weston, however, in Racism in U.S. Imperialism, contends that the strongest anti-imperialistic argument was voiced primarily by Southern Democrats who foresaw a potential race problem and considered the government's policy towards the Philippines inconsistent with its policy towards other minority races. In speaking of Senator John L. McLaurin of South Carolina, Weston writes:

> It seemed strange to McLaurin that senators who favored universal suffrage and full enfranchisement of the Negro should be advocating imperialism, seeing the inconsistency in the advocacy on the one hand of a policy of acquiring territory by treaty instead of citizens, governing them by military rule or by legislation that was unconstitutional, and, on the other hand, the advocation of universal suffrage for the Negro. McLaurin suggested, "If they are sincere in their views as to the Philippines, they should propose an amendment to the Constitution which will put the inferior races in this country and the inhabitants of the Philippines upon an equality as to their civil and political rights, and thus forever settle the vexed race and suffrage questions in this country as well as the outlying territorities.[10]

When the United States delayed in extricating itself from the Philippines, the Filipino insurgents revolted, further justifying the position of the imperialists. Those opposed to United States policy quickly lost their following among the public, and hope of immediate independence was squelched.

Whatever the reasons for the United States' decision, they all affected the outcome. Anti-imperialist agitation was not strong enough to counter the testimony of the Philippine Commission or to ebb the tide of expansionist feelings. On February 6, 1899, the Treaty of Paris was ratified. Aguinaldo and his followers, the Tulisanes, the last radical elements of the Katipunan, turned to fight off their United States liberators.

The last resistance ended in April of 1902. The insurgents were conquered. Casualties on both sides were high, yet Filipino deaths accounted for the great majority (this may have been as high as 10-1 over the United States deaths).[11] The Philippine revolt against the United States has been reported as one of the most bloody wars ever fought by the United States forces. Both sides were utterly savage in battle.[12] The numbers of casualties and the length of the insurrection, which was mostly a guerrilla conflict, attests to the fact that pacification was not easy. Nor were United States' actions acceptable to many Americans. Samuel Clemens (Mark Twain) voiced this attitude.

> It was a pity, that error; that one grievous error, that irrevocable error. For it was the very place and time to play the American game again. And at no cost. Rich winnings to be gathered in, too; rich and permanent; indestructible; a fortune transmissable forever to the children of the flag. Not land, not money, not dominion -- no something worth many times more than that dross; our share, the spectacle of a nation of long harassed and persecuted slaves set free through our influence; our posterity's

> share, the golden memory of that fair deed. The game was in our hands. If it had been played according to American rules, Dewey would have sailed away from Manila as soon as he had destroyed the Spanish Fleet -- after putting up a sign on shore guaranteeing foreign property and life against damage by the Filipinos, and warning the powers that interference with the emancipated patriots would be regarded as an act unfriendly to the United States....The more we examine the mistake, the more clearly we perceive that it is going to be bad for the business. The person sitting in darkness is almost sure to say: 'There is something curious about this -- curious and unaccountable. There must be two Americas: one that sets the captive free, and one that takes a once-captive's new freedom away from him, and picks a quarrel with him with nothing to found it on; then kills him to get his land.[13]

Whether or not the Philippines was ready for independence is irrelevant today and can probably never be proven one way or the other. Yet the effect of the United States' decision affected Filipinos far into the future, especially those who emigrated to the United States.

Americanization

Once the United States was in control of the Philippines, the Philippine Commission was mandated to set up a form of demo-

cratic government. The commission was responsible to the secretary of war and had the primary duty of establishing municipal governments. Native management was to be stressed in local affairs "...to the fullest extent of which they are capable."[14] Local governments were established in provinces but were in control of the military until the capabilities of the Filipinos were proven. The military recommended forms of civil government to the commission which had legislative power to implement the suggestions. Among other powers the commission had were taxation; assessment and collection of customs duties; appropriation and expending of government funds; establishment of an educational system, a civil service commission, and a court system; and appointment of government officials. Although the government was run by United States citizens, Filipinos were given an increasing voice. It appears that this aspect of the commission was successful, for by 1912 United States citizens filled only 40 percent of public service jobs as compared to 71 percent in 1902.[15] Independence was to be granted as soon as the Filipinos were experienced in the democratic process, but no time limit was set.

Hospitals were built. English became the official language and was taught in schools, although individual dialects were commonly spoken elsewhere. Universal education was established. Along with elementary and secondary schools, a normal school, arts and trade school, nautical school, nursing school, agricultural school, and a university were established. Teachers from the United States were sent to the Philippines to instill democratic ideals in the Filipinos in preparation for citizenship.

Despite the Americans' aim of full democracy, the Filipino custom of nepotism allowed the padrino system to continue. This resulted in having relatives of powerful chiefs and illustrados placed in office.

By 1907 a legislative assembly of Filipinos was established to share power with the commission. All economic, mineral, and other resource dvelopment was in control of United States enterprise. The Philippines became a United States protectorate. Filipinos were classified as nationals of the United States, as they were to remain for 32 years, a classification which would cause problems for Filipinos in the United States. This status demanded allegiance to the United States but at the same time, denied the privileges of citizenship.

No matter what the motivation for the control of the Philippines had been, once established, the actions of the United States government in preparing the islands for democracy were intended to benefit the Filipinos. The new social mobility allowed a middle class to gradually develop from which future leaders would come. At first elections and positions went to the established powers. But it only took the passage of time and the availability of education, before the tao had equal chance to more fully participate in government. The ideals for which Rizal had died finally had an opportunity to be realized.

It was the American ideal of universal education that had the most abrupt and enduring effect on the islands. Immediately, 300 top Filipino high school graduates, male and females, mostly illustrados, were sent to the United States to receive higher education. These pensionados were sent at government expense with the express expectation that they would return to the islands to enter government service, thus repaying the government for their opportunity. Since they were some of the first to visit the United States, their stories upon returning to the Philippines had a strong effect on others. They painted a picture of a land of opportunity and wonder, and influenced emigration.

The public school system as established within the islands strove to educate Filipinos for governmental service careers. United States's textbooks were used until 1920, exposing the students to middle-class American values and life styles. American folk heroes became Filipino heroes. The exemplary lives of United States presidents and business magnates were seen as role models for Filipinos. Achievement was stressed. One Filipino remembering his schooling in the Philippines remarked:

> When I was going to school in the Philippines we were under the American flag. Every morning...we stood at attention in front of our public schools to salute the stars and stripes. It was a solemn occasion. And then when we entered our schools, we saw pictures of the great men -- like Lincoln, Washington, Jefferson, Wilson, and many other great presidents you had. When we opened our text books, we learned of the struggle and history of America. It's great, beautiful, so that it left an imprint in our minds to someday come to the great America and see for ourselves what a beautiful country America is.[16]

Through exposure to American values and education, Filipinos developed an optimistic attitude which asserted the ability of a person to shape one's own destiny if one but had the courage. Filipino students learned of human rights, dignity, and equality, of success following hard work, of the honor of human endeavor. So recently freed from servitude, Filipinos saw the United States as utopia. Their desire for knowledge and a place in this utopia grew with their education. In

1931, the Director of the Philippine Bureau of Labor noted the effect of education.

> The Filipino youth has learned the great achievements of America, its gigantic industrial institutions, the high wages paid, its beautiful cities, its big buildings and skyscrapers, and other wonders and opportunities. All of these fires the imagination of the Filipino youth and created in his mind the love of adventure....His education increased his wants.[17]

CHAPTER III

EMIGRATION

Filipinos easily adapted certain American values. Sociologist Bruno Lasker, in his 1930 study of Filipino immigration, noted that a cultural breakdown occurred after the ouster of the Spanish which resulted in a disintegration of social traditions.[1] The most easily assimilated aspects of American culture were quickly grasped to fill the void. Although the United States dominated Filipios as a group, it was also a liberator of the individual, and allowed people more control over their own lives than ever before. This produced a condition which allowed open migration within and without the Philippines to occur as Filipinos sought to adjust to new found freedom.

Thus, with the onset of the United States rule, immigration of Filipinos to the United States began. At first a trickle, soon hundreds were boarding ships each month to find a new life for themselves in the United States. Some would stay in their adopted home while others would return to the Philippines. Although all were responding to a call millions of other immigrants had heard since the United States became a nation, the exact causes were particular to the Filipino status in relation to the United States.

Causation

The first factor was the effect of Americanized school systems on Filipinos. Since education was traditionally seen as a liberating experience, every effort was made to obtain schooling. In the Philippines, children who completed their

education reflected prestige on the whole family. A family would go to great lengths, even to the selling of its meager land holdings, to keep a child in school with the expectation that once the education was completed, the family would have a more prestigious position within the community, would have achieved upward mobility, and would have help in sending other children to school. Although education in elementary and secondary school was free, if students did not live within easy access of a school, some means was needed to provide for their support while in attendance. Those seeking a high school education had to either live or board in the area of the provincial high school, an inconvenience which eliminated many potential students.

Higher education was even more difficult and demanded more sacrifice. The two main institutions of higher education were in Manila. Not only were jobs to help defer expenses not available, but the prevailing attitude was that students should not work their way through school because of the social status of a student. Manual labor was thought to be below the dignity of the student, and although United States teachers emphasized the nobility of honest labor, this was translated instead into a concept of achievement which stated that work was good only if a particular job carried prestige in and of itself. The students wanted to emulate those Americans with whom they had contact or of whom they had heard, which meant they sought out only white collar work. Since little was available, family support was necessary. The result was that only students of the wealthy could go on to higher education. A tao child might have been able to attend a few years of elementary school, but was needed at home to help support the family as soon as he was old enough to assist on the farm. Also, in perpetuation of the padrino system, any available jobs were given to relatives and close friends of those already in the system, further entrenching

the principalia in positions of power and lessening the change of the tao's becoming upwardly mobile, their lifelong dream. The individual tao family simply could not afford the years of sacrifice necessary to completely educate their children. However, American education opened a new world to the tao while the closed social system in the Philippines forced them to find other means of realizing their goals of gaining an education, finding lucrative employment, or both.

Furthermore, even students who had completed high school or college did not necessarily find employment in their field. Students prepared themselves for white collar professional jobs, especially in the areas of law, government service, and education. They were urged to enter studies without knowing how filled their chosen occupation was. Yet, as more students completed their education, the technically underdeveloped economy of the Philippines could not absorb all those seeking positions. Some fields became grossly overcrowded. Often graduates would be forced to return to farm labor as they had no powerful members of the principalia to obtain jobs for them. Although reverting to manual labor was not seen as entirely negative, since educational achievement was important and conferred prestige in and of itself, Filipinos desperately wanted to lift themselves and their families out of poverty and become members of the principalia where life was easier.

One result of Americanization then was the formation of several groups of highly motivated individuals -- pensionados returning to the islands to claim new positions in government; Philippine-educated illustratos with no jobs; tao high school graduates with no opportunity for higher education; and others falling in between. All were increasingly mobile, all were responding to contact with American standards that made previous standards unacceptable, and all were unable to

find a place for themselves within an under-developed economy. Lasker pinpointed the problem in 1930.

> We have created a great public schools system whose chief aim seems to be to prepare its graduates for government work. The civil service rosters are filled with thousands of applicants for notoriously easy government jobs. A paternal system of government has encouraged this. A scale of pay, out of proportion to that in force in other countries of equally limited tax collecting powers, encourages men in government offices to seek political jobs. We make politics our god and they fill our life. Every agency of life in the Islands, almost, encourages the growth of this system.[2]

Add to this a land tenancy system that allowed for only bare subsistence farming, and urban unemployment due to low economic development, and one has sufficient cause for both individual and collective unrest.

Population pressure due to a consistently high birth rate has been cited as another of the reasons for migration. Yet prior to the Americanization of the Philippines the Spanish system absorbed population growth by providing an outlet through limited migration between islands. The outlet was available during United States occupation, yet immigration to the United States increased. Therefore, to say that the pressure of numbers alone caused the Filipino immigration would be incorrect. One can accurately say that while both economic and social pressures pushed Filipinos out of the

Philippines, more perceived positive economic and social opportunties drew them to the United States. One of these was the previously mentioned liberating effect of Americanization which allowed social bonds to be broken and created an atmosphere that would allow for migration. No such alternative was available under the Spanish.

Americanization took place in other aspects of life than just in the school system. The influence of periodicals, movies, and propaganda spread by steamship companies seeking passengers cannot be overlooked. The Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association sent recruiting agents throughout the islands looking for contract labor to come to Hawaii. Movies and pamphlets portrayed Hawaii as the "good life". By 1930, possibly as many as 150,000 men, women, and children had migrated to Hawaii. Although approximately one-third returned to the Philippines, the remainder either stayed in Hawaii or went on to the continental United States after earning a stake. The sugar planters were not the only ones who recruited laborers in the islands, labor contractors for the United States farmers and canners actively recruited also. In each instance, everything the Filipinos saw in advertisements and movies was offered to lure them into signing of a labor contract. The United States was advertised as the land of golden opportunity.

The final factor in emigration was the example set by early Filipino visitors to the United States. The first pensionados were accomplished models to emulate. They acted as stimulus for others to seek an education in the United States. Those that followed the pensionados' example stimulated emigration even further. They wrote home of their adventure and sent money home to allow their families to buy more land or to lessen the families' financial burdens. Due to the difference in cost of living, this money could have a

great impact on a family's financial situation. The sons who had emigrated were often thought to have become very successful in the United States when, in actuality, they might merely be surviving. Others returned to the islands for vacation dressed in fancy clothes, with money in their pockets, seemingly successful. Those who were not successful, simply did not write home. Or, for those who did write, the negative experiences they related could not compete with the more positive propaganda available in the islands.

Any advancement in status was often seen as improvement over life at home. The adventure was glamorous and exciting. As more was learned about the United States more Filipinos wanted a part of it. In the United States one could gain a better education than was available in the Philippines. In the United States was opportunity, in the Philippines limitations. In the United States was chance for personal growth, in the Philippines, stagnation. In the United States was adventure, in the Philippines tedium. The young Filipinos did more than visualize the affect of their adventure on the immediate future, they also projected their aspirations far beyond and dreamt of the day they could return to their homeland from "mother America" to be well received, successful men who commanded respect. Implicit in their migration was trust in the American vision and in the propaganda they heard. No opportunities to ascertain pertinent information about immigration, racial discrimination, cost of living, school requirements, or employment prospects were available. All they heard was the call to adventure and the constant propaganda which did nothing to deter emigration.

It is no wonder that a release was seen in emigration. Nothing would prevent it. Filipinos were United States nationals and therefore did not come under immigration statutes. All that was needed was passage fare and nerve. Once the initial

break had been made, it was easier for others to follow. Often several from one village or one extended family would emigrated, providing some sort of security for the adventure and stimulus for other members to follow suit.

Both Lasker and Mariano Honorante, in their studies on Filipino immigration, contend that it was the negative aspects of life in the Philippines that caused the preponderance of migration.[3] Their belief is based on the occurrence throughout Philippine history of moderate migration from one island to another, either by individual endeavor or as part of government resettlement programs. Although this phenomenon does reflect an established dissatisfaction of some people with their social and economic situation at various times in the island's history, unfortunately, no statistics are available to compare the two types of migration. Also to be considered should be the extent of Filipino migration to other countries as compared to their migration to the United States. Therefore, no accurate suppositions can be made as to what would have taken place had the circumstances been different, i.e., would inter-island migration have occurred to a greater extent if migration out of the Philippines had not been an available alternative? Although social pressures did exist, it is unlikely that Filipino emigration would have occurred to the degree it did had it not been for the related pulling effect of the United States as utopia. This "push-pull" factor of immigration is demonstrable in all of the causative agents of Filipino emigration which have been discussed. The great pull of the American dream, that ideal purposely imposed upon the Filipinos which was intended to instill Anglo-Saxon individualism and to result in Filipinos calling the United States "blessed"[4] was most effective -- but for one flaw. A young Filipino author, caught in the disillusioned mire of 1930s America lamented: "My school teachers at home were idealistic Americans who told me of America's

promises of liberty and equality under the law, but forgot to mention the economic discrimination and racial complexes with which you interpret your rainbow-hued promises."[5] These promises summoned the Filipinos as effectively as the comparative bleakness of life in the Philippines urged them to leave.

Who was it that responded to the call of migration? Primarily Filipino men, (14 to 1) as they had greater freedom than women under the Hispanicized culture. They were primarily from the tao class as this was the most estranged by the prevailing economic conditions. And they were young because the young were not yet tied down to family responsibility. At first, men from the more heavily populated areas of the islands, especially northern Luzon and the Visayans, made the move. Later emigrants came from areas throughout the entire archipelago. Each with his own reason, they began a migration that has not ended to this day.

The Importance of a Few in Millions

In 1898, the United States Immigration Report lists 12 Filipino immigrants.[6] Less than 500 were listed in the reports for the cumulative years 1902 to 1905. Over the next 25 years the numbers increased to over 4,000 immigrants a year. Estimates of the total numbers of Filipinos within the United States by 1935 vary from 35,000 to 90,000. Lasker lists 5,600 Filipino residents in 1920 and estimates 56,000 for 1930.[7] This is a greater increase than that drawn by the California State Department of Industrial Relations which listed 31,092 for the same year, 1930.[8] These numbers, whether 31,000 or 90,000, hardly seem large enough to be of concern, especially in comparison to the over 32,000 Mexican immigrants who entered the United States between 1927 and

1928 alone or to the 3,500,000 European immigrants who entered between 1901 and 1905. The number of Filipino immigrants was negligible when compared to total wor'd immigration into the United States throughout the years being considered. In 1930 alone total immigration into the United States, excluding the Philippines and other insular possessions, was 241,700.[9] Yet because Filipinos settled in certain American West Coast cities, because they were very visible when compared to white Anglo-Saxon immigrants, because the increase was sudden, and because they would not quietly accept the role defined for them by whites, they became a center for the concern of many people. And because it was the West Coast that had the strongest anti-Oriental feelings, these new immigrants with what whites considered the appearance of Oriental heritage, were to face increasing amounts of hostility. (See Chapter V.)

The Move Begins

And so they came. They came by the hundreds, crowded into steerage compartments as had most other immigrant groups travelled. They came on the Dollar steamship line aboard the President McKinley, the President Pierce, the President Madison, and the President Lincoln into United States ports. Or, they sailed on the Canadian ships, such as the Empress of Canada, the Empress of Asia, the Empress of Russia, and entered the United States through Canada.

The adventure began with a mixture of feelings -- sorrow at leaving loved ones behind, anxiety over the rigors of the voyage, anticipation of the future. All of these are reflected in the diary of a 1924 young Filipino immigrant. Little did he know that it would be thirty years, not four, before he would return to the Philippines.

> April 18, 1924 Friday (Holy Week)
> Went to pier 5, conducted by grandfather Ninay, Uncle Rafael, Omoy, Tarang and Titay. Boarded the President Jefferson about 1:30 pm. Steamer left at 5:00 pm. Happy departure. Cheers of relatives and friends bade good-bye to me. So I was then on my way to the United States of America, and for four years, perhaps, I could not see my "home sweet home" and loved ones. I left Manila and the Philippines at a beautiful time -- beautiful sunset, a moonlit night on a peaceful water of historic Manila Bay, with the moonbeams dancing on the glimmering water. Passed thru Corregidor abou' seven in the evening. In the China Sea I got sea-sick. Did not take in any kind of food for four consecutive meals. Became weak and a little thin.
> April 19, 1924, Saturday.
> Still sailing in the China Sea. Seasick and weak.
> April 20, 1924 -- Sunday
> Arrived at Hong Kong about 6:30 am. Landed at about 8:30 am. Went roaming about city. Found Hong Kong to be far more beautiful than Manila. It's climate is perfectly ideal. Just the Place for soberthinking people and poets. Rode in rickshaws. Enjoyable ride.[10]

For some, the excitement of the adventure was overshadowed by the realities of an ocean voyage; overcrowded, dank, dark, storage compartments and rolling seas. Seasickness was a

common malady.[11] The voyages were long and arduous and followed the route to China, Japan, Hawaii, and then the United States. Yet, neither the length or conditions of the voyage stifled their enthusiasm for the adventure. They came in search of their dreams. To finish high school, to start college, to further their education, to get ahead -- all are repeated answers to the question, "Why did you come to the United States?" Full of excited expectation, they left family and friends behind, often to never see them again. Yet, initially, their intentions were to emigrate to the United States so that they could return to the Philippines better off than when they left. In an article in the Filipino Student, Placido E. Palmejar reflected the ideals of many immigrants. He wrote of coming to the United States to learn that he one day might take his knowledge and abilities back to the Philippines. This he did out of a sense of duty and responsibility to his homeland, following the example of Rizal. The Philippines cried out for leaders, but Filipinos were ill prepared to lead. Therefore, he came to the United States to study and learn so as to contribute to humanity in the future.[12] Few Filipinos would be able to live up to their ideals, and few would return to the islands, except to visit. Their expectations were high, whetted by their experiences with Americans in the Philippines; expectations which would lead to disillusionment for some, and fulfillment for others.

The Landing

They came to the United States' ports of Seattle, San Francisco, and Los Angeles with little money, with no one to meet them, with only the friends they had met in passage. Often they searched for a brother, a cousin, or a townmate (someone from the same village or region) whom they knew was in the

United States although they had no address other than city and state. A Filipino, landing in San Francisco might hear rumor that his brother was in Seattle. Meanwhile, the brother might actually have been in Alaska or in Montana. Each travelling from town to town, they would eventually track each other down. They might stay together for awhile or each might go his own way in search of employment. Although the long voyage was over, a more lengthy and arduous journey was ahead as the young Filipinos' visions of the United States turned to reality.

A group of University of Washington students, take time out from their summer jobs at the Waterfall, Alaska cannery to have a picnic and have their photograph taken. Front main figure is Victorio A. Velasco, in about 1925, his second year in Alaska.

(Photo credit: University of Washington, V.A. Velasco Papers.) Manuscript Collection.

CHAPTER IV

THE FILIPINO COMMUNITY

Thomas C. Wheeler in The Immigrant Experience defines American culture as a non-culture. In the attempt to make a nation out of a polyglot of immigrants, a culture developed that was a culture of fads, materialism, and machinery; a culture that demanded the past be given up, that said foreign ways were not good enough. The United States was a land where success was measured by organizational affiliations and profession, where pride was the only means of survivial, but where both were denied and thwarted when based on an ethnic background. A paradox existed in the offering of brotherhood in the midst of racial tension.[1]

The Filipinos faced this paradox in innocence, with high expectations. But their encounter with the reality of the United States hastened the foundation of a further impediment to Filipino adjustment in their new home -- alienation. Created out of immigrant peoples, uprooted people, the United States reinforced within the newest immigrants a sense of alienation. To Oscar Handlin, eminent immigration historian, "...the history of immigration is the history of alienation and its consequences." Immigrants suffered alienation when they were thrust into an alien culture with no family ties, no familiar environment, when new life styles had to be formed, when they ceased to belong.[2] All United States immigrants, no matter what their national origin, faced similar problems -- finding a place to live, finding employment, and finding an identity within a culture that denied their past. In seeking these, some were able to overcome obstacles more easily than others. The ease with which they were assimilated often depended upon the degree of difference between

themselves and the white Anglo-Saxon protestant model. The farther away one was from this model, the more difficult assimilation was. No matter what the immigrants' dreams and expectations were, the prejudices and modes of discrimination against foreigners and those whose appearances were not Anglo-Saxon, were apparent once in the United States.

Filipino immigrants found themselves nationals of an alien culture. Arriving with a concept of racial equality, they immediately faced the realities of being a racial minority. They arrived optimistic, full of enthusiasm and aspirations but found themselves dejected, demoralized, and alone. Family ties broken, and in the face of the demands for survival, new ties were formed. A townmate or someone from the same province were important links to the past. Filipinos sought to combat alienation as other ethnic groups had -- by banding together in communities in an effort to maintain their own identity and pride. In the ports of entry, ethnic communities -- "little Manilas" -- soon were formed adjacent to Chinatown. Restaurants, pool halls, tailor shops, employment offices, hotels, and taxi-dance halls catered to Filipino customers as the process of Americanization began.

Social Life

In Seattle of the 1920s, King and Jackson Streets were the center of Filipino activity. Here, new immigrants became acquainted with each other and with the United States. Days were spent looking for jobs, talking to new found friends, buying American style clothes and throwing away the Philippine short pants, walking the town on a sightseeing tour, or going to the movies. Filipinos earned a reputation for hanging around the street corners and cafes, primarily because

they had few places to go. At night they pursued what entertainment was offered. They might go to movies or write letters home, enclosing some snapshots of themselves. Or, they might choose to find female companionship. As negligible numbers of Filipinas had emigrated to the United States and social pressures caused white women to be cautious in developing relationships with Filipinos, they were often forced to find solace with prostitutes or the women at the taxi-dance halls. Articles written at the time, both in professional journals and in the Philippine-American press, speak repeatedly of this occurrence. At these dance halls Filipinos could buy short conversations with American women. Sometimes the dances lasted less than one minute. Occasionally, to attract customers, the dance hall owners would offer door prices or hold a social hour with refreshments before the paid dancing began. The social hour was just long enough for the Filipinos, lonely for female companionship, to meet and become acquainted with the dancers. Then, when the dancing began, the men went quickly through their money trying to pursue the relationships. Even though friendships with other white women were possible, especially for college students, the social stigma attached to such relationships presented many problems for both parties.

Another night-time alternative was gambling. Pool rooms and card games, usually run by Chinese, attracted the young, adventurous Filipinos. Gambling provided excitement and camaraderie and became a favorite pastime. At the pool halls and gambling halls they could mix with friends, hear familiar dialects, and even get free meals. In a society where dreams were thwarted and prestige denied, where circumstances prevented the establishing of normal family life, where money came in lump sums at the end of a season's labor, where social pressures limited contact with all but the lower estates of society, it is easy to see how members of such a

group could become involved in what society considered the less wholesome activities. Men coming off the boat from the canneries in late August, or in from the farms in the fall or spring, could rapidly lose their earnings and be in need of another job almost immediately.

Some Filipinos realized the detrimental effect of gambling. Articles and editorials in Filipino newspapers called for the elimination of gambling dens. An article in the Philippine Advocate, July, 1935, charged men who threw away their meager earnings to the Chinese as being "saps".[3] In an attempt to bring attention to the problem, the then fledgling Filipino laborers' union backed a drive in Seattle in 1935 against gambling and set pickets up in front of the Chinese gambling joints. Yet gambling remained an integral part of the Filipino life style. In a 1974 interview, an elderly Filipino active in the Seattle Filipino community, observed that even today the favority pastime of the elderly Filipinos is gambling.[4]

At the end of the evening the Filipinos went back to their rooms. They might be jointly renting an older house in the immediate area, or rooms in a local hotel or boarding house. Their living situation was not good, but was typical of what other immigrant groups had to deal with -- small, overcrowded, shared dingy quarters, and closed doors in the better parts of town. Whether the sign said no Irish wanted here or no Filipinos, the result was the same, the segregation of one group from another and reinforcement of the development of a sub-culture through alienation.

The Filipino Student

An integral though often peripheral part of the Filipino community was the student population. Gaining an education was

a common reason for emigrating. Yet, only a small percentage of those who intended to further their education ever did so, and an even smaller percentage ever completed it. Although the total student body population was probably quite low, it should be noted that both the fluidity of the student group and the differences in registration forms make it impossible to estimate accurately numbers of registered students, although a rough estimate can be made. For example, using Lasker's figure of 56,000 Filipinos resident in the United States in 1930,[5] and comparing it to the 830 students registered for the 1931-32 school year at universities throughout the United States as listed in a Filipino student newspaper,[6] only 1.4 percent of the Filipinos were registered college students. (This compares to 7.4 percent of the United States population age 18-24 attending college in 1932.[7]) How many other Filipinos attended high school or technical school is unknown, but it is likely that it is a considerably larger percentage than attended college.

Often students would live near the university in a boarding house such as the University YMCA or Filipino club house, or, receive room and board and a small salary as "school-boys". School-boy jobs were readily available for Filipinos because many white Americans liked the demeanor of Filipinos as they filled the servant position. These jobs entailed house and yard work for wealthy families. As very few students could afford to go to school without working to support themselves, school-boy jobs provided a lucrative and respectable means of gaining an education. In contrast to the Philippines, it was not demeaning to work one's way through school in the United States doing manual labor; it was a necessary means of survival. The students found other jobs were available: they followed crops as field hands; worked the canneries in the summer, or in the domestic service industry as busboys, or houseboys, during the school year. An article in the

Filipino Student reflected the attitude of at least one student towards such short term jobs.

> Working in the salmon canneries of Alaska is most convenient to Filipino students in the Pacific Northwest, as the recruiting of most laborers usually falls in June almost immediately following the close of schools for the summer vacation, and the work lasts until the end of August, a few weeks before the opening of schools again for the fall term. College students, who don't enter school until about the end of September, have a few weeks to spend on the farm and earn a few extra dollars.[8]

By taking such jobs, the students moved in and out of the Filipino community, part time absorbed in educational pursuits, part time scraping for a living.

Many obstacles faced those who wanted an education. They had to overcome poor preparation, discrimination, poor guidance, lack of funds, feelings of defeat, pressure to succeed, and especially, disillusionment with the American system. Many never achieved their goals and ended up with menial jobs, often embittered and ashamed to return to the Philippines. Others succeeded in gaining a higher education only to find employment prospects still limited because of their race.

The students provided a service to their fellow Filipinos in guidance and leadership. Organized into Filipino student associations, they worked for the betterment of American-Filipino relations, tried to provide a sense of unity and stability in Filipinos' lives, provided a forum for the prac-

tice of democratic principles, and acted as a foreign embassy for the Filipinos in the United States. Some college-educated Filipinos became active in the West Coast labor movement.

The Filipino-American Press

An outgrowth of the Filipino students' work was the development of Filipino newspapers. Catapusan gives 1904 as the year of publication of the Philippine Review, the first Filipino-American newspaper, published in Berkeley, by University of California-Berkeley Filipino students.[9] Newspapers sprang up in every town where a major Filipino community was found. Most publications were short lived due to lack of adequate funding, although some had the backing of powerful Filipino vested interests and became vanity presses.

The newspapers fell into four categories, the intent of which varied with the type of publication. All transmitted news pertinent to Filipino-Americans and resulted in the building of a sense of community within the Filipino social structure. However, at times the splintering of one publication into several was more divisive than constructive. Articles and editorials called for the independence of the Philippines, discussed unionization of West Coast agricultural and Alaskan cannery workers, spoke of United States-Philippine relations, gave advice on how to be a good citizen of the Philippines while in the United States, promoted Filipino and Filipina accomplishments, contained social blurbs, and were full of remembrances of Jose Rizal and his call to serve the Philippines. Each year newspapers promoted a Filipina popularity contest as a fund raiser. One of the Filipina-Americans was chosen queen for each particular Filipino community. Numerous issues would be dedicated to advancing the charms of each

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Filipinos used their ethnic newspapers to exercise their literary skills, and to distribute information of interest to Filipinos. This print shop, at an unknown Alaskan cannery, published a now forgotten newspaper.

(Photo credit: University of Washington, Manuscripts Collection, Apolonio Buyagawan Papers.)

candidate. Although the monies were to go to the Filipino community, it was not unusual to find that contest organizers' personal funds were enlarged after the contest.

The newspapers served as an excellent exercise in journalism for Filipinos in the areas of poetry, debate, and political commentary. Because of the expense of publication, numerous advertisements appeared in each issue promoting Filipino community businesses and even calling for all to "eat more salmon", an outgrowth of the Filipino involvement in the canned salmon industry. Although the majority of such newspapers were published in California, the Northwest had numerous publications. A few were prepared for publication in Alaska while the men were working the salmon canneries for the summer.

Employment

Upon entering the United States, Filipinos filled what jobs were open to them. As with so many other immigrant groups before, lack of experience, few job skills, and difficulty with the English language placed Filipinos in poor competitive positions. Only the very unskilled jobs were available; jobs where either the competition was equally weak itself (other minorities, women, and the elderly), or jobs which were perceived to be especially suitable for Filipinos due to physical characteristics. For example, a small stature, mistaken for weakness, eliminated many Filipinos from jobs requiring physical strength, while that same stature was seen as especially practical for the stoop labor of harvesting vegetables and fruit. The physical characteristics which disqualified Filipinos from factory labor appeared to recommend them highly for work as a domestic. This misconception had the effect of both limiting Filipinos' employment to

specific occupations and eliminating the possibility of employment in others. Yet, employment prospects were hampered by much more than such misconceptions. Another factor limiting occupational possibilities was the Filipinos' inheritance of the racial antipathy previously showed Chinese and Japanese immigrants to the United States. The following chapter disucsses this occurrence more fully.

Some Filipino-Alaskans found employment in the Alaskan mining industry. The kitchen crew of the Mexican Boarding House, Mexican Mine, Douglas, Alaska pose for the camera in 1911.

(Photo Credit: Juneau, Alaska Historical Library.)

CHAPTER V

THE FILIPINOS AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

National Nativism and Anti-Orientalism

In the United States, particularly on the West Coast, anti-Orientalism erupted from the mid-nineteenth century on. Yet, negative feelings against many foreigners in general had existed all across the nation earlier. This anti-foreign attitude, as described by John Higham, was an intense opposition to an internal minority on the basis of its foreign, and thus un-American connections.[1] Along with this "American nativism" developed a concept of an Anglo-Saxon ideal race. New immigrants were expected to fit into or accommodate themselves to the Anglo-Saxon norm. When a group's characteristics were seen by long-time residents as "different," they were considered unassimilable until those characteristics were either altered, such as with the learning of a new common language and adoption of American ways, or were accepted by the group as being harmless or even beneficial to the dominant culture. Perceived nativism rose and fell over the years, often in response to the economic condition of the country. Times of recession or depression saw an increase in nativism and a corresponding agitation to restrict immigration.

During the nineteenth century various groups developed which supported nativism. Some groups were anti-Jewish, some anti-Catholic; other anti-German, anti-European, or anti-Irish; while still others were only opposed to the importation of cheap or contract labor. Most often their opposition took the form of economic discrimination against such immigrants; occasionally open hostility and violence would break out.

Yet over a period of time, most of those suffering such attacks were gradually accepted and assimilated into American culture.

Nativism, as Higham notes, changed over time from a concern over what the United States was not, to an attack on the essence of the foreigners' inability to physically conform to the American Anglo-Saxon race.[2] (During the nineteenth century, race was defined very broadly, with national groups often differentiated on racial terms.) Although discrimination during this period was aimed at any new, visible foreigners, especially if they appeared to threaten the maintenance of wage standards, when opposition to a particular group was determined by actual physical differences, nativism became racism. If a group was conspicious and could not blend in with the Anglo-Saxon norm, they continued to be subject to racist attacks long after other groups had been accepted. These immigrants were seen as a double threat. Not only did they threaten the hard-won United States wage standards, but they were considered unassimilable because they belonged to a racial category which was ineligible for citizenship. This ineligibility was based on a racial superiority philosophy which denied citizenship to peoples with brown or yellow skin color. (Malaysians, East Indians, American Indians, Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, etc.) These people were seen as a threat to the racial composition of the United States. It was a commonly held philosophy in the nineteenth century that the strength of the United States came from its ethnic composition at that point in time. Any change in that composition was believed to only weaken the United States. This concept of eugenics was especially applied to Oriental peoples who were thought to be representatives of an inferior race which should be prohibited from mixing with caucasians; otherwise, a "mongrel" populace develop.

The anti-Oriental phenomenon was first evidenced as opposition to Chinese immigration which had begun around 1850. Although the number of Chinese immigrants was comparatively minimal, the Chinese became victims of prejudice and discrimination. Three factors played a part in this. First, the Chinese settled primarily on the West Coast, thus, the geographic apportionment gave Chinese immigration the appearance of being much more extensive than it actually was. Second, the Chinese were physically and culturally different from previous immigrants. Their customs, religion, traditions, dress, and behavior were alien to anything previously encountered with other immigrant groups. Third, the Chinese often worked as contract laborers and were given wages far below what United States' workers demanded. Since job opportunities were limited, they had to accept what was offered and even the meager wages were higher than that available in China. Yet, this inexpensive source of labor available to burgeoning nineteenth century industry, disrupted United States laborers' efforts to obtain higher wage standards.

Thus, the Chinese were seen not only as alien to American culture, but also as another problematical racial minority. The combination of racism and economic fear led to the overt discrimination and violence, especially on the West Coast. The "Yellow Peril" scare, as it was called, eventually culminated in the Chinese Exclusion Law of 1882, ending Chinese immigration. However, the problem was not solved for white workers. As Chinese immigration diminished, Japanese immigration increased. Japanese contract laborers filled those jobs previously held by the Chinese.

The Japanese also suffered from discrimination due to their racial origin. The Asiatic Exclusion League, primarily a union supported movement, was formed in California in 1905. The League lobbied for exclusion of all Oriental peoples, the

Japanese in particular. Finally, in 1907, the Japanese were partially excluded by the Gentleman's Agreement with the Japanese government wherein Japan limited its issuance of passports. However, agitative for complete exclusion continued until exclusion was formalized by the Japanese Exclusion Act of 1924.

Originating from the same part of the globe as the Chinese and Japanese laborers, having brown skin, and having dietary habits somewhat similar to the Orientals, Filipinos were seen as another "invasion from the East." In many instances, Filipino immigration and many whites' reaction to it, followed the same pattern as Chinese and Japanese immigration. Being considered Oriental, Filipinos were subject to the later nativism as described by Higham; a nativism that was both racist in attitude and in action. It was demonstrated both in overt physical abuse and more subtle attitudes of the times. And it resulted in alienation of Filipinos from the very culture they emulated.

It should be noted that anti-Filipino attitudes did not develop immediately nor did they spread across the country. Rather, they seemed to have been associated with the influx of an increased number of Filipinos and their concentration in certain West Coast cities. The first immigrants and pensionados were well received and earned a good reputation for themselves, although in certain more menial lines of work, such as in the domestic area. Employing a Filipino "school boy" carried prestige. But once immigration began in earnest, the fear associated with an encounter with an unknown element caused a new xenophobia to develop on the West Coast. This sectional response was described in 1930 by Lasker who noted a greater opportunity for success for Filipinos in skilled jobs in the East Coast and in the Midwest due to the smaller numbers of Filipinos in those areas. He

concluded that the fear and prejudice that accompanies a large influx of Filipinos lessened the chance of securing a more highly skilled job.[3]

Not only did Filipinos inherit anti-Oriental prejudice, but that inheritance pushed them into occupations in which the Chinese and Japanese immigrants had previously been employed. Agriculture, fisheries, and the domestic service industry were dependent upon cheap labor for success. A continuing supply of new migrants accustomed to a standard of living lower than in the United States, allowed employers to offer bare subsistence wages yet still be assured of an adequate labor supply. Once the Chinese and Japanese were no longer available in great numers, employers sought labor that could be secured for similar wages. Since Filipinos were seen as new cheap labor and classified as Orientals, unskilled jobs were available to them while the more skilled jobs were not. Within the unskilled category, changes for training or advancement went to whites. Often, the only jobs available to Filipinos were at pay scales and under conditions whites would not accept. Filipinos had no choice but to accept whatever employment was available and were too inexperienced in American ways to demand more. They became associated with occupations that barely allowed them to exist. Catapusan contends that this inability to enter white-collar or technical trades inhibited the Filipinos' adjustment process. Because they were tied to unskilled labor, their self image suffered as they became disappointed and disillusioned.[4] Their only escape was to withdraw from the vision of the United States and relate only with Filipino groups, an action which only resulted in being further classified as un-American.

Because the Filipinos were single, transient, culturally naive, and would work for low pay, they tended to be ex-

ploited by industry. Hence, they became locked in a vicious circle. The security of stable employment, opportunity for development, status, and affectional relationships necessary for stability and assimilation within their new homeland were denied them through prejudice and circumstance, further inhibiting their adjustment. Due to the transient nature of their jobs, they were unable to settle down and became involved in a cycle of transience within seasonal industries and developed the characteristics of migrant laborers. In summer they were canning salmon in Alaska, in fall harvesting apples in Washington and Oregon, and in winter living on savings, going to school and having "school boy" jobs or working in hotels or restaurants. Then, in spring, they were planting crops in California only to return to the canneries in the summer. Of these, domestic service at least offered some type of permanent, year-round employment. Although at times individuals became involved in other areas of employment, such as the merchant marine, Coast Guard, and railroading, Filipinos' occupations in those fields were once again as servants or menial laborers. For the great majority of Filipinos in the western states, life consisted of going from season to season, occupation to occupation, moving in and out of the Filipino community as they changed jobs.

White American Attitudes

Anti-Filipino feelings were manifested in racial disturbances throughout the West Coast in the ate 1920s and early 30s. Riots broke out in 1929 in Wenatchee and Yakima valley in Washington and the San Juaquin Valley in California. In early 1930 in Stockton, California, a Filipino club house was bombed and one man killed. More incidents occurred that year in San Francisco, Sonoma, Yuba, Butte, Sutter, Fresno, and San Bernadino counties, among others.

Although the incidences of physical abuse increased as the Great Depression settled on the country, to say that economic strife alone was to blame for the disturbances would be over simplification. The riot in Stockton, mentioned above, resulted when local residents became enraged over six white taxi-dancers working at a hall run by and for Filipinos. In determining to protect the sanctity of the white women, white men residing in the area attempted to storm the dance hall, failed, and turned their vengeance on a nearby Filipino club house, which resulted in the death of a young Filipino. Elsewhere, other seemingly inconsequential reasons precipitated disturbances, but they frequently involved white men upset over Filipinos in company with white women.

Racial prejudice and subtle discriminatory practices had existed long before the depression. Yet it is difficult to separate attitudes based on the increased economic strife from those of racial prejudice. When studies of the Filipino immigration were undertaken during the 1920s and 1930s the subtleties of racial prejudice were often disregarded or rationalized away, and economics was given either total or a large portion of the blame. But, the depression may have only added to or given justification for discrimination against the Filipinos which actually arose from latent racial animosity. Lasker noted this dual causation when discussing the demand for Filipino exclusion. "The active campaign in support of this measure is prompted by concern for an American standard of living and for 'race purity' -- both of them exceedingly vague and unsatisfactory terms, but roughly indicating feelings and desires that are shared by many millions of Americans in every part of the country."[5]

Lasker's definition, although it does consider the several causative factors, appears inadequate in its attribution of the degree and type of racial prejudice involved, especially

in the light of more recent interpretations of the phenomenon of prejudice and the experiences the Filipinos encountered (such as segregated housing, schooling, miscegenation laws, etc.). V. S. McClatchy, Secretary of the California Joint Immigration Committee, as quoted in Lasker, reflected the attitude of many West Coast residents in the early 1930s, an attitude which provides an example of rationalization of racial prejudice:

> There is a basic racial or biological difference which does not permit of assimilation or absorption of one race by the other, and therefore the presence in either country by large groups of the other race must create friction and possible international difficulty. The fault in such cases lies with neither race. The usual dislike of one race for another, frequently assumed to be purely a matter of prejudice, is perhaps really a wise provision of nature, acting as a safeguard against miscegenation.[6]

Racial prejudice was also reflected in the American Federation of Labor conventions in the late 1920s and early 1930s. The AFL, concerned over the economic well being of its members who faced a limited degree of competition from Filipinos, passed resolutions in six consecutive conventions calling for Philippine independence and the elimination of Filipino immigration. They based these resolutions on the grounds that Filipinos were a threat to the American standard of living and that "...the Filipinos cannot be assimilated with other people without creating a mongrel race."[7] This latter statement along with Lasker's interpretation of non-assimilability, reflects the concept of eugenics mentioned

earlier, which also was part of the web which formed the attitude towards Filipinos. Some people wanted, according to that viewpoint, the specific human qualities which they assumed were present in the people who created the nation perpetuated; the best Americans were thought to be the people who in the past had contributed the most to the country. Since Anglo-Saxons were the predominant stock establishing the nation, it was believed that they should remain the predominant controlling racial stock in the future.

During the years in which the United States had control of the Philippines, even the most reputable periodicals carried highly inflamatory, bigoted, xenophobic articles against Filipinos which painted untrue and adverse pictures of the Philippines and its people. In one such article a Filipino, who, "...has held high office under the Spanish Government, under Aguinaldo, and under the American administration",[8] reported:

> I have the highest patriotism,...because I love my country, though it has little of which I can be proud. We are still a dependent people. Spain brought us our religion, to which we have added nothing, nor have Filipinos attained high place in the Church...We have in Manila Spanish universities older than either Harvard or Yale. We have contributed nothing to education and no graduates are able to hold better than intermediate positions in the educational system America has introduced here. We have invented nothing, nor have we improved any of the foreign inventions we use. We build no ships. There is no Filipino merchant and no Filipino bank. The world has yet to

> know the Filipino painter, sculptor, or musician. We have produced one painter, Juan Luna, and a few distinguished lawvers, but we have no railroad builders, no engineers, no architects. Foreigners have done everything to develop art and literature here and to give us a standard of ideals, and they must continue to do so, for some time at least, if we are to continue to make progress in civilization.[9]

Such a statement read by the American public, especially when voiced by a Filipino, reflected negatively on Filipinos themselves rather than on the system which produced those conditions. The preponderance of articles concerning Filipinos published at that time reflect a racist, condescending, paternalistic attitude. Filipinos were accused of being ignorant, coolies, vain, unreliable, jungle folk with primitive moral codes who tended to interbreed with moronic white girls.[10] Even the nominal reference to Filipinos was one of subjugation. A Filipino man was referred to as a "boy", no matter what his age. This same term was adopted by the Pinoys to speak of themselves. One immigration historian notes: "...as in the case in the agitation against Chinese and Japanese immigration, hostility to the Filipinos was only part economic; the chief complaint related to his alleged immorality, criminality and unassimilability."[11]

A more recent interpretation of the attitude towards Filipinos was stated in a Filipino-American publication in 1972:

> ...to simply state that Filipino immigrants in the past were poor, illiterate, unaccustomed to American ways and worked

> as farm laborers and household servants says nothing about "why" or "how" such a situation developed. Consequently, it implies something negative about Filipinos rather than something negative about American society. For this reason, it is racist.[12]

The Legal Manifestation of Prejudice

Racist attitudes were more obviously demonstrated in social and legal sanctions which eliminated Filipinos from participation in the mainstream of American life. Their legal status was a mass of confusion and based on racial bias. (See Appendix I.) Due to the fact that they were racially categorized by the United States government as brown skinned people, they were not eligible for citizenship, yet they were not aliens.[13] As nationals or wards of the United States they owed allegiance to this country, could be called to serve in the armed forces, and paid all forms of taxes. At the same time they were denied basic civil rights and lacked representation in all forms of government. They could not vote nor run for public office, and in some states, they could not legally marry out of their racial group. Every area of their lives was affected. They could not buy a boat from or sell one to a citizen but could only do so with other Filipinos. Both fishing and hunting licenses were denied them. Moreover, in many states the Alien Land Law which denied aliens the right to own property was interpreted to include Filipinos in the restriction. This also meant that they could not homestead, which greatly affected those who had settled in Alaska. During the Great Depression the Relief Appropriation Act of 1937 gave preference of employment on work relief programs first to citizens then to aliens

who had filed for citizenship prior to enactment of the legislation. Since Filipinos had regarded themselves as national citizens they fully expected to be able to take advantage of these programs and had done so until 1937. Yet the law was interpreted to exclude Filipinos from eligibility for relief as they were neither citizens nor aliens -- and many, along with their dependents, were hard hit by the Great Depression due to their low social status. These people were left without any governmental assistance.

Socially, Filipinos were excluded from places of entertainment, restaurants, jobs, and even churches. Sociologist Emory Bogardus, interviewing Filipino immigrants in 1930 was told:

> During my active membership in the church, it always puzzled me to find that many members of the same church would converse with me congenially in the church, but when I met them in the streets or in school or later on in college, they acted as if ashamed to talk to me, even more so when they were with their friends. And when sometimes I talked to them in spite of their being with their friends, they looked embarrassed and indicated that I should not appear to be knowing them.[14]

While to sociologist, John H. Burma,

> Such discrimination has followed the usual pattern of social rejection, attitudes of superiority, difficulty in securing housing, difficulty in securing

> jobs above the labor category, refusal of service in cafes, segregation in movie balconies, being 'frozen out' of local or campus social activities, objection to Filipino-white dating. To these are added the individual slights and injustices which unpremeditatedly occur when one group feels itself superior to another.[15]

Also, Lasker noted a high degree of sensitivity among Filipinos to verbal abuse and profanity, both of which were taken as an attack on their personal honor, something misunderstood by Americans and which only added to the accusations thrown at Filipinos.[16]

Restaurants either posted signs in their windows which said "No Filipinos," or simply did not serve Filipinos if they entered. Rooms in reputable hotels or rooming houses were not available. In theaters, if Filipinos were allowed at all, they were forced to sit in a section apart from whites. In 1977 a Pinoy reminisced:

> I started going to school but I could feel the discrimination....I found out that Filipinos were not allowed to rent any [rooms in] hotels. They were refused admittance. And in the theaters we were segregated. In restaurants we were not served. To top it all, Filipinos were not allowed to own property or buy homes in the State of Washington during those years.[17]

As discussed earlier, employment was limited to low paying unskilled jobs no one else wanted. Here, competition, which might have been reason for prejudicial attitudes, was with other new immigrant groups and with racial minorities, not with whites. It was not until the Great Depression was at its worst that Filipinos found themselves in competition with whites forced into migrant labor. Even Filipinos who had been trained at some skill or profession in the Philippines or who had gained an education in the Unted States found the doors closed to them. Skill and education were not considered if one was a Filipino. One Pinoy related his experiences in securing employment.

> The only thing hard is the money. That's the only thing that's hard. To get a real good job, it's beyond us you know. You only get those little minor jobs here and there, domestic jobs, something like that...Sometimes a lot of the people that have businesses, would rather prefer their own kind. You can only work in all the local domestic jobs like the restaurant or in any minor work, something like that.[18]

Whether in the Philippines or in the United States, Filipinos were wards of the United States government. They had no political voice, and no powerful political figure or government to stand up for their rights. Filipinos were repeatedly passed over and manipulated. In instances where whites and Filipinos filled similar jobs, whites consistently were chosen to move up to the higher jobs while the Filipinos remained as unskilled labor.

Independence and Exclusion

The agitation for Filipino exclusion voiced by organized labor grew as the depression grew. Correspondingly, it became more and more closely aligned with the drive for Philippine independence. The West Coast race riots were seen as only solvable by granting Philippine independence and thus placing Philippine immigration under the quota system or eliminating it altogether. Earlier racial disturbances had been solved by the exclusion of both the Chinese and the Japanese. Many thought the same could be accomplished, but with more diplomatic grace in this instance, by granting independence to the Philippines. Grayson Kirk, political scientist, has noted this change in the exclusion drive.

> Labor leaders interested in exclusion soon reached the same conclusion as those who were determined to erect a tariff wall against the Philippine commodity imports, i.e., that no satisfaction could be obtained until or unless an independence act could be driven through Congress. It is not surprising, therefore, that organized labor joined forces with the agricultural groups to demand the enactment of legislation offering independence to the Philippines.[19]

Carey McWilliams, migrant labor historian, contends that it was the realization that Filipinos were not as docile as Mexican laborers, which prompted the California growers who had grown to be dependent on Filipinos to try to exclude them.[20] Submissive they were not. Nor were they ignorant savages as some believed. Fired with ideals of equality taught them in the Philippines under the United States flag,

they were reluctant to take their places as other minorities had -- Filipinos saw themselves equal with whites, not as a racial minority. In their attempt to be Americans they asserted this equality and were charged with being insolent. They revolted against the expected behavior that was defined for them by others and were charged with recalcitrance. As Burma elaborated:

> The crux of the most active and bitter discrimination and dislike seems to be the Filipino's refusal to accept his "place" as an inferior. He typically considers himself white, with all the prerequisites thereto appertaining in our culture...his pride and sensitivity will not permit him to passively assume the role of an inferior as did the Chinese coolie a generation or two before him. Most "incidents" seem to stem from the Filipino's conviction that he is as good as any one else, and his consequent behavior.[21]

Although Filipinos lacked political power, they used what means available to voice their opposition to exclusion while at the same time supported independence for the Philippines. The Filipino-American press was their main outlet along with written communication with anyone who would listen. Yet the press had limited effect beyond giving moral support to the Pinoys and providing a means for voicing their opinions. Support also came from a number of legislators, including Senator Norris of Nebraska.

> It seems to me that it is inconsistent with every policy and with every funda-

> mental principle which has underlaid our government from the days of the Revolution down to the present hour. I can not understand possibly how on the one hand we can hold them in subjection, as it were, and on the other hand deny to them the freedom of travel (speaking here of entry into the United States) which we extend to everybody else.[22]

So, the Filipinos counted on the American system under which they had been educated and in which they believed. "We did not resort to violence. We wrote letters. We thought that the pen would suffice to convince people that all we were asking was a square deal."[23]

Finally, in 1934, the Tydings-McDuffie Act was passed. The act raised the Philippines from the status of a colony to a commonwealth with an elected president. It was to remain under the American flag until July 4, 1946 when it would become a free and independent nation. Resident citizens of the Philippines were to be considered aliens of the United States and the new commonwealth would be given an immigration quota of fifty. But this act left Filipino residents of the United States in limbo. While it still demanded the allegiance of Filipino-Americans, it denied them the civil rights and privileges of citizens. Both United States and Filipino opposition was raised.

> ...It is neither right for a country to force a citizen of another country to owe allegiance to it and at the same time withhold from him the privileges of citizenship, nor just to expect allegiance from anyone who may be considered an alien.[24]

Repatriation

For those who wanted complete exclusion, only the first step had been taken. The limitation of immigration resulting from the Tydings-McDuffie Act was not comprehensive enough for some. They wanted those Filipinos already residing in the United States to be returned to the Philippines to completely eliminate the Filipino problem. It was believed that since many Filipinos were economically disabled because of the Great Depression, they would also be unable to pay for passage, and thus were stranded in the United States and were still competing with United States citizens for the few jobs available. Therefore, a solution was seen in the provision of free passage to those who wanted to return to the islands. On July 11, 1935, President Roosevelt signed HR6474, which provided such free transportation. A train would travel across the country to pick up Filipinos who wanted to return. From West Coast ports, Filipinos would be provided space on military vessels sailing to Manila. All expenses would be born by the United States government. The Repatriation Act, as it was commonly called, was to expire on December 31, 1936 and was open to non-United States citizens and their families. Any people taking advantage of the act were not eligible for re-entry except as quota immigrants. Yet, as the train crossed the country only sixty-seven Filipinos boarded when thousands had been expected. At the ports the same lack of interest was found. The Filipino-American newspapers filled their pages with editorials and articles concerning repatriation. One read: "...it is no disgrace to return home on an army or navy transport. It is just a Christmas gift of the United States government to the people of the Philippines."[25]

Although the expiration date was extended, only one in forty took advantage of repatriation.[26] Why did they not return?

It was the accepted opinion of many that Filipinos only considered themselves temporarily in the United States and fully intended to return to the Philippines some day. Why not take advantage of the free transportation? McWilliams wrote in 1936 that repatriation failed for several reasons. One, the men were just beginning to establish themselves economically. Two, economic conditions in the Philippines were not good; and three, within five days after arrival in the islands all males under thirty had to report for military service.[27] Emotional ties to the American families established by some of the Pinoys must also be considered. Not many men wanted to break away from the family life so difficult to obtain and so dear to them. Also, a few wives that had returned with their husbands to the Philippines previously, had found difficulty in adjusting to the Filipino society and standard of living. Many found themselves unaccepted by their husbands' families, alone, and destitute. For most Filipinos, life in America, even with all its problems, was, at the time, still more attractive than life back in the Philippines.

Another consideration which had affected the choice of some who may have wanted to return either prior to, or with the passage of the Repatriation Act, was pride. Burma found that some Filipinos were reluctant to return to the islands because, "...they are failures in their own eyes, and their pride will not permit them to return home until that failure has become success."[28] Yet, a number did choose to return to the islands, each for his own reason. One who left wrote to a friend who remained in the United States.

> I have observed enough of the "Pinoy" situation among the "son-of-a-bitch" whites -- so I thought it better and safer to be home with rice and fish in preference than with bread and butter and

> being treated by the "high noses" as their underlings. I don't know why, but I feel bitter in my heart to force myself to go through school at the expense of my race prestige.[29]

Filipino Adjustment to American Society

Burma has defined Filipino adjustment to their adopted land as acculturation rather than assimilation.[30] Acculturation is to become adjusted to rather than a part of a culture. The treatment Filipinos were accorded did not go unnoticed and inhibited assimilation. But at the same time, contact with American culture, which had begun in the Philippines, led to rapid acculturation. This did little to help the Filipinos, however. The overt discrimination, the violence, and the "unpremeditated slights and injuries" had their effect.[31]

One effect was disillusionment. Disillusionment hit both those who returned to the Philippines and those who remained. A Filipino author complained, "America came to us with bright-winged promises of liberty, equality, fraternity. What has become of them?"[32] Disorganized and naive, Filipinos had little chance to extricate themselves from the system that had developed.

Another effect was the tendency to seek refuge in the Filipino community as a means of survival. The neighborhood gambling halls and dance halls offered solace not found elsewhere, and camaraderie was available in many forms. Social and benevolent organizations representing various provinces in the Philippines formed to help alleviate estrangement and homesickness. The Cabaleros de Mas Alang, the university

The camaradrie experienced by Filipino cannery workers helped assuage the difficulties they faced. Here a group of cannery workers pose for the camera at Alitak, Alaska in 1937.

(Photo credit: Seattle, University of Washington Manuscripts Collection, Buyagawan Papers.)

Filipino clubs, the alumni associations, the Santa Maria Organization, the Bauanginian Association, the Rizal Club, the Manila Club, the Filipino Social Improvement Club, and many others, all with various intents, were found throughout the West Coast, wherever there was a Filipino community. These clubs performed social service functions and were fraternal organizations aimed at unity and reinforcement of Philippine values. They not only provided a source with which Filipinos could identify, but provided an organ from which to work for improvement of the Pinoys' status. The clubs were a means of fighting discrimination and also gave individuals an opportunity to exercise leadership and find status. Writing of the service such clubs provided, a Filipino-American newspaper commented:

> Wandering around like birds of passage, aimless and purposeless, with hopes and ambitions lost the Filipino in the U.S. needs something -- anything -- to remind [him] that 7,000 miles across the Pacific there are still people who care...He needs something to remind him that there are still other things in life that are beautiful, things that are worth living for. He needs something to remind him that the philosophy of "bahala na" ["let it be" or "don't bother with it"] is a philosophy of defeatism and as such is to be shunned.[33]

Unity, however, was not dominant. These organizations often promoted provincial allegiance and resulted in factionalism and power struggles within the Filipino-American community. At a time when unity was necessary, divisiveness occurred. At a time when the Filipinos needed to save their money it

often was squandered in gambling, on fancy clothes, and on impressing women. They seemed to many to be doing the exact opposite of what was necessary to ameliorate their situation and only reinforced the criticism coming from the white community. Yet, some of the strongest criticism came from within the Filipino community itself. In an article in a Seattle Filipino newspaper, Simon D. Arroyo despaired of the Filipinos' lifestyle. "Filipinos abroad are not contributing towards making a solid Filipino community in America. Instead, they are contributing much to the gradual proliferating excrescences and irrelevance of America's Chinatown, which is sadly a grandiose Oriental pretension."[34] For, many of the clubs were no more than fronts for the extortion of the padrino system or were concerned mainly with gambling. Other criticisms of the Filipino organizations were that they reinforced the sense of regionalism and the patronage found in the padrino system, did nothing to develop a sense of nationalism, and increased economic dependency rather than self sufficiency.

Yet, the Filipino organizations were a refuge from the same discrimination and alienation that caused their formation. Speaking of how he would explain to people in the Philippines what the Filipino Social Improvement Club was, one Pinoy wrote "...and my truthful answer would explain to her the pitiful realism of Filipino life in America."[35] That "pitiful realism" was the migrant lifestyle -- deprived of family life and constructive experiences, trapped in low paying, menial jobs, forced to live in slum areas where they were "exposed to direct contact with all that is undesirable in American life", vice, crime, poverty, filth, superficial values, with little hope for an improved future.[36] A lifestyle that was attributed by others to being inherent within the Filipinos themselves.

The third effect contends that as prejudice eliminated the possibility of becoming socialized through what Catapusan termed the "finer" American traits, the Filipinos were forced to learn American values through movies, cheap magazines, and radios.[37] The prejudice they encountered forced them to construct a new self-image as a racial minority, an image with all the appertinent expected behavior traits, i.e. meekness, non-competitiveness, etc. The Filipinos had to adjust their expectations to what achievements were available to them in the United States, and were expected to adjust their behavior to that which the public presumed of Filipinos. Thus, in the acculturation process, they often adopted those superficial values to which they were exposed. Some became flashy dressers, fast spenders, gamblers, transients, causing further criticism from the whites.

How did the Filipinos view themselves in this situation? They were at first confused by the difference between the reality and the philosophy of American values. They did not see themselves as a minority, yet were treated as one. Their inability to achieve destroyed the pride of many. Their self concept was further weakened by being forced to associate with the less reputable elements of white society and by being seen and treated as menial laborers. The years of disillusionment are seen in a poem by writer Carlos Bulosan.

> All of it was anxiety. All the years that passed.
> And I am still facing a greater anxiety;
> The promised happiness that never came to me.
> Ten years for me and twelve for you, and that other,
> The other younger brother who could not find himself,
> Fifteen years -- and he was only a child when he came.
> But we are still here burning with a thousand fevers,
> Though now more discerning, the enemy close at hand.[38]

To save their pride and attain some sense of achievement they were forced to re-identify with Filipino values through the Filipino community and its organizations, raising criticism from the whites as being un-American and un-assimilable. A vicious cycle developed.

Yet, all did not feel nor suffer from discrimination and others were able to rise above it and attack it. Some Pinoys found haven in smaller towns where they, as a few Filipinos among hundreds of whites, were less of a threat. Assuming a less conspicuous position, they did not draw attention to themselves, a small number married and settled down. Some, whose physical characteristics did not appear to be Filipino found few problems in living in white society. Some moved to the East Coast where they were also absorbed in numbers. Others settled in Alaska. In such instances, the ability to communicate more freely with the white community on a one-to-one basis lessened discrimination.

Marriage

Establishment of a stable existence through marriage and the raising of a family was another method of fighting discrimination, yet at the same time it revealed other prejudices and opened new areas of contention with the white society.

Lack of Filipinas, prejudicial attitudes, and the transient lifestyle of the Filipinos prevented most of them from having normal family lives. Although the majority of immigrants were single males, a limited number married while in the United States. Some had wives in the islands, and many planned on returning at least temporarily to the Philippines to marry a Filipina. Although family relationships were important to them, few alternatives were available. As a

negligible number of Filipinas had emigrated and social sanctions prevented Filipinos from becoming acquainted with most American women, they were often forced to either find solace in the taxi-dancers or to be hounded by prostitutes. Many Filipinos had a reputation of being lavish spenders -- when they had money. They treated women well, as Lasker noted, no matter what their station, and this chivalry was appreciated.

> Particularly interesting in this connection is the case of the taxi-dancers in Los Angeles. These are very largely girls who have been attracted to Southern California from all over the country by the desire to become movie stars. Unadjusted at home, run-away, lonely and penniless, they adopt a profession which is always open to attractive girls. In these dance-halls, many patrons treat them on the assumption that they are 'bad.' But the Filipino, in a situation himself that is not very different, behaves both sympathetically and generously -- often with dire results for both boy and girl.[39]

The "dire" results could be of several types. Some of these relationships ended in tragedy for Filipinos as they were fleeced of all they had, then deserted by the women. Or, a couple in hope of marrying found themselves trapped by miscegenation laws.[40]

Often, the laxity of American women in developing relationships compared with women in the Philippines was seen as license by the Filipinos. Simple friendliness was interpreted to mean much more and encouraged advancements. This

led to charges that Filipinos were sexually aggressive. Burma suggested that the lack of women in the Filipinos' lives caused Filipinos to flaunt themselves when women were available, which resulted in negative responses from white men.[41] This was further complicated by the Filipinos' view of themselves as equal to whites and the whites' view of Filipinos as "uppity" immigrants. It was only in Washington and Alaska that Filipinos could have a normal family life -- provided the economic situation allowed them to settle down in one place.

CHAPTER VI

THE CONTRACT LABOR SYSTEM

Background

Yet another aspect of life in American society further influenced Filipinos: The contract labor system -- the bane of many Filipinos. The system began during the nineteenth century with the use of Chinese laborers in the building of railroads, in agriculture, and in fish canneries in Oregon, Washington, Alaska, and Canada. Many Chinese immigrants had secured passage to the United States through high-interest loans from a group of Chinese entrepreneurs, the Chinese Six Companies. Once in the United States, immigrants worked at whatever jobs they could find to support themeselves and to pay back their debts to the Six Companies. Often, the companies, through locally established agents, found jobs for their debtors and hired them out in groups to employers. The company agents worked as intermediaries between laborers and employers and were the first Chinese labor contractors. Other Chinese immigrants who were not bound to the Six Companies were also hired by businessmen either in groups or individually. In both instances, although the Chinese proved able workers, problems arose in communication between employer and employees due to the workers' scanty knowledge of English and their ignorance of American culture. Frequently one person more proficient in English was given responsibility for the workers and was placed in charge of the men as foreman. This was an advantageous position for it paid a higher salary and placed a man in the role of leader of his peers. As the demand for inexpensive labor increased, other enterprising Chinese not connected with the Six Companies established themselves as labor contractors. Some of these

had first been foremen who took advantage of their experiences and leadership positions among their countrymen and had managed to accumulate sufficient capital to supply a crew with food and pay advances.

Labor contractors competed with one another for contracts with United States and Canadian businessmen to provide groups of laborers for specific tasks, i.e., to pick hops, cut lettuce, dig a railroad tunnel, can salmon, etc. The contractors then hired their ethnic brothers to fill the contract specifications and sent them to work for the employers. Although at first this arrangement was based on handshakes and verbal agreements, gradually, a written contractual system was established between employer and contractor and between contractor and laborer. Labor contractors' offices appeared in most West Coast port cities and employment centers. New immigrants quickly learned where to go to find work.

The formalized system worked as follows. Employers dealt with independent agents, the labor contractors, who supplied and controlled labor. Payment for the laborers was made to the agent by the employer based on a minimum amount of work the laborers would produce. In turn, the agent paid the laborers either by piece work or on a seasonal, monthly, or hourly basis in a lump sum upon completion of the contracted period for the work accomplished. Deductions were made from the workers wage if they did not produce as specified in the contract. They also received bonuses if they surpassed the contract.

This system was particularly beneficial to industries that needed large and varying numbers of workers on a seasonal basis because the responsibility for completion of the contract was placed on the laborers themselves. Contractors could control large numbers of men and have them available

when needed. It was their responsibility to see that enough men were available, to discipline or dismiss workers, and to provide a subsistence living for them while under contract. Sometimes contractors were even responsible for the workers' housing and food. This system allowed the employer to be free of seasonal labor problems.

With the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 eliminating further Chinese immigration, along with the move of some workers into other fields of endeavor, the numbers of available Chinese diminished. They were quickly replaced by the Japanese who, as mentioned earlier, had begun emigrating to the United States at the end of the nineteenth century. Both groups provided the inexpensive and basically docile labor that was necessary for the expansion of the West Coast's agri-business and fish canneries. Accustomed to a relatively meager existence in their homeland, they worked for low wages and under conditions which white Americans would not tolerate. They, as other immigrant groups had, provided the mass of unskilled labor needed in expanding American capitalism, while older immigrant groups moved up into semi-skilled jobs. The Oriental workers, unlike the white immigrants, did not have promotion opportunities due to the racial prejudice prevalent at the time. Rather, the non-Asian immigrants were able to enter new areas of enterprise or became involved in industries serving their own.

Many Japanese, as had the earlier Chinese, saved and worked their way into enterprises of their own. Then, after the 1907 exclusion, new Japanese immigrants were not available to fill the ranks of laborers. Increasingly, labor contractors began using other immigrant groups such as Mexicans, Hawaiians, Puerto Ricans, Koreans, and Filipinos, along with Blacks to fill out the contracts.

Recruiting Workers

If not openly recruited in the Philippines, Filipinos entering the United States for the first time might find a labor contractor greeting them at the dock with a smile of friendliness to his "countrymen" with a labor contract in hand, certainly a welcome sight.[1] If it were spring, the contracts would be for planting crops in California, Oregon, Washington, or Utah; summer, for working in a salmon cannery in Oregon, Washington, British Columbia, or Alaska. In the fall the contracts were for harvesting the crops planted that spring.

Meeting new immigrants at the ships enabled contractors to take advantage of the men's inexperience and naiveté. Not knowing what their labor was worth in the United States, being accustomed to Philippine standards, anxious to begin their new life, and with implicit trust in the United States, Filipinos often found themselves tied to a contract offering only the most meagre wages under near intolerable conditions. Lasker quoted a 1925 California report which notes of the men hired for Alaskan canneries: "They are induced to sign contracts which they do not understand and which bind them to hard labor and unfair working conditions for a period of six months. They are always preyed upon by labor contractors and merchants who exploit the ignorance of these workers for their own selfish uses."[2]

If Filipinos were not met at the dock, they could be assured of being contracted by contractors at local hotels. In the spring and fall the contractors' offices, scattered throughout the Filipino districts, were busy places, signing workers for fields and canneries. Or, Filipinos might meet contractors in another way. Shanghaiing did occur. Occasionally United States seamen serving on the transports operating out

of West Coast ports befriended new immigrants only to lure them onto a northbound vessel for payment of a head fee by a contractor. Or, contractors themselves did the shanghaiing. In at least one instance, guards were placed on board ship to prevent the "Orientals" from deserting.[3] Yet, the degree to which this type of recruiting occurred is uncertain.

The System at Work

The contract system had gross injustices built into it. Some new immigrants found themselves one day in the United States and on board a ship the next on the way to a cold and dismal six months in Alaska, or picking hops in Washington for ten cents a pound with little but rice to eat and living in a tarpaper shack with no floor, plumbing, or heating. The contractors made their profits on the difference between the actual labor cost and the cost they had estimated while biding for the contract. Therefore, they scrimped on provisions for the laborers to their own benefit. Some contractors subcontracted to other firms and arranged for the laborers to purchase high priced clothing or other necessary supplies such as rubber boots and waders, heavy winter clothing, or blankets from the contractors' friends. Thus, both contractors and merchants benefitted by exploiting the laborers' need for jobs. Often, workers found themselves in debt to the contractors for a season's wage even before the season began. Some smaller contractors skipped out at the end of the season with the payroll. The laborers, after working a whole season would find themselves without pay for their work. One Pinoy recalled:

> ...they had restaurants, they give you a meal ticket -- they write it down in the

> book. They had stores, where you can buy shoes and things you need, so that when you went to Alaska under the contract system, before you even left the port you were already overdrawn. And...in the early days they could work you as long as they wanted to with no overtime. And then, when you get to the cannery, tney got you every which way. They had their own stores in the rooms, so that when they fed you fish in the morning, at night, naturally you couldn't stomach it, you go hungry. And they ordered the cooks to close the kitchen...after meal hours so that when you get hungry about 8-9 o'clock, you forced to go to the store and buy some chocolate perhaps, cracker-jack, pilot bread, bread and jam, or whatnot, keep it in your room. So they got you both coming and going. You had no escape. You have to pay whatever they ask.[4]

The fact that the contractors usually were of the same ethnic group had no effect on their manipulation of the laborers. Contractors had control over who would and who wouldn't work, where they would work, and what their salary would be. Better friends got better jobs. The patronage of influential friends was constantly sought to procure jobs in an extension of padrino system established in the Philippines. All that was needed to be a contractor were contracts and a small amount of capital for the pre-season advances. Sometimes local farmers would lend a person the capital to begin business in return for a dependable source of labor. This meant

anyone with a little initiative could become a contractor -- often the most unscrupulous did. Considering that contractors in 1921 charged 61¢ per case of canned salmon and each cannery might pack 50,000 cases or more,[5] the possible profit margin is obvious even without commissions taken for gambling and other spurious activities.

During the fifty-odd years between 1880-1937, agriculture and fish cannery contractors sprung up in many West Coast cities. Some of the contractors operated out of San Francisco, Sacramento, or Stockton, California such as Hong Yick and Company, Chew Bun and Company, Young Fong and Company, and Chee Chong and Company, while Kwong Mun Yuen and Company, the Manila Company, the Philippine Investment Company, and Kwong Yick Lung and Company were among the major labor contracting firms. Some had offices in several cities.

Sometimes contractors only supplied workers to one company, such as Mrs. Valeriano Laigo the only woman Filipino labor contractor operating out of Seattle, who supplied workers for the cannery at Tenakee. Others, such as Pio de Cano, operating the Manila Company, the largest Filipino contractor in Seattle, supplied men to numerous canneries and farms. A social leader in the Seattle Filipino community, de Cano entertained Philippine dignitaries such as Carlos Romulo, Philippine statesman and President of the United Nations in 1949, and Manual Roxas, first president of the Philippine Republic. De Cano, by backing a Filipino-American newspaper, promoted and defended his contracting business from rising unionism in the mid-thirties. In Alaska, Pedro Santos, operating out of Ketchikan provided workers for fourteen Alaskan canneries. Alaskan businessmen tried to get into the contracting business, also. In 1919, John B. Marshall, Juneau attorney, tried to interest cannery operators in his plan to represent some of "...the most intelligent, industrious, and

reliable among the Filipino cannery workers", for more extensive employment.[6]

Rationalization of the System

If the contract system was so detrimental to the advancement of the laborers, why did it succeed for so long? One reason is that servile labor was beneficial both to the growth of the West Coast agri-business and to salmon canneries. The California economy was based on the development of specialty crops that could be produced more inexpensively with such labor. In 1909, the California State Legislature, under the direction of the State Labor Commissioner, investigated the contract system and reported that coolie-type labor was considered necessary for the California farmer and was the best labor available because it was capable of independent subsistence, was both quickly mobilized and submissive to dismissal, and entailed no responsibility upon the employer for continuous employment. It was also the cheapest available. The Legislature, therefore, recommended that it be continued in order to avoid an "economic readjustment" within California industry.[7] The salmon canneries had the same labor specifications. The 1915 Washington Bureau of Labor Report on salmon canneries noted that the variability of the salmon run and the cannerymen's desire to be free from labor difficulties forced the dependence on the contract labor system.[8] Thus, the employers' desires became the standard for good labor and defined what was necessary.

The nature of the labor itself was another determinant of the contract labor system. Neither the Washington nor the California reports offered judgment as to the degree to which the characteristics of the Filipino, Mexican, or Oriental workers had on the contractual system. Orosa, however, saw the ini-

tial use of the contract labor system in Alaskan canneries as a result of two factors; the nature of the business, i.e., the pressure to get a catch of an unknown quantity packed as quickly as possible; and secondly, what be termed the "meek, yielding, and dependable" nature of the Orientals and those that followed them which allowed them to be treated in such a manner.[9] This raises several questions. Did the nationality of a group of laborers matter as long as they retained servile qualities or could be placed in a servile position? Would a submissive nature attributed to one group of people inevitably result in their being exploited by employers? Was there some inherent trait in the Filipino, Mexican, Oriental or non-white laborers that would lead them to be easily abused by employers?

In seeking explanation of this system, another point should be raised. A group's position within an economic and social structure may force its members to accept exploitation. It appears that the previous explanations overlook the pressure put on some workers due to the unavailability of alternative employment. The prevailing definition of labor in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century depicted labor as an expendable commodity. Prejudice closed many areas of employment to new immigrants and forced them to accept whatever work was available. The migrant workers were pawns. They were compared to other available workers on the basis of how well their physical and psychological attributes contributed to a profitable operation and how well they accepted the conditions set by employers. As long as the dominant business community felt itself in control of the situation, and as long as the system kept competition limited to equally powerless and nonvocal groups, no reason existed to think of the laborers as anything but a material commodity.

It appears that it was the combination of the nature of the business, the personality of the laborers, the prevailing societal attitude towards labor, and the social and economic status of the new immigrants that resulted in the continuation of the contract labor system. Let one of these aspects be eliminated or altered and the system would collapse, e.g. ultimately, a change in attitude towards labor and an emergence of a militant personality caused the collapse of the contract labor system in the Alaska salmon canneries. Just how the contract system operated in that industry will be discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER VII

FILIPINOS AND THE ALASKAN CANNED SALMON INDUSTRY

Enroute to Alaska

As with so many others, opportunity for employment and adventure first brought Filipinos to Alaska. The journey was often begun optimistically. One example is shown in these diary entries from Filipino Victorio Valasco.

> June 13, 1924 -- Friday
> Went to Florence Theater. Bought a ball. Prepared for Alaska. Left Seattle for Alaska about 7:30 p.m. Boarded the SS Colshun. Slept during the night without pillow and blankets or mats.
> June 14, 1924 -- Saturday
> Arrived at Bellingham about 7:00 a.m. Took my breakfast in a little restaurant where the waiter was a nice lady. Did not take a walk downtown for fear of missing the boat. Started for Alaska about 2:00 p.m. boarding the steamer SS Norwood. Passed between mountains. Had a fine meal and peaceful night as the boat did not rock much.
> June 21, 1924 -- Saturday Alaskan Waters
> The boat stopped rocking. Woke up about 3:30 a.m. Went to deck and did not return to the bed anymore. It was yet 3:30 a.m., but the sun was already peeping in the snow cap mountains. Worked in the ship unloading salmon cans, at 75¢ an hour.

America to work. Worked exactly ten hours. Donning the overall for the first time in my life, handling the wheelbarrow, and carrying salmon boxes, was a thrill and an unforgettable experience...

June 22, 1924 -- Sunday

Received my first earned dollars in America. Received $7.50 for working ten hours the other day. Was laughing at the easy job and easy money. $7.50 for working 10 hours. In the Philippines it takes a month for a policeman to earn what I did for barely 10 hours easy work. Such is the better prospect of life in this beautiful country. Sailed for Nellie Juan Cannery about 10:00 a.m. Arrived at cannery.... Worked until midnight. Noticed for the first time that it never gets dark in Alaska.(1)

Victorio Valasco's first trip was uneventful, not all were so.(2) Dependent upon the winds, a ship could lay idle in the water for days with nothing to do but wait. It could also be forced to seek refuge from a raging storm in a cove and again sit and wait. Or, it might have ended its career as did hundreds of ships in Alaska's history, in wreckage and loss.

Alex Carillo of Juneau remembers the wreck of the SS Aleutian off Amook Island, Uyak Bay, Kodiak Island, on May 26, 1929.

It was dark already...boy, it was cold, the water was too cold. It was five or six o'clock because they are already fixing breakfast when we hit the rock. There was a woman that had jumped in the water.

Seattle, dropping workers off at the canneries as they went. The Aleutian hit a large, uncharted rock, the hull tearing as the ship bounced and scraped along the rock's edge. Water came gushing down a passageway, and Carillo jumped for a ladder next to his bunk and pulled himself up on deck. By the time he got on deck the ship was tilted at a sharp angle, and he had to use the rail to move along the deck towards the lifeboats. He began to let down a lifeboat with the help of another but since the men were unfamiliar with the workings, it crashed into the water. Carillo jumped overboard into another lifeboat as the ship listed further.[3] It sank in seven minutes. The passengers and crew, most dressed only in underwear or night clothes, waited in lifeboats until the cannery tender, Raven arrived. The Raven took them to the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey vessel, the Surveyor which transported the survivors to Larsen Bay. The ship was a total loss. Valued at $1,500,000, it was on its twenty-fifth voyage to Alaska. Although only one life was lost, the experience was a chilling one for the rest of the passengers and crew.

Between 1878 when the first cannery opened in Alaska and the sinking of the Aleutian, hundreds of ship wrecks occurred in Alaskan waters. The large square riggers and the later steamers that plied Alaskan waters are part of Pacific maritime history. Some, such as the Aleutian, ~~the Star of Russia~~, the Star of Bengal, and the Mariposa went to watery graveyards. Others, such as the Star of Finland which was sold, resold, and eventually was shoved to rot on a beach in the Philippines, ended their careers less dramatically.

Although the journeys as described above were not typical of all voyages north, they were examples of how turbulent sailing in Alaskan waters could be. Yet, the ships and crews were well accustomed to the dangers involved, as they had been coming north for many years.

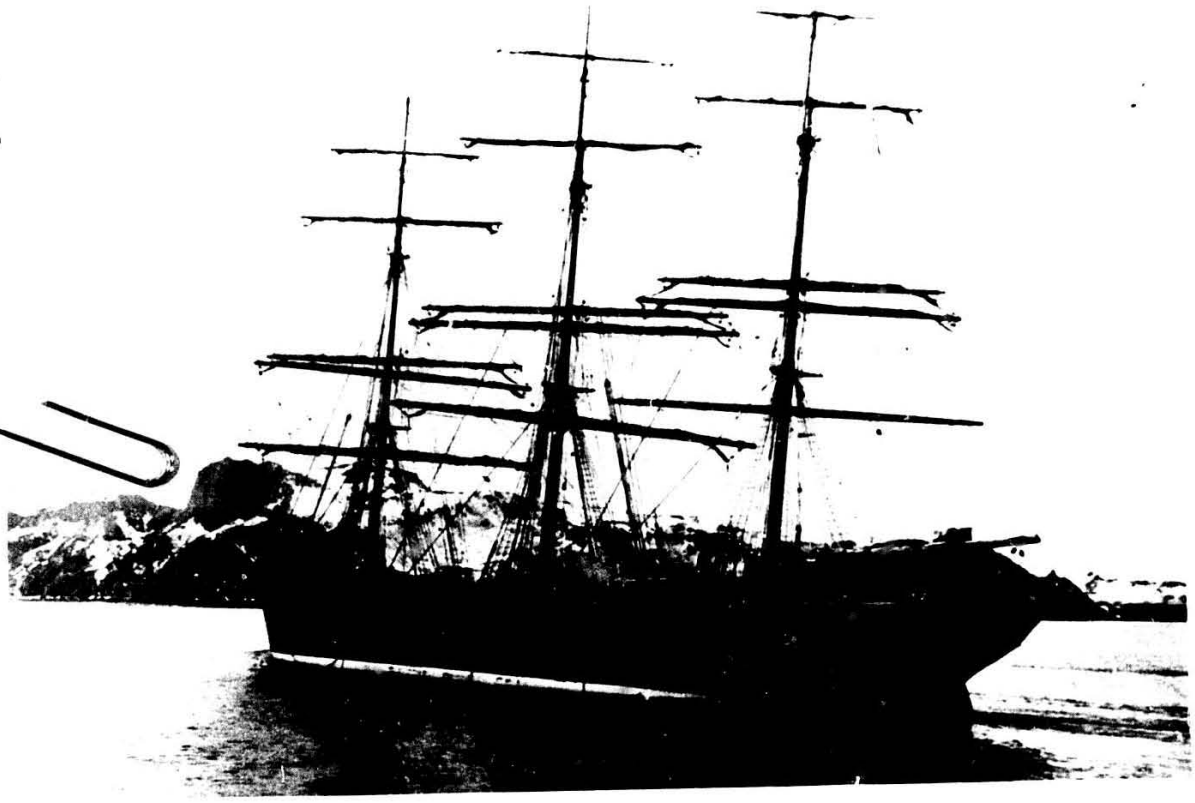
no apostrophe

BALCLUTHA

Cannery crews arrived in Alaska in ships owned by the cannery operators. This steel-hulled square rigger, the Star of Alaska, was one of the Great Star Fleet, owned and operated by the Alaska Packers' Association, which plied Alaskan waters with her sixteen sister ships. The Star of Alaska, also known as the ~~Balcutha~~, has been restored through the efforts of the San Francisco Maritime Museum and lays at anchor at the dock in San Francisco, her ~~tweendecks~~ converted into a musuem.

(Photo credit: Juneau, Alaska Historical Library, Clyda Schott Greely Collection.)

'twee n decks

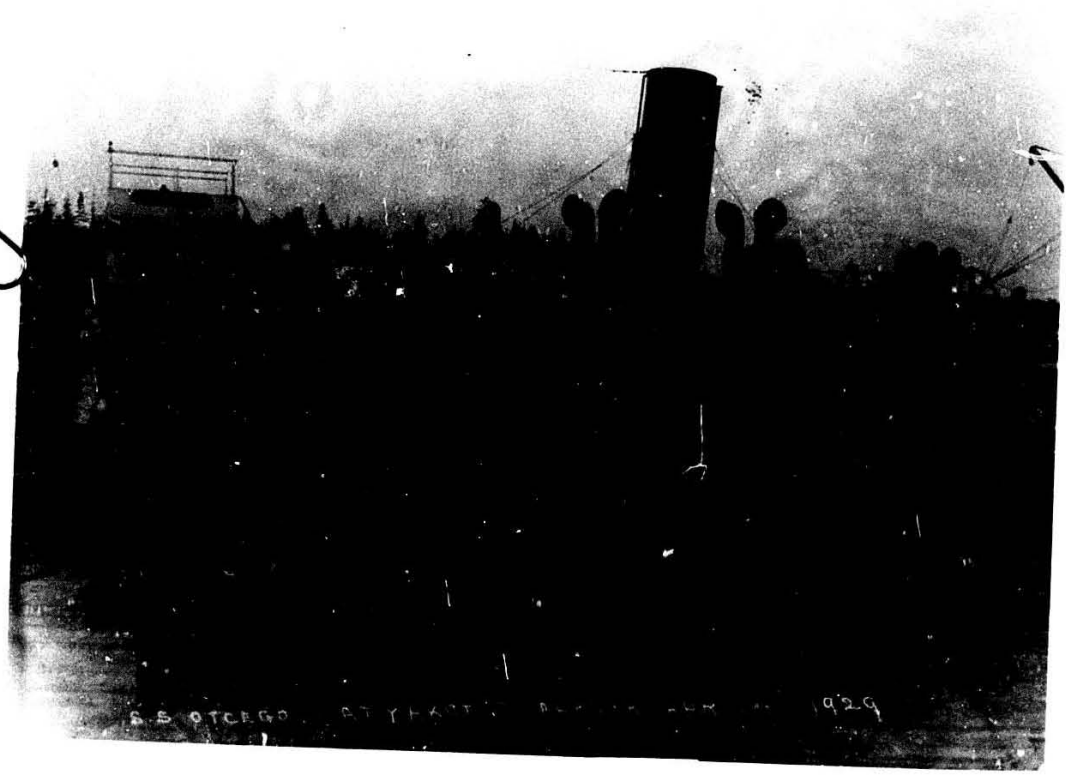


Cannery crews arrived in Alaska in ships owned by the cannery operators. This steel-hulled square rigger, the Star of Alaska, was one of the Great Star Fleet, owned and operated by the Alaska Packers' Association, which plied Alaskan waters with her sixteen sister ships. The Star of Alaska, also known as the Balcutha, has been restored through the efforts of the San Francisco Maritime Museum and lays at anchor at the dock in San Francisco, her tweendecks converted into a musuem.

(Photo credit: Juneau, Alaska Historical Library, Clyda Schott Greely Collection.)

In later years, cannery crews arrived in Alaska on Steamships. The Otsego was owned and operated by Libby Mc Niel and Libby, a large salmon canning firm. She is pictured here at Yakutat Alaska in April of 1929.

(Photo credit: Juneau, Alaska Historical Library.)



Development of the Industry

Salmon had been canned on the Pacific Coast since 1864 when Andrew S. Hapgood and G.W. and William Hume set up their salmon cannery on the Sacramento River in Northern California to process fish from that river. As the venture proved profitable, and as fish became fewer, enterprising businessmen looked farther north for more salmon.

Originally, Alaska Natives harvested salmon from Alaskan waters by use of the dip net, squaw net, wicker trap, and by trolling, bow and arrow, and spear and gaff. They dried the fish for winter usage. Salting and drying of salmon was practiced by the Russians and later by American settlers. Eventually salteries were established in Alaska. The salted salmon was shipped to markets throughout the country and overseas. But it was not until 1878 that the canning process was brought to Alaska for use in the salmon industry. In that year, a cannery built on the site of an old saltery at Klawock by the North Pacific Trading and Packing Company packed 7,000 cases of salmon. Another cannery was built that same year at Old Sitka on Baranof Island by the Cutting Packing Company, but it only operated two years.

Thus was the beginning of the salmon industry in Alaska. Ten years later seventeen canneries had been built. Their success and an increased demand for their product resulted in a proliferation of canneries. During the first twenty years of the industry canneries were built on many of the major and minor salmon estuaries in Alaska until, by 1898, thirty had been established. Their combined output for that year was 965,097 cases.[4]

From Prince of Wales Island in Southeast Alaska to Unimak island on the Aleutian Chain to Norton Sound in the North-

west, every spring and summer brought runs of millions of salmon; the sockeye, pink, chum, coho, and chinook. The largest salmon rivers were the Yukon, Kuskokwim, Togiak, Nushagak, Kvichak, Naknek, Ugaguk, Ugashik, Chignik, Karluk, Alitak, Kusilof, Susitna, Copper, Angklow, Situk, Alsek, Chilkat, Chilkoot, Taku, Stikine, and Unuk, but salmon ran up thousands of rivers and streams scattered along the Alaska coast. On rivers' estuaries, up and down their shores, in bays, inlets, and on capes, anywhere in proximity to the migrating hordes of salmon, canneries were built. They were built at Egegik, Nushagak, Naknek, False Pass, Port Moller, Alitak, Chignik, Kodiak, Kenai, Orca, Loring, Petersburg, Wrangell, Metlakatla, Klawock, Ketchikan, and many other places. Some were built where men had not lived before, others were in association with established communities or Native villages or were the catalyst for the establishment of new communities.

Periodically, cannery proliferation would cause a glut on the market, lowering profits and leaving a large unsold salmon pack. In order to alleviate this situation, various individual canneries consolidated into large corporate enterprises, regulating the amount of the pack and operating only part of the canneries involved, thus lowering overhead. The first and largest such consolidation that eventually led to near monopolistic control of the industry began in 1891 when several canneries temporarily joined to sell the season's unsold salmon pack. The next year, thirty-one of the canneries then operating in Alaska formalized this agreement and joined to form the Alaska Packing Association. Six canneries remained independent. The Alaska Packing Association operated only nine of their thirty-one canneries that year and closed the rest. The Association, found to be effective, incorporated in 1893 with all but two of the thirty-one canneries joining to form the Alaska Packers Association.[5] The APA as it was

known, operated thirteen canneries that year and one year later, contributed nearly seventy-two percent of the pack[6] controlling the major portion of the salmon industry.

The period between 1914 and 1918 saw another large increase in the number of canneries when fifty-three new canneries were opened, an increase of over sixty percent. Other large corporations such as Libby, McNeill [redacted] and Libby, Pacific American Fisheries, and Nakat Packing Company (A & P) became involved in the industry, each operating numerous canneries. Many smaller companies such as the Independent Salmon Canneries, Inc., and San Juan Fishing and Packing Company operated one or two canneries, sometimes for only a few years and often were either bought out by the conglomerates or combined interests themselves to compete more effectively. A decrease in the proportion of the pack attributed to the top firms can be seen in relation to this expansion. Crutchfield and Pontecorvo, in their study of the salmon industry, found that APA dropped from contributing eighty percent of the pack in 1899 to forty-six percent in 1901 and only thirteen percent in 1920, and the top twelve firms decreased their percentage of the pack from eighty-eight percent in 1901 to fifty-five percent in 1920. This is due to the shift in expansion of the industry into the processing of pink and chum salmon and concentrating on Southeast Alaska where these species were more abundant and operating costs lower.[7]

The expense and effort necessary to establish a cannery varied depending on the location. Although canneries in Western Alaska were more lucrative due to the abundance of sockeye salmon, the most profitable of the species, it usually required extensive monetary backing to establish canneries in that area. Transportation costs were higher, little local labor was available, and the environment was more hostile than in Southeast Alaska. The result was that

large corporations established their canneries in Western Alaska while smaller companies began taking advantage of the numerous runs of pinks and chums in Southeast Alaska. While the industry developed into monopolistic control early in its history, the openness of entry into salmon canning and the capriciousness of salmon runs led to the development of an industry that Cooley described as:

> ...consisting of a few large corporations, which controlled the greater part of the Alaska salmon pack and a large but fluctuating number of small independent firms, many of which could only be classed as marginal producers.[8]

The mortality rate of canneries was high and competition was severe, yet the industry continued in periodic expansion until 1929 when an all-time high of 156 canneries were in operation. Because the industry was, for all practical purposes, unregulated, many people were tempted to go into the salmon canning business. Cooley notes of new canneries during this period:

> Canneries were simple, inexpensive handicraft units offering an ideal activity for the enterprising individual of limited means who was willing to pioneer a new venture in a new territory.[9]

Perhaps they appeared simple, yet many obstacles had to be overcome in order to make a cannery operate smoothly and profitably. One obstacle was an adequate labor supply.

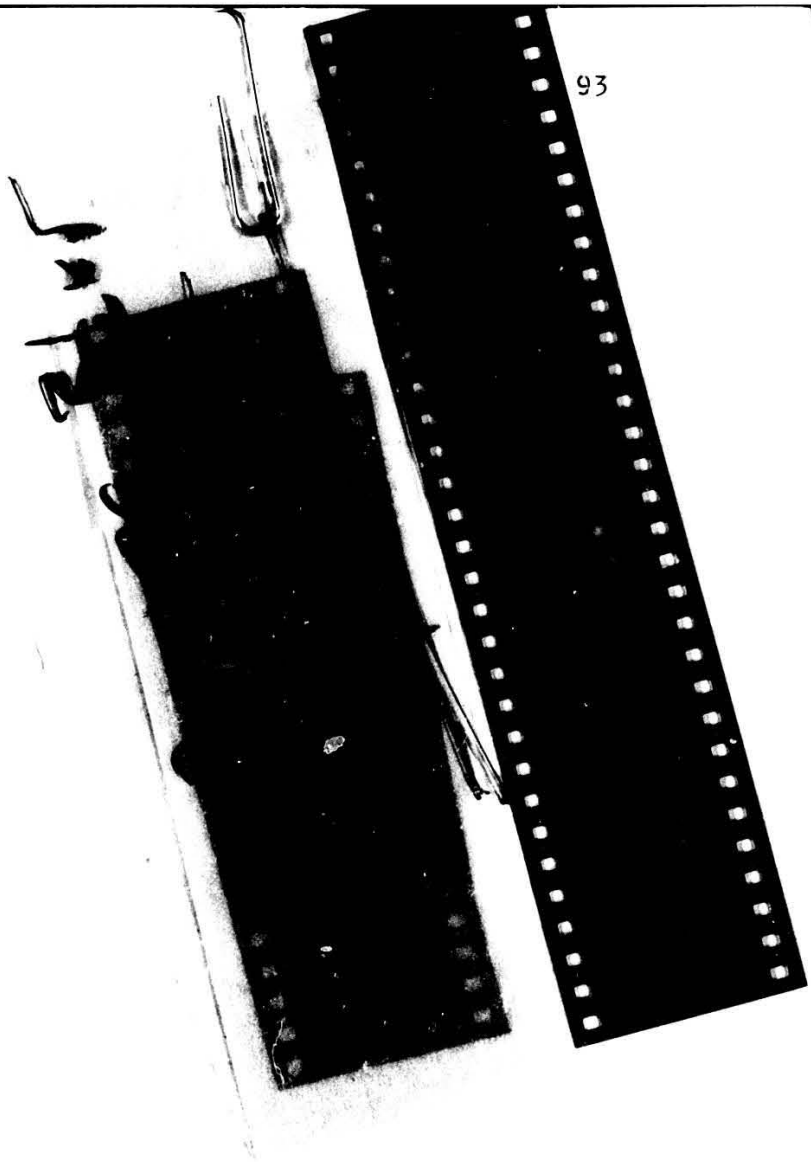
Wrangell, Alaska,
1913.

(Photo credit:
Juneau, Alaska His-
torical Library,
Clyda Schott Greely
Collection.)

Canneries were built out over the water to allow ships to approach closely for loading and unloading and to allow tidal activity to wash away fish offal.

Yakutat, Alaska
cannery.

(Photo credit:
Juneau, Alaska His-
torical Library.)



Many small salmon canneries operated for brief periods during the Alaskan salmon industry's early years. The names they gave to their brands of salmon varied. The "Loyal" brand shown here was so named to take advantage of war time emotionalism during WWI.

(Photo credit: Seattle, University of Washington Manuscripts Collection, W.O. Barnes Papers.)

Cannery Labor

Although some canneries were established near small villages, and thus had access to at least a partial labor supply, many were carved out of the wilderness apart from any human habitation. This factor, plus the erratic and unpredictable nature of the salmon run caused the companies to seek a labor supply that could meet the employment requirement it had set. Workers had to be available for long hours at a time. They had to be able to endure hardship due to the harsh environment and working conditions. They also had to be competent to perform a wide variety of duties, yet be inexpensive enough to keep overhead down.

At first whatever labor supply available was used in the canneries. But, recruiting and then maintaining an adequate crew throughout the season proved a complicated and expensive task. The working conditions were too poor and the wages offered were too low to attract competent white workers. In 1872, R.D. Hume had experimented by hiring forty Chinese men to work in his Columbia River cannery. The Chinese, limited in employment prospects, had been found to be capable, inexpensive, and competent workers. The salmon industry quickly became dependent upon cheap labor; labor that was readily mobilized, able to be depended upon to remain through the season, and easily dismissed when the work was completed.

When canneries were established in Alaska, Chinese workers were brought north under the contract labor system to process fish.[10] Each year thereafter, large numbers of men were recruited and shipped to Alaska for the entire season, housed at the cannery, and supervised by a member of their own group. Not only was the labor supply thus assured, but the superintendent was able to deal with only one foreman instead of a number of individuals, and labor management became the responsibility of an outside agent, thus lessening labor

problems for the operator. While in some cases, village men were employed as fishermen and their wives and children worked as fish processors, the employment of Alaska residents as fish processors amounted to only a small fraction of those employed in the industry. Even at those canneries built near settlements, the village residents were used primarily to provide supplemental labor on a "fill-in" basis during the peak of the season, or were used during the offseason to help with repairs and renovations to the canneries. In an 1898 report of the U.S. Fish Commission, Jefferson F. Moser described the use of labor in Alaskan canneries.

> The cannery fishermen are nearly all foreigners, the majority being "north countrymen" or, as they are termed, "hardheads," though there are some fishing gangs comprised of what are called "dagoes," consisting of Italians, Greeks, and the like. When these two classes form different fishing gangs for the same cannery, the northcountry crew is referred to as the "white crew."
>
> With the exception of Metlakatla and Klawak, [sic] the packing at all the canneries is done entirely by Chinese, and it is very satisfactory labor...At Klawak in the early days Indians were paid $1 per day. Demands for higher wages resulted in a gradual increase...As the point had been reached where the prices paid for the work done made the pack too expensive to warrant a further increase, the manager decided to pay piece-work... Under the piecework system the Indian is

> still dissatisfied...[Although their labor] still costs the cannery 51 cents a case. Chinese can be employed to make a hand-pack for about 45 cents per case... The complaint is everywhere that Indian labor -- that is, labor of the men -- is uncertain. After making sufficient wages to supply their personal wants and getting a few dollars ahead, the desire for hunting or fishing seizes them and they are apt to leave when they are most wanted...Their frequent boast is that white men and Chinese must work to get something to eat, while the waters and the forests furnish the Indians with all they want. A very small amount of money will supply them with the few necessaries which money alone will purchase.[11]

As the salmon industry was initially based in San Francisco, it is reasonable to understand how the availability of Chinese contract laborers became involved in the industry. They were easily accessible, available in quantity in San Francisco, inexpensive, and easily controlled. In his study of personnel practices in Alaskan salmon canneries, Orosa discussed why the contract labor system entrenched itself in the industry:

> It is not difficult to see how the system fastened itself upon the industry, for it removes from the cannery man the risk of failure to put up the pack by placing it on the Chinese contractor, who in turn thrusts the responsibility on the individual workers by penalizing them heavily

> for the slightest failure to comply with the exacting conditions of the contract.[12]

Orosa fails to note, however, that a minimum guarantee was built into the contracts which partially protected the contractor from loss and thus lessened the burden placed on the worker. Part of the pressure he refers to and which is amply demonstrated in accounts of cannery life, may well have been from the contractors' and employers' motivation to put up as large a pack as possible and not let one fish escape or one can remain empty.

Two contracts were involved in procuring labor for canneries, one between laborer and contractor and one between contractor and cannery. (See appendices III and IV for samples of these contracts.) The contractor had to guarantee that his men would perform any assigned duty at the direction of the foreman or the cannery supervisory staff. Laborers were expected to work from the hour of their arrival at the cannery to the hour of their departure in the fall. The contractor had to guarantee his contract, and provide a sufficient number of workers, some of whom were experienced in the more technical aspects of processing (such as butchering of salmon) to ensure its fulfillment. The cannery superintendent could dismiss any man who did not perform his job as expected, and the contractor was responsible for replacing him and paying for any extra men required to put up the pack he had guaranteed. The contract demanded service twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week and placed the full responsibility of putting up the pack on the contractor's shoulders. He also had to provide a cook and foreman for his men. The contractor was expected to guarantee that his men would perform all tasks required to take the raw fish from the dock, put them through the processes of butchering and canning, then lacquering and

labelling the cans, packing them in boxes which had to be constructed, and loading the cases on the ship along with extra duties as assigned. The contractor was also responsible for keeping the cannery crew's quarters clean, and the crew in order and fed.

At times the contractor himself served as the cannery foreman and was paid as such in addition to his earnings gained from the contract. The contractor's fee was on a per case basis for a guaranteed total number of cases for the season. A set quantity of cases was required to be packed each day. Under production from the total amount as listed in the contract which could not be attributed to a lack of fish or machinery breakdown, resulted in deductions from the contractor's seasonal earnings. Overage was paid on a per case basis. Also deducted from the contractor's total compensation was the transportation cost for any laborer who quit or was fired. A 1920 contract stated:

> ...and in case any laborer furnished by said second party [contractor] shall be insubordinate, incompetent, or otherwise prove unsatisfactory, he may be removed by said superintendent and a competent person placed in his place.[13]

The laborers were tied to both the contractor and the cannery in virtual servitude. The laborer/contractor agreement bound the workers' services for a minimum specified time which might vary between one and six months, depending on the cannery location, the length of the season, and the variety of work involved. During that time if the pack was not completed and fish were still available, the workers could not quit their jobs without reimbursing the contractor for their transportation. Also, they had to begin paying room and board

to the cannery from the time of resignation. If they wanted to stay in Alaska, they forfeited their return transportation rights. The laborers were bound to perform any assigned duty upon threat of dismissal for non-compliance or forfeiture of a portion of their pay. For instance, absence from work resulted in a fine deducted from the salary on an hourly basis. (Anything deducted by the cannery from the contractor's earnings was in turn deducted from the workers' salaries. The workers were forced to absorb the contractors' losses.) The contractor, by requiring the laborers to fulfill the obligations specified in his contract with the cannery, transferred the responsibility of completing and exceeding the pack to the individual workers.

The Chinese became skilled cannery men. John Cobb, ~~inspector~~ assistant fisheries agent for the ~~U.S. Fisheries Commission~~ Bureau of Fisheries, noted in a 1911 report, his reaction to an earlier inspection tour of Alaskan canneries,

> In times of heavy runs, when the cannery would have to operate almost night and day in order to take advantage of what might be the last run for the season of the sometimes erratic salmon, the Chinese were always willing, even eager, to do their utmost to fill the cans, and if fed with the peculiar food they insisted upon having and due regard was had to certain racial susceptibilities, the cannery man could almost invariably depend upon the Chinese doing their full duty".[14]

It is no surprise that the Chinese were easily accepted in the salmon industry. Not only were many already accustomed to the contract labor system from building railroads in Cali-

fornia and other states, but also, public opinion regarded Chinese "coolie" laborers as docile and accustomed to a low standard of living. They, thereby, were considered excellent labor for an industry which demanded cheap labor to survive. It was the plight of the Chinese laborers and the workers who inherited their social classification that the necessity of accepting whatever wage and living condition were offered was seen as willingness and even contentment to work under those circumstances. Because they could survive under the conditions offered, conditions civilized whites would not accept, society snubbed the laborers and defined them by the environment in which they were found, i.e., those who work in a dirty place must be dirty people. An article in Survey magazine in 1916 reported of the Chinese:

> They keep to their contract. They are industrious and tractable. They have such a low standard of living that they are willing to work excessively long hours without grumbling, and are content to live in miserable quarters on the cheapest food."[15]

As long as the industry had a labor force that would work under adverse and even "slaving" conditions[16] there was no reason to better the conditions. And as long as job opportunities were limited and labor had no recourse, they had to accept the conditions.

The cannery workers were divided into two groups, or crews, those that worked inside the canneries processing fish and those in cannery maintenance and operations, e.g., the superintendents, foremen, doctors, bookkeepers, sailing masters, mates, engineers, mechanics, launchmen, cooks, fishermen, beachmen, trapmen, net tenders, and carpenters. Although

both crews were often made up of recent immigrants, the fish processing crew was mainly composed of racial and ethnic minorities, and after Hume's experiment with Chinese contract laborers, it retained a primarily Oriental composition for decades. Sometimes caucasians might be found within the "China" crew, yet the opposite was seldom found.*

Racial discrimination was widespread among the white crew members. The races were hired separately and segregated during transportation to and from the plants. Kept below decks in a grossly overcrowded hold on the voyages north, the cannery crew travelled steerage, very often packed in like animals with little food or water, no sanitary facilities, and poor ventiliation. However, there is considerable evidence that cannery crews were often allowed on deck for fresh air during the voyage and were able to go ashore if the ship stopped at towns along the way north. The white crew traveled in first class cabins.

Ships meant to hold 150 men held 200 or more instead, which benefitted either the company or the contractor, dependent upon who was paying the fares. (In cases of ships owned by shipping firms, a payoff to the ship's captain allowed large numbers of extra men to be crowded on board while the shipping company received payment for only the legal number of passengers assigned that particular ship.) The cannery crew often ate rice with bits of pork, beef, and vegetables. The white crew ate everything from bacon and eggs, and canned

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* Because the "China" crew might be made up of many non-Chinese, such as blacks, East Indians, Greeks, Italians, Mexicans, and the Filipinos with which this study is concerned, for the sake of clarity in defining a group's ethnicity, the "China" crew will hereafter be referred to as the "cannery" crew. It should be remembered that this term only refers to those who worked inside the cannery in what were considered the unskilled jobs involved in the processing of fish.

fruit to roast beef, vegetables, and potatoes with cake for dessert. If fresh water became short on long voyages, the cannery crew often did without. The fact that the shipping company had limited responsibility for the cannery crew, i.e., provided transportation, water, fuel, and salt while the contractor provided the food, may explain why such a difference existed. The more money the contractor spent on food the higher his overhead and the lower his profits.

A white cannery worker enroute to Bristol Bay for the 1918 season described the steerage compartment in an article written in a 1953 issue of the Alaska Sportsman. Although written considerably after the fact, the author gives a vivid description of his reaction to the cannery crew:

> The hold in which they lived was lighted by only one dingy old Kerosene lantern, plus whatever daylight was able to penetrate the smoke oozing from the hatch through which I had entered. Bunks three high lined the bulkheads on all sides. Most of them were occupied and one could see at a glance there weren't enough for all. Some had to sleep on the deck, as best they could.
>
> As I touched the deck below, the first thing I noticed was what seemed like hundreds of piercing, beady little eyes looking into mine. There they were -- the same ones I had seen at the rail as I climbed aboard five days ago. I had almost forgotten about them. They were men -- if you could call them such -- with wretched, broken, beaten bodies,

> deprived of their customary daily portions of heroin and morphine -- hopheads dragged from the shanghai pits of the Barbary Coast, sprawled upon the deck, some with blankets, some without, some half dressed, some curled up like dogs, some sitting, standing, leaning against a bunk or stanchion. Unshaven, dirty, shaggy, ragged, filthy, stinking, degraded leftovers of what once had been human beings, the pride of some mother's heart.[17]

This colorful quote is illustrative of some white men's view of the cannery crews, be they Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Mexican, or Filipino. Racist impressions completely overlooked the man underneath the skin. The eyes Satterwaite described could have been those of Victorio Velasco who wrote eloquent diary descriptions and poems of his trips to Alaska. Or they could have been those of college students working their way towards a bachelor's, master's, or doctor's degree such as Pedro Guiang, Trinidad Rojo, Marcelo de Gracia, Juan Tolentino, Dionisio Baldemore, Bernardo Cuesta, Vicente Vilafuerte, Jose Blando, Juan Ruiz, or many others. Or, they could have been the eyes of any number of men, trying to make a living as best they could with what was available. Whoever the men were, they had their own image of themselves and were well aware of the circumstances of their lives. They in no way fit Satterwaite's description. While Victorio Velasco's buoyant, "Such is the better prospect of life in this beautiful country",[18] was sorely tried, and although they were forced to live under conditions many would find intolerable, the Filipinos maintained an optimistic spirit. Resignation to the cruelties of life did not diminish their ability to find simple joys or to become self-sufficient.

The Cannery

Although, as Cooley noted, many individuals tried their hand at canning salmon, it was not an easy task, especially in the early years. All supplies for the building, operation, and maintenance of the cannery had to be shipped in from the nearest source. Usually that meant shipping from Washington or California although in later years, a few commodities were purchased from merchants in Juneau, Ketchikan, or Petersburg. In isolated locations in Western Alaska supplies to last through the season had to arrive in the spring with the first ship. Supplies were shipped in with the men on company ships or by the Pacific Steamship Company and the Alaska Steamship Company, or, were carried on the Canadian lines, the Canadian Pacific Steamship Company and the Grand Trunk Steamship Company.* An example of how one cannery crew performed after a trip north can be found in the ship Windber and its workers.

The Windber dropped anchor in King Cove harbor for the first time in March, 1910. A group of anxious, inexperienced men, wearied from a long voyage unloaded their provisions onto a barren, snow covered beach, intent on constructing Pacific American Fisheries' third cannery in Alaska. They quickly built a bunk house for shelter and spent a cold first night with wind and snow blowing through the cracks in the walls of what was to be the "China house," a building in which the Chinese cannery workers would live. The crew of the Windber faced the same challenge others who sought to establish canneries in Alaska had. Upon arrival, land had to be cleared,

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* After the passage of the Maritime Act of 1920, commonly known as the Jones Act, the Canadian lines could no longer serve Alaskan ports, thus leaving Alaska with only two competing carriers and skyrocketing transportation costs.

the ship unloaded and an adequate water source found. Then the building could begin. The cannery superintendent put the men to work building the cannery, warehouse, bunk houses, dock, cabins, office buildings, skiffs, and other necessary buildings. Other men worked on getting the boats and nets ready or drove piles and stretched nets for the fish traps. If they had not brought pilings with them, as the Windber had, lashed to the deck, thousands of feet of pilings for the dock, fish traps, and other cannery buildings had to be cut. (Canneries were built out over the water to facilitate easy unloading of fish from the boats and loading canned salmon at the close of the season.) The machine shop had to be built, boilers set up, and pipeline rigged to carry water to the bunkhouse kitchens and the cannery itself.

Depending on where the cannery was being established, work began at different times of the year. Southeast Alaska had the benefit of milder winters to allow building throughout the winter months. Often canneries were built in a rush from March until June, finishing just in time for the first runs of fish. If they were not completed in time, the company would suffer great financial loss. For a small cannery it was a matter of success or failure.

As time was short, cannery buildings were not necessarily built for durability. This meant that each succeeding year repairs had to be made, or, due to technological advancements, new machinery had to be installed. Also, although the materials needed for fish traps were saved from year to year, the traps were disassembled in the fall, and had to be rigged with new netting and reset in the water each spring. In 1913, the superintendent of the King Cove cannery commented on the repairs the winter overseer had made:

> Jackson has leveled the warehouse and plumbed it. Built a new China house and

> Jap house and post office for the Chinks. Put a layer of paper siding on the bunk house, layed another floor in it. Layed a new floor in the mess house. Built himself a house. Reroofed the store. Boarded up the carpenter shop. Rebuilt the bulkhead on the ways and removed the gravel. Painted the store and layed the "Ceil Board". Took in $1,300.00 besides paying his help and paying for 84 fox hides. Tore down the China house (wreck) and used all the lumber in the new building.[19]

The cannery was not the only thing that had to be built. In the early years both the cans and the cases had to be made before the run began. One hundred cases of 48 cans each required 400 sheets of tinplate 14"x20", 800 sheets of tinplate 14"x19-1/2", 50 pounds of pig lead, 50 pound of pig tin, 25 pounds of solder acid, 5 pounds of zinc, 50 pounds of Liverpool salt, 25 pounds of Bay salt, 1 cord of wood, 100 sets of box shooks, 2.8 gallons of coal oil, 3 pounds of caustic soda, 3.12 gallons of lacquer, 3.12 gallons of turpentine and benzine, 4,000 cement coated nails, and 5,000 labels. When one considers that a plant might easily pack over 50,000 cases in a season, the great quantity of supplies necessary becomes apparent. And all supplies had to be shipped in on schedule to be ready for the run.

Fishing

Providing fish for the cannery was accomplished in a number of ways. Cobb notes gill netting as the "oldest and most popular form of apparatus in use in the salmon fisheries of

the Pacific Coast."[20] (He spoke here without regard to the methods used by Native groups.) Two other forms of nets were also used. One was a purse seine and the other, is a haul seine. Still another form of fishing was trolling with baited lines, practiced especially when after chinook salmon. In all four methods, the fish were stored in the boat, necessitating repeated trips to the cannery to avoid spoilage. (Boats were required to report in to the cannery at least once within twenty-four hours.)

Many other methods have been tried through the years. In the first years of the Alaskan canneries, cannery operators and Natives placed barricades in salmon streams, preventing the fish from ascending the streams and causing them to pool up. Then the fish that had been trapped were scooped out. This method could damage the future runs of salmon as it allowed no fish to get through to spawn. In 1889, salmon barricades were outlawed in Alaska but no funds were appropriated for implementation until 1892 when money was made available for one i~~nspector~~ fisheries agent and an assistant to cover the entire Alaskan fishing grounds. Barricades continued in use, though illegally, for many years due to the immense task of patrolling the hundreds of salmon streams in the territory.

Perhaps the most controversial method of catching salmon was a trap which made use of the salmon's tendency to follow the shoreline as it headed towards the river. The trap was first used in Washington in the 1890s. Found to be very effective, it began to be used extensively throughout Alaska. ~~Due to physical conditions that made its use impractical, it was seldom found~~ in the Bristol Bay area, ~~but~~ they spread rapidly elsewhere. In 1927 a high of 799 traps were in use in Alaska, 575 of which were in Southeast.

Outlawed at an early date

At first stationary traps were used, then a floating trap was developed which was especially advantageous to Alaskan waters. The trap consisted of netting strung between a string of logs which ran at right angles to the shore across the path of the migrating salmon. This "leader" which might be as much as one-half mile long, would force the fish along the net through a series of inverted openings into an enclosed area from which they could find no escape. The cannery scows would visit the traps several times a day and bail out of the "spiller" what salmon had been trapped. In this way, salmon could be kept alive for a longer period of time than other methods of fishing as they were stored in the water and kept alive until ready for canning. ~~Also, traps could fish continuously compared to the natural and legal limitations placed upon fishermen~~. A cannery, by setting up its own traps in strategic locations, could supply itself with fish on a regulated basis, eliminating the need to hire as many fishermen or to buy fish from individual operators. By the late 1920s, traps accounted for fifty percent of the fish caught. The larger companies owned many traps, accounting for a great percentage of the catch.

A controversy between fishermen, conservationists, trap operators, and the Territory of Alaska developed over the use of non-resident fishermen in the industry and the effect of the traps on the growth (or lack thereof) of the territory's population. Effectively placed at rivers' estuaries, traps could catch a great proportion of the salmon, thus posing a possible threat to their survival. Also, as the use of traps increased, canneries became less dependent upon the individual fishermen to supply them with fish. The canneries had originally hired their own fishermen, bringing them north for the season, and providing them with gear. However, canners had also purchased the fish brought to them by Alaskan resident fishermen to fill out their pack, often hired local men

to fish, and occasionally even provided them with fishing gear. The efficiency of traps in supplying sufficient amounts of fish for the cannery forced local women and children into the canneries to work to supplement the dwindling income of their fishermen husbands. It became increasingly impossible to support oneself by fishing. Not only were the canneries not buying fish in quantity from local fishermen but from 1927 to 1938, due to a strong non-resident fishermen's union, resident fishermen were paid a lower price for fish than were non-resident fishermen. (A new discrimination took its place in 1938 when union contracts demanded that for every line in a cannery, the first six and one-half boats needed to provide fish had to be manned by fishermen from the Lower 48.)

Edward Coffey of Anchorage, a fisherman and legislator, testified in 1939, "There is no consideration given to the residents unless they get shorthanded, and then they will put a few of them to work in the canneries."[21] The territory argued that traps and the policy of non-resident hire deterred people from settling in the territory while the canners argued that traps were the most efficient method of fishing, still allowed opportunity for seiners and trollers, and that the territory should develop year-round industry to attract more residents. The argument waged for years and became deeply embroiled within the argument for statehood. The salmon industry maintained a powerful lobby in Washington, D.C. and instigated a public relations campaign within Alaska reminding residents of the contributions of the salmon industry to the growth of the territory. Delegate Anthony Dimond actively campaigned to eliminate the traps and non-resident fishermen from Alaskan waters while the canners' Public Information Commission sent coded messages to individual companies advising of Dimond's activities. The industry's lobby successfully avoided elimination of traps in this manner for many years. Gradually, governmental regulations

increased, limiting and then taxing the traps. But abolition was not possible until 1959, when, with the coming of statehood and the transfer of control of the fisheries from federal into state hands, all but those at Metlakatla on the Annette Island Indian Reservation were outlawed. However, as the number of traps decreased, the number of non-resident seine boats and trollers increased correspondingly as did the percentage of the run take. The conservation of the salmon had not been assurred and the battle over non-resident fishermen and cannery employees continues to this day.

The Canning Process

In the early years of cannery operations fish processing was done completely by hand. Fish were unloaded from the scows, sorted by species and grades, and transferred into fish bins or dumped on the cannery floor to await processing. Upon entering a cannery, the pungent smell of fish was immediate and strong in the air. Pieces of fish offal, disgarded during processing lay scattered on the floor and water splashed and settled everywhere. At each spot on the conveyor belt a man, woman, or child stood in puddles of water, dressed in rubber boots and apron or jacket, preparing the fish. A conveyor took the fish through the cannery as they were processed. First, the salmon went to the butchers who cut off the heads, tails, and fins, and split the fish open and gutted them. Next, they went to a cleaning table where "slimers" appropriately named, washed the fish twice to remove offal, blood, and scales. While the fish went into bins to await the fish cutters, the refuse was ostensibly sent through a chute and dropped to the water under the cannery but often ended up on the floor to be hosed away at the end of the day. Using a knife and butcherblock, the men cut the fish into pieces to fit the size of the can and passed the pieces on to the fil-

lers. The fillers put the salmon in the cans to which one-fourth ounce of salt had been added. (Cobb notes that in the very early years a pickle was placed in the can instead of salt.)[22] The salmon was then weighed and passed to a patching table where underweight cans were filled with extra salmon pieces. Next the can passed to men who put on tops, crimped the edges and soldered them sealed. After being sealed the cans were washed and allowed to cool before being tested for leaks. This was done by lowering a rack of cans into hot water and checking for bubbles. Leaks were taken to the "bench men" who mended them. These cans were retested while the others went on to be cooked. Frequently, the "do-overs" would begin to decompose, spoiling the contents, because they were not repaired immediately but sat around for days waiting for resoldering. ~~Moser reports that they were then sold in~~ "...lumber, ~~mining or negro districts, or shipped to foreign countries with less fastidious tastes in the matter of salmon.~~" ~~Although~~ Cobb notes a major company adopted the policy in 1910 of throwing all do-overs overboard.[23]

The cans, once soldered, were loaded on four large trucks of six crates each and placed in a retort, (large pressure cooker) heated under pressure to 250 degrees and cooked for sixty minutes. After being cooked, they were taken out and vented to allow excess steam and water escape. The holes were again soldered closed and the cans were recooked for another sixty minutes. After the cooking process was complete, the cans were twice washed with lye and rinsed with hot water then allowed to cool. In the cooling room the cans were tested again for leaks before they were sent to be lacquered, labelled, and put in boxes for storage until shipment time.

As the salmon industry developed, mechanical innovations were introduced that substantially reduced the number of persons

needed for the operation of a cannery, made the processing of fish easier, and increased the quality of the product. Electricity was introduced by the end of the 19th century. Then, in 1905, a machine was introduced which performed the task of butchering the fish. The "iron-chink", named after whiteman's slang for the Chinese laborers it replaced, cut off the heads, tails, fins, slit open the fish, and gutted them. This not only replaced the work of twenty to forty men, depending on the size of the cannery, but also butchered fifty to seventy-five percent more fish per day than the hand method. Another new machine, consisting of a series of rolling knives, cut the fish into can-size pieces. Although "patching" and "sliming" remained a hand operation, other machines were invented which reduced the necessary manpower even further.

One automatically added salt to the cans, while others filled the cans with fish, lacquered the cans, or applied labels. Also, an automatic vacuum crimping and sealing machine was added which assured a more reliable seal and lessened the possibility of contamination. Shortly after the turn of the century some canneries began using ready-made "sanitary" or solderless cans. This innovation, using a steam exhauster, eliminated the need for the initial retort cooking and also the men and time necessary to make cans and completely eliminated the use of solder acid. This machinery could be leased by the canneries. Large corporations, however, had purchased their early equipment and were reluctant to replace it with the new. Thus, while they maintained antiquated operations, small companies, which had used leased machinery, could be modernly equipped.[24]

Hazards and Dangers

Numerous aspects of the canning process presented safety hazards. The elimination of muriatic acid used to solder the cans was one example in which the canning process became safer. Often acid got on the workers' hands causing severe burns. The early remedies were not very pleasant. One was to mix carbolic acid and sweet oil, place the mixture on the burn, and wait for it to eat up the muriatic acid. The other was to cut out the acid burned area with a knife until only unharmed tissue remained. The process of butchering was another dangerous task, both before and after mechanization. Many hands were badly mangled or fingers were cut off. Another problem was lye burns obtained while washing the cans. Although workers used rubber gloves and aprons, accidents occurred both in the strength of the lye solution, in splashing, and in seepage through clothes.

In the early years, little attention was paid to equipment safety. Exploding retorts, exposed gears, pulleys, belts, and other machine parts which could mutilate or injure workers. Passageways, stairs, and platforms often had no railings. With the floors constantly wet it was easy for a person to fall into a flywheel or engine. Because speed was necessary in times of a big run, the workers' safety came second to completing a large pack. Employees were pushed to work long hours, sometimes twenty hours a day, day after day with little rest as long as the fish came in and cans waited to be filled. Exhaustion caused both accidents and illness. Although the larger companies often maintained a physician on the staff for servicing their canneries, few independent operators did. The APA maintained six medical stations in Alaska where all employees and local Natives were given free medical care. Medical stations also assisted in emergencies such as in the 1919 flu epidemic that killed almost the entire adult Native population in the Bristol Bay area.

In many cases the sick or injured parties had to wait for transportation to the Lower 48 to be treated. Deaths due to injury or illness were not infrequent. Although the companies had liability insurance for its white employees and frequently offered life insurance to them, the cannery crews were uninsured. Some companies themselves however, were insured against the loss at sea of any cannery crewmen. The insurance covered the pay advances a company had made to the men prior to sailing. The dead were either buried at sea or in an "Oriental" graveyard near the cannery. Even in burial the crews were segregated. Some of the Chinese workers made arrangements to have their bodies packed in a barrel and shipped back to China in case of death, although the companies disapproved of an eventually dropped this practice. The cannery crewmen had to rely on their fellow workers to see that their wishes were carried out.

Fire was another constant hazard. Although fire insurance demanded certain safety precautions, frequent abuses were found which resulted in a large number of cannery fires. A review of issues of the Pacific Fisherman, a fishing industry publication from ~~1904~~ 1902 to the present, will find many fires noted, often several in an issue. Boilers which should have been insulated with brick and located apart from the cannery were built inside the building instead. At some plants, oil dropped onto the floor from unattended machinery. The buildings themselves, primarily made out of wood and tar paper, were built too close to each other. A fire in one building almost invariably spread to all the others. Smoke stacks went uninsulated. The can making and lacquering process which made use of highly inflamable products should, according to insurance regulations, have been located in a building separate from the cannery, but were often found either in buildings directly attached to the cannery, or were carried out on the second floor of the cannery. Dry grass grew high around

the cannery buildings posing another constant fire threat. Although most canneries had gravity water systems, few had large water reservoirs near by in case of fire and fire equipment was often either entirely absent or in disrepair. Once a fire started it would quickly spread to other buildings and often destroyed the whole cannery. Although many were rebuilt after the fire, they often were unable to recover in time for the season's run.

Living Accommodations

Working conditions were not the only part of cannery life that needed improvement. The living conditions could at best be described as shoddy. As already noted, the white crew and the cannery crew were housed separately. Within the cannery crew the different ethnic groups were also frequently separated. Chinese, Japanese, Mexicans, and Filipinos often had their own bunkhouses. In 1911, Cobb, on a tour of the canneries noted the necessity of canneries to have separate bunkhouses to avoid brawls and disturbances caused by racial animosity.[25] William Kirk, on a visit to the canneries in 1916 wrote:

> One of the most depressing features of life in the camps is the wretched provision that has been made for housing and boarding the men.[26]

The Marathon Shipping and Packing Company which operated a small cannery for a brief time at Cape Fanshaw, north of Petersburg, is an example of the manner in which cannery accommodations were managed. The cannery superintendent was given orders during the winter of 1918-19 to build two bunk houses, one for the whites and one for the cannery crew. The

orders express the attitude of the management towards housing. "We desire plenty of light for the White Mess House but are not so particular about the china house, as it is not so essential there."[27] The records show however, that only one bunk house was built and that was given to the white crew because the old bunk and mess house was considered unfit for whites.[28] The building which the cannery crew inherited was a two story 28' x 45' wood structure made of one layer of 1 x 12's with battens on the cracks. The upstairs was used for sleeping and the downstairs was divided into cooking and eating areas. The white crew was given the new building which was also two stories but slightly larger, 28' x 50' and made out of two layers of 1 x 12's with tar paper in between the layers, battens over the cracks and ship's lap inside. The upstairs was divided into sleeping cubicles and had four windows while the downstairs had eight windows, 20" x 25" each. Differences also existed in sleeping accommodations. Not only did the whites have some privacy provided by the cubicles, but they had 2'6" x 6' slab mattresses with #1 grade ticking and springs to sleep on. The cannery crew had excelsior mattresses without springs. It became a common practice to give the older accommodations to the cannery crew and the new facilities to the whites.

In his tour of the Alaska canneries, William Kirk noted that the cannery crew often slept above the kitchen in a dark poorly ventilated room, "The beds in several places were merely rough boards thrown upon cross-pieces which rested in turn upon four uprights." The bunks were three deep and covered what windows were available.[29] The cannery crew bunk house at Cape Lanshaw was large compared to other facilities. Kirk notes visiting a bunkhouse 18' x 12' accommodating eleven men, another 9' x 8' with one window for eight men, and one 10' x 8' for eight men.[30] While the facilities were beggarly, the cannery crew reluctantly accepted them as all

Life at the canneries was not all drudgery. Here a group of Filipino cannery workers enjoy a game of baseball.

(Photo credit: Seattle, University of Washington Manuscripts Collection, Buyagawan Papers.)

that was available. These conditions, however, when added to the treatment of Filipinos by whites in other areas of life, encouraged the formation of militant organizations aimed at changing the social order. Frequently these were unions. The Filipinos unlike their predecessors, were not willing to sit by placidly.

Kirk notes also that quarters for Japanese workers were worse than for the Chinese and suggests that perhaps the white man's erroneous opinion of each race was the cause of the difference.[31] Although a great deal of evidence is available demonstrating the cannery operator's preference for hiring cannery crews from particular minority ethnic groups, and the segregation of one group from another, discrimination in treatment between the groups is not apparent, either in board or room. Kirk is the only source who suggests this. At the time of his survey (1916), the accommodations provided for the cannery crews were of such poor quality that it seems any difference would be negligible when compared to the differences between the cannery crew's and the white's bunkhouses.

Cannery Crew Composition

That the canneries did prefer one group to the other, however, can be readily supported. Evidence suggests that cannery operators preferred the Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, Mexican, and Native in descending order and had an indifferent attitude towards Blacks and Koreans, possible due to the relatively small representation of these two groups in the cannery crews.[32] The preferences appear to be based on two qualifications; temperament and experience, with temperament becoming increasingly important over the years. As ethnic succession progressed (Chinese workers gave way to Japanese who gave way to Filipino), those with a temperament most sim-

ilar to the early Chinese laborers, i.e., those who were energetic, dependable, and malleable were preferred. Conversely, independence, recalcitrance, and dissidence were discouraged. Although availability may have been considered in the preference of Filipinos to Japanese (the numbers of available Filipinos increasing as the numbers of Japanese and Chinese decreased), it had no effect on the lower ordering of Mexicans, for they were readily available in great numbers. Until 1929, availability evidently overcame the negative aspects of laziness and undependability which the cannery operators attributed to the Mexicans because they are well represented among the ethnic listings of the cannery crews. However, they did not recover from the drop in employment due to the depression as the other groups did.

Operators frequently voiced an opinion that Alaska Natives were less preferable than the other four groups because they were not available in as great numbers and were not amenable to transport en masse to isolated locations. More importantly, they, as were the Mexicans, were considered undependable, although for different reasons. In the middle of the season Natives might quit to go fishing for their families, or would quit when they had accumulated enough cash to last through the winter. Demonstrating this attitude, the superintendent of the King Cove cannery wrote in 1916:

> ...but we do not want a lot of men that, about the time the fish came, would decide that they had enough money to do them for the year and then stop work and spend the rest of the summer getting rested.[33]

The high representation of Natives among the statistics on cannery workers is deceiving. It should be noted that

Natives were used primarily as extra labor, working only part of the season during the peak of the runs, or as fishermen.* In a 1938 National Labor Relations Board election over union jurisdictional disputes, 2,428 Alaskan Natives voted. Yet Table 1, Page 130, which displays the figures for persons working in the Alaska salmon industry from 1905 to 1938, lists 4,850 Natives engaged in the salmon industry. Since all other racial totals in Table 1 correspond to the National Labor Relations Board totals of those voting in the 1938 election, it is probable that Native fishermen and Natives occupying other positions within the industry account for the difference.

Beginning in the mid 1920s, with fewer Chinese and Japanese available to work in the canneries, the Filipinos began to be more highly represented numerically in the cannery crews. Filipinos increasingly became the most preferred worker until the 1930s when their activities in unionization and territorial pressure for an all-Alaskan hiring policy caused many in the industry to claim they wanted to eliminate the Filipinos. The Filipinos survived this political maneuver and remain, even today, the preferred cannery employees for some cannery operators.

In summary, when comparing the statistics provided in Table 1, discounting the category "whites", and a good percentage of the "Native" category which referred to employees other than the "cannery crew" as defined in this paper, one observes that the numbers of "Japanese", "Chinese", "Mexican", and "Others" declines between 1915 and 1938, the Fili-

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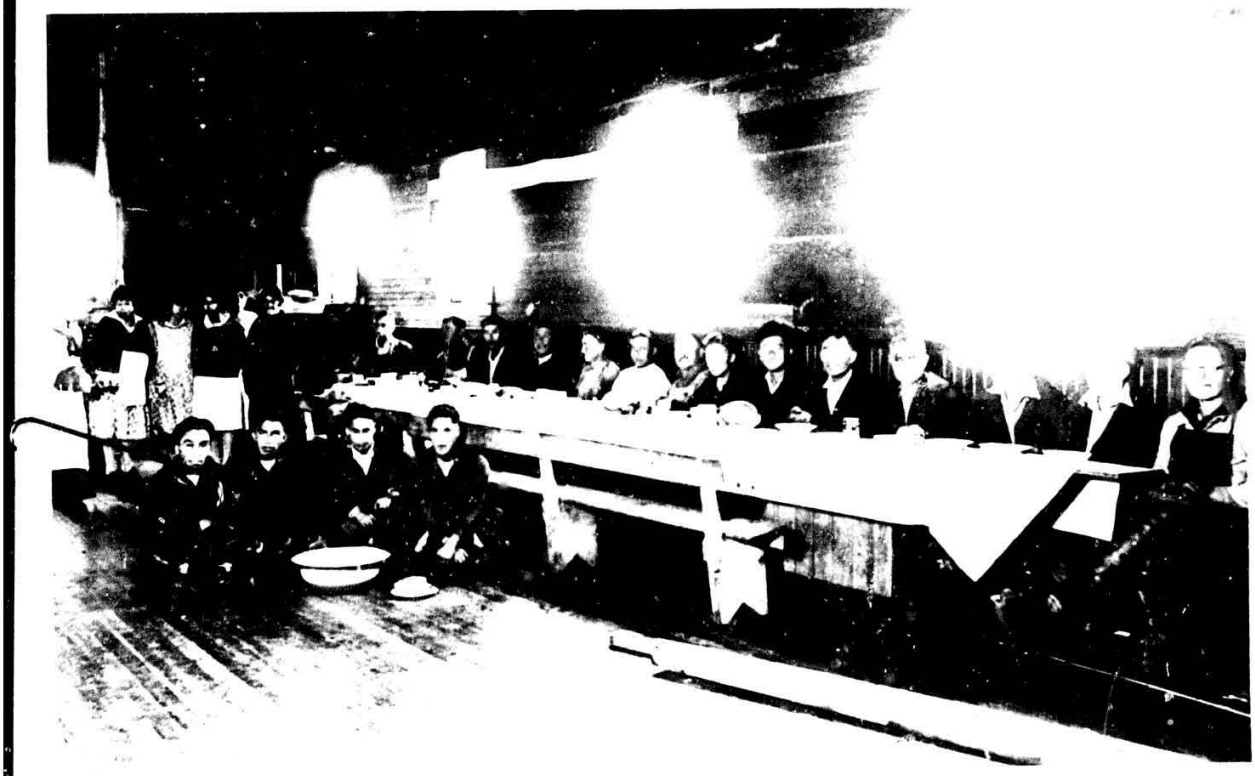
* The use of Alaskan Natives and Alaskan hire became controversial issues during the 1930s and will be discussed in a later chapter.

Cannery workers at Alitak, Alaska in 1935 pose for the camery with a squid caught in nearby waters.

(Photo credit: University of Washington Manuscripts Collection, Apolonio Buyagawan Papers. Photo courtesy of Mack Pabillon.)



A party of Alaska Natives and Filipinos rest at the Alaska Native Brotherhood Hall in Yakutat after working on an addition to the building.

(Photo credit: Juneau, Alaska Historical Library.)

pino alone increases, while the Native maintains a basically stable representation.

Food

Another difference in treatment between the white crews and the cannery crews can be found in the food provided for each. The same is not evident between different races within the cannery crews. The food given to the whites by the canneries varied considerably from that given to the cannery crews by the contractors. The two groups had separate cooks and each cooked in their own bunkhouse. Food was transported on the companies' ships or with one of the shipping companies serving Alaska. Many canneries had fresh meat shipped in from Ketchikan or Petersburg for both crews. A letter of July 18, 1919 to the Petersburg Meat Company orders one hog and one hind quarter of beef for the "chinks".[34] (Once again, this term referred to the whole cannery crew, who, in this instance, was made up of Chinese, Japanese, Greek, Filipino, and Mexican workers.) This was to provide meat for eighteen men for one month. In numerous instances hogs were transported alive aboard ship to the cannery and kept by the cook for eventual slaughter and use by the cannery crew. Some cooks kept a vegetable garden in order to supply fresh vegetables to the workers. Most of the cannery crew bunkhouses were fitted out with rice cookers consisting of one or two oversized metal bowls resting on a brick and mortar base. A fire box was built underneath to provide heat. Rice, which provided the bulk of the three meals was prepared in these cookers.

One of the grocery lists for the Marathon Fishing and Packing Company listed the supplies for the "china contract crew" as flour, rice, chinese groceries, China pickles, vermicelli,

dilly flour, dry vegetables, bean cakes, dry goose, peanut oil, canned fish, salted eggs, evaporated milk, sack beans, canned tomatoes, and soy.[35] In checking the personnel roster, it was noted that both Greek immigrants and Mexicans were included in the cannery crew which may account for the appearance of some of the items which were not part of the Oriental diet. Taking the ethnic makeup of the cannery crew into consideration was not common practice in ordering food, especially since the contractors were primarily Chinese, Japanese, or Filipino. Those from other ethnic groups had to eat what was supplied them, raising some dissension, but to no avail. Those who complained too vigorously were fired.

Ordered for the white crew were grapes, cakes, crackers, chocolate, pineapples, canned fruit, tobacco, cigars, evaporated milk, coffee, potatoes, canned tomatoes, onions, beef, and dry vegetables.[36] It appears that the whites were given a wider variety of "American-type" foods as well as extra non-essentials. Former cannery workers voiced no consensus as to the quality or quantity of food available to them other than the excessive use of rice. Some evidence points to an improvement in the food supplied in later years. As mechanization eliminated the unskilled jobs within the canneries it became increasingly important to maintain experienced, skilled workers in certain key jobs. It may have been that these men gradually gained more power and could make demands on both the contractor and company, or, it could have been the result of increased competition among contractors. More probably, it may have been the result of increased governmental regulation of the industry and a changing attitude toward labor. As labor gained support and became more vocal, the more miserable labor aspects of the industry were corrected. It appears that the food fed to the Filipinos in the 1920s and 1930s contained more variety than had been provided for the Chinese and Japanese in the earlier years. But the reasons for the improvement are not clear.

One frequent method which the companies used to supplement the diet of the workers and make some profit besides, was to provide better and popular foodstuffs for sale at the company store. Workers could have groceries they purchased charged to their wages. If the cannery were located in a town with a general store, such as Petersburg, the local grocer provided foodstuffs to the workers on charge. Many men took advantage of this, often to their own detriment. The amount they purchased added up rapidly and at the end of the season their deductions ate up their salaries. In some instances, the contractor arranged with the employees to set a monthly cost for food. If the amount spent per month by the workers for food was over the set amount, the excess was deducted from their final pay.

Another method of supplementing the diet of the worker was stealing fish.[37] Sometimes the workers would go fishing in their off hours when no fish were waiting to be canned and either roast them picnic style on the beach or take them back to the bunkhouse to be cooked. It appears that cannery superintendents differed in allowing the cannery crew to fish. While some were lenient and allowed fishing as long as the workers had free time, others considered every salmon in the water a potential canning candidate and thus the property of the company. In these instances, cannery employees were not allowed to fish for salmon. One story is told "If any Chinaman had gone out fishing on the river he just wouldn't have come back."[38]

Some criticism has been made that complaints of poor food are unfounded because the workers demanded rice and other oriental food stuffs which they preferred. An attempt to establish the dietary preferences of the first Chinese cannery crews would be pure conjecture, but the chances are very probably that these men would have preferred to eat food with

which they were familiar. What white Americans considered as an adequate diet for a cannery worker is questionable. It appears that the prevailing opinion was that the Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, and Filipinos ate and could thrive on nothing but rice and that all used chop sticks. However, what the whites believed is of little consequence here, for the food and cooks were supplied by the contractors and they were often of the same ethnic groups as the workers. If it were the contractors' responsibility to provide food, then any charges of inadequacy in early years should should be directed toward them.

For those who make charges against government and industry for their lack of involvement in the plight of the worker, and many do, the cannery conditions should be placed in the context of the times. The salmon industry developed at a time when governmental regulation and interference in industry was limited. Unions in existence at that time had little power. Attempts at strikes prior to 1920 were unsuccessful. The workers were not allowed collective bargaining nor were any of today's methods of producing economic pressure such as strikes and boycotts, an available alternative to these workers. This is not to excuse the conditions resulting from the prevailing racial prejudice, rather, one must try to put in perspective those conditions that were the result of the then current economic ethic.

The lack of a governmental regulation in Alaska in the early years of the canneries and the isolation of the canneries from any regulatory authority, contributed greatly to such poor conditions. (Fishery regulations were first lodged in the Department of the Treasury in 1868 which was the only Federal agency operating in Alaska immediately after its purchase from Russia.) In many instances, the inspectors were forced to depend upon the canneries they were to inspect for

both accommodations and transportation. The first regulation, passed in 1889 was only to outlaw the use of barricades and even that was not workable until 1892 when funds were finally allocated for its enforcement. Supplemental legislation passed in 1896 further regulated the fisheries but only in reducing fishing at streams and rivers above the tidewater, use of fishing gear, and length of the season.

Federal agents were assigned to investigate the fisheries, inspect the canneries, and enforce the laws. Not only were few men assigned to the task, but the area of their authority was larger than the Pacific, Gulf, and Atlantic coasts put together. John N. Cobb, Assistant Salmon Agent for the ~~then~~ Bureau of Fisheries, ~~Department of Commerce and Labor~~, in the early part of this century, was informed that his visits to canneries were "...subsidiary and incidental to supervision of the fishery operation."[39]

The workers did complain about conditions, complaints that increased in number and frequency. William Kirk notes in an interview with Clay Allen, U.S. District Attorney, that workers reported to him "...numerous instances of cruelty and injustice among the alien laborers in Alaska."[40] Allen found that workers were defrauded by contractors, shanghaied when drunk, driven too hard, and kept in control by threat of violence. A 1915 report of the Washington Bureau of Labor found that in Alaskan canneries conditions had improved over the years but that conditions still were not acceptable to whites.[41] The National Salmon Canner's Association Report for 1919 states that:

> In general, mess houses and sleeping quarters for white men are kept in good condition. This is not true of Oriental and Indian quarters, but there we are

> dealing with the old habits and prejudices of people to whom sanitation and even cleanliness is a closed book. Constant efforts by superintendents and education are the only ways to correct this condition.[42]

At the same time that the canneries reported the reason for poor conditions as caused by the men themselves, the cannery crews were charging the companies with the responsibility for conditions and were beginning active agitation for improvement. Unionism, on the rise across the country and within the fishing industry, began to make sense to the workers. This development, which will be discussed in Chapter VIII, worked to better conditions and salaries.

Salaries

The laborers were paid a wage set by the contractor for the season plus any hourly overtime accumulated during the season. Although wages differed from contractor to contractor and from cannery to cannery, the common early wage was twenty-five dollars a month with ten cents an hour overtime for work performed over twelve hours during a twenty-four hour day. Foremen were paid about forty-five dollars a month. By 1910 the foremen were making one hundred dollars a month while the laborers received approximately thirty-five dollars a month. Wages increased very slowly until the mid-thirties when the industry became unionized and higher salaries were demanded. By 1936, just prior to complete unionization of the industry, the average wages had increased to $1,000 for the season of not more than five months for the foremen and sixty-five dollars a month for the laborers. The first union contract for the APA canneries, which nearly doubled the salaries of the workers, was in 1937. Although

Filipinos on the one hand considered their salaries "...pay that is a pittance, and little more"[43], others considered the work profitable compared to other available jobs. However, considering the conditions under which they worked, the hours they labored, and the treatment they were given, they pay was hardly compensatory.

TABLE 1[44]

PERSONS ENGAGED IN SALMON CANNING INDUSTRY
IN ALASKA, 1905-38

Year	Whites	Natives	Chinese	Japanese	Filipinos	Mexican	Others	Total
1895	1,002	681	1,211					
1897			2,293					
1898			2,467					5,325
1900			3,443					5,641
1901			4,664					8,570
1902			5,376					11,635
1905*	4,932	2,347	2,518	1,640	.....	30	.....	13,822
1906*	4,177	2,322	2,581	1,755	.....	.....	.....	11,467
1907*	4,119	2,462	2,205	1,863	.....	.....	.....	10,747
1908*	4,403	2,250	2,017	2,415	.....	.....	.....	10,619
1909*	4,391	1,998	1,992	2,141	.....	.....	.....	11,085
1910	5,045	2,765	2,389	2,212	16	.....	4	10,522
1911	5,854	3,301	2,986	3,256	**	**	652	12,431
1912	7,246	3,681	2,986	2,145	**	**	1,536	14,786
1913	7,338	3,602	2,050	1,612	**	**	1,911	17,703
1914	6,832	3,727	1,138	1,228	**	**	2,382	16,513
1915	7,349	4,325	2,190	1,555	**	**	2,352	16,807
1916	8,459	4,081	2,371	1,780	**	**	2,549	17,711
1917	11,038	4,848	2,274	1,597	1,153	1,535	661	19,240
1918	13,504	4,758	2,734	1,465	1,338	1,709	904	23,350
1919	13,668	3,634	2,770	1,431	1,577	1,866	553	26,502
1920	13,323	1,508	2,369	1,392	1,587	1,652	592	25,499
1921	6,510	2,497	887	611	957	1,357	167	24,423
1922	8,744	3,671	1,319	886	1,520	1,362	295	12,984
1923	9,608	3,999	1,311	1,056	1,431	1,749	285	16,697
1924	9,880	4,014	1,335	1,386	1,680	1,321	381	19,439
1925	11,038	3,758	1,248	1,539	2,230	1,504	497	20,107
1926	11,118	4,098	1,117	1,525	2,606	1,052	399	21,805
1927	11,379	3,761	1,101	1,434	2,869	1,367	331	21,905
1928	12,039	4,298	1,074	1,462	3,939	1,275	341	22,131
1929	12,172	4,313	957	1,349	4,022	1,180	278	24,425
1930	11,349	3,865	769	1,233	4,210	727	171	24,271
1931	9,250	3,592	669	968	2,717	877	85	22,324
1932	7,758	3,585	682	779	1,971	890	73	18,158
1933	8,166	4,233	595	944	2,201	902	89	15,738
1934	10,751	4,968	874	1,274	2,975	727	85	17,430
1935	8,757	5,038	403	912	2,370	24	25	21,654
1936	12,995	5,758	656	1,181	3,781	622	268	17,529
1937	13,306	5,346	551	931	3,825	630	268	25,221
1938	12,500	4,850	372	685	3,277	387	249	24,865
								22,280

* Figures for 1905 cover persons employed in other branches of the Alaska Fisheries as well as salmon canning. Figures for earlier years are not available.

** The number of Filipinos and mexicans are included with "Others" in the second to the last column.

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1912	7,246	3,681	2,986	2,145	**	**	1,536	17,703
1913	7,338	3,602	2,050	1,612	**	**	1,911	16,513
1914	6,832	3,727	1,138	1,228	**	**	2,382	16,807
1915	7,349	4,325	2,190	1,555	**	**	2,352	17,711
1916	8,459	4,081	2,371	1,780	**	**	2,549	19,240
1917	11,038	4,848	2,274	1,597	1,153	1,535	661	23,350
1918	13,504	4,758	2,734	1,465	1,338	1,709	904	26,502
1919	13,668	3,634	2,770	1,431	1,577	1,866	553	25,499
1920	13,323	1,508	2,369	1,392	1,587	1,652	592	24,423
1921	6,510	2,497	887	611	957	1,357	167	12,984
1922	8,744	3,671	1,319	886	1,520	1,362	295	16,697
1923	9,608	3,999	1,311	1,056	1,431	1,749	285	19,439
1924	9,880	4,014	1,335	1,386	1,680	1,321	381	20,107
1925	11,038	3,758	1,248	1,539	2,230	1,504	497	21,805
1926	11,118	4,098	1,117	1,525	2,606	1,052	399	21,905
1927	11,379	3,761	1,101	1,434	2,869	1,367	331	22,131
1928	12,039	4,298	1,074	1,462	3,939	1,275	341	24,425
1929	12,172	4,313	957	1,349	4,022	1,180	278	24,271
1930	11,349	3,865	769	1,233	4,210	727	171	22,324
1931	9,250	3,592	669	968	2,717	877	85	18,158
1932	7,758	3,585	682	779	1,971	890	73	15,738
1933	8,166	4,233	595	944	2,201	902	89	17,430
1934	10,751	4,968	874	1,274	2,975	727	85	21,654
1935	8,757	5,038	403	912	2,370	24	25	17,529
1936	12,995	5,758	656	1,181	3,781	622	268	25,221
1937	13,306	5,346	551	931	3,825	630	268	24,865
1938	12,500	4,850	372	685	3,277	387	249	22,280

* Figures for 1905 cover persons employed in other branches of the Alaska Fisheries as well as salmon canning. Figures for earlier years are not available.

** The number of Filipinos and mexicans are included with "Others" in the second to the last column.

TABLE 1[44]

PERSONS ENGAGED IN SALMON CANNING INDUSTRY

IN ALASKA, 1905-38

Year	Whites	Natives	Chinese	Japanese	Filipinos	Mexican	Others	Total
1895	1,002	681	1,211					
1897			2,293					5,325
1898			2,467					5,641
1900			3,443					8,570
1901			4,664					11,635
1902			5,376					13,822
1905*	4,932	2,347	2,518	1,640	.....	30	.....	11,467
1906*	4,177	2,322	2,581	1,755	.....	.....	.....	10,747
1907*	4,119	2,462	2,205	1,863	.....	.....	.....	10,619
1908*	4,403	2,250	2,017	2,415	.....	.....	.....	11,085
1909*	4,391	1,998	1,992	2,141	.....	....	.....	10,522
1910	5,045	2,765	2,389	2,212	16	.....	4	12,431
1911	5,854	3,301	2,986	3,256	**	**	652	14,786
1912	7,246	3,681	2,986	2,145	**	**	1,536	17,703
1913	7,338	3,602	2,050	1,612	**	**	1,911	16,513
1914	6,832	3,727	1,138	1,228	**	**	2,382	16,807
1915	7,349	4,325	2,190	1,555	**	**	2,352	17,711
1916	8,459	4,081	2,371	1,780	**	**	2,549	19,240
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1938	12,500	4,850	372	685	3,277	387	249	22,280

* Figures for 1905 cover persons employed in other branches of the Alaska Fisheries as well as salmon canning. Figures for earlier years are not available.

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CHAPTER VIII

FILIPINOS AND THE LABOR UNIONS

The Early Years

During the period from 1924 to the mid 1930s organized labor, especially the American Federation of Labor (AFL) and its craft locals, made little attempt to assist the Filipinos in bettering their economic position. Rather, they not only excluded Filipinos from union membership on the basis of ineligibility to American citizenship, but also publicly agitated for an end to immigration from the Philippines and became actively involved in the drive within Congress to exclude Filipinos from the United States. The AFL first officially became concerned with the Philippine question in 1923 when its convention passed a resolution to investigate the status of laborers in the Philippines. The investigation was requested because of several factors; first, labor conditions in the Philippines were reported to be far below American standards and the Islands were under United States control; second, the Philippines had not been visited by a labor representative previously, and third, Philippine products were in direct competition with U.S. made goods.[1]

Then, in 1924, the AFL convention passed a resolution which called for duties to be placed on Philippine imports and also called for the granting of independence for the Islands. This resolution was a result of the expressed concern of certain trades who either had found themselves in direct competition with Filipino labor in the U.S., saw the possibility of competition in the future, or were in competition with Philippine produced goods, i.e., the Bakery and Confectionary Workers' Union, the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, the Elec-

trical Workers' Union, the United Garment Workers' Union, the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' Union, the Machinists' Union, the Musicians' Union, the Tobacco Workers' Union, the Typographical Union, the Longshoremen, and the Seamen. It is also the first expression of the AFL's support of Philippine independence. Possibly the AFL concern between 1923 and 1925 was nothing more than a "moral concern" for the Philippines,[2] but the 1924 resolution was probably more reflective of the anxieties of those feeling both a personal economic threat and a threat to the American standard of living. Therefore, the drive for independence of the Philippines, which would result in the inclusion of Filipinos in the quota system and thus limit their immigration, could be seen as a resolution of this threat. By 1927, the AFL's attitude was both openly opposed to the continuation of Filipino immigration and was hostile towards Filipinos already living in the U.S.

The Evolution of AFL Policy

From 1927 to 1934 the AFL, under pressure from its California contingent headed by Paul Sharrenberg who had authored numerous anti-Filipino articles in the AFL's American Federationist, came out strongly in favor of the exclusion of Filipinos and independence for the Philippines. The 1928 AFL convention adopted a resolution written by Sharrenberg and Victor A. Olander:

> WHEREAS, the desire for cheap labor has acted like a cancer in American private and public life, destroying American ideals and preventing the development of a nation based upon racial unity; and WHEREAS, in turn this desire has exploited the Negro, the Chinese, the Jap-

> anese, the Hindus, as in turn each has been regulated or excluded; and
>
> WHEREAS, the Malays of the Philippines were in 1924 omitted from the general policy excluding all who cannot become citizens; and
>
> WHEREAS, there are a sufficient number of Filipinos ready and willing to come to the United States to create a race problem equal to that already here; and
>
> WHEREAS, nothing short of exclusion can prevent the consummation [sic] of the desire for cheap labor and its willingness to come; and
>
> WHEREAS, the Welch Bill, H.R. 13900 [submitted by Richard J. Welch of California, also active in the Filipino exclusion drive], is designed to and will prevent the Filipinos from being imported; therefore, be it
>
> RESOLVED, by the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that we endorse said bill and urge its immediate passage.[3]

Thus, the AFL's attitude had gone far beyond a "moral" concern for the Filipinos and now reflected a degree of racial bias along with economic concern for maintaining the American standard of living. The report further stated, "There are 11,000,000 Filipinos in their native land and every one of them, with the exception of the few who have contagious diseases, may transfer his residence to any part of the United States at his own sweet pleasure."[4] This threat of further expansion of Filipino immigration is again found in Sharrenberg's articles in the American Federationist. Fili-

pinos are placed in the same category with the immigrants from China, Japan, and other countries within an Eastern Pacific geograhically defined zone, including India, Thailand, Indo-China, Borneo, Sumatra, Java, and other smaller islands. Sharrenberg wrote in explanation of the exclusionist agitation towards people from these areas:

> Unreasoning hatred of strangers in our midst has always been fostered when unwelcome immigration overran the nation. Race prejudice always came to the front in America whenever immigrants of any race or nationality were sufficiently numerous to constitute a menace to the higher standards of living of the native population.[5]

It is difficult to determine which had the greatest effect on the AFL's stand for Filipino exclusion, racial antipathy, economic threat, or other reasons. In any case, the AFL exclusion movement remained strong, especially on the West Coast, until the mid 1930s when the AFL began to take a new look at the Filipinos already in the U.S. for possible AFL affiliation due to Filipino union organizing activities. Catapusan notes that it was after the passage of the 1934 Tydings-McDuffey Act granting Philippine independence in twelve years and placing Filipinos under the immigration quota system that the AFL:

> ...took advantage of the situation by extending invitations to these loosely organized minority labor groups to come into their organization with the idea that only through the unions the unnecessary cut throat competition could be eliminated.[6]

However, another author suggests an earlier change in AFL attitude. Historian James R. Laurence notes that although resolutions submitted during the 1931 convention by delegates from California, Oregon, and Washington continued to call for Philippine independence and Filipino exclusion,[7] the conference for the first time would not wholly support exclusion as a condition for independence.[8] It thus appears that some change in AFL attitude was occurring. Nineteen thirty-two was the last year that exclusion of Filipinos and Philippine independence was a concern within the AFL. However, the West Coast affiliates continued their anti-Filipino agitation much longer. Even as late as 1939, four years after the Philippines had been promised independence, the Federationist published an article by Sharrenberg in opposition to granting American citizenship to Filipino-Americans and charging them with demanding special privileges by requesting citizenship. He still saw exclusion as a solution and the Filipino as a "menace".[9] Representative Welch of California continued his anti-Filipino diatribe as a member of the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, investigating the Alaskan fisheries in 1939 and 1940. His attitude in those hearings will be discussed in a later chapter.

The racist attitudes of a few leaders cannot be considered as exemplary of all laborites. Although the exact motivation for the AFL's actions is unclear and needs further research, the group's general lack of support and the negative response towards Filipinos by white American labor did little to help the Filipinos. It required the National Recovery Act Codes on Fair Competition to give impetus to unionization of cannery workers.

Federal Labor Legislation

It is necessary here to review several major victories won by laborites which greatly assisted the unionization drive. Until passage of national pro-labor legislation beginning in 1932, unions received little legal encouragement. Then, several pieces of legislation were introduced that would give great impetus to the drive to organize labor. The 1932 Federal Anti-Injunction Act (Norris-La Guardia Act) prohibited "yellow dog" contracts. (A document which declares that the worker who signed it is not a union member and will not become a member or deal with a union while employed.) It also set strict standards which federal courts had to follow before issuing an injunction hindering union organization and collective bargaining in a labor dispute.

More importantly, the National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933, sometimes called the Magna Carta of labor, recognized the workers' right to organize and required employers to bargain in good faith. Also, bargaining had to lead to an agreement. Although struck down by a Supreme Court decision in 1935, it instigated a great drive in 1933 and 1934 toward unionization of crafts, trades, and industries.

What was lost in the court was gained in the passage of labor's "bill of rights," the National Labor Relations Act.[10] The 1935 act, also called the Wagner Act, established certain employer practices relating to employees. This act made it an "unfair labor practice" to:

> --interfere with workers' rights to organize, bargain collectively, or engage in other concerted activities for improvement of wages, hours, and working conditions.

> -- dominate, interfere with, or financially support the organization or administration of a union.
> -- discriminate against workers for union membership or activities.
> -- discriminate or retaliate against workers for filing charges or giving testimony under the law.
> -- refuse to bargain with the workers' union (majority representative).[12]

Two other closely related factors assisted the nation-wide unionization movement, the involvement of American communists in the labor movement and the formation of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, (CIO). Since both have been thoroughly covered in a number of excellent works, the material need not be repeated here. Rather, a brief summary of each will place these incidents in perspective. The reader is referred to Kampelman, Pelling, and Saposs, as listed in the bibliography, for more detailed analyses.

Throughout the 1920s and early 1930s, American communists attempted to win unionists' support not only by organizing new unions, often in fields already organized, but also by applying the tactics of "boring from within." This scheme was based on the belief that a minority could gain control by becoming actively involved in union politics. Once in control, the union could become a tool for achieving the communists' political ends. (Those who believed in a communist philosophy are differentiated by actual Communist Party members through capitalization throughout the text.)

The Communist Party believed in class solidarity in the form of industry-wide unions as opposed to "individualistic" trade unions. Also, they were obliged to follow the Communist

Party line over union policies and objectives. The policy of communist dominated unions changed as the Party line changed. Although communist beliefs and objectives were opposed by the AFL, the basically humanitarian struggle for the plight of the workers found them in the same camp. By 1935, the communists had abandoned their attempts at establishing competing unions. They now began to give strong verbal support of the AFL and concentrated on boring-from-within. The Communist Party members were assisted, at times inadvertently, by the large numbers of socialists and other left-wing sympathizers who became involved in the union movement.

The formation of the CIO arose out of a conflict within the AFL over industrial versus craft unionism. The maverick industrial groups, under John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers Union, formed the Committee of Industrial Organizations (CIO) as a suborgan within the AFL and began seeking the participation of other unions. (It was renamed the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) in 1938.) However, the AFL leadership accused the dissenting unions of dual unionism and ordered them to desist. The order was ignored and by the fall of 1936 the schism was complete. The labor movement now had two separate and competitive organizing bodies. The split forced local unions, and thus individuals to choose between the CIO and the AFL for national affiliation. Communists, noting the CIO's industrial union philosophy, shifted their allegiance to this rapidly growing national organization. John L. Lewis accepted, and in many cases, sought communist assistance in organizing CIO locals. By 1937, numerous CIO unions were under communist leadership. Kampelman, in his work on the Communists and the CIO, notes,

> With Lewis willing to accept them, it was not too difficult for the Communists to become an integral part of the CIO organ-

> ization, particularly since most of them disguised themselves as liberals or as American radicals in the democratic tradition. The Communist party itself, as we have seen, encouraged disguise in the interests of building a "democratic front". And even though the Party proclaimed its allegiance to "the communist International"..., its open appeal was increasingly an American one designed to be in harmony with the interests and locale of American workers.[12]

Due to the aforemen ioned circumstances, the unionization movement increasingly gained strength during the 1930s. Agitation for unionization became popular across the nation. The AFL, and later the CIO, sought to organize more and more industries and crafts and to bring independent unions under their control. They by no means worked in harmony and cooperation. Union raiding by one or the other's locals and harsh competition in organizing new locals was a common occurrence. Still, each success in unionizing, whether it be AFL, or CIO, stimulated the overall labor movement. From May, 1933 to July, 1937, over 10,000 strikes, drawing 5 600,000 workers occurred across the United States.[13]

Early Organizing Attempts

Migrant laborers, Filipinos in particular, were an integral part of this drive to unionize from the 1920s on. Since Filipinos, Mexicans, and other migrant labor groups all engaged in the same industries, and often competed with each other for jobs, the competition benefitted employers and contractors. The availability of large numbers of workers allowed

growers and canners to keep wages at bare subsistence levels, and limited the effectiveness of the movement to the raising of worker consciousness. The negative attitude the AFL originally showed towards these groups did little to assist the migrants' cause. However, the workers' attempts at organizing were disruptive and set the scene for the wage slashing and undermining, riots, and strikes of the 1930s. While their unionization attempts were aimed at both agriculture and the salmon industry, the greatest achievements were gained through the Filipinos' efforts in the Alaskan salmon canneries. Yet the union organizers, even though they were working to organize industries widely disbursed geographically, had to seek out the workers individually to gain support. Travelling along the waterfronts and throughout the California and Washington fields, in such places as Pismo Beach, San Jose, Salinas, Stockton, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Seattle, Yakima, Juneau, Petersburg, Ketchikan, and many other communities where Filipinos gathered, and in remote Alaskan salmon canneries, militant leaders organized strikes and influenced workers to sign union affiliation cards. Seattle became the junction of unionization efforts for canneries in Southeast Alaska. Bristol Bay plants hired out of San Francisco where another union for the cannery workers was established.

Although it appeared that the Filipinos' three greatest obstacles were the contractors who stood to lose control of the workers, the salmon industry which was dependent on placid, inexpensive labor, and the early antipathy of organized labor, the continual power struggles within the unionization drive became the biggest impediment to the betterment of the laborers' plight. This schismatic tendency was the result of accusations of union mismanagement, personality clashes, and differing political philosophies. Further, as cannery contracting had been a lucrative business, union leadership was

also an advantageous endeavor. Not only did it put a person in the perceived position of padrino, able to distribute jobs and rank at one's pleasure while sometimes raking off payment for patronage, it also often paid a salary over and above such payment. The new Americanized cacique emerged as the local union officer.

To place this in a broader perspective, two aspects should be pointed out. First, power plays were not exclusive to the cannery workers' unions. They existed within most unions across the nation. Second, the leaders of the contending factions were, for the most part, primarily concerned over the welfare of their fellow workers and earnestly sought to better salaries and working and living conditions at the canneries. Yet the Filipinos were no more and no less human than the organizers of any other American union. While some were involved in unionization through altruistic ideals, others were more concerned with personal power or monetary gain, or, with promulgating a certain political philosophy, in this case, as it was in many unions, communism. Yet no matter what the leadership's particular aims might have been at the time, most workers were primarily concerned with obtaining employment, job security, pay, and other basics of survival.

Filipinos first joined other ethnic groups in the Workers' Industrial League and later, the Cannery and Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union. Six Filipino activists, Virgil S. Duyungan, L.V. Molina, A.G. Rodrigo, M. Esperitu, L. Roduta, C.B. Mislang, and L. Bellosillo organized the Cannery Workers and Farm Laborer's Union (CWFLU) in 1933 and received a charter from the AFL as Local 18257. This union, however, had little control over the industries which still hired workers through labor contractors. Thus, elimination of the contractors was of utmost concern to the unionists. As the

unionization movement grew, Filipinos became deeply embroiled in a struggle between unionists and contractors. Workers aligned themselves on either side, with allegiance dependent upon friendships, personal debts, political philosophies, and pay-offs. The methods used by the contractors to break the union movement and by the unionists to eliminate the contractors, became more violent as time went on. This dissension within the Filipino community probably did more to assist the salmon industry by keeping Filipinos apart than anything the industry could have instigated.

While absorbed in the battle with contractors, CWFLU Local 18257 established a simple platform for 1935 calling for five goals: one, absorption of 375 members dismissed for belonging to the union; two, provision of good food in the canneries; three, guarantee of at least two months work; four, no advances for gambling chips or sale of alcohol at the canneries; and five, preferential first hire for Seattle residents.[14] These points demonstrate both the laborers' priorities and the various obstacles they faced in bettering their position. It also makes apparent the naiveté of their demands compared to the demands of ten years later.

Evidence indicates that little assistance was given by the national labor organization, the AFL, to the fledgling Filipino union.[15] It is very possible that in addition to the prejudicial attitudes discussed earlier in this chapter, the dissension within the Filipino community and occasional labor racketeering, deterred the AFL's assistance. Local 18257 was briefly unaffiliated in 1937 after it left AFL. But later that year became affiliated with CIO. Membership in the union gained the workers little advantage other than the kindling of hope for improved conditions in the future.

Efforts to increase membership continued through 1935 and 1936 in stiff competition with contractors. Then, in allegedly a contractors' drive to break the union by eliminating its leadership, union president, Virgil Duyungan and the union secretary, Aurelio S. Simon were shot and killed.[16] It is interesting to note however, that a 1975 interview with Duyungan's wife the cause of the two murders was charged to inter-union rivalry and misuse of funds.[17] Whichever was the case might never be known. The effect of the murders, however motivated, proved to be detrimental to the contractors. Publicity resulting from an earlier (1934) criminal suit against several labor contractors, along with the murder of Duyungan and Simon, greatly discredited the contracting system in the eyes of the public. At the same time, the unionization movement, due to the establishment of the CIO and its politically militant organizers, gained strength in many areas around the country. Unionization still faced many problems in terms of power struggles and personality and political conflicts, yet the contractors no longer had control of the salmon industry. Although this discord constantly threatened to split the union, in 1937, when CWFLU Local 18257 secured hiring halls in Seattle, and in Portland, it could for the first time dispatch workers to the canneries. In San Francisco, hiring was done under a union in the bay area. Unionized, the workers could now begin to make real demands on the industry rather than just voice their desire for change.

The union began its work to rectify the conditions in the canneries for the upcoming 1937 season. In January, 1937, in a message written to the salmon industry, the union voiced its demands. It promised to:

> ...stamp out such a vicious system that leads to open violence and the taking of

> lives, for the paltry reason to protect the infamous method of peonage that these chosen few have practiced in the past. Therefore, we say in regards to labor agents and contractors of labor, and their usage by employers, that we are definitely on record as being unalteraby opposed to further use of these agents in any manner or capacity whatsoever. With the systematic setup of hiring and dispatching system, we are in a position to furnish capable and qualified men, thereby eliminating the evils to which men were formerly subjected, and the hands of those agents and contractors.[18]

The union set up its demands in the following priorities:

1. ELIMINATION OF LABOR AGENTS AND CONTRACTORS.

2. Meals, good food, quality, quantity, American style.

3. Comfortable living quarters aboard vessels and at canneries, including springs, mattresses and linens.

4. Definite increases in wages and shorter hours of work.[19]

The labor organization also criticized the existing accommodations, sanitary facilities, food, and safety measures. As for the blame for the conditions under which the laborers

worked, the union stated:

> It is necessary, however, for the benefit of outlining these different issues, to point out the apparent lack of understanding or an obvious apathy which the employers have assumed, in not making the necessary changes to alleviate the deplorable situation and conditions which would make for the betterment of their employees.[20] (See Appendix II for document in toto.)

Many Filipino workers blamed both labor contractors as well as the cannery operators for the working and living conditions in the canneries. Chris Mensalves, former union organizer, noted of the cannery conditions:

> ...that's a long long story. Alot of racketeering mostly on the part of our own people, contractors. That's the reason our old people got militant and got rid of the contractors and then had the union.[21]

The points of contention expressed in the January 1937 message to the salmon industry were undoubtedly deeply felt concerns. The placement of a portion of the responsibility on the company for allowing the conditions to exist is an indictment that, even today, has not been resolved in industry and has forced the eventual establishment and intervention of governmental regulatory agencies.

The Schisms Begin

By 1937 the Seattle Local 18257 had union affiliates in Portland, and Astoria Oregon, Anacortes, Everett and Aberdeen Washington, Ketchikan, Petersburg, Juneau, and False Pass, Alaska. Early that year, a rival, all-Japanese union was formed among the cannery workers. Called the Alaska Cannery Workers Union, Local 20454, and headed by Leo Flynn and Clarence T. Arai, an attorney allegedly employed by Japanese contractors, it affiliated with, and was recognized by, the AFL. The two unions contended for the right to be sole bargaining agent for the farm and cannery workers. ACWU Local 20454, accused by Local 18257 of being a contractor's union, set up pickets in front of the Alaska Steamship Lines' dock. The Teamsters and Longshoremen honored the picket, delaying the sailing of ships to the Alaska canneries for the 1937 season. On May 1, 1200 men from CWFLU Local 18257 confronted the pickets at the waterfront and safely escorted their fellow CWFLU workers to the boats. On May 4, a court injunction was issued against the pickets so the ships could sail.

This apparently minor confrontation was one of several perceived differences between the AFL and CIO locals. Other differences involved power struggles as well as Filipino ethnic loyalties. The accusation of being a "contractors' union" became familiar rhetoric of the CIO followers. Propaganda for each contending group derided the others, not only confusing the laborers, but shattering friendships and adding fuel to the traditional padrino system in the locals. From 1936 to 1955, jurisdictional disputes between rival local unions abounded as each vied for position as sole bargaining agent for the cannery workers. It was a period ridden with inter and intra-union intrique and conflict. Filipino union organizers travelled throughout Alaska signing up workers, often in canneries already organized.

The Alaskan reaction to the non-resident unionists' interference was one of indignation and resentment. It served to add fuel to the flame of the battle for local Alaskan hire which had been growing stronger all through the 1930s. In Alaska too, the causes of anti-Filipino feelings were split between economic and racial reasoning. When union organizers interferred with the work of the shrimp and crab packers in Petersburg, the owner, Earl N. Ohmer, commented to Governor John Troy that not only were the terms the picketers demanded unacceptable, but "It is also too bad, that representatives, if there be such, shouldn't at least be whitemen or women instead of filapenoes [sic]. The idea to start with don't set."[22] Ohmer, however, though apparently displeased with Filipinos, was also concerned about the large number of Petersburg residents who would be put out of work if he did not comply with the terms of the CWFLU Local 18257. (The local by then had the support of the longshoremen and could put the Petersburg plant on the "unfair" list according to the terms of the Wagner Act and picket both the plant and any ships going to or from Petersburg with plant supplies. Because the longshoremen would have honored the picket line, no goods could have been transferred. Thus, the plant would have been shut down, throwing the workers out of work.) Yet the AFL's recognition of Petersburg's Local 2119 prevailed and the strike was unsuccessful. Petersburg retained its local workers.

The cannery operators in general entered the 1937 season with caution. In their trade journal for 1938 they commented that the 1937 season was limited to the rebuilding of any "burn outs" as labor difficulties were "...highly unfavorable to new enterprises."[23] This reflects a displeasure with the pressure the unions were placing on the industry. Union contracts made great demands in many areas besides wages.

The Alaska Cannery Workers' Union Local 20195 of San Francisco had the 1937 contract for the Alaska Packers Association canneries. The contract, as signed, specified that it represented APA employees who were union members or permit workers. They claimed jurisdiction over all duties involved in the processing of the fish from the time of arrival at the cannery until the time of departure. The APA could not make any arrangement for any services from a contractor. The union judged the qualifications of the workers and, would select the foremen, cooks, and bakers. Alaska residents and Natives were to become members of the union within fifteen days of their commencement of work. The union went further to request pay advances before sailing, and advances on a monthly interval to those with families to support. Special equipment such as raincoats, rubber aprons, and boots for the workers were to be supplied by the cannery. American style, nutritious meals with adequate amounts of food was to be served at five hour intervals with at least thirty minutes allowed for each meal. Also, bunkhouses were to be apart from messhouses; and springs, mattresses and covers, pillows and covers were to be furnished by the company at the cannery and on ships. The canneries had to provide facilities for washing with hot water, provide safety equipment, fire equipment, and make sanitary facilities available (toilets, baths, etc.). The men would work an eight hour day, forty-eight hour week, with one day of rest as selected and mutually agreed upon between the union and the company. Overtime was paid for any work over eight hours a day and for any work not coming within the usual cannery operations as specified in the contract. The company was to provide recreational facilities separate from the bunkhouse for reading, writing, and listening to music. Heat was to be provided where needed along with facilities for drying clothes. Medical attention was to be available for all employees. In case of illness or accident, the company would pay the employee his monthly wage

while ill along with any medical expenses incurred, whether or not job related. Lastly, the union specified that:

> The company shall hire and work full complement of men as specified and agreed to for the various canneries and lines, and the same number of men shall be employed in a cannery as formerly, provided the cannery operates at an equal capacity as heretofore. Where the number of lines is increased, and additional men are not hired to do the additional work, the monies which would have been earned by men performing the additional work shall be divided equally amongst all the cannery workers.[24]

This protected the men not only from job loss due to mechanization, but also from being overworked due to an inadequate supply of men. It had the negative effect of destroying the advantage the canners obtained from putting in new, more efficient, machinery. The contract listed many more changes deemed important by the workers. This contract in toto can be found in Appendix V.

Although many of the items were written in ambiguous language which could easily be either ignored or interpreted loosely, i.e., "Bunk houses should be apart from messrooms wherever possible," and "The Union is in favor of a mobile fire department with trained crews, and periodical fire drills, and fire extinguishers in necessary places in canneries and vessels,"[25] it did set standards for certain practices which ultimately developed into controversial issues. These were one, the requirement that Alaska residents join the union; two, the union's ability to pick the employees (especially

the foremen) for the company; three, the union's right to judge who are qualified workers; and four, the union's right to set the number of men that would be hired at each cannery. All these policies tended to increase the union's power. If Alaskans were forced to affiliate, it would gain the union several advantages. The union would have better bargaining power with the salmon industry by virtue of representing all workers, both inside and outside Alaska. Also it would give the union control of laborers who previously had been independent agents. It also would give the union officers greater power over the workers, and a larger treasury. Correspondingly, by selecting which employees would work at a specific cannery, and setting the number to be assigned to each, the union had even more power and increased control over the canners. Such a practice allowed the union to place more of its men each season, as well as establish work-load maximums and insure a minimum income to the laborers. While these demands angered the cannery operators, it appears that other items such as salaries, medical services, working conditions, overtime, etc., were seen as negotiable items which, in light of subsequent labor initiatives, were expected but were considered nonetheless burdensome.

In the long run, however, the continuing jurisdictional disputes caused the salmon industry the most anxiety, because they threatened to tie up the entire trade through picketing and strikes.[26] This turmoil within the union continued, even after the seasonal struggles between the canners and the union had been settled.

Three Years of Turmoil -- 1937 to 1940

Because of the AFL's recognition of the rival union, Local 20454, and among other reasons, because of Local 18257's

leadership's leftist political beliefs, Local 18257 repudiated any AFL affiliation. Therefore, during the summer of 1937, a laborers' convention was held in Denver where a new charter was written and left-wing elements from Local 18257 reorganized under a small minority of the old local including Inrico R. Cabitit and Conrad Espe, a non-Filipino. This new union called themselves the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America, (UCAPAWA), and affiliated with the CIO. Local 7 was in Seattle and Local 5 in San Francisco.[27]

Meanwhile, a core of original members of CWFLU, Local 18257 remained within that organization and affiliated with the AFL. To confuse things further, some workers were not satisfied with either union, UCAPAWA (CIO) or CWFLU (AFL). These men formed their own multi-racial, CIO-oriented (not affiliated) faction under Daisho Miyagawa, Yusio Kumamoto and George Taki, and worked for social action mainly within the Japanese community, winning a number of workers over to their side.

Thus, prior to the beginning of the 1938 season, several non-Alaskan unions were contending for rights that included representation of Alaska residents; CWFLU Local 18257 (AFL), Alaska Cannery Workers Union Local 20454 (AFL), and the communistic UCAPAWA Local 7 (CIO). The laborers, confused by the contradictory and often inflamatory propaganda put out by the unions did not know which union to belong to, if any, in order to get the best cannery jobs.

The confusion was even greater in Alaska. Both AFL and CIO organizers were in Alaska trying to influence workers to join their particular local affiliates. Alaskan residents also were trying to organize their own locals and attempted to avoid affiliation with the outside locals. M.M. "Toots" Dun-

lap was travelling throughout the territory organizing Alaskan fishermen and cannery workers for the AFL. There is some evidence that both Alaska's Governor Troy and the Alaska salmon industry supported the AFL over the CIO, but not for the same reasons.

Governor Troy, naturally supportive of measures which provided employment for Alaskan residents, believed the Lower 48 unions ignored the needs of Alaskan resident workers, and manipulated the situation to their own desires. The canneries, while displeased with the unions new power, when forced to choose between the rivals, opposed the demands of the CIO and found the AFL's proposed contract more amenable. Also, as part of a policy of keeping control of their industry out of the hands of Alaskans, they leaned towards the Lower 48 unions. Yet, partially in response to pressure from the government and residents of Alaska to hire more local people, the industry began to prefer the less militant Alaskan Natives and the local, primarily white union to the zealous Filipinos. Not only were Alaskan Natives becoming less expensive in relation to Lower 48 help, but also, they were more readily available due to their migration to cannery sites in search of employment. Thus, the cannery operators' attitude towards these people had changed since the establishment of the early salmon industry in Alaska to one of acceptance and appreciation of the Natives' abilities and availability. The industry, therefore, tried to convince the Governor to influence the local unionists to support Dunlap and the AFL.

The National Labor Relations Board election held on May 1, 1938, effected over 13,000 of the employees of the industry's total 22,280 workers, the majority of whom were non-residents. Filipinos (primarily non-resident), accounted for 3,266 of the workers, 2,428 were unaffiliated Alaska Natives,

5,825 were white resident and non-resident, and the remaining 1,481 were Chinese, Japanese, Mexican, Puerto Ricans and others. (Unaffiliated workers could not vote.) With the swing of the Japanese vote to the CIO side, the CIO affiliated locals were able to win the contract for the 1938 season.[28] The AFL affiliated unions and the Alaskan resident workers, primarily non-Filipino, had lost.

Although a number of the items in the 1938 (UCAPAWA Local 7 (CIO) contract were altered to the benefit of the Alaska salmon industry, the union retained or improved upon its hold on several important issues. A key change in favor of the union is seen in paragraph one which states, "The Company hereby recognizes this Union as the sole representative of its employees who are hired and engaged in the industry coming under the jurisdiction of the union..."[29] The phrase "sole representative" included representation for Alaska residents working in jobs under union jurisdiction. It gave the CIO complete jurisdiction over the cannery workers, resident or non-resident. Medical coverage was also improved, the union obtaining the right to claim workman's compensation along with the medical benefits provided by the companies. Other improvements were the right to approve the prices of any goods sold in cannery stores and limitation of the acceleration of machinery to no more than 115 cans per minute without adding more men to the line. (By speeding up the machinery the company could pack more cans without paying for additional workers. This, according to the union, overloaded and overworked the men.) The union retained the important right of setting the number of men working in any particular cannery based on the numbers employed by previous years.

The UCAPAWA Local 7 (CIO) contract only further confused both the Alaskan Natives and the white Alaska residents who were increasingly attracted to employment in the fishing industry

as the pay and working conditions improved over the years. These workers were now told that they had to join the UCAPAWA (CIO) to become eligible to work in the canneries. On May 20, 1938, Governor Troy wired U.S. Secretary of the Interior Ickes requesting permission for Alaskan Natives to be hired directly by the canneries rather than go through the union in Seattle or San Francisco. A response came back from Ernest Gruening, then director of the Division of Territories and Island Possessions of the Department of the Interior. Gruening affirmed that no discrimination against Alaskan Natives was intended and that an open shop would be allowed, thus insuring Alaskan employment in the industry.[30] However, in practice, the best positions and full employment still went to union members and their Filipino-Alaskan friends.

The controversy over local hire versus union placement, resident versus non-resident and AFL versus CIO was not solved by the 1938 contract. Rather, the agreement between the industry and the union only tended to anger many Alaskan residents further, and added to the dissension. Yet the cannery workers were only one part of a dispute over non-resident hire that included the entire salmon industry and will be discussed in the following chapter.

Competition between these groups increased in 1939. More importantly, it also saw an increase in influence within UCAPAWA Local 7 (CIO) by the seaman's union, the Maritime Federation of the Pacific (MFP), and also by communist leaning members of Local 7. This introgression was a result of the communist practice of espousing democracy within locals while in actuality, following the Party line as it came down from above. Allegiance to the Party line meant that control of the union was not in the hands of the workers, who were fed propaganda to believe otherwise. Control was in the hands of the communist core who owed their allegiance to

their superiors in the communist heirarchy.[31] The leaders of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific (MFP) allied themselves with and attempted to control the leadership of UCAPAWA Local 7 (CIO). Thus, beginning in 1939, the loyalties of the cannery workers became less a matter of constancy to the Filipino cause and more a submission to the dictates of the union leadership. Propaganda leading to the support of the leftwing philosophy and practices increased while the communists entrenched themselves in the West Coast maritime trades.

The influence of the MFP, however, appeared to give UCAPAWA Local 7 (CIO) little advantage. The foothold the union had begun to achieve was slipping. A number of important contract items given to the union in the 1938 agreement reverted to industry control in 1939. Although the reasons for this change are uncertain, apparently it was due to a weakening of the union's bargaining power. The squabbling between unionists could not have helped the matter. The industry began to clamp down on what they considered the new arrogance of the union by specifying certain items previously taken for granted. Also, both the union and the industry were now displaying an increased finesse at collective bargaining.

Out of the controversy over union representation of Alaskan residents, a policy was established which made the union "... exclusive and sole bargaining agent for all its employees engaged for Alaska Salmon Cannery operations from the State of California, Oregon, and Washington..."[32] Thus, Alaska residents were not required to join the Lower 48 union, making it easier for canneries to employ Alaska residents if they so desired. Among the other major changes was the requirement that employees sail on any vessel designated by the industry, when and where directed. Medical coverage was drastically reduced for injury or illness due to causes not

directly job related, and the circumstances under which one could collect workmen's compensation were reduced. Also eliminated was the section which had based the number of men to be hired in the current season on the number employed the previous year. (This practice, however, remained an unwritten, assumed, section of each year's agreement.) Other aspects of the 1939 contract became permanent policy of the industry. Two months wages were guaranteed if, for reasons not due to the employees failure to carry out their jobs, they were dismissed. Also, employees could choose to be paid off while still in Alaska if they chose to remain in the Territory at the end of the season. Base wages for workers were raised slightly along with overtime rates.

Bickering once again became an issue in the 1940 season when a 50 percent cutback in the Bristol Bay season threatened to put a number of men out of work. The CIO tried to force the Alaska salmon industry, also organized and under the name Alaska Salmon Industry, Inc., to hire the same number of outside men as the previous year and place them in Southeast canneries, thus forcing Alaskan residents out of jobs. Once again, this became a jurisdictional dispute as the CIO controlled the outside unions while most of the resident unions were affiliated with the Seafarers' International Union, (AFL).

By 1941, although salaries were raised once again, the industry asserted its authority over the workers even further, by refusing to employ anyone it chose, and establishing the right of "black listing" employees for the following year and allowing company consultation on the hiring of foremen. It also formally recognized:

> ...the obligation of the (company) to give employment to resident Alaska

> workers when such workers are available in the vicinity of the cannery and are competent to perform the required work, and it is recognized that such workers will be employed. The company agrees that this right of employment shall extend only to bona fide residents of Alaska as defined by Territorial law.[33]

The progression of union/industry relationship after the ousting of the contractors, was in a constant state of disequilibrium. Initially taken off guard by each others' attempts at exploitation of anything not specified, both union and industry became increasingly specific in their demands. As the union tried to gain more worker rights, the industry tried to assert its rights as management and owner. During pre-season bargaining, each side established priorities for each issue it would fight. The Territory of Alaska, having its own vested interest, joined in the parley to put pressure on the salmon industry and the unions to include among the top priorities items important to Alaskans. Ultimately, the season's contract was drawn, neither side winning a major victory. If the union won large concessions one year, whether by actual deliberation or by default, the industry would gain on either those same or equally important issues the following season. Since the large number of issues arbitrated tended to cloud the actual achievements, it may have appeared that the industry stayed well ahead of the union. Yet, over a period of years, substantial gains were made in behalf of the workers. Also, it should be emphasized that the working and living conditions at canneries in the beginning of the union years were, for the most part, in great need of improvement. Any change, however insignificant it may have seemed to outsiders, could only be considered a major victory by the workers.

The 1940s and the Cold War

During the next six years the union fought to maintain what improvements they had gained while contending with power struggles, jurisdictional disputes, continued Alaskan resident hire agitation, and apathy within the ranks due to the depletion of members during World War II.

Part of the apathy, however, was a direct result of changes which occurred during the war in Americans' attitudes towards Filipinos. The Japanese attack on the Philippines aroused American sympathies. Filipinos, whether Philippine residents or residents in the United States, were suddenly allies of the United States, not just wards. Thus, they were seen in a more positive light. The war also stirred the ever present patriotism of the many Filipino-Americans -- a patriotism that entailed dual allegiance -- allegiance to the Philippines and to the United States. Many Filipinos, including Filipino cannery workers joined American armed forces. Canneries were consolidated during the war and many packers were short handed. Others found employment in defense related industries and in construction of military bases -- areas previously closed to them. In turn, the increased interaction with white Americans resulted in a weakening of the prejudicial attitudes against Filipinos. Thus, Filipino self-preservation in a hostile white American society, which had been a prime stimulus for the unionization efforts of the 1930s was no longer as important an issue. Contractors no longer existed. Filipino-Americans had become a mainstay within the salmon industry. As all labor found power through unionization, the Filipinos had become a recognized force of their own. And, wages frozen during the war, had become comparatively respectable compared with wages in other industries.

At the same time, two other movements began to gain momentum across the country; an anti-labor movement and an anti-communist drive. While the CIO was a burgeoning infant, some union observers suspected the involvement of communists in its organizing drives, but could not prove it. However, it is estimated that due to the discretion of the communists, the policy of boring-from-within, communist competency at organizing, and the mood of America at the time, communists dominated 12 to 15 of the 40 international CIO unions.[34] A drive to eliminate communists from the CIO began just prior to World War II, but when Russia became an American ally, the diatribe against the communists lost its sting. David Saposs, in his study of Communists in American unions, noted the inevitability of confrontation within the CIO:

> The Communists had to expose themselves in their advocacy of certain issues, chiefly those affecting Soviet Russia's foreign policy. When these critical international issues pressed for action, it was possible for the more alert to arouse the more inert by exposing the masquerade. Thus, the Communist boring-from-within movement carried within itself the seed of destruction.[35]

Immediately after the war anti-communists within the CIO began a strong drive to eject the communists. The exposure of the communist domination of so many international unions reverberated down to the individual locals. Many of the "rank-and-file" that had been oblivious to the political leanings of their leaders assisted in purging their unions and the CIO of communists. However, some workers continued their leftist leanings and fought to keep the CIO from expelling their particular unions. In addition the United

States Immigration and Naturalization Service began deportation proceedings to deport several key Filipino union organizers and leaders. The proceedings were later dropped, but the incident had an effect on the union.

A powerful segment of the Filipino leadership had, from the first attempts at unionization, affiliated themselves with communist, socialist, and other left-wing union organizers. Kampelman lists UCAPAWA Local 7 as being communist dominated by 1938 -- a year prior to its membership in the MFP.[36] Yet it is doubtful if the union members realized the extent or the impact of the political beliefs of their leaders during the first years of unionization. If they did, they showed no fear nor objection to it. The Filipinos also, as were many unionists, were more concerned with bettering their lot than with political philosophies. After the war, UCAPAWA was renamed the Cannery Workers and Farm Laborers' Union, (CWFLU), Local 7, affiliated with the Food, Tobacco and Allied Workers' International (FTA) (CIO). CWFLU Local 7 soon found itself controlled by the FTA International rather than by its own rank-and-file. After a dispute over non-payment of dues by the CWFLU Local 7 to the FTA, and a movement by some members to pull out of the FTA in June, 1947, FTA International (CIO) appointed new officers to Local 7 who were sympathetic to their cause.

Although the FTA had taken over Local 7 through a legal court injunction with the instructions that an election for new officers would be held within 90 days, the ousted officers formed a new union and began to solicit membership "...because we want[ed] to get away from the control and domination of the Communist-controlled FTA International..."[37] In actuality, the workers' dislike of the FTA was based on several differences: First, they charged that it was a "...Communist union that tends to undermine or sabotage the labor rights of

the common worker."[38] Second, were charges of corruption. Third, were power struggles; and finally, were personality differences. The charge of undermining entailed the transfer of a large portion of local union dues to support FTA International (CIO), and the FTA's control of the local. The newly formed union, calling itself the "Seafood Workers Union" applied for certification from the National Labor Relations Board as a local, non-affiliated union with the intention of negotiating with the salmon industry for the 1948 season. (An attempt to affiliate with the AFL was aborted.)

During summer, 1947, changes occurred in the attitude of business towards the newly found powers of laborites. The union cause had lost much support after the war due to jurisdictional strife, corruption, intra-union factionalism (usually involving charges of communism), the defiance of the government by certain powerful industrial unions, and numerous strikes. Another interpretation of the changes, however, is that the labor movement weakened, lost its image as champion of the underdog and unorganized, and labor became "...self-satisfied and apathetic."[39] The fear of communism then prevalent across the nation must also be considered.

Consequently, a push began in Congress for legislation to regain what was lost through the 1933 Wagner Act. The Taft-Hartley Act, passed in June of 1947, partially accomplished this. Although the rights of labor were not retracted, what some considered severe restrictions were placed on organized labor. Among other things, the Taft-Hartley Act established the "general counsel" of the National Labor Relations Board which investigated and prosecuted unfair labor practices and limited the board to act judicially only on judgments presented it by the counsel. Employers were allowed "freedom of speech" on such matters as whether employees should join a union or not.

Unions had to supply the NLRB with a copy of their constitution and by-laws, a list of principal union officers and an annual financial statement. The union officers had to sign a non-communist affidavit every twelve months and affirm that they did not believe in the violent revolution against the United States government. Unions could not spend funds on federal elections and featherbedding was illegal. Unions were liable for conduct of their officials and could be sued for breach of contract. This made them more accountable. A closed shop was illegal and union shop was legal only if negotiated in a fresh contract and authorized in an election by a majority of the workers. Also, craft workers could have a union separate from the rest of the workers in a shop. Secondary strikes or boycotts were prohibited. The NLRB could obtain an injunction in such cases and also in jurisdictional disputes. Strikes against the federal government were prohibited. An important sixty-day cooling off period in the event of a strike was established. Finally, the president was empowered to intervene in cases of national emergency and to order resumption of work.

The Taft-Hartley Act immediately became an issue when the question of signing a non-communist affidavit prompted a dispute between the Seafood Workers' Union (SWU) and the CWFLU Local 7 FTA (CIO) in 1948. When CWFLU Local 7 FTA (CIO) refused compliance, it appeared the SWU had won the right to be the bargaining agent for the forthcoming season's cannery workers. However, the SWU was also cited with non-compliance because the union had been organized and cannery foremen held offices. (Foremen were now considered management and thus could not represent the rank-and-file. Since the job of foreman paid well, those with the most power within the Filipino community often sought these jobs. They also tended to seek other power positions, such as being union leaders.) Although the SWU lost the election, in the summer, 1948, they

affiliated with the AFL in order to again qualify for collective bargaining rights for the 1949 season. Another name change occurred. This time the SWU became the Alaska Fish Cannery Workers' Union of the Pacific, affiliated with the Seafarers' International Union (AFL).

The dissension within the Filipino ranks once again played into the hands of the salmon industry and would continue to do so for some time. The industry dispatched men north for the 1948 season themselves, signed union agreements with several local Alaska unions, and hired non-union people at its discretion. Small AFL affiliated locals had signed a contract with the industry for individual canneries that appeared to the rival unions to be a giant step backwards. Many benefits which the unions had won over the years were lost. Yet, in comparing the pay scales of foremen and Class A workers to the wages in 1938, just after unionization, and to 1920 when the contractors were still in full control of the workers, and to the average wage for an American unskilled factory worker, one can see that the cannery workers had improved their conditions considerably. (See Table 2) By this time the anti-communist drive was gaining momentum across the nation. The FTA International was on trial within the CIO for alledged communist domination and was threatened with expulsion. The accusation of communist domination caused the membership within the FTA International and its locals to drop drastically. Some cannery workers who were displeased with the alledgedly communist controlled CWFLU Local 7 FTA (CIO) formed a new union, the United Cannery Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America, (UCAPAWA) and affiliated with the CIO as Local 77 when Local 7 FTA was expelled from the CIO.

CWFLU Local 7 FTA, abandoned the rapidly declining FTA International, and in 1950, affiliated with the still powerful

International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), also a member of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific. The ILWU also had been expelled from the CIO for communist domination, but due to the powerful leadership of Harry Bridges, was able to maintain its strength as an autonomous international union. The ever transforming core of unionists worked to gain back the membership frightened away by the "red scare".

In 1951, the National Labor Relations Board once again supervised the union representation elections. CWFLU Local 37 (ILWU) vied for the position of sole bargaining agent against UCAPAWA Local 77 (CIO) and Alaskan Fish Cannery Workers' Union of the Pacific SIO (AFL). CWFLU Local 37 (ILWU) won the election and would remain the controlling union of non-resident Alaska cannery workers up to the present time. AFCWU-SIU (AFL) exists to this day and dispatches a small number of men to Alaska each season. Alaskan resident cannery workers are primarily affiliated with this union. Local 77 (CIO) passed from the scene completely.

TABLE 2

Comparison of Wages Between Cannery Laborers and U.S. Common Laborers,

1920--1938--1948[40]

YEAR	JOB CLASSIFICATION	CANNERY WORKER[a]	U.S. COMMON LABOR[b]
1920	Cannery Labor	$50.40/month 11 hr. day 7 days a week	$107.10/month 8 hr. day 6 days a week
	Foremen	$900/season	
1938	Cannery labor	$86.50/month 8 hr. day 6 days a week	$126.40/month 8 hr. day 6 days a week
	Foremen	$930/season plus 15% of season's earnings	
1948	Cannery labor	$234.78/month 8 hr. day 6 days a week	$272.16/month 8 hr. day 5 days a week
	Foremen	$2,000/season	

a) Also supplied with transportation to and from Alaska, board and room, and offered possibility of much overtime.

b) Monthly wage based on average of hourly earnings of farm laborers, workers in manufacturing, and common labor in road building.

Divisiveness within the Filipino community and within the union movement itself, caused the establishment of rival local cannery workers unions. Here, CWFLU, (FTA-CIO) officers prepare for a strike, c1947.

(Photo credit: University of Washington Manuscripts Collection, Valasco papers.)

These Filipino cannery workers demonstrate their allegiance to the United States at a Fourth of July celebration while working at an unknown cannery in Alaska.

(Photo credit: Juneau, Alaska Historical Library, Clyda Schott Greely Collection.)

Summary

The degree to which communists were involved in the cannery workers' unions was minimal in numbers but maximal in influence. Although many were accused of being either actual communists or communist sympathizers, it should be remembered that across the nation this was a time of the witch hunts of United States Senator Joseph McCarthy (Republican, Wisconsin) when many false accusations were made. Admittedly, initial unionization drives, especially within the CIO, made active use of communists, and many of these unions were communist controlled for some time. Through knowledge of parliamentary procedure, a few Communist Party members could infiltrate a union and gain control while the majority still remained non-communist. The infiltration of communists ended with the end of World War II and the beginning of the Cold War. In 1949 the CIO expelled the communist unions. When the AFL and CIO combined in 1954 they maintained a strong anti-communist platform and unions increasingly became anti-communist. Yet the Filipinos consistently remained tied to communist dominated internationals, even after being expelled from the CIO as part of the FTA International. Why did the left wing leaders remain in control for so long? The bulk of the workers remained true to their leaders although the workers were non-communist themselves. Kampelmann contends that effective non-communist leadership kept communists out of many unions and non-effective leadership allowed them to enter.[41] Saposs notes that unions such as the FTA International "...had ineffective leadership and devoted considerable time and money to Communist Party activities", and, thus, they lost followers. Yet a few unions, the communist ILWU notably, had leadership "...as competent as the most successful unions," and, therefore, maintained their membership irregardless of their leadership's communist allegiance.[42] It would appear that effective leadership, per se, is the key to allegiance, whether communist or non-communist.

When applying this argument to the Filipinos, the question becomes more complex and another aspect of leadership must be added. This is the effect of ethnic allegiance and friendship ties. Those who began the union movement in the 1920s remained in power positions throughout the years being discussed. They continually had the allegiance of the bulk of the workers. This allegiance was primarily based on ethnicity and friendship. While a powerful block of Filipinos rose in opposition to the Communist leadership of the FTA, these same men soon renewed their friendship with the opposition, CWFLU Local 37 (ILWU), and became strong supporters of the ILWU, even though they were well aware of its leftwing policies and communist rhetoric.

The disagreements appeared to be based probably more on personality conflicts than on political differences. When comparing the relative achievements of the union during the periods of its affiliation with the FTA and the ILWU, an inconsistency becomes apparent. The union lost several items after affiliating with the ILWU which it apparently considered very important, i.e., it lost control of the hiring hall and the ability to dispatch its own men. Over that ten year period the only gains of any significance other than modest wage increases, were company payment to the workers of forty-eight dollars in lieu of health and welfare benefits and the company provision of bedding. (Previously the workers had to bring their own bedding.) Otherwise, the contract remained substantially the same, even in areas one would have expected changes for the betterment of the workers. Thus, it is possible to speculate that the workers did not remain allied with ILWU necessarily because of its effectiveness in collective bargaining.

While unionization began among the Filipinos to better their lives and to give some hope for the future, it became em-

broiled in personality conflict, power struggles, jurisdictional disputes, and communist purges. Although in many instances the union officials only replaced the contractors as tetrarchs within the Filipino community, they also provided leadership and contributed to a sense of ethnic identity. While at times workers complained that the union officials did not care about nor realize the plight of the workers, many advances were made in both working conditions and in salaries. Yet unionization left much to be desired. Racketeering occurred. Unions were used by some for personal gain, power, wealth, and prestige. Also, it should be remembered that with the establishment of union, the Filipinos had at least partial protection from exploitation and some means of arbitrating differences with the canneries. It early became apparent that specifying something in a union contract with the salmon industry did not guarantee that the contract would be followed. Gaining a contract was one thing, enforcing it another. For example, the 1958 CWFLU (Local 37 (ILWU) contract specified that the company would provide specific bedding items to the employees, including pillows. Yet a former cannery worker related cannery conditions in 1965:

> I remember going to him (the owner) for the longest time trying to get pillows for the Filipino crew. At the end of the season, just going through the warehouse there was a big container of new pillows. And they had told me that they never got them in.[43]

One cannot deduce, however, that a basic ineffectiveness on the part of the union was the cause of the stagnation and decline that occurred during the 1950s. Several factors must be taken into account. First, and perhaps foremost, the years of complicated inter- and intra-union rivalry surely

had an overall negative effect on the workers while at the same time they strengthened the salmon industry's position. The Filipino unions, with reluctant support from the industry, maintained primary control of cannery employment. Yet the industry retained the ultimate power in employment. Today, nearly all non-resident cannery labor is dispatched through union halls in Seattle and San Francisco. Labor continues to be hired on an hourly basis although some canneries offer seasonal guarantees and are primarily non-union. Cannery crews are increasingly racially mixed but still contain a preponderance of Filipinos, often new immigrants. Employment is sometimes said to be in the control of the Filipino union, Local 37 (ILWU), Seattle, but to what degree this is true is uncertain. The second factor in the decline of the union was the large decline in the Alaska salmon fisheries during the 1950s. Many canneries were closed or consolidated, resulting in an overabundance of workers.

The third factor was the development of complacency within the Filipino leadership. Many of the same men who began the union movement were still in leadership positions in the 1970s. For some, it meant over forty years of struggle. The attempted purge of communist leadership by the federal government in the 1950s took its toll in morale and energy and frightened many away from authority positions. New leaders to carry on the movement have been slow to emerge. They are very gradually appearing, but the earlier strength, vitality, and ethnical coherence is missing. Further, the militancy of the labor movement as it was expressed in the 1930s was deemed by some to be no longer appropriate or necessary. The young second and third generation Filipinos are taking over the fight, but on a different level. The young see a power struggle between the old and the new and want to try new legal means to force the canneries to better conditions. Full of energy, they do not seem to fully understand the

struggles and the years of tiresome fighting by their fathers, uncles, and grandfathers. Over the years, many of the benefits the unions strove to obtain were slowly gained, but not without overcoming seemingly insurmountable odds. In recent years, when young Filipino militants are filing class action suits against the canneries for discrimination, for better working conditions, or for affirmative action plans, they are impatient with the first generation and accuse the union of not trying new means to win rights. Applicable to the Filipino cannery workers is Litwack's comment on the aging of unionism:

> For the immigrant laborer, even the one who did not dream of socialism, his long hours were going to buy him freedom. For the factory worker of the Fifties, his long hours are going to buy him commodities...and maybe reduce a few of his debts.[44]

This may be true of Local 37.

In 1976, the Alaska Cannery Workers' Association of Seattle, an organization formed to fight for better working and living conditions for cannery workers went outside the union, filed a class action suit for all minority workers employed in the industry since 1969 against New England Fisheries, Inc. The association legally proved racial segregation in housing and eating facilities, discriminatory hiring practices, discriminatory discrepancies in furnishing supplies and facilities (linens, toilets, etc.), and discrimination in granting benefits. Final settlement was pending in 1980, and New England Fisheries filed for bankruptcy that year.

Today's conditions at some of the canneries are excellent. Yet others are still far below standard. One Filipino

trustee of Local 37 observed that one Southeast Alaska cannery provided for local workers only a:

> ...small cabin, with wood stove in it or a coal stove in it, with a bed. No guarantee...so there is no incentive. If I were a resident worker, the heck with that kind of a job. I'd rather stay home to be with my family...And to tell you frankly, you see the unions are only here for a few more years, the supply of fish in Alaska is so short, that only a few canneries will be operating in the future ...the income of the union is going down and down. Pretty soon they won't be able to take in enough money to pay for their keep of the building, their taxes...The old time cannery workers, Filipinos, are passing out of the picture. Take myself. I am only good for a year maybe, another year I'll be out. And that applies to hundreds of Filipinos. The young kids that are coming in, are activists. They are not there to work. They are there to raise hell, make all they can, and forget about Alaska. There's no future in Alaska for them as far as those kids are concerned. They have better chances finding jobs elsewhere. Some might say that the older generation did not do enough but they have no business to say that. Because we paved the way for them, if they only realize it...What we went through, they didn't have to face. They are too militant. They call it the coming age. I don't know.[45]

CHAPTER IX

ALASKA FOR ALASKANS

During the 1930s the pressure of the depression in Alaska was intensified by people drifting into the territory in search of employment. As jobs were scarce, Alaskans, traditionally resentful of outsiders taking from the territory without putting anything back in return, looked even more negat vely than they had in the past upon the large number of non-residents working in the fishing industry and agitated for more local hire. This issue concerned both new peopie coming into Alaska in search of jobs, and fishermen and cannery workers who were not American citizens, (Filipinos, Chinese, Japanese and Mexicans, along with many European immigrant groups), and were thus considered even less acceptable than non-residents.

Within the canneries, the push for local hire concerned primarily Alaska Native peoples. As long as the procuring of crews was done in the Lower 48, local hire for the cannery was only on an hourly, temporary basis during the peak of the runs or for cannery preparation prior to the season. Within the fishing industry, however, the competition for employment was between non-resident white fishermen and resident Alaskans, Native, white, and a few Filipino, all of whom also had to compete with the salmon industry's efficient salmon traps.

Few Filipinos were involved in fishing since at that time they were incorrectly considered aliens and were thus not allowed to commercial fish in the United States' territorial waters nor to own power fishing boats. Yet pressures from the depression forced a confrontation on the issue. In 1933, Wrangell area Filipino men married to Native women attempted

to obtain fishing licenses and were denied them due to Alaska's alien fishing law (Act of June 14, 1906, 34 Stat. 263). The Wrangell Chamber of Commerce was worried because of the potential drain on local relief funds if these people were not allowed to provide for their own sustinence. Filipinos involved were worried because the Alaskan law wou'd deny them economic independence and inhibited their ability to support their families. The immediate opinion was that Filipinos should have fishing rights since they were not aliens but were nationals and owed allegiance to the United States. Presumably, the passage of the Tydings McDuffy Act in 1934 confused the situation. Prior to 1934, Filipino-Americans were clearly United States nationals. After that time, however, their exact status was ill defined, and citizenship was still denied them. Further opinions were voiced during the next six years by Alaskan Governor John Troy and the Attorney General, James S. Truitt, along with the Secretary of the Interior, Harold Ickes and the Department of the Interior's Counsel at Large for Alaska, George Folta. Truit noted that the civil rights within the Constitution were given to all people, whether citizens or aliens, and that in the case of Toyota vs the US (268US 407, 69L. Ed., page 1019), it was determined that Filipinos were not aliens and were not eligible for naturalization.[1] Thus, Filipinos should be allowed fishing licenses in accordance with territorial regulations, e.g., after a three years residency within Alaska. Yet, the matter did not completely resolve itself with the 1939 opinions, since some people held that Filipinos were aliens. Finally, in 1941, a final decision was reached when Secretary Ickes upheld the opinion of Counsel at Large Folta that aliens declaring their intent to get citizenship were able to fish in Alaskan waters, this included FilipinoAlaskans whether, nationals or aliens.[2]

Although many comments were voiced in opposition to the policy of non-resident hire within the industry, little was done to change the situation. The companies made cursory attempts to alleviate the situation, such as the suggestion to establish Association of Pacific Fisheries' employment offices in each cannery town to lessen Alaskan unemployment.[3] This was not followed up. While then Governor Troy, citizens, and politicians put pressure on the canneries to hire more residents, the association responded more with verbal assurances than the individual canners did in practice. The canners saw the availability of Natives, but continued to consider them undependable workers, preferring workers supplied by contractors.

The Campaign

To counter the Alaskan dislike of outsiders, the association decided to initiate a public relations campaign to stave off possible increases in bad feelings. In 1935, they created the Public Information Committee, ostensibly to work as a public relations office within Alaska.* In reality, it planned strategy, lobbied, and initiated other actions to block regulation or elimination of salmon traps, union organization, and otherwise stymied legislation considered detrimental to the salmon industry. It saw the opposition as an enemy which should be fought by whatever means necessary. And this it did. Powerful lobbyists pressured the chairmen of fishery related committees in Congress and the Bureau of Fisheries, along with the Alaska Territorial Legislature to

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* Each canner was to cover committee expenses. The assessment was made at one quarter cent per case on the average pack over the prior four years, not to exceed 1¢ per case.

pass or support no legislation detrimental to canneries. Special coded messages were telegraphed between canneries keeping them up to date with the move to eliminate traps, especially activities on behalf of Alaskan Delegate to Congress, Anthony Dimond. Meanwhile, the committee's publicity concentrated on demonstrating to the public the economic benefit of traps, noting that the preponderance of tax revenues for the territory came from the salmon industry, that trap upkeep stretched cannery employment out over a long period, and that the traps' effective fishing resulted in large packs which in turn stimulated other Alaskan industries. For example, in 1935, the committee erected a display at a Ketchikan fair which suppported traps and demonstrated the economic benefit to Alaska the industry had provided over the years. The committee took special care to hire local cannery workers to build it, and to purchase supplies from local suppliers for the display.

The committee also was kept informed on union organizing activities. The canners who had benefitted for years from the low cost of labor hired through the contractors were disgruntled over the increase in strength gained by the fledgling unions when they affiliated with powerful internationals. Although forced to work with unions, they did so grudgingly. In 1935, the industry attempted to assure Alaska resident cannery workers through their AFL union representative, Joe Krause of Ketchikan, that the industry was "...more than willing to cooperate and give to the real bona fide residents preferred employment."[4] Simultaneously, it worked to block territorial pro-labor legislation which would have affected workman's compensation, health regulations, working hours, contracts, unionization, and cannery living and working conditions. The industry also denied requests for pay increases. The association at least superficially upheld its committment to strive for Alaskan resident hire for it did

send letters to all canners requesting preferential hire of Alaska Natives. Yet the response from the canners was that although they had no difficulty in hiring Natives, keeping them on the job was a problem.[5] Also, they could not prevent outsiders from coming in and saying they were residents. The statistics in Table 1, reveal that while canners during this period reported constant active attempts at increasing local hire, no substantial increase in Native workers occurred.

As partial explanation for the irresolute behavior of the industry, it should be noted that the canners found themselves in a dilemma. While on the one hand they preferred the contracted laborers obtained from the Lower 48, they did not like the increasing demands such labor was making with the coming of unionization. To turn to increased use of resident labor put the responsibility of labor management on the canners' hands, something which they wanted to avoid. Moreover although resident labor was less expensive than non-resident labor, especially if it remained on an hourly wage scale, it was less dependable. The canners needed to be sure that the workers would be on the job daily and would work the number of hours necessary when the run was heavy to avoid fish spoilage. Also, the pressure by Alaskan politicians and residents on the canners was in tough competition with that caused by the international affiliations of the Lower 48 unions, the MFP and the ILWU, which through control of west coast shipping, longshoring, and other maritime activities, threatened to tie up the industry with strikes and pickets if union demands were not met.

Union Involvement

All of this was compounded by the intra-union rivalry and jurisdictional disputes which confused the workers, and fur-

ther pitted residents against non-residents. Each of those Lower 48 unions involved from the 1930s on, whether AFL, CIO, FTA, ILWU, or unaffiliated, wanted to control the bargaining rights of both resident Alaskans and non-residents. Alaska residents, both white and Native, preferred local autonomy and feared that their relatively small number of votes would be lost in the large numbers from Washington, Oregon, and California, thus diluting their power. Not only could they not effect their desires within the union, but having a union card did not assure them of preferential hire in the canneries nor did it guarantee a full season's work. As Gruening writes, "Alaskans soon discovered that despite paid-up membership their union card was at various times only a second-class ticket."[6] As Alaskans applied for positions as cannery workers they either found the jobs had been filled by union workers from Lower 48 or that they had to join the non-resident union to get a job when they already belonged to a local union or the Alaska Native Brotherhood. Also, non-residents received higher salaries than residents -- even though non-residents were also provided room, board, and two-way transportation. Those Filipinos who lived year round in Alaska tended to side with the Lower 48 unions and had a powerful CIO affiliated union in Ketchikan, Local 237. These Ketchikan men, who had many friendship ties with union officials, were assured of full-time positions for the entire season, although they still were laid off if fish were few and did not receive the minimum seasonal guarantee as the non-residents did. When, in the late 1930s, some canneries tried to switch from non-resident to local labor they found themselves threatened with punitive action by the powerful CIO internationals, the ILWU and the MFP. Yet, often they were successful. A number of these disputes rose to the surface in 1939. Such was the case of the Burnett Inlet Packing Co. The cannery reopened in the spring of 1939 after being closed the previous season. When the UCAPAWA Local 7 in Seattle in-

quired of the owner as to how many laborers he would require for the season, he advised them that he would be using all local help. In response, the union threatened economic action against the cannery through the CIO affiliates (Longshoremen, Tendermen, etc.) if it did not hire sixteen UCAPAWA Local 7 (CIO) workers -- the same number it had used in 1937.[7] The cannery operator was resentful of not being able to hire whom he preferred and also, since the union was almost entirely Filipino, of being forced to hire Filipinos. He appealed to Governor Ernest Gruening who suggested that the cannery compromise and hire eight UCAPAWA Local 7 men. This it did, but the eight men failed to appear. Thus, the cannery successfully, though inadvertently, got around the threat of economic action.

A similar experience occurred in Petersburg. In that instance the town sought to eliminate Filipinos from the local cannery by hiring all local help. The National Labor Relations Board recognized the Petersburg AFL local as bargaining agent, and the company operated using almost totally local white labor with a few Filipino-Alaskans as experienced butchers.

The Pyramid Packing Company near Sitka and the canneries near Juneau had also decided to hire local help in 1939 and ran into the same problems as had Burnett Inlet. After discussions with the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Department of Labor, Gruening telegraphed that as long as the Alaska Native Brotherhood represented a majority of the workers in a cannery, it could consider itself the bargaining agent and would be recognized by both the National Labor Relations Board and the Maritime Federation of the Pacific as such, thus eliminating the possibility of economic action against the cannery.[8] This settled the problem for the time being. In another instance, the CIO Local 237 in Ketchikan picketed the

Beegle Packing Company in July of 1939. The union, most of whose members were Filipino-Alaskans, demanded certain rights allowed to the Lower 48 Local 7, i.e., a seasonal wage guarantee and preferential hiring. The strike ended in the closing of the cannery for the season. However, the CIO and the AFL unions each continued to strive to obtain exclusive bargaining rights for the entire industry, not just individual canneries.

1939 Sub Committee Hearings

What was it that caused this problem to peak in 1939? And why was a switch from non-resident hire to use of local labor instigated at this time?

First, the cannery workers' inter-union conflicts of 1938, as discussed in the previous chapter, gave great advantage to the salmon industry. A number of items were lost by the union in that year's contract. Applicable here was the non-resident union's loss of jurisdiction over Alaskan residents. The canners could hire whom they wanted and residents were not required to affiliate with any Lower 48 group. Thus, the Alaska Native Brotherhood could be legally considered a bargaining agent. Adding to the industry's advantage were similar incidents of inter-union rivalry between AFL and CIO locals throughout the maritime trades on the West Coast. This dissension and splintering continued on into the 1939 season leaving the union movement weakened and vulnerable. Second, for years Delegate Anthony Dimond had been introducing legislation supporting a policy of "Alaska for Alaskans" which was intended to help the Alaskan laborers and build up the resident population. (This build up of residents would mean a decrease in non-resident worker's union.) The bills received immediate and strong opposition from both organized

labor and the business communities in Washington, Oregon, and California. Alaskan residents vigorously supported Dimond.

To allow both sides on the Alaska residence issue to be heard, hearings were set during the fall and summer of 1939 before the Sub-Committee on Alaska Fisheries of the House of Representatives and the Joint Committee on Fisheries of the legislature of the Territory of Alaska. Held throughout Alaskan coastal communities and in Seattle, the hearings dealt with the growing agitation for elimination of both non-resident labor within the Alaska salmon industry and the use of salmon traps. Although testimony by cannery operators claimed that they tried and wanted to use as much Alaskan labor as possible, the opposite was revealed by the end of the hearings. Also, throughout the testimony it became evident that it was not just a matter of non-residency versus residency, but of "Filipino" versus "American" (or "white"). The testimony of F. H. Bailey, Superintendent of Kodiak Fisheries, when questioned by the ranking republican on the committee and former leader of the Filipino exclusion drive on the West Coast, Richard J. Welch of California, was indicative of the type of testimony heard on the question of Filipino laborers. Although Mr. Bailey was not evasive, his testimony demonstrated a rather willing resignation to the continued use of non-resident help. (As elsewhere, Filipinos are here placed under the general category of "orientals" and referred to varyingly throughout the hearings.)

> Mr. Welch: Is it necessary for you and other operators to use orientals?
> Mr. Bailey: As the gentleman there just said, it would be impossible to do anything else about it now. The union handles that.
> Mr. Welch: What union?

Mr. Bailey: The United Farmer and Cannery Workers' Union. They are in California, Oregon, Washington, and Alaska, I believe.

Mr. Welch: The union is made up mostly of orientals?

Mr. Bailey: That is all orientals, except for leaders.

Mr. Welch: Would it not be possible for you and other canners to get white labor either at Seattle or San Francisco?

Mr. Bailey: Well, if I got white labor at San Francisco then my CIO longshoremen would refuse to load my freight, because I was not hiring CIO Filipinos. It all ties together. You cannot get away from it. If the sailors do not tie you up, the longshoremen do. They are affiliated with them. They donate to their funds and everything else. In fact, they are probably the biggest donators of money to those unions.

Mr. Welch: Do they admit Americans into their organizations?

Mr. Bailey: There are a few white men in the organization, yes; but very few of them. It probably works out where you have one or two at a cannery. You know, years back you could not get these people to do that work. I do not believe. I do not know that I blame them.

Mr. Welch: You mean the whites?

Mr. Bailey: Yes....In the days when the game started you could not get enough for a can of pink salmon to really pay any

man wages. I imagine that is how it got started in the first place. It has only been in the last couple of years that white people have even thought of filling up these cannery crews, to go up and man them. It has only been in the last few years they have been willing to do it. They are the floating population and pick apples and go to the harvests and all of that. They get around and make a living that way, and I imagine they could have always done as well with the canneries if it had not been for the transportation.

Mr. Welch: Do you have trouble with them in your plant?

Mr. Bailey: I have never had any serious trouble. I have seen more trouble in the old days with the orientals than I see today.

Mr. Welch: In the old days you had Chinese?

Mr. Bailey: In the old days I had Chinese, but they were different. They are like your San Francisco Chinaman. If he was your friend he was all right.

Mr. Welch: I think you are right about that.

Mr. Bailey: And if you treated him right and he was your friend, he wanted to see you do well. These fellows will take a mile if you give them an inch.

Mr. Welch: Are they in a position to dictate terms?

Mr. Bailey: Yes, sir.

> Mr. Welch: Are they affiliated with the sailors union?
> Mr. Bailey: No; these fishermen here are affiliated with the sailors but these others are affiliated with the Maritime Federation and with the Longshoremen.[9]

The salmon industry claimed the union's system of arbitrarily setting quotas of employees for each cannery and the union's affiliation with powerful internationals bound the canners to continue hiring Filipinos through the UCAPAWA Local 7 (CIO) and accepting those who were sent.

Further testimony indicated the companies considered two other qualifications prior to hiring more local help. One requirement was that such labor was available in the vicinity of the cannery. The companies readily admitted that in most instances sufficient local help was not available -- in some areas none was available at all. Yet even though room and board as well as two-way transportation of non-resident labor from the Lower 48 to Alaska was paid by the company, they would not consider paying transportation costs for Alaska residents from outlying or more populated areas of the territory to travel to the canneries for work. The canners' reasons for this were that the canneries would then be burdened with the responsibility of recruiting labor -- a situation they wished to avoid, and they were uncertain whether enough Alaskan help could be procurred. (Many of those who were possible employees were Native women and young girls who did not want to leave their families.)

The other requirement was that the labor be able to adequately perform the job. The canners believed Alaskan Natives were less proficient and less dependable than Filipinos. As for Alaskan whites, their ranking came third in

desirability, because not only were they also seen as less dependable than Filipinos, but they would not accept the living and working conditions as readily as either Filipinos or Natives. A general upgrading of the conditions would have to be made if whites were to be hired. This would cost the canneries money.

The canners testified that because the Filipino union had gained power over the years and demanded the companies better conditions and wages, canneries tried to hire white labor. Conversely, "...the white men are trying to get the positions and being whites, they feel that they are entitled to a little preference."[10]

By the close of the hearings, a number of issues had been clarified and a number of unanticipated questions had been raised. First, what was the key issue? Alaskans' anger entailed more than just the residency of cannery workers. Their complaints grew out of a concern over the manipulation of the territory by Lower 48 interests. They wanted the elimination of salmon traps (which competed unequally with resident Alaskan fishermen) and a decrease in the use of all non-residents in the Alaskan fishing industry.

Second, how were Filipinos involved in this issue? The Filipino laborers were brought to the canneries by the industry, as were earlier groups, for the purpose of exploiting their labor and were used as an efficient low-cost labor supply. The industry's intention was not to provide Alaska with a new population stock. Rather, their policies discouraged permanent settlement in Alaska by <u>any</u> of the workers they sent north. Also, the industry preferred Filipino labor over all other available labor. While in the early years of the salmon industry employment on the cannery crews was not attractive to white labor, once the Filipino forced the industry to

improve wages and working conditions, whites actively sought employment on the crews. (The effect of the depression on the labor market must also be considered in this change in attitude.) The whites believed that as long as salaries for cannery labor had so greatly improved, they, not "alien orientals" should have first chance at the jobs. Although the entire salmon fishing industry was by-and-large controlled by non-resident whites, the Filipino cannery workers often became scapegoats for all complaints against non-residents. In some cases the anti-Filipino attitude within Alaska reflected racial prejudice, but the even stronger feeling was one of opposition to non-residents. Further, in examing the testimony, it appears that the House committee was more concerned with the fact that Filipinos were among the non-residents in question than was the Alaskan delegation. (This probably was due to Congressman Richard J. Welch's presence on the committee. Welch had a long history of opposition to Filipinos in the United States.) However, the attitude of some Alaskans appeared to be as anti-Filipino as any expressed. The Honorable Edward Coffey, Alaska Territorial Legislator from Anchorage testified before the committee:

> Speaking of Filipinos, it has been our desire to get the packers to bring up high school lads and college boys to do that work in place of the Filipinos, but it seems they have got such a hold on the business due to their charter from the union that it is kind of hard to get rid of them. Something should be done about it, however. These men, I would say they cannot do the work of a white man, and I am sure that it is the desire of the packer now to get rid of the Filipino. However, it is the packer that created

> that condition in the first instance. He made his contract with that labor, and brought it over here, and now he has a Filipino situation there that he would like to rid of. The Filipino is costing him too much money. He has got to organize; he commands and demands a better wage than he has ever demanded before. If he has to pay a wage like that the packer feels he can get more work out of a white man and perhaps with less trouble, the way it looks now, if he would be able to employ white men instead of Filipinos.[11]

The third question, and perhaps the most important one at the time, was whether the use of non-resident labor, including Filipinos, was necessary to the survival of the salmon industry. The assessment of the Joint Committee on Fisheries of the Territorial Legislature was that, "...one cannot help but conclude...that more local labor could be employed were the operators sincerely inclined to do so".[12] Delegate Dimond noted:

> Many of the operators now claim that they would prefer to employ residents of Alaska in fishing and in cannery work, but are prevented by the threat of strike, or the declaration of 'hot cargo', by the nonresident unions. I am not able to say how much, if any, of such declaration is truth and how much is mere pretense. My doubt is based upon the fact that from the earliest days the operators at practically all times and

> under practically all circumstances declined to hire a resident of Alaska in any capacity in the fisheries if a nonresident worker were available. Ordinarily they hired residents only when they could not get nonresidents to do the work, and so now when they say they would hire residents if they were permitted to do so, I am still skeptical.[13]

Concerning the Filipinos, the House Committee's judgement was that the canneries could eliminate such labor if they really wanted to force the issue and that "...cannery operators or some of them anyhow, have been very partial to the labor which they now condemn."[14] Distressed with the increased demands from the Filipino labor union, and to assuage increased pressure from Alaskan residents, some canneries tried to eliminate the Filipinos. Yet, when the industry wanted to retain Filipinos, they claimed impotency to hire local labor due to the Filipino union's stranglehold.

Although the hearings did not effect any change in the conditions of Alaskan fisheries, they did bring most points of contention out in the open. If anything, they demonstrated the complexity of the problem. The canners wanted to maintain control of the industry. This meant opposing any increase in regulation, continuing the use of salmon traps, and continuing employment policies that inhibited cannery workers from settling permanently in Alaska. (More residents would lead to calls for statehood which would mean more regulations and taxes.) Although the canners would have liked to eliminate the unions, they were mostly concerned with being able to keep labor costs down and hire whomever they wanted. The unions meanwhile, wanted to maintain job security while improving both salaries and working conditions and were fear-

ful of any attempt at "union busting" by either industry or government. As for the Territory of Alaska, it wanted to gain control of its own destiny. To the salmon industry, this meant regulation and elimination of the extensive manipulation of Lower 48 interests.

The Dimond Legislation

Immediately after the hearings, Delegate Dimond submitted further legislation that caused an even greater uproar from the salmon industry and the union. The six bills, HR8115, HR7987, HR7988, HR6690, and HR5476, constituted the next chapter in his "Alaska for Alaskans" campaign. Employment in the Bristol Bay area fisheries to Alaska residents of one year prior to June 1, 1940 would be restricted by HR5115. The Act of June 6, 1924 (US Stat. 464) granting right of priority to Alaska fishermen in the fishing industry in Alaska would be amended by HR7987 which also would require the Secretary of the Interior to set regulations for ensuring residents priority hire in Alaskan fisheries. House Resolution 6690 prohibited anyone from taking salmon with a set net or stake in Nelson Lagoon unless a resident for two years within a thirty-five mile radius of where the net was staked. (Nelson Lagoon is near Port Moller on the Alaska Peninsula, Bristol Bay area.) The establishment of an Alaska Fisheries Commission appointed by the Secretary of Commerce was proposed. It would meet in Juneau, hold hearings, make recommendations, and discuss regulations on Alaska fisheries with the Secretary of Commerce. Last, but most important, HR7988 required employers to keep a record of employees' names, addresses, and dates of residency. It also provided for priority and requirement of employment to Alaska residents in the fishing industry. It set up a yearly percentage of Alaska residents in the fisheries, gradually phasing out non-

residents over a five year period, until the fisheries employed all resident workers. The year in which one hundred percent residency was to be achieved was 1946. Thereafter, no non-residents would be employed in the fisheries.

This legislation, intended to build up Alaska's population by eliminating non-residents from employment in the territory's largest industry, was widely criticized by the fishing industry and labor, both whites and Filipinos. They were supported by the Maritime Federation of the Pacific who saw the legislation as anti-labor as it would restore open-shop conditions. In a speech at the coastwise conference of the MFP on January 9, 1940, Trinidad Rojo, UCAPAWA Local 7 union official reported:

> Now that they [Filipinos] have succeeded in obtaining better working conditions and higher wages through hard [fighting] by organizing themselves into unions in cooperation with whites and other nationalities, it is very unfair to demand...their elimination. They are entitled to pursuit of livelihood and government protection."[15]

The various unions involved in the salmon industry opposed to Dimond's legislation did at least concur with Dimond's desire to increase the population of Alaska, but felt the legislation would not achieve this. Rather, they saw it as discriminating against the rights of United States citizens on two counts: one, from being employed in any area they chose and in depriving citizens of the other forty-eight states of property rightfully theirs; and two, the fish were the property of the whole U.S., not just Alaska. Further, it deprived persons of intangible properties, namely the right to work

and the right to pursue their vocation, without due process of law. It would not accomplish the intended purpose of populating the territory but might actually depopulate it. This argument was based on the fishermen's need to follow the seasons of many types of fish to many areas on the West Coast. Thus, they were transient workers. Since the salmon season was so short, fishermen might prefer not to move to Alaska and would fish elsewhere. Then there would not be enough fishermen in Alaska and the territory would suffer. Even if fishermen did move to Alaska, not enough year-round employment was available to support their families.

They also pointed out that the salmon industry was the only industry being attacked. Since as far as the industry was concerned, it had already paid its "just" toll in taxes, other industries and resources should have been taxed and developed before the population would increase naturally. They stated that the legislation penalized the men who had built up the industry. Many had fished or worked in the canneries for over thirty years. It was cruel to make them uproot and move to Alaska. In addition, the unions saw the legislation as invading the liberty of contract between employer and employee and upsetting the "status quo" of labor relations which they believed had been peaceful for the past forty years. The opposition believed that better, more effective means of increasing the territory's population could be established.[16]

Further objection came from the Filipino cannery workers. They believed that the legislation was a direct attempt to eliminate them. They saw it as a racial attack, and they saw Dimond as "...simply reflecting the prejudices of some of his constituents."[17] One Filipino union official also pointed out that the 1946 date of complete elimination of non-residents in HR7987 "...curiously coincides with the date of

Philippine independence..."[18] There is no doubt that the testimony given at the 1939 hearings contained strong anti-Filipino and anti-Oriental statements, by both Alaskans and by the committee itself. However, it also included equally strong statements against non-residents in general, and against unions. An important item to note is that the racial question did not arise voluntarily during the testimony reported, but rather, it appeared in response to very pointed racial questions by members of the House Committee, especially Representative Welch.

The Alaska for Alaskans campaign must be looked at in its total. Its concern was with non-resident workers in the entire fishing industry, not just with the canneries. While the contentions of union officials mentioned above are well supported in some instances, Dimond's testimony reflected numerous attitudes, not just prejudice against Filipinos, which led to the attempt to propose the 1940 legislation. He was very opposed to all Lower 48 unions controlling employment within Alaskan industry, especially the white Alaska Fishermen's Union. Also, he was well aware of the salmon industry's involvement in maintaining non-resident employees. The attitude within Alaska was that the canneries not only did little to promote settlement in Alaska, but they actually deterred settlement and had done so throughout the years by various means, i.e., deferring payment of wages until disembarkation at Seattle or San Francisco, making little attempt to do hiring from any place other than outside Alaska, and requiring employees to leave immediately at the end of the season or lose their transportation back. All this was seen to be to the industry's benefit, for the canners had a better tax and regulatory advantage if Alaska remained with as little government as possible. Thus the industry worked to prevent the establishment of the territory and then to pre-

vent statehood. Gruening once again noted of the ever recurring problems within the Alaska salmon industry:

> Underlying what appears to be mere jurisdictional dispute[s] between two CIO unions is a far deeper issue. [The] issue is that stronger and more heavily financed unions in the States sending their members to Alaska for a few weeks each summer have for years discriminated against local Alaskan fishermen and cannery workers, also against union members and year round resident Alaskans with tacit or active approval of [the] cannery industry."[19]

Thus, whether it was the Territory of Alaska, the salmon industry, or the union, while charging each other with various injustices, each was speaking with its own vested interest in mind. Each had valid complaints to make against the others and each made use of what rhetoric and propaganda best served its interests. While the industry claimed helplessness at the mercy of the unions, the unions cited the miserable working conditions at the canneries. While the unions sneered "scab" at non-union Alaska residents, the territory claimed the right of its citizens to obtain work in local industry. While the territory shouted "exploitation" at the industry, the canners pointed to what they considered "large amounts" of taxes they had paid.

In the end, the Lower 48 unions and the salmon industry won out. Under heavy pressure from labor and industrial interests in Washington, Oregon, and California, Dimond's legislation failed in all but the establishment of some limitation of set nets in Bristol Bay. It would not be until statehood that

Alaska would gain control of its fisheries. It has yet to be able to legally eliminate non-resident labor from working in Alaska.

CHAPTER X

THE FILIPINO-ALASKA RESIDENTS

Some Alaskans did not consider the question of non-resident workers a problem. These were the Filipino-Alaskans. They split their loyalties between the Philippines, Alaska, and the Lower 48 while remaining true to all three. They appear to have been individuals first, and members of particular groups second. One at a time, they left the new, though tenuous security of the West Coast Filipino communities and tested life in Alaska. There is some evidence that Filipinos first arrived in Alaska not as the cannery workers of the 20th century but as sailors on the whaling ships that hunted the Arctic whaling grounds in the late 19th century.[1] Yet, although some Filipinos may have wintered the Arctic with their ships, it is doubtful that any permanently settled in Alaska.

It was not until after the United States-Philippine war that Filipinos found their way to Alaska in any numbers, especially after 1910. Then, it was the canneries that brought them north. It is probably impossible to document the year the first Filipino cannery worker settled in Alaska. One old-timer, Johnny Oleta of Ketchikan and Klawock, claimed to have first lived all year in Alaska in 1905. Yet it is not the date of arrival that is important but the Filipinos' reasons for remaining in Alaska and the life that Alaska offered which is significant.

Coming north to work in the canneries for the summer, some found life in Alaska attractive enough to want to stay at least for a year. So, when the cannery season ended they did not return to Seattle. Instead, they sought employment to

tide them over the winter. Others returned to Seattle only to collect their pay, then took the first ship north, either as a paying fare or as a stowaway. One Filipino, Victorio Velasco, wrote a poem reflecting his feelings about Alaska.

VACATION IN ALASKA
My Prescription

For the soul that is tired and weary,
Sick of the city's monotonous life,
My prescription is any Alaskan scenery
Far from the hum-drum of daily strife.

Soft music from the murmuring waterfall,
Serenity from the hills studded with white,
The majestic woods and their irresistible call,
The beauty unsurpassed of the northern lights.

There is repose in Alaska's unknown grandeur,
There is joy and beauty in any Alaskan scenery,
Vacation in Alaska should be a treasure
To the man sick with the city's drudgery.[2]

Many saw Alaska as Velasco did -- an escape from the problems of life in the Lower 48. No matter how bad conditions in the canneries were, no matter how low the salary, life in Alaska was still better than what could be found elsewhere. Alaska had fewer people; life was slower, more open; opportunities abounded; one could even live off the land. More importantly, one could live the life of an individual, with pride, and one was not so continuously categorized and judged as a racial minority first and a man second. There is some evidence that the presence of other minority and immigrant groups who also found themselves subjects of discrimination

made Filipino adjustment to life in Alaska easier. Velasco wrote to a friend:

> This is another melting pot of the human races. In decades past, temporary immigration of various peoples crossed the boundary lines of race, creed, and religion, and today we find in the veins of the peoples of Alaska the blood of the Russian, the Japanese, the Chinese, the Filipino, the German, the Scandinavian, the Irish, the Portugese, the American, and perhaps half a dozen more nationalities...Right in our cannery, I was talking to a native girl the other day...and she said her father is a Filipino. There are many of the second and third generation natives who have Filipino blood in them."[3]

The Filipino Alaskans lived, married, had children, and grew old in relative anonymity. Although a few settled early in small villages such as Klawock, the first areas Filipinos settled in were the areas which had the most work available, the mildest climate, and the largest number of canneries. Thus, Ketchikan was one of the first Alaskan cities to develop a Filipino population.

Filipinos arriving in Ketchikan in the 1930s could find other Pinoys living on Steadman Street. Seasonal employment was available in twelve area canneries for those who chose. More permanent employment could be found in the local hospital, in restaurants, hotels, and other businesses needing unskilled labor. Although the jobs were still menial labor, they paid better than those available in the Lower 48. The need to

socialize with other Filipinos led to the Development of the Filipino Social Club, then the Council of the Filipino Circle, and in 1938, the Filipino Community Club. Pinoys settling in Kenai apparently never formed a local Filipino organizations, but for a time during the 1940s, Filipino fellowship could be enjoyed over a poker game in an establishment owned and operated by a local Pinoy.

Initially individual Filipinos chose to settle in Alaska -- at first in any community where canneries existed, and then wherever some type of labor might be secured. The success of an individual led to the arrival of others. In Dillingham, Clarks Point, Egegik, Nushagak, Chignik, Hoonah, Ketchikan, Sitka, Kenai, Juneau, and Cordova, throughout the 1920s and 1930s, the Filipinos settled and became Filipino-Alaskans. Although their allegiance to their native land and to their fellow Pinoys remained (for most still intended on returning to the Philippines some day, if not to live, then to visit), they became Alaskans:

> ...We enjoy the privilege of Alaska. Not like the people who just come in here and go out and spend their money [outside] when they get the gold. I'm not for that. If you live in Alaska, you spend your money in Alaska. Of course, you can buy your stuff down below to help yourself sometime You can gain by it. But for myself, and I don't care what other people say, if you're Alaskan you should help Alaska. Spend your money where you enjoy the privilege of being here. That's the way I feel for it.[4]

They worked as fishermen, in restaurants, hospitals, laundries and hotels, on the ferry system, and in other forms of common labor. In Juneau and Douglas they also worked in the mines, although they never made up any sizable percentage of the workers as they had in the salmon industry. But once again, the jobs were almost entirely menial labor. To a limited degree Filipinos also purchased and ran small businesses. Filipinos operated barbershops and restaurants in Juneau, Ketchikan, and Dillingham, and ran poker games in many towns. If work was not available one could still survive relatively well through subsistence hunting and fishing. And in the summer, cannery work was always available. Dorothy Larsen of Dillingham, daughter of a Filipino-Eskimo marriage, remembers her father:

> My dad worked in the canneries, in all different kinds of positions in different areas around Bristol Bay. I remember a lot of Filipinos in the summer time. Some of them settled here.
>
> My mother was from Nome, but she moved here from Nome because part of her family moved here. They moved from Nome to this area in search of better things I guess.
>
> So they met here. He started staying year around in the 1930s because he used to have a hotel business here. He was first a taxi driver, and then he went into the hotel business, and then a pool hall, and then he had the cannery work too. After he and my mother married, I think that was when he started settling down in the community, and he started his

> businesses and worked that way. I remember when we used to have the hotel here and always, it was different people all the time, you know. He fit in pretty well with the community. There haven't been that many families that have stayed, I'd say about five or six that stayed. The names are still here, but the older people are gone, and the children are left.[5]

Life in Alaska

Alaska offered benefits not easily found elsewhere. Yet in some respects life was very similar to that in the Lower 48. Within the larger communities, Filipino community clubs were formed, the earliest one in Ketchikan, the latest in Kodiak (1975). Called by various names such as "The Council of the Filipino Circle" in Ketchikan, they were organized as all other Filipino clubs were, as a tie to the Philippines and to present a unified front as Filipinos tried to become assimilated into American life.

Filipino clubs in Alaska, as elsewhere, were also a means of fighting prejudice. Because being in Alaska did not completely eliminate racial prejudice for the Filipinos, social pressures kept them from settling in Petersburg, and until recently, in Kodiak. In both Ketchikan and Juneau they were segregated in the theaters, not served in restaurants and forced to live in certain sections of town. There are several different versions of how the "No Filipino" signs in Juneau were eliminated. The most common one tells how Senator Ernest Gruening went into a restaurant displaying such a sign with a Filipino friend and asked to be served. When the

management hesitated, Gruening warned that unless Filipinos were welcome to eat in any restaurant in Juneau, he would no longer give any of his business to any of them. Filipinos were denied fishing and hunting rights, could not own power boats, could not homestead. could not vote, were kept out of more skilled, higher paying jobs, and in general, faced all the forms of discrimination discussed earlier.

Yet all the Filipinos participating in this study spoke highly of the support given them by the political leadership of the territory and later of the state. In most instances, the Filipinos either individually or as a community, rose in defense of their rights as nationals and later as citizens of the United States. In housing, in segregated education, in job opportunities, for old age pensions, for the right to enter pioneer's homes, for homesteading privileges, the Filipinos stood and said, "We have rights."

Salvadore del Fierro, longtime resident of Ketchikan recalls what it was like in Ketchikan and relates his version of how the "no Filipino allowed" signs were caused to disappear in Ketchikan.

> When we first landed in Alaska, the same pattern I experience here that Filipinos experience in Seattle. We had two theaters in Ketchikan, the Coliseum and the Revilla. Filipinos and the Natives and other minority groups were segregated. You paid your money, the same amount of money that whites paid, but when you enter the theater you were segregated. Then you went to public dances, advertised as <u>public</u> dances; you were not allowed. Then I'd hear about Filipinos

that were going to restaurants and not being served. They could sit there the whole day, they won't tell them to get out, but they won't be served. And pretty soon we saw signs in the restaurants and ice cream parlors, "No dogs or Filipinos allowed." So I told [my wife] ...

'It's about time we start something here. We cannot get all these people here at one time and talk to them, but I tell you what we can do. We're having a Rizal Day program this year, and we were giving a big banquet, a big dinner...We will invite the governor, the Bishop of Alaska, the mayor of Ketchikan, the president of the Ketchikan Chamber of Commerce, the Rotarians... We'll close the whole town on that occasion. And to attract those people, we are going to bring a big Filipino from Washington, D.C. to come and be our guest speaker.'

I wired President Queson who happened to be in Washington, D.C. in exile. In about three days we get an answer. 'Thank you for your kind invitation, because of my ill health it would be an impossibility for me to come and attend your Rizal Day program, but I am sending my right hand man, Don Carlos Imperial to be your guest speaker and attend your occasion.' Well, we give him the red carpet. And we have all the stores

closed. We made sure that the people with those signs were at the meeting. And then I told the Filipinos...

'If you were in the service, use your uniform. If you were in the army, use your uniform. If you were in the navy, use your uniform, the air force, the same thing. Station yourselves in a conspicuous place where everybody could see you, at attention, during the program.'

We had the governor, Senator Gruening, the Chamber of Commerce president and the mayor of Ketchikan and all the big shots. We had a big banquet. We asked the Bishop to give us the invocation, we asked the mayor to welcome, to give the opening remarks, and we had singing and dancing. And then I gave a speech. I told them...

'I can still recall the days when I was going to school, way back in the Philippines, knee pants and bare footed. When I stood at attention, eve.y morning to salute the stars and stripes, it was a great moment, it was a beautiful moment, touching. When we entered our schools, we saw pictures of your great men. When we opened our text books we learned of the struggled you have for your emancipation, the struggle you have against your mother country because of taxation without representation. The fight you had in

> 1918 to safeguard democracy and human dignity. The fight you had to free the slaves. Those are great historical moments for America. Is it any wonder that you find Filipinos amongst you now all over the United States because of what they learned from those textbooks about your great country? To tell you frankly, this is not the America that I learned of when I was going to school; where you see signs Filipinos not allowed; where you see signs Filipinos should not be hired or employed. All we are asking is for an equal shake, a fair deal, a deal that the Americans are getting in the Philippines which we are not getting here in America. Is that asking too much? When we enter your public buildings here in Ketchikan or anywhere you find signs that we are not allowed, we are not wanted, we are not needed. When we ask for employment, you give us your back. That's not the America that I learned of when I was going to school.'
>
> You could hear a pin drop on the floor. The following day all the signs were gone.[6]

Del Fierro, though now retired in Seattle, was for many years a leader in the Alaskan Filipino community. A man of intense pride, he early became involved in fighting for the rights of the Filipinos. His philosophy of involvement may be respon-

sible for his success in life:

> You have to give in order to receive.... Show them that you are a part of the town. What effects the town, effects you. As a resident of that town, if they have any catastrophe be the first one to offer your services, give money if possible. If they have parades, parade with them. If they need floats, build a float. If there is a drive to support a needy family, be the first one to offer your services. You cannot isolate yourselves among yourselves and expect a decent treatment from those people. Because after all, to them you are strangers. It is up to you to show them that you are a part of them, that what effects them effects you. So that you have to work together.
>
> After we were accepted as residents and as equal by the Alaskan people, we felt great, you see, at last we were getting the treatment that we rightfully deserve. Because after all, as humans we only live a short time in this world and there are a few things that we would like to enjoy in this life, and one is to be judged as a human being and to know that people don't look down upon you because of the color of your skin or because of your origin.[7]

Del Fierro noted in Alaska the Filipinos faced this prejudice because:

> ...in small communities you need each other more...we did what we were supposed to do in such a way that we were part of the community...we contributed to anything that was being done by the city. We expressed our views when there were controversial issues in the council. We attended the council meetings and induced the other minorities, the Natives, to be active. Go there and fight for what you think is rightfully yours, and until such time that you do that, they'll always look down upon you. It's only human nature, you kick a dog, by golly, and he never says nothing, you kick him again. You kick him once and he bites you, you think twice the next time you kick him. The same thing with people.[8]

Life in Alaska was easier because with fewer people, communication and involvement was easier. Del Fierro speculated that those who did not get involved only harmed themselves:

> You cannot think that you will be rocking the boat, the boat has been rocked from the beginning of time. It's up to you to straighten it. When you involve yourself in something that you believe, something that will rectify the wrong that's being done, you're not rocking the boat, you are rectifying something that's been rocked for many years back. And it will

Salvadore del Fierro, long time Ketchikan, Alaska resident and leader of the Filipino Alaskans believes involvement is the key to acceptance.

(Photograph courtesy of Mr. del Fierro.)

> never be rectified unless you make an effort to do something...appeal to the conscience of the people....Look at me... straight in the eye, what do you see in me that I cannot see in you?...Nothing. Why can't we get together and explore our differences -- see if we can come to some kind of understanding. With communication we can understand each other better. That's all it takes.[9]

The same feelings were voiced by other Filipinos such as Blas Malasarte of Anchorage, longtime resident of Alaska and an insurance agent who did not work in a cannery until after he retired. Malasarte was active in the Lions Club, the Civilian Club of Fort Richardson, numerous professional associations and civic organizations, and was a charter member of the Anchorage Filipino Community Organization. He was a believer in involvement.

Another Filipino, although he never lived year-round in Alaska, loved it, and contributed to it by working in its canneries from 1923 until his death in 1968. In 1934 he dedicated a book of poems, never published, to Alaskans:

> To the hardy pioneers who blazed the trail to America's last frontier and to those who have identified themselves in the gigantic task of constructing the civilization of Alaska, 'the empire in the making,' this modest collection of verses, which have been inspired by periodic trips to this 'land of the midnight sun' is most sincerely dedicated. Koggiung, Alaska, June 16, 1934[10]

The author, Victorio Velasco, had a Bachelor's and a Master's degree from the University of Washington, edited the Filipino Forum for 38 years, was a union officer and active in the unionization movement, was on the board of directors for both the Jackson Street Community Council and the Council on the Aging for King County (Seattle), was a charter member of the Mayor's Hospitality Committee, Patron of the Filipino Youth Activity Committee, was active in many other community organizations, and a never tiring writer, fighting for the rights of Filipinos through the pen. A sensitive, romantic man, he died in a bunkhouse fire at the Waterfall, Alaska cannery of Nakat Packing Company in 1968, trying to rescue his typewriter.

Other men and women, equally committed to the betterment of life, expressed a strength that was able to stand up in the face of prejudice and discrimination. Motivated by ideals less political than those of some of the union leaders mentioned in an earlier chapter, they lived a life of involvement, involvement in the community as a whole, not just within the Filipino community. Involvement led to more personal contacts which lessened the degree of racial antipathy they felt. Although the normal reaction to discrimination was retreat, it was just the opposite action that began to break down the barriers.

One means of breaking down barriers and a very positive benefit in Alaska was the opportunity for a settled, stable life. Filipinos were free to marry and raise families in Alaska, something denied them elsewhere. Added to this freedom was the availability of women. Native Alaskan women frequently worked in the salmon canneries. Friendships developed with the Filipino men which often led to marriage. Little opposition was seen from the Native elders since the Native-Filipino relations were positive. The degree of incidence of

inter-marriage is very difficult to document, yet the presence of numerous children of mixed Alaskan Native and Filipino blood reflects that such marriages were not uncommon. This subject needs further analysis before any conclusions can be drawn, but a number of topical questions can readily be raised. Such topics would include the dissemination of cultural traits, marriage and family patterns, language changes, ethnicity acknowledgement, and other areas. Yet such an analysis is not within the purview of this project.

Economic Strife Tests Allegiance

During the depression, when West Coast anti-Filipino hostility was its greatest and jobs were scarce, some who had worked seasonally in the canneries for years chose to stay year-round in Alaska. Yet work was also short in Alaska. White workers came north looking for jobs and pushed many Filipinos out of their jobs. As was the case elsewhere, those on the bottom suffered the most. Also, the salmon industry suffered a decline due to the decreased buying power of the American public. The number of men needed to operate the canneries dropped to a level below that of the early 1920s recession. Many who remained in Alaska found themselves surviving through the benefits of subsistence hunting and fishing, albeit illegally since they could not purchase hunting or fishing licenses.

The 1939 campaign to rid Alaska of non-resident workers tore at the Alaskeros allegiance. Most had depended on their friendship ties in the Lower 48 union (UCAPAWA, Local 7 CIO) to secure cannery employment. Even though resident workers were paid less than non-resident workers, there is no evidence to suggest that the Filipino-Alaskans came into overt conflict with the Lower 48 union over it. Rather, the ethnic

and friendship ties seem to have prevailed. That is not to say that they did not attempt to get a more equitable settlement, but it appears that the Alaskeros, did not, or due to the smaller numbers, could not, force the issue with the union. The elimination of non-resident workers could only have benefitted them. Yet, they were primarily silent on the matter. It is no doubt that those who had lived in Alaska a number of years considered themselves Alaskans, but those who had only recently settled in Alaska (1937-39) may have seen themselves only too well as very close to being non-resident. It was not uncommon for the Filipino men to live a few years in Alaska, a few years outside, then return to Alaska for a few years more.

The presence of racist anti-Filipino sentiments in the Alaska-hire movement may also have effected their attitude. These feelings became more pronounced due to the effect union disorders were having on Alaska. In Spring, 1939, four strikes tied up shipping to Alaska. Although the strikes involved many other unions besides the cannery workers union, the Filipinos were scapegoats for all union problems. J. R. Heckman, superintendent of the APA cannery at Loring for many years said of the union difficulties in 1939, "When Oriental labor is gone, picket lines and labor troubles will also disappear."[11] This of course, was not true. But the anti-Filipino feelings surfacing at the time did not make life any easier for Filipino-Alaskans.

The military buildup in Alaska immediately prior to World War II changed the employment picture for the Filipinos and brought even more defense-related workers to the territory, although the number of canneries became fewer. New Filipino communities developed in the Anchorage and Fairbanks areas where Filipinos worked on construction of military bases and the Alcan Highway. Yet, World War II changed Filipinos'

lives even further. As was noted earlier in the chapter, a greater frequency of interaction with whites and an increase in the depth of these relationships broke down cultural barriers. Employment was much more readily available, although it was still basically menial labor. The war brought a new Filipino population to Alaska -- the Filipino-American military man. During the war, many Filipino-Alaskans served in the armed forces, but returned later. Also, prior to the war, Philippine citizens had been able to join the United States military. After ten years in service, they were granted United States citizenship. (This was the only way Filipinos could become United States citizens at the time.) Many who had joined the coast guard or the navy during this time ended up serving in Alaska.

After the war the old Filipino-Alaskans returned, along with the new coast guard recruits, and other Filipinos seeking employment in booming Alaska -- many arrived with Filipino wives. A new aspect of the Filipino-Alaska community was seen -- the Filipina. With her, the Filipino community was revitalized with an infusion of the Philippine heritage. The 1950s and early 1960s saw many Pinoys going back to the Philippines and marrying either longwaiting sweethearts or newly found loves, bringing them back to Alaska, and settling down to raise a family.

The New Migration

After the change in immigration laws in 1965 (See Appendix I) a new influx of Filipinos was seen -- Filipinos from the Philippines who were new to Alaska and new to America. In many instances their port of entry was Anchorage. Their contact with life in the Lower 48 was either negligible or nonexistent. Now both men and women entered the United States,

often with college and post graduate degrees or with highly skilled training. These new immigrants faced the same problems their predecessors had and some new ones. The Filipino settlements in major population centers in Alaska (Juneau, Anchorage, Kodiak, Ketchikan) have experienced a new growth since the 1964 change in immigration law, especially in the influx of professionals. Many of these people find work in the canneries until other opportunities arise. Often the wait is long. One working in Kodiak's canneries is an architect, another a teacher, another a former school principal. Yet they are unable to secure work in their professions. Other recent immigrants follow in the footsteps of early Pinoys, tying together once broken family bonds. Once established in Alaska, new immigrants petition for their families to emigrate and also settle in Alaska.

In conclusion, Alaska had large Filipino communities in most of its major towns and many smaller ones in Southeast, Southcentral and in the Bristol Bay area. Each community grew, through natural means and through migration from the Lower 48. But as the canneries in the small villages closed new settlement centered in only the larger towns where a wider variety of employment was available.

In Alaska, the large Filipino settlements in Anchorage and Juneau have active Filipino community organizations and are successfully integrating themselves into the Alaskan culture. These organizations, besides promoting Philippine culture, assist new immigrants in finding jobs and housing. In Ketchikan, the community has evolved over the years into a loosely organized, though emotionally close-knit group, although it also once faced discrimination and segregation from the white segment of the populace. All three communities are now well integrated into the mainstream of life. The older, long-time residents have been assimilated, though still keep their

Philippine traditions, while many of the newer immigrants have not been assimilated. The smaller towns saw their Filipino populations be absorbed through intermarriage, death, and retirement to the Lower 48. Yet in Kodiak, where many new immigrants have settled, the Filipinos are loosely organized and sometimes face discrimination and open hostility, especially from transient young white fishermen. Both whites and Filipinos, however, are struggling to overcome these problems and realize that much of the difficulties are not racist. Rather they are believed to be a result of some youths reckless with too much money from the fishing season and too much liquor.[12]

Greater employment opportunities may attract many young Filipino-Americans to the larger metropolitan areas of the Lower 48, but for many, Alaska still holds the attraction it did for the Pinoys of 1920. Is it the same attraction it holds for any newcomer? New Filipino immigrants arriving in Alaska may well feel comfortable with older residents. What effect will the ease and ability to maintain familiar relationships have on the new immigrants? What new and old discriminations will they face? To what degree does unionism effect their lives today?

The Filipinos left their mark on the salmon industry for the skilled work they performed and the many long hours they labored. They put their mark on unionism for their untiring struggle to organize the migrant laborers. The mark they left on Alaska is the same as any who came to adopt this land: their labors and their progeny. They lived, worked, and struggled to make Alaska their home. Whether they settled in Alaska or spent their summers working in Alaskan canneries, their labors built the biggest industry in the state. They identified with something beyond their national origin and beyond their own well being. They became Alaskans and

Americans and lived their lives as best they could. In 1943, a Filipino writer who had suffered through the California and Washington race riots of the 1930s, who had gone hungry most of his life, shifting from one transient hotel to another, wrote of his adopted country:

> It is but fair to say that America is not a land of one race or one class of men. We are all Americans that have toiled and suffered and know oppression and defeat, from the first Indian that offered peace in Manhattan to the last Filipino pea pickers. America is not bound by geographical latitudes. America is not merely a land or an institution. America is in the hearts of men that died for freedom; it is also in the eyes of men that are building a new world. America is a prophecy of a new society of men: of a system that knows no sorrow or strife or suffering. America is a warning to those who would try to falsify the ideals of freedom.
>
> America is also the nameless foreigner, the homeless refugee, the hungry boy begging for a job and the black body dangling on a tree. America is the illiterate immigrant who is ashamed that the world of books and intellectual opportunities is closed to him. We are all that nameless foreigner, that homeless refugee, that hungry boy, that illiterate immigrant and that lynched black body. All of us, from the first Adams to the

> last Filipino, native born or alien, educated or illiterate -- WE ARE AMERICA![13]

In this same light, Filipinos are Alaska.

APPENDIX I

THE LEGAL STATUS OF FILIPINOS

None of the immigratic, laws of the United States affected the Filipino immigrants until 1934 with the passage of the Tydings-McDuffey Act. The act, for which residents of the Philippine Archipelago, their doctrinal allies in the United States, and parts of American organized labor had lobbied, granted the Filipinos their goal of independence; a goal for which they had struggled over hundreds of years. Ever since the United States takeover in 1898, the Filipinos had been promised independence when they were "ready for it." Finally, a date was set. This law granted the Filipinos their freedom in ten years with two additional years to form a republic. July 4, 1946 was set as Philippine Independence Day. Until that time, the Philippines was raised from a colony to the status of a commonwealth with an elected president under an American flag. The section of the law which caused some Filipinos to object was that Philippine residents were to be considered aliens and new immigrants had to abide by the immigration laws of 1917 and 1924. A quota of fifty immigrants from the Philippines was set, thereby, all but eliminating the flow of Filipinos from the Islands into America. Those already resident in America could apply for citizenship if they so desired, but if not, were not subject to deportation. This at least partially clarified the status of the Filipino-Americans who had been United States nationals up to this time.

In 1952, the McCarren-Walter Act which was supposed to be a simplication and codification of immigration laws, was passed over President Truman's veto. This act, although it opened immigration to all countries, was very discriminatory against

blacks, Orientals, and southern and eastern Europeans. The law, three hundred and five pages long with five thousand pages of reports, was almost impossible to understand. In his veto, President Truman said:

> The country by country limitations create a pattern that is insulting to a large number of our finest citizens, irritating to our allies abroad, and foreign to our purposes and ideals...The basis of this quota system was false and unworthy in 1924. It is even worse now.[1]

The act placed the quota determination on the 1920 census, allowed all nationalities to emigrate, and created the Asia Pacific triangle (parallel 25°s latitude 165°w long Meridian 60°e) which included China, Japan, Southeast Asia, India, and most of the Pacific Islands. Each was given a quota of 100 (except China with 105 and Japan with 185) but the quota could not exceed 2,000 for the whole triangle. A special quota of 100 was given to the triangle itself for people living in areas not covered in the 2,000. Further, anyone whose ancestry was one-half from within the triangle quota, no matter where he was born, was charged to the triangle group. All Asian spouses were able to immigrate as non-quota if the mate was a United States citizen. New preferences were established. The first fifty were to be the highly educated, technically trained, have specialized experience, or be of exceptional ability, and their spouses and children. The next thirty were to be parents of adult United States citizens. Twenty percent could be the immediate family of aliens admitted to the United States as permanent residents while any unused portions up to twenty-five percent of the quota went to those without any relations in America. Twenty-five percent of this portion went to the adult children, brothers,

and sisters of United States citizens. Colonial territories were given quotas of 100 of their own. Finally, many causes for deportation and exclusion were added, as were many rules to deny a person naturalization.

While much criticism was aimed at the act for its discriminatory practices and its many obstacles to citizenship, special criticism was given to its strong anti-communist stand. This was considered too close a connection with national security. Yet, by calling any opposition to the act as being pro-communist, its proponents assured its passage.

A critical section of the act was the provision to allow the attorney general to refuse readmittance to the United States of any alien who had left the country at his discretion. Since anyone departing the continental United States going to Alaska was considered leaving the United States, the immigration service had the authority to step in and deport anyone violating the immigration laws. The violation most frequently used in the case of Filipinos was membership in the Communist Party. Several top union officials were arrested on these charges. As a result, they were denied citizenship, although they could not be deported because of an immigration service ruling that Filipinos who entered the United States prior to 1934 were never aliens but were nationals and thus were not deportable. (Barber vs Gonzales, 1954.)

By the early 1960s the movement for liberalization of the immigration policy had gained momentum, aided by the late President John F. Kennedy. In 1965 a new law was passed which phased out the national origins quota system. Instead, numerical ceilings were set for immigrants on a first come, first serve basis. Ceilings were 120,000 for natives of the Western Hemisphere and 170,000 for natives of the Eastern Hemisphere. Within these ceilings new preference categories

were established. The first preference, making up 74 percent of the total, went to relatives of United States citizens, second went to scientists and artists at 10 percent, third came skilled and unskilled labor at 10 percent, and refugees were the fourth preference at 6 percent. This policy remains in effect today.

APPENDIX II

CANNERY WORKERS and FARM LABORERS' UNION
LOCAL 18257
Affiliate to American Federation of Labor and Maritime
Federation of the Pacific Coast

P.O. Box 242 - - - Phone ELiot 6916
84 SENECA STREET - - - SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

ALASKA PACIFIC SALMON CORP. Seattle, Washington

The Cannery Workers' & Farm Laborers' Union, Local 18257, of Seattle, Washington, and the Alaska Cannery Workers' Union, Local 20195, of San Francisco, California, operating under charters issued by the American Federation of Labor, with jurisdiction in Southeastern, Central, and Western Alaska, Puget Sound, Columbia River and other Pacific Coast points, over men and members including first and second foremen; first and second cooks; first and second bakers, and all men engaged in the canning and processing of fish, and the incidental work as formerly performed by our members sailing from Seattle, Portland, Astoria, San Francisco or other ports, or residents of Alaska and the Pacific Coast, for the canneries of the signatories under prior agreements.

By action taken in a Convention called by the Cannery Workers' & Farm Laborers' Union, Local 18257, of Seattle, Washington, October 9th to 13th, 1936, in which delegates participated from the Alaska Cannery Workers Union, Local 20195, of San Francisco, California, please be advised that matters of concern and conclusions arrived at, are herewith made a basis for this communication.

In the first instance, we firmly believe that no useful purpose can be served by assuming a belligerent attitude, or by entering into this broad issue with acrimonious thoughts and ideas. It is essential that it be done with the purpose of outlining and defining the entire issue in a manner that will be accepted and discussed in a proper spirit. Only in that manner will a fair and equable consideration be given, and conclusions arrived at that certain changes and remedies are essential, so that proper steps may be taken accordingly.

It is not necessary that we point out the deplorable conditions which have been existent in the past. It is necessary, however, for the benefit of outlining these different issues, to point out the apparent lack of understanding or an obvious apathy which the employers have assumed, in not making the necessary changes to alleviate the deplorable situation and conditions which would make for the betterment of their employees. We also believe that we the employees, and the employers cannot possibly benefit this highly important industry by a continuance of propagandizing the conditions under which men formerly have worked. The criminal suit instituted against the labor agents, Mayer and Young in San Francisco, 1934, and the exposures which this trial brought to light, with the attendant publicity in the press, certainly has not brought credit to the industry, but has created a definite resentment in certain quarters and possibly with the buying public, much to the detriment of all concerned. In addition thereto, the peoples of the Pacific Coast will not very soon forget the vicious murder of Virgil Duyungan and Aurelio A. Simon, President and Secretary, respectively, of the Cannery Workers' & Farm Laborers' Union, at the hands of a confessed slayer, representing those who would hire men for the industry and to usurp and racketeer on these men for their own personal greed and gain. Organized Labor is definitely on record to stamp out such a vicious

system that leads to open violence and the taking of lives, for the paltry reason to protect the infamous method of peonage that these chosen few have practiced in the past. Therefore, we say in regards to labor agents and contractors of labor, and their usage by employers, that we are definitely on record as being unalterably opposed to the further use of these agents in any manner or capacity whatsoever. With the systematic set-up of hiring and dispatching system, we are in a position to furnish capable and qualified men, thereby eliminating the evils to which men were formerly subjected, at the hands of these agents and contractors.

There is also to be considered the morale of the workers which cannot be overlooked, and which any business must, and classify as an asset, in their having satisfied, interested, and industrious men in their employ.

[It] is not our intention to make exaggerated demands that cannot be met or complied with. We are of the opinion that [an] amiable...agreement of ways and means can be devised as a medium that will eliminate the conditions complained of.

The problem of housing and sleeping facilities on boats where quarters are for the most part cramped, space limited, and large groups of men sleeping and eating, calls for proper ventilation, sanitary and hygenic conditions. A necessary amount of toilets and urinals situated in proper areas should be installed; shower baths with hot and cold water, sufficient clothes-washing facilities, and a sufficient number of wash-bowls, or wash-troughs shall be installed. Each and every bunk shall be equipped with a spring and mattress, to ensure healthful and comfortable rest. Where galleys on vessels are not of sufficient size and area to adequately cook and bake at one time sufficient food to feed men properly and sufficiently, changes are in order. Regarding the

use of canned food, and the storage of fresh food; in one instance we know where bread was put on board in San Francisco, and used ten days later, having become tainted and slimy. This was done in spite of the fact that bakers were on board, but unable to bake bread due to the limited baking areas in ranges, or for various other reasons. Likewise fresh meat and vegetables became unfit for use, due to no facilities for keeping these commodities. Refrigeration on vessels and in plants on land solves this important matter. Further, it is a recognized fact that fresh products are cheaper, more nourishing and palatable than canned goods.

In reference to the quality, quanity, and variety of foods served at all meals; this matter shall be made a part of, and included in the working agreements, with a diversified indicated menu. All foods and meals, regardless of nationalities employed, shall be served with American cooking and style, at any and all plants and on vessels. There is, in addition, the consideration of life-saving equipment, first aid, fire-hazards and mobile fire-fighting equipment at plants, with trained crew for protection of life and property, and of medical attention. Proper certified sewerage disposal in canneries is an absolute requirement. Mess rooms should be apart from bunk houses.

Our memberships believes that the paramount issues, in order of their importance are:

1. ELIMINATION OF LABOR AGENTS AND CONTRACTORS.
2. Meals--good food, quality, quantity, American style.
3. Comfortable living quarters aboard vessels and at canneries, including springs, mattresses and linen.

4. Definite increases in wages and shorter hours.

We are purposely serving notice at this time to inform the interested parties that it is our sincere desire to have the conditions remedied, and/or altered as the case may be, promptly. We further believe that a desire on the part of the employers to give serious consideration to this communication will rebound to the credit of all concerned.

Authorized and written by order of and approved by,

ALASKA CANNERY WORKERS UNION,
LOCAL 20195, SAN FRANCISCO

By_____
G. Woolf, President.

CANNERY WORKERS & FARM LABORERS'
UNION--LOCAL 18257, SEATTLE

By_____
Conrad Espe, Business Agent.

APPENDIX III

LABOR CONTRACT PRE UNIONIZATION (3)
(SAMPLE)

AGREEMENT between....., as party of the first part, herein termed the Company, and the other party executing this agreement, herein termed second party:

WITNESSETH:

1. The company hereby employs second party, and second party hereby agrees to work for the company in the capacity hereinafter stated, or in any other capacity to which he may be shifted by the company, to, from, in and about the salmon cannery of the company at .....in the Territory of Alaska, or in or about such cannery or station in Alaska as the company may from time to time designate, during such period of the current year as the company may require. Second party agrees to work faithfully and diligently at any time and place and in accordance with the orders and directions of the cannery foreman, the cannery superintendent, or other agent in charge of the cannery or station or of the operations in which second party is engaged.

2. Second party shall go on board any vessel designated by the company, when and where directed, and shall return to the port of embarkation upon any vessel designated by the company, when and where directed, unless second party does not desire to return to the port of embarkation as directed, in which event the company shall be relieved of all obligation to second party for return transportation.

3. Second party shall be compensated at the rate of wage hereinafter stated excepting as herein otherwise provided. Second party shall be entitled to such rate of wage from the date of embarkation to Alaska to the date of return to the point of embarkation (except that pay shall not continue during delay due to shipwreck or other unusual delay beyond the company's control) unless second party shall elect not to leave upon the vessel designated by the company as and when directed, in which event second party's employment and compensation shall terminate at the cannery and payment of wages due him be mde within forty-eight hours thereafter. Unless second party shall have elected not to return to port of embarkation when directed as aforesaid, and shall therefore have been paid off in Alaska, second party shall not receive any payment of any wages whatever until his return to the port of embarkation. Upon such return to the port of embarkation, however, the company shall pay directly to him all wages due to him within forty-eight hours after such return, Sundays and holidays excepted.

4. The company shall furnish second party free transportation of third class, from port of embarkation to the cannery and return except as herein otherwise provided; wholesome and adequate meals during transportation and while at the cannery; also sanitary living quarters while at the cannery, but second party shall furnish all his own bedding, clothing and personal effects, and, excepting for its own negligence, the company shall not be responsible for any damage to or loss of any of second party's bedding, clothing, or personal effects from any cause whatsoever.

5. The company may at its option extend credit or make cash advances with the written consent of second party but not to exceed 20% of second party's estimated earnings for the period of employment. In addition thereto the company at its

option may honor written allotments as earned, made by second party for the benefit of his family or dependents. The company may also allow credit to second party for purchases made in Alaska at the company's commisary, against wages earned. The company shall be entitled to deduct all such credits, cash advances and allotments paid before making any payment to second party, and nothing herein contained shall require the company to extend any credit or make any cash advances or honor any allotments. The company shall not deduct from any wages due any amount for gambling debts incurred by second party or for narcotics, drugs, or intoxicating liquor or any employment fee, direct or indirect.

6. School, poll or other taxes assessed against second party and payments for compensation, insurance or hospitalization authorized by an State or Territorial law, may be deducted by the company from any wagges due, and the company may withhold any payments when required to do so by writ of garnishment or other legal proceedings, or by valid assignment, the recognition of which is obligatory upon the employer by State or Territorial law.

7. The company shall have the right to suspend party for inefficiency, breach of contract, of rules or regulations, which rules and regulations will be kept posted at the cannery, and all wages shall cease and no work be performed by second party during the period of suspension. The company may for any such cause aforesaid discharge second party, whereupon his wages shall cease upon the date of discharge; he shall perform no further work at the cannery but shall be returned to point of embarkation to the earliest opportunity in a company vessel or by regular transportation at the company's option, and shall have deducted from wages due him $1.00 per day for board and lodging from date of discharge until date of arrival at port of embarkation. Should second

party quit voluntarily or refuse to work in accordance with the terms of this contract, his wages shall cease from date of quitting or refusal, as the case may be, and there shall be deducted from his wages the cost of Northbound passage as well as Southbound passage, if furnished by or at the expense of the company, at the prevailing passenger steamer rates, together with $1.00 per day for board and lodging from the date of quitting or refusal until date of leaving cannery.

8. Second party agrees that he will not carry on board vessels, or have in his possession at the cannery, any firearms or other deadly weapon, and that should any such firearms or weapon be found in his possession the same may be taken by the company and held by it until the return of second party to the port of embarkation. Second party also agrees that he will not take on board vessel, or have in his possession at the cannery, any intoxicating liquor or narcotics and that should any intoxicating liquor or narcotics be found in his possession the company shall have the right to destroy the same. Second party also agrees not to smoke in the warehouse, box factory, or any place where smoking is prohibited, nor to become intoxicated or engage in brawls or fights, nor to gamble at any time either on board vessel or in Alaska.

9. Second party fully understands the risks and hazards of his employment and agrees to be bound by provisions of the Alaska Workmen's Compensation Act as to any and all injuries whatsoever arising out of or in the course of his employment, and to accept remedies under said Act as his exclusive remedies for any and all such injuries. The company agrees, however, not to take any legal action for the purpose of preventing second party from instituting a legal action at the place of general disembarkation.

10. If, pursuant to the terms of this contract, second party shall regularly receive less than $70.00 a month then in such event but in such event only, the company agrees that any work in any twenty-four hour period commencing at midnight, in excess of ten hours, shall be considered overtime and shall be paid for at the rate of twenty-five cents per hour.

11. If, pursuant to the terms of this contract, second party shall be required to perform construction work outside of the cannery properties, second party shall be entitled to extra compensation (in addition to the monthly compensation herein provided for) at the rate of twenty-five cents per hour, while so engaged.

12. If, pursuant to the terms of this contract, second party shall be required to perform trucking work to the face of the cannery dock, (but this shall not be construed to include the usual trucking in or about the cannery or warehouse in connection with the usual cannery operation), after six P.M. of any day or before seven A.M. of any day, second party shall be entitled to extra compensation (in addition to the monthly compensation herein provided for) at the rate of thirty-five cents per hour, while so engaged, but shall not receive overtime pay in addition thereto.

13. One day out of each week of seven days, which day shall be Sunday prior and after the fishing season, and Monday during the fishing season, shall be deemed a normal day of rest and if second party shall be required by the company to work upon such day, he shall perform such work, but all work so performed shall be construed to be overtime.

14. In the event that the cannery is destroyed, or so greatly damaged from any cause, or the laws, rules of regulations with reference to salmon fishing or canning be changed,

or that in the company's judgement it would be impossible or unprofitable to continue operations, the company may terminate this contract, excepting that the company shall return second party to port of embarkation at its expense and pay him until such return, unless second party should elect to remain in Alaska, in which event his employment shall terminate at the cannery.

15. A copy of this contract is being delivered to second party concurrently with his signature hereto, receipt of which is hereby acknowledged, it being understood that before embarking second party shall submit, at such time and place as the company shall designate, to a medical examination. If second party shall fail to pass examination satisfactorily to the U.S. Public Health Service Department's physician this contract shall be null and void and the copy theretofore delivered to second party shall be forthwith returned to the company.

APPENDIX IV

CONTRACT BETWEEN COMPANY AND CONTRACTOR (4)

A G R E E M E N T

THIS AGREEMENT, made and entered into this _____ day of January, 1920, by and between the Marathon Fishing & Packing Company, a Corporation of the State of Washington, party of the first part, and Jim Sing of Seattle, Washington, party of the second part.

WITNESSETH: That the party of the second part, for the consideration hereinafter named has this day agreed to furnish to the party of the first part, a sufficient number of young, healthy and skilled salmon packers, in any case not less than forty two (42) oriental men, among whom there shall be at least thirty two (32) Chinamen, including one (1) Chinese cook, and one Chinaman who shall act as foreman of said gang, balance of the crew to consist of experienced Japanese or Filipinos, to clean, can, lacquer, label and pack in cases ready for shipment at least Fourteen hundred (1400) cases of forty eight (48) one-pound cans of Salmon or fish within each day of eleven (11) hours, guarranteeing that each can will contain sixteen (16) ounces of fish, said laborers to be taken to such point in Alaska as the first party shall direct and furnish transportation for, all said laborers to be ready for transportation from the City of Seattle, Washington about June 5 to June 20, 1920, on board such vessel as the first party may provide for the trip to Alaska, and there remain during the season of 1920 under the direction and control of a superintendent, or other person or persons, as the first party shall select, said laborers so furnished and transported are to clean, can, lacquer, label and pack in cases ready for shipment at Companys' cannery at Cape Fanshaw,

Alaska, all fish which may be delivered at wharfs of the said cannery, in quantities of not less than Fourteen hundred (1400) completed cases of salmon or fish, each case consisting of forty-eight (48) one-pound cans, within every period of eleven hours' work, provided sufficient fish be procured. It being here understood and fully expressed that the above specified number of cases packed daily are not completed until all the leaks found in the packing of the previous day are mended.

The work required of the said laborers shall consist of taking the raw fish on the dock, putting them through all the necessary processes of cleaning, canning, packing, lacquering, labelling, opening can boxes, handling empty cans, nailing the canned salmon or fish in boxes, and loading the said boxes on board ship or barge, or trucking or piling at such points as the first party or its agents may direct, and taking the empty cans in boxes as delivered from ships tackle or barge and piling same where specified by the superintendent. Said laborers shall also do and perform any work not herein specified as shall necessarily pertain to the canning and casing of such fish to prepare them for shipment in finished condition for the market.

The second party agrees to handle all empty cans from ship's tackle, at any time, day or night, and store them in the warehouse or cannery as directed by the Superintendent of the first party. Second party also agrees to handle or deliver all the canned salmon to ships tackle, at any time called for, whether day or night and will afford every facility possible in the way of labor for unloading cans and loading canned salmon, that the Steamers or vessels handling same may not be delayed.

IN CONSIDERATION WHEREOF, the first party hereby agrees to pay said second party the sum of fifty-five (55) cents per case, each case to contain forty eight one-pound cans of salmon or fish as aforesaid. Said first party also agrees to

pay one foreman the sum of Nine hundred ($900.00) dollars as wages for the season of 1920, and to pay one cook the sum of Four hundred fifty ($450.00) dollars as wages for the season of 1920. For any extra work aside from opening can boxes, handling empty cans, cleaning fish, canning, packing, lacquering, labelling, boxing the salmon, loading canned salmon or fish on ships or barge and unloading empty cans in boxes from ship or barge, and piling the boxes, and carrying and piling empty cans in boxes, opening cases as before provided, the said first party shall also allow the second party Thirty-five (35¢) cents per hour for each able-bodied man so employed, and will pay Fifty (50¢) cents per hour per man for trucking the canned salmon from warehouse to ship either day or night when so required, and will also allow second party fifty (50¢) cents an hour per man for trucking empty cans between the hours of 6 p.m. and 6 a.m. for each able bodied man so employed. In the event the laborers of the second party refuse to work after regular hours, at trucking cases of salmon to ship's tackle or empty cans from ships tackle, the first party is hereby authorized to procure such necessary help to do the work and charge the entire cost thereof to the second party, crediting second party at the regular rate of Fifty (50¢) an hour for the work so done.

The second party hereby agrees that his crew will perform such extra work not related to the actual canning of fish -- such as trucking of coal, pitching fish from fish boats to fish elevator, etc., as will not interfere with the actual canning operations. his crew having time to do so, for which work second party is to be paid Thirty-five (35¢) cents an hour per man. For any extra work performed by crew of second party, the said second party hereby agrees that his foreman will render invoice for such work to superintendent or bookkeeper of first party at the cannery, as soon as the work is completed, that any differences or corrections may be made at once and the books of the first party may be kept up to date.

Said first party shall furnish sufficient wood for fuel to supply the mess-house or houses.

The second party agrees that all work shall be performed in first-class manner, under the supervision, control and direction of the first party, its superintendent and agents, and in particular agrees to watch carefully the sliming of the fish, to see that the sliming is well and carefully done, and will instruct his men and insist upon their watching to see that nothing but wholesome fresh salmon is put into cans, and should they discover salmon which is not fresh they are to remove it to one side until such time as the Cannery Inspector, Superintendent or Foreman has an opportunity to examine and pass upon it, and in case any laborer furnished by said second party shall be insubordinate, incompetent, or otherwise prove unsatisfactory to the first party's superintendent, he may be removed by said superintendent and a competent person placed in his stead.

It is also further expressly stipulated and agreed that if the force of laborers furnished by the second party shall turn out to be incompetent or inadequate to perform the work of packing Fourteen hundred (1400) completed cases of salmon or fish within each working period of eleven (11) hours as hereinbefore provided, then in that event the first party or its superintendent or agents shall be authorized to employ such additional hands as may be obtainable to perform such stint of work, or as much thereof as may be possible, the wages and expenses of such extra hands to be charged to and paid by the party of the second part.

And as a penalty and indemnity to said first party for breach of contract, or any failure on the part of the second party to faithfully carry out and perform the undertakings and agreements of this contract hereinbefore and hereinafter stated, they shall forfeit and pay to the party of the first part the sum of three dollars and fifty cents ($3.50) for each and every case short fourteen hundred (1400) completed

cases packed during each eleven hour day, there being sufficient fish so to do, as liquidated damages; any sums of money earned under this contract or to the credit of said second party to be applied to the said three dollars and fifty cents ($3.50) per case, damages or penalty and the remainder thereof, if any, due to said second party to be paid to him without dispute or contest.

The first party guarantees to pay to the second party for at least twenty-eight (28,000) thousand cases of salmon or fish, whether so much be packed during the 1920 season or not, provided, however, that if any part of such possible shortage shall be due to negligence, errors of judgment or incompetency of the second party or his laborers or servants sent to Alaska, this guarantee shall be void, and the second party hereby stipulates and agrees that his laborers aforesaid shall pack at least Fourteen hundred cases (1400) of salmon or fish as hereinbefore provided each day of eleven (11) hours, if sufficient fish therefore be provided, and that when fish shall be delivered in excess of said Fourteen hundred (1400) cases, said laborers shall work overtime, at night and on Sundays and the party of the second part, shall employ such other necessary labor to take care of and pack all fish so delivered, so far as practicable, when directed by the first party, its Superintendent or agents.

The crew of the second party is to work at any time requested by the superintendent or foreman of the first party, day or night, in case there is fish on the floor of the fish dock which might spoil by delay in putting them into cans. Should said crew refuse to work, said superintendent or foreman of the first party is hereby authorized to discharge such crew or member of crew so refusing and the first party will not be responsible for return to Seattle. It will be the privilege of the Superintendent or foreman of the company to hire additional help to replace those discharged, in order to continue packing operations until the end of the season, the

wages of such help to be borne by the party of the second part.

The second party agrees to have his men on the job when the signals are given for beginning the day's work and will see that they are on the job morning, noon and at night when signal is given. Should the run of fish be heavy the second party agrees to run the iron chink and slimers after regular hours, that sufficient supply of cleaned fish will be ready to run both lines full capacity the next morning; also agrees to run iron chink and slimers after hours should it be necessary in opinion of Superintendent or foreman to clean them in order to insure their keeping until next day.

In the event that fish spoil on the fish dock floor through refusal of the crew of the second party to work overtime to take care of them by cleaning and sliming or cleanin, sliming and canning them, and a loss is sustained by first party through such refusal to work, said second party hereby agrees that the cost of such fish may be charged to his account and deducted from moneys due him at the end of the season; the quantity so spoiled reduced to cases shall be deducted from the guarantee, provided the guarrantee is not packed, in any event, the profit the party of the first part would have made on the fish so spoiled had they been canned, will be charged to and borne by the party of the second part.

The second party agrees that he will keep the living quarters of his crew in a clean, healthful, sanitary condition at all times, to satisfaction of superintendent of first party and to satisfaction of cannery inspector.

The second party agrees that after the canning season, if there shall remain on hand any canned fish not completely packed and ready for shipment, their laborers shall lacquer, label and box daily thereafter (including Sundays) not less than One thousand (1,000) such cases of salmon or fish ready for loading aboard ship until the same is completed.

It is also understood and agreed that in case of help having once been assigned to a position or a machine, such help shall not be changed without the consent of the superintendent of the party of the first part.

The party of the second part agrees that all the Chinese laborers shall possess genuine certificates of Registration which shall be acceptable to the U.S. Custom authorities, but should any laborer be not so provided and should pass out of this Country and be afterwards detected either in Alaska or on return to home port, all expenses attendent in such case will be borne by the party of the second part, and furthermore, should any such laborer or laborers be removed while in Alaska and should there be in consequence a failure to fulfill the terms of this contract, the party of the second part shall be liable to the party of the first part for damages as though the laborers had not been provided in the first instance, and second party shall bear the cost of transportation of such party or parties so removed.

It is also understood and agreed that should for any reason the party of the second part fail to have his full number of men aboard ship at the time set for sailing, same not to be prior to June 5, 1920, as previously stated, and should the ship be obliged to sail without such man or men, either on account of delay or inability of the party of the second part to secure same, then the number of cases of pack guaranteed by the party of the first part to the party of the second part shall be reduced by Five hundred (500) cases for each and every man short of the agreed number of Forty-two (42) men, it being specifically understood that the entire crew of Forty-two (42) men shall be on hand at the Cannery and ready for work by July 1, 1920.

It is hereby understood and agreed that these laborers are to carry to Alaska no firearms, and no intoxicating liquors shall be carried by them on the voyage. The party of the second part agrees to pay to the party of the first part

the sum of Twenty ($20.00) dollars as liquidated damages for each and every offense and to forfeit all liquors in their possession.

It is further understood that if any machinery in use in the cannery of the party of the first part, become, by virture of accident, or otherwise, incapable of performing such work as may be reasonably be expected of it, this contract shall remain in full force and effect, provided however, that the first party shall furnish at its own expense sufficient labor to, with the assistance of the regular machine operatives, perform by hand the same amount of work which the before mentioned machinery should do.

It is hereby agreed that the party of the first part shall transport all supplies and provisions necessary for said laborers from Seattle to the Cannery free of charge, provided, that same are shipped in large quantities at a time.

It is further understood and agreed and is a part of this contract that _____ shall go as foreman in charge.

It is understood that no smoking shall be allowed on the Cannery premises by any of the employees of the second party.

It is further understood and agreed that should the Cannery of the party of the first part be destroyed by fire, or otherwise be rendered incapable of operation, such destruction occurring prior to the arrival of the vessel or vessels carrying laborers and supplies, then the party of the first part shall forfeit to the party of the second part all advance money that may have been paid and shall be under no obligation to the party of the second part for any money on account of this contract other than the advance money referred to but shall return the laborers of the second party to Seattle without unnecessary delay and without charge. The intent being that the firrst party will pay the second party for the goods actually packed and shall deduct the amount of

the advances therefrom, providing the earnings amount to more than the advances made, otherwise no additional payments to be made and the contract shall be deemed terminated.

Should the cannery of the party of the first part be destroyed by fire or otherwise rendered incapable of operating after the arrival of the laborer or the commencement of operations, then the party of the first part shall pay the party of the second part for the actual work that may have been done prior to such casualty, and the party of the second part agrees to accept this amount in full satisfaction of ALL claims and demand, including all claims for compensation for the contract, provided however, that such amount shall in no case be less than the money advanced, and the party of the first part shall also return all the laborers to Seattle without unnecessary delay and without charge.

It is further agreed that should any of the laborers furnished the Marathon Fishing & Packing Company by Jim Sing for furnishing labor at the Cannery of the party of the first part be injured during the lifetime of this agreement and causes suit to be brought against the Marathon Fishing & Packing Company, that then and in that event the said Jim Sing shall pay, indemify and save harmless the said Marathon Fishing & Packing Company from any Judgment recovered against it, including costs and expenses incurred in the defense of any action which may be brought for or on account of such laborer, and to this end will carry insurance protecting himself and the Marathon Fishing & Packing Company against loss.

It is further agreed that all labor performed shall be in accordance to the laws of Alaska in all respects and particularly to laws of labor, and second party agrees that he will send no one to work at the Cannery and will not employ no one at the Cannery of the first party under eighteen (18) years of age as a safeguard against the tax on employment of Child labor.

All payments under this contract to be made to Jim Sing.

amount shall in no case be less than the money advanced, and the party of the first part shall also return all the laborers to Seattle without unnecessary delay and without charge.

It is further agreed that should any of the laborers furnished the Marathon Fishing & Packing Company by Jim Sing for furnishing labor at the Cannery of the Party of the first part be injured during the lifetime of this agreement and causes suit to be brought against the Marathon Fishing & Packing Company, that then and in that event the said Jim Sing shall pay, Indemify and save harmless the said Marathon Fishing & Packing Company from any Judgement recovered against it, including costs and expenses incurred in the defense of any action which may be brought for or on account of such laborer, and to this end will carry insurance protecting himself and the Marathon Fishing & Packing Company against loss.

It is further agreed that all labor performed shall be in accordance to the laws of Alaska in all respects and particularly to laws of labor, and second party agrees that he will send no one to work at the Cannery and will not employ no one at the Cannery of the first party under eighteen (18) years of age as a safeguard against the tax on employment of Child labor.

All payments under this contract to be made to Jim Sing.

Provided further that advance payment is to be made of Two thousand ($2,000.00) dollars on February 10, 1920, and Two thousand ($2,000.00) dollars July 15, 1920 and balance at end of season after arrival of laborers in Seattle and work is completed.

All interlineations and corrections made in this contract were made before signing.

APPENDIX V

EARLY UNION CONTRACTS
CANNERY CREW AGREEMENT
1937

A G R E E M E N T

This agreement made and entered into this 15th day of April, 1937, for the season and year 1937, by and between the Alaska Company Workers Union No. 20195 of San Francisco, California, and hereinafter referred to as the Union - and Alaska Packers Association, hereinafter referred to as the Company.

Witnesseth:

Section A General Conditions

1. The Company hereby recognized the Union as representative of its employees, who are hired and engaged in the industry, coming under the jurisdiction of the Union and who may work as:

a. A member, duly initiated and enjoying the same conditions and benefits.

b. Working on a permit issued by authority of an official representative of the Union.

c. Natives and residents of the Territory of Alaska, performing the work coming under the jurisdiction of the Union, shall become a party recognized and entitled to the benefits and conditions of those indicated under "A" and "B" or better.

(See Section "B" Compensation)

2. The Union has jurisdiction over the following classification of workers, when and where used.

a. First and second foremen

b. First and second cooks

c. First and second bakers

d. Waiters, dishwashers, pot washers, vegetable men, and kitchen helpers
e. Butchers and hand butchers
f. Fish washers and slimers and sorters
g. Fish hookers, hoppers and fish bin
h. Relief men
i. Men on knives
j. Pew men
k. Cooler men
l. Transfer men
m. Piling cans
n. Fillers and filling reformers
o. Testers
p. Washing machine
q. Catching cans
r. Retorts
s. Label machine and labelling
t. On elevators
u. Wiring boxes, strappers, stitchers, and box makers
v. Top man and salt man
w. Solderers
x. Hand packers, can lofters, janitors, and others engaged in cannery work

2A. In the event any classification is not specified, or is known by other names, or new classifications are to be added, wages and benefits and the definite classification shall be agreed upon and supplemented to this agreement and made retroactive to the commencement of said work including skilled and unskilled workers.

2B. No benefits or conditions heretofore enjoyed by members or men shall be taken away with the signing and acceptance of this agreement.

a. We claim jurisdiction of canning, processing, handling of fish from the time of fish being deposited in fish bins and the several different operations through which it passes

until the finished product is canned, labeled, and packed, either in cartons or cases, and delivered to warehouses, vessels, etc., and including the making of cans, boxes, and incidental work heretofore done before, during and after actual fish canning season in the Territory of Alaska, whether on land or floating vessels.

3. The Company shall in all cases transact business only with authorized representatives of the Union.

a. The Union claims certain definite rights and benefits on behalf of its membership and these rights shall be upheld by the authorized delegates; the authorized delegates shall act as representatives and spokesmen for the Union, and in the event of a dispute or misunderstanding they will be vested with authority to settle to the best of their ability, all issues that may be brought to their attention. Further, delegates are authorized and instructed that a strict observance of all rules and regulations, hours, wages, and general conditons are observed and adhered to. They shall endeavor at all times and cases to settle all matters and issues in a satisfactory manner to all concerned.

b. The number of delegates for each of the several canneries shall be determined by the Union, and all delegates shall be recognized by the Company and those in charge and authority.

c. It is expressly agreed that neither the Company, superintendent in charge, nor any agent of the Company, nor any delegates of the Union has power or authority to change the provisions of this agreement.

4. The Company shall procure all members who come under our jurisdiction (except residents and natives of Alaska) from headquarters of the Union's hiring hall in San Francisco.

a. Residents and natives of Alaska shall become members of the Union within 15 days after commencement of work in accordance with Section A clause 1c.

5. The Company shall not under any circumstances or conditions, directly or indirectly, enter into any agreement with

any person, firm or partnership, whose business is the supplying of men and who are commonly known as labor agents and/or labor contractors, for the employment of men by said Company.

a. Former known labor agents or labor contractors or their agents, shall not be permitted to sell merchandise, or have business dealings in any manner on piers (prior to sailing), vessels, or on Company property, or upon the return of the Expedition.

6. The Union shall in all cases be the judge and determine the qualifications of its members. (Refer to Section A clause 15a)

7. Any man signed up and discharged before sailing, without his consent, unless for physical disability, shall be paid one month's wages within 24 hours.

a. Members or men detained for any reason at any plant after termination of the season, shall be paid the regular rate per month.

8. The Company shall not discriminate against any member for union activities, race, color, creed, or for law suits or legal action being instituted.

a. The Union shall exercise the right at any and all time to furnish men preferably of mixed groups, without regard to nationality.

9. No member will be required to pass through a picket line established by organized labor, nor work where armed guards are employed during a dispute, nor handle unfair products, merchandise, etc., a refusal to do so will not be considered a violation of this agreement.

10. The Union shall exercise the privilege to select, and the member shall be free to accept if available:

a. First and Second foremen, first and second cooks and first and second bakers.

b. The Company shall file a request for their requirements at least 15 days before ship sails.

8. The Company shall not discriminate against any member for union activities, race, color, creed, or for law suits or legal action being instituted.

a. The Union shall exercise the right at any and all time to furnish men preferebly of mixed groups, without regard to nationality.

9. No member will be required to pass through a picket line established by organized labor, nor work where armed guards are employed during a dispute, nor handle unfair products, merchandise, etc., a refusal to do so will not be considered a violation of this agreement.

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a. First and Second foremen, first and second cooks and first and second bakers.

b. The Company shall file a request for their requirements at least 15 days before ship sails.

11. If members are hired for other than cannery work, the Union shall be notified when order is placed and before men sail.

12. The companies selling merchandise in canneries, vessels, docks, or [incomplete in original text].

13. No person, not a member of the Union signatory to this agreement shall be permitted to perform work coming under the jurisdiction of the union, except those persons referred to in Clauses No. 1, 1a, 1b, 1c.

14. Members or crew signing for one cannery shall not be displaced by members or crews from other canneries, without the consent of this Union.

supplied by member to the Company. The Company agrees to pay the amount of money requested by the Union, and said Union hereby agrees to hold the said Company free and harmless in event any dispute comes between the Union and its members as to the amount or amounts due by any said members to the said Union. The estimated amounts are not less than $15.00 or more than $25.00.

18. Foremen, cooks, and bakers or others required by a Company to report for orders to discuss business, make vessels shipshape, check supplies, prepare meals before ships sail for canneries, etc., shall be paid for each day and hour at the regular per day rate, but not less than 4 hours will be paid, whether work lasts that long or not.

19. The policy of the Union is unalterably opposed to gambling in any form, and the sale and use of dope, or the excessive use of intoxicating liquors. Foremen are pledged to cooperate with delegates in eliminating the above mentioned vices, and the Company will lend its full support to the abolition in every instance. (See Clause #12)

20. In canneries where language difficulties may be encountered, foremen shall take orders only from the superintendent or representative.

21. Men requiring special equipment consisting of: rain coats, and rain hats, rubber aprons, rubber boots, canvas gloves, sleeve guards, and whatever other special equipment may be required for the well-being comfort and safety of the workers, shall be furnished upon request, free of charge, and be responsbile for the safe keeping of same, and if not turned in at the end of season, a charge will be made.

a. Rubber boots and other wearing apparel where used by other persons previously, shall be kept hygenic and sanitary.

22. No member shall be required to work where hazardous or unsafe conditions inimical to his health and general well being are concerned.

23. The Company shall furnish all the necessary equipment to safeguard life, health, and limb of members at all times while in the employ of the Company.

24. Sufficient janitors, paid by the Company shall be supplied by the Union for the Purpose of Maintaining clean mess rooms, bunk houses, etc., in plants, on shore, and on vessels. They shall be supplied by the Company with rubber boots, rain coats, rain hats, brooms, canvas gloves.

25. The Union advocates the use of time recording clocks; correct time shall be supplied for the starting and stopping of work, and in no case will time be taken by the sun.

26. Where the Company handles incoming and outgoing mail, messages, wires etc., personal and Union business shall be promptly handled and dispatched. Where telegrams are sent, a copy with indicated time of sending shall be furnished to sender.

27. With the signing of this agreement, there shall be:

a. No unusual speeding up of machinery (unless more men are added.)

b. An elimination of piece work.

c. No compulsory requirements to complete tasks or jobs by piece, lot, number, quantity, or hours.

28. The Company shall hire and work full complement of men as specified and agreed to for the various canneries and lines, and the same number of men shall be employed in a cannery as formerly, provided the cannery operates at an equal capacity as heretofore. Where the number of lines is increased, and additional men are not hired to do the additional work, the monies which would have been earned by men performing the additional work shall be divided equally amongst all the cannery workers.

29. Where canneries have 120 men employed, a first and second cook, first and second baker and first and second foreman shall be employed. In all canneries of the Alaska Packers Association, an extra Chinese cook above the regular

quota of cooks shall be employed where Chinese are used. In no case shall a lesser number of men be used in lines or departments than in 1936.

30. Suitable overtime slips shall be furnished by the Union to the delegates for the purpose of computing straight time and overtime work daily, and to be compared with the time-keeper, superintendent or agent of the Company within a reasonable time after completion of shift, and approved and certified to.

31. Copies of this agreement furnished by the Union, in English, Spanish, Chinese, and Japanese shall be posted on vessels and in canneries in conspicious places.

Section B Compensation

1. All wages shall be based on a monthly basis or fraction thereof except foremen, who are on a seasonal basis.

a.	First Foremen	SE Alaska	Bristol Bay
	1 & 2 lines	$1,000.00	$ 900.00
	3 lines	1,025.00	925.00
	4 lines	1,100.00	1,000.00
	5 lines	1,150.00	1,050.00
	Second Foremen		
	1 & 2 lines	725.00	625.00
	3 lines	750.00	650.00
	4 lines	775.00	675.00
	5 lines	800.00	700.00

b. For each additional line over five lines, first foreman shall receive $50.00 and second foreman shall receive $25.00 per line.

c	Testers	$120.00 per month when used
d.	First Cook	$175.00 per month when used
e.	Second Cook	$125.00 per month when used
f.	First Baker	$150.00 per month when used
g.	Second Baker	$125.00 per month when used
h.	Messman, dishwashers, waiters	$ 85.00 per month

i. Cooks, bakers, and all assigned kitchen help shall be paid overtime for all hours of work over eight hours in a spread of twelve, at the rate of $.90 per hour.

2. Those persons employed in Catagory "A" shall be paid $93.00 per month. Overtime shall be paid at the rate of $.60 per hour.

Class "A"

1. Butchers, I.C. and hand
2. Can pilers
3. Can washers
4. Retort man
5. Can catchers
6. Cooler men
7. Boxmakers, stitchers and helper
8. Relief man
9. Can shooters and catchers. label machine runner
10. Box nailer, strapper and helper
11. Delegate
12. Fish sorter, solderer

3. Those persons employed in Catagory "B" shall be paid $85.00 per month. Overtime shall be paid at the rate of $.60 per hour.

Class "B"

1. Fishbin man, hopper, hooking or pewing fish
2. Fish washer, (slimer)
3. Conveyors
4. Fish cutters (elevators)
5. Fillers and helpers on filling machine
6. Transfer men
7. Salt men (when 4 or 5 line cannery otherwise Class "C")
8. Top Supplier (when 4 or 5 line cannery otherwise Class "C")
9. Box and case pilers and helpers
10. Collapsed can shooter or fitters and helpers on reformers
11. Cannery sweepers and janitors
12. Messmen, dishwashers, waiters

Class "C" Wages $78.00 per month. Overtime $.60 per hour.

1. Saltman and top suppliers in 1, 2, or 3 line cannery
2. Clincher machine man
3. Tableman and helpers
4. Tailman and wheelbarrow man
5. Empty can shooters (loft) and helpers
6. Man trucking fiber or wood boxes (empty)
7. Man trucking fiber or wood boxes (full)
8. Paste, nails or box cover supplier
9. Cleaners 'ruckers and pilers in general

In "C" are included all kinds of lightwork, inside or outside the cannery."

4. Where resident and native help is engaged the following basis for wages shall prevail:

a. 20% above monthly scale to be paid on an hourly basis where the company does not furnish board and room.

b. 10% above monthly scale to be paid on an hourly basis where the company furnishes room and board.

c. In localities where natives and/or residents have received a higher scale of wages, the 1936 scale shall be used, and the two clauses above shall apply.

d. In lieu of overtime, first foremen in all canneries shall receive 15% of their season's earnings. Second foremen shall receive 10% of their season's earnings if their services are satisfactory.

5. The wage scales mentioned in the foregoing articles are for 8 hours work. Any work performed after 8 hours shall be paid at the rate of 60¢ per hour.

6. On any work, outside of routine cannery work, with the exception of cleaning grass and longshore operations not stipulated in this agreement, or proveded for by the basic wage scale, shall be paid for at the rate of $.75 per hour including foremen in the above scale.

7. On longshore operations, $1.00 per hour will be paid, over and above the basic wage. Where foremen, cooks, bakers,

a. 20% above monthly scale to be paid on an hourly basis where the company does not furnish board and room.

b. 10% above monthly scale to be paid on an hourly basis where the company furnishes room and board.

c. In localities where natives and/or residents have received a higher scale of wages, the 1936 scale shall be used, and the two clauses above shall apply.

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7. On longshore operations, $1.00 per hour will be paid, over and above the basic wage. Where foremen, cooks, bakers, or other kitchen help are used, either manually or otherwise, they shall be included in the above scale.

8. Members or men signed up for a definite classification and wage scale on embarkation shall not be paid any lower rate unless they prove incompetent in the opinion of the cannery workers foreman and the cannery superintendent. In that event they may be reduced to a lower classification of pay and a man from lower classification of pay can be elevated and receive the pay designated for a worker demoted.

hired to work, coming under our jurisdiction, transportation and subsistance coming and going shall be furnished by and at the expense of the Company.

Section E Sleeping and Housing Accomodations

1. In canneries and on vessels each bunk or bed shall consist of a spring, mattress and cover, pillow and cover, to be furnished by the Company at the request of the members.

a. Mosquito netting shall be furnished where required, in rooms and screens for doors where necessary.

2. Bunk houses should be apart from mess rooms whereever practical.

3. Bunk houses to best serve their particular use, should be made as sound proof as possible, to insure a good sound sleep for the men.

a. Good lighting facilities shall be made available wherever needed, for reading, and recreational purposes, and all electric wires should be encased in conduit.

4. Suitable toilet urinals, wash basins, or troughs, and shower baths, shall be made available and should be in close proximity to bunk houses, with necessary sewage disposal.

Section F Fire Protection

1. The Union is in favor of a mobile fire department, with trained crews and periodi l fire drills and fire extinguishers in necessary places in canneries and vessels.

Section G Laundry Accomodation

1. Suitable wash trays or their equivalent, with running hot water, shall be supplied or companies shall launder at their expense. Laundry soap shall be supplied upon request.

Section H Medical Attention

1. When members are required to submit to a physical examination, same shall be done in a dignified manner, with regard to the method used.

2. Members shall not be required to undress or drop their pants in areas exposed to public gaze. Companies shall be responsible for suitable arrangements.

3. All physicians and surgeons wherever employed shall be recognized liscensed graduate practioners.

4. The Union reserves the right to furnish doctors for the purpose of examination where rejection has been made.

5. Any member from time of leaving, until return, who is laid up through sickness, injury or natural ailments, and is unable to work according to the judgement of a physician, shall be paid his monthly wage, and upon reaching the port of origin, shall be placed in a hospital, and both medical and surgical attention and necessities shall be supplied by the Companies at their expense until member is discharged.

6. A suitable number of nurses, to be determined upon, shall be stationed at all canneries. First aid kits, equipment and stretchers shall be available on vessels and in canneries.

7. No fee shall be charged by a company doctor, nurse, surgeon, etc., for services to any member, permit man, native or resident, employed by the Companies except in the cases of proven or obvious veneral deseases, intoxication, brawls or fights.

Section I Hours

1. Eight hours, or less, shall constitute a day's work from 8 a.m. to 5 p.m. straight time paid, as outlined in Section "B" Compensation.

5. Cannery crews, before and after actual fish canning, shall not start before 8 a.m.

a. During actual fish canning crews shall not start before 7 a.m. but if called for work, overtime shall be paid up to 7 a.m. then straight time for 8 consecutive hours, including those elapsed hours when men shall be laid off through no fault of their own, within the 8 hour period.

6. In cases of overtime any fraction over 15 minutes, one half hour will be paid; where time runs over one half hour, one hour will be paid; after one hour, time is figured on same basis as the above.

Section J Recreation Room

1. For the purpose of establishing some recreational, reading and entertainment facilities, a suitable building apart from the bunk house shall be furnished by the Companies, and shall include reading and writing facilities and a radio.

Section K Heat

1. Where needed, heat shall be installed with steam radiators or stoves.

Section L Clothes Drying Equipment

1. Where men's clothes become wet suitable ways and means shall be also provided.

Section M Holidays

1. Where cemetaries are located, a suitable time, preferrably June 24th shall be agreed upon, and cleaning of plots, fences, painting of head boards, etc., shall be done by a detail of members and under the supervision of the delegates.

2. Holidays to be observed are:

Memorial Day	New Year's Day
July 4th Independence Day	Washington's Birthday
Labor Day	Armistice Day
Christmas	Lincoln's Birthday

3. Maritime Memorial Day, (July 5th) shall be observed with a half hour stoppage of work that a fitting observance may be held.

4. Where work is done on a holiday overtime shall be paid.

Section N Storeroom

1. Cooks, bakers and/or delegates, shall be responsible for the safe keeping and checking of all food and produce going into and coming out of the storeroom.

2. The Union proposes that at least 3 different locks be used in all places where food is stored and keys be held by either one of the above mentioned members, which shall include the delegate in all cases.

Conclusion

This agreement is for the season of 1937 and discussions for the 1938 season agreement shall be entered into and concluded by March 20, 1938.

It is agreed that all of the benefits herein recited as enuring to the benefit of the Union, shall also enure to each member thereof, and become the property right of the Unions and the members thereof Signed this 15th day of April 1937,
by Alaska Cannery Workers Union #20195
G. Woolf
Paul Lyons
Company Alaska Packers Association
by A.K. Tichnor
Negotiating Committee

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4. Catapusan, "The Social Adjustments of Filipinos", p. 48.

5. Lasker, p. 298. One must look at an earlier statement Lasker makes in his work which qualifies the later one quoted above.

> ...the assertion of non-assimilability is made usually not in the factual meaning of that term but merely as implying that assimilation would be undesirable as interfering with the perpetuation of the dominant race with its present characteristics. Implied in this attitude is a strong preference for the preservation of the Caucasian race on this continent but not necessarily a sense of Caucasian superiority as measured by ideal standards. (p. 36)

6. Ibid.

7. American Federation of Labor, Reports of the Proceedings of the American Federation of Labor, 1931 (Washington, D.C.: Law Reporter Publishing Co.), p. 410.

8. Carl Crow, "What About the Filipinos?", World's Work, Summer 1913, p. 516.

9. Ibid, p. 516.

10. C.M. Goethe, "Filipino Immigration Viewed as Peril", Current History, June 1931, pp. 353-354.

11. O.G. Jones, pp. 287-290.

12. Kulayaan International, Vol. 1 #1, June 1971, quoted in Asian-Americans -- Psychological Perspectives, Nathaniel N. Wagner and Stanley Sue, ed. (Palo Alto: Science and Behavior Books, 1973), p. 314.

13. Citizenship was granted in 1946 with the enactment of Philippine legislation.

14. Emory S. Bogardus, "Filipino Immigrant Attitudes", Sociology and Social Research, May-June 1930, p. 474.

15. John H. Burma, "The Background of the Current Situation of the Filipino Americans", Social Forces, October 1951, p. 47.

16. Lasker, p. 140.

17. Interview with Salvadore del Fierro, 1 June 1976, Seattle, Washington.

18. Interview with B.N., 10 July 1976, Ketchikan, Alaska.

19. Grayson Kirk, "The Filipinos", Annals of the American Association of Political and Social Scientists, September 1942, p. 46.

20. Carey McWilliams, "Exit the Filipino", Nation, 4 September 1935, p. 265.

21. Anthony, quoted in Burma, p. 156.

22. U.S. Congress, Senate, Congressional Record, 71st Congress, 2nd Session, 1930, p. 7426.

23. Interview with Salvadore del Fierro 1 June 1976, Seattle, Washington.

24. The Filipino Student, June 1934, Vol. 12, No. 8, p. 3.

25. Philippine Advocate, June 1935, Seattle, Washington, p. 2.

26. Burma, p. 154.

27. Carey McWilliams, "35,000 New Aliens", Pacific Weekly, 24 August 1936, p. 119.

28. Burma, p. 140.

29. Unknown to Velasco, 13 June 1931, Velasco Papers.

30. Ibid, p. 140.

31. Ibid, p. 47.

32. Buaken, "Where is the Heart", p. 411.

33. Philippine Monthly Review, Vol. 1 #1, Seattle, Washington, p. 1.

34. Philippine Monthly Review, November 1932, p. 18.

35. Simeon to Velasco, 20 November 1943, Velasco Papers.

36. Catapusan, "The Social Adjustment of Filipinos", p. 47.

37. Ibid.

38. Carlos Bulosan, "Letter in Exile: I", Letter From America (Prairie City, Illinois: The Press of James A. Decker, 1942), p. 9.

39. Lasker, footnote, p. 99.

40. California, Arizona, Idaho, Nevada, and Oregon classified Filipinos as Mongolians. By law, Mongolians were forbidden to marry a white. Washington and Alaska allowed intermarriage, however. This presented a confusing situation as the laws were not only different in different states, but had been changed over time. Filipinos were not classified as Mongolians until the 1930s in California, this occuring at the height of anti-Filipino hostilities. Mexicans, the one group of women which some thought appropriate mates for Filipinos due to a common language and Spanish heritage, were declared white, eliminating them as legal mates. Frequently, couples travelled to a liberal state to be married, then returned to the more conservative state to live and to face constant discrimination.

41. Burma, pp. 47-49.

Chapter VI The Contract Labor System

1. Interview with J.O., 12 July 1976, Ketchikan, Alaska.

2. "Twenty-Second Biennial Report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the State of California for 1925-26", quoted in Lasker, p. 84.

3. Star of Alaska Log Book, 4 April 1923. University of Washington Library Seattle, Washington. Also, William Kirk, "Labor Forces of the Alaska Coast". Survey, July 1916. p. 356.

4. Interview with Salvadore del Fierro, 1 June 1976, Seattle, Washington.

5. History, 1921, Alaska Packers Association Collection, Juneau, Alaska State Library, p. 24.

6. Marshall to Barnes, 18 October 1919, W.O. Barnes Papers, University of Washington Manuscript Collection, Seattle, Washington.

7. Eliot Grinnell Mears, Resident Orientals on the American Pacific Coast quoted in Fresno Republican, 30 May 1910 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1928), pp. 444-5.

8. Washington Bureau of Labor, "Special Report on the Salmon Canning Industry in the State of Washington and the Employment of Oriental Labor", Olympia, State Bureau of Labor, 1915, p. 15.

9. Jose Rizalino Orosa, "An Investigation of the non-resident Personnel Management Problems and Practices in the Alaska Canned Salmon Industry" (Master's Thesis, 1948, University of Washington) pp. 88-89.

Chapter VII The Filipino and the Alaskan Canned Salmon Industry

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2. H.H. Smith Papers, Box 1, Diary, University of Washington Manuscript Collection, Seattle, Washington.

3. Interview with Alex Carillo, 16 March 1976, Juneau, Alaska.

4. Pacific Fisherman Yearbook, 1955, p. 96.

5. Jefferson Moser, The Salmon and Salmon Fisheries of Alaska. Bulletin of the U.S. Fisheries Commission, Vol. 18 (Washington, D.C. GPO, 1898), p. 20.

6. Richard A. Cooley, Politics and Conservation: The Decline of the Alaska Salmon (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), p. 28.

7. James A. Crutchfield and Giulio Pontecorvo, The Pacific Salmon Fisheries: A Study of Irrational Conservation (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1969), p. 75-76.

8. Cooley, p. 28.

9. Ibid, p. 27.

10. Brady to Lindsay, Seal and Salmon Fisheries and General Resources of Alaska, Volume IV (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1898), p. 82.

11. Moser, pp. 23-25.

12. Orosa, p. 8.

13. 1920 contract with Jim Sing & Company, W.O. Barnes Papers, Box 13, File 8, University of Washington Manuscript Collection, Seattle, Washington.

14. Jonathan Cobb, Fisheries of the Pacific Coast (Washington, D.C., Dept. of Commerce and Labor, U.S. Fisheries Commission, 1911), p. 35.

15. William Kirk. "Labor Forces of the Alaska Coast". Survey, July 1916, p. 352.

16. Washington Bureau of Labor, "Special Report", p. 12.

17. John E. Satterwaite, "The China Crew", The Alaska Sportsman, December 1953, pp. 14-15.

18. Diary of Victorio A. Velasco. 22 June 1924.

19. H.H. Smith Papers, Box 1, Diary entry; 26 March 1913.

20. Cobb, 1911, p. 23.

21. U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, Hearings on House Joint Resolution 162, 76th Congress, 1st Session, 1939, p. 30.

22. Cobb, p. 47.

23. Ibid, p. 56.

24. Personal Correspondence from Robert N. De Armond. 18 July, 1979.

25. Cobb, p. 35.

26. Kirk, W., p. 354.

27. Spencer to Sales, 20 December 1918, Barnes Papers.

28. Spencer to Sales, 1 June 1918, Barnes Papers.

29. Kirk, W., p. 354.

30. Ibid, p. 356.

31. Ibd, pp. 354-8.

32. See W.O. Barnes Collection, H.H. Smith Collection, John H. Gilbert Collection, Charles Hubbell Collection, Port Blakely Mill Co. Collection, University of Washington Manuscript Collection, Seattle, Washington.

33. Smith to Schields, 10 March 1916, H.H. Smith Papers.

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35. Ibid, Box 7, File 25.

36. Ibid, Box 8, File 3.

37. Interview with Mariano Kato, 6 March 1976, Juneau, Alaska.

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39. Department of Commerce and Labor to Cobb, 10 April 1911, John Nathan Cobb Papers, University of Washington Archives, Seattle, Washington.

40. Kirk, W., p. 357.

41. Washington Bureau of Labor, "Special Report", p. 12.

42. National Canners Association, Report of the Director of Investigation of the Pacific Fisheries (Seattle: National Canners Association, 1919), p. 5.

43. "Alaska, A Filipino Refuge", Mid-Pacific Magazine, November 1931, p. 438.

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Chapter VIII Filipinos and the Labor Unions

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2. D.J. Pivar, "Reply to F.R. Lawrence on the AFL and the Philippine Independence Quota 1920-1935", Labor History, Spring 1966, p. 252.

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16. Philippine Advocate, May 1935, p. 1.

17. Interview with Margaret Duyungan Mislang, 16 June 1975, Washington State Archives Oral History Program. Tape 75-12 ck.

18. Cannery Workers and Farm Laborers' Union, Local 18257, to Alaska Pacific Salmon Corporation, 25 January 1937, Charles S. Hubbell Papers, Box 2, University of Washington Manuscript Collection, Seattle, Washington.

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid.

21. Interview with Chris Mensalves, 29 April 1974, Buyagawan Papers, University of Washington Manuscripts Collection, Seattle, Washington.

22. Ohmer to Troy, 9 October 1937, Seattle, National Archives and Records Center, Alaska Territorial Governor's Papers, Microfilm roll 284-44-1.

23. Pacific Fisherman, January 1938, p. 48.

24. Cannery Crew Agreement between Alaska Cannery Workers' Union Local 20195, San Francisco, and the Alaska Packers Association, 15 April 1937. Alaska Packers Association Papers, "History", p. 243, Alaska Historical Library.

25. Ibid, Sections E, F.

26. Pacific Fisherman Yearbook, 1937, p. 55.

27. Kampelman, p. 19.

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29. Contract between Alaska Cannery Workers' Union, CIO Local 5, San Francisco, and the Alaska Packers Association, 26 May 1938. Alaska Packers Association Papers, p. 402, Alaska Historical Library.

30. Gruening to Troy, 20 May 1938. Alaska Territorial Governors' Papers National Archives & Records Service, Seattle, Washington, Roll 285-44-1.

31. Kampleman, pp. 5-7.

32. Contract between Alaska Cannery Workers' Union, CIO Local 5, San Francisco, and the Alaska Packers Association, 24 May 1939. Alaska Packers Association Papers, p. 470, Alaska Historical Library.

33. Contract between the Alaska Salmon Industry, Inc., and the UCAPAWA-CIO Locals 5, 7, and 26, 21 May 1941. Velasco Papers. Section 5, p. 1.

34. Kampelman, p. 4.

35. David J. Saposs, Communism in America Unions (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1959) p. 18.

36. Kampelman, p. 19.

37. Minutes of the Seafood Worker's Union, 25 September 1947. Velasco Papers, Box 17.

38. Velasco to Menor, 18 December 1947. Velasco Papers, Box 17.

39. Litwack, p. 153.

40. 1920 Figure: Agreement between Marathon Fishing and Packing Company and Jim Sing, 1920, W.O. Barnes Papers, page 2. (note: the contractor in this case was paid fifty cents an hour for each man. It was common practice to give the laborer half of this while the contractor kept the other half. This figure is thus an estimate on that practice.)

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    1938 Cannery workers: 1938 contract between the Alaska Cannery Workers' Union Local #5, San Francisco and the Alaska Salmon Industry. Alaska Packers Association Papers, History, p. 358-9, Alaska Historical Library.

    1938 and 1948 U.S. Laborers wages: Lloyd G. Reynolds and Cynthia H. Taft, The Evolution of Wage Structure (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1956), p. 329.)

    1948 Cannery workers: 1948 Alaska Salmon Industry Inc., signs agreement with Local 7, FTA-CIO Mensalves Papers, University of Washington Manuscript Collection, Seattle, Washington.

41. Kampelman, p. 251.

42. Saposs, p. 184.

43. Interview with N.D., 4 August 1976, Seattle, Washington.

44. Litwack, p. 174.

45. Salvadore del Fierro interview.

46. Ibid.

Chapter IX Alaska for Alaskans

1. Truitt to Troy, 6 October 1939. Alaskan Territorial Governors' Papers. Roll 244-26-1.

2. Berge to Holzheimer, 25 April 1941, Alaska Territorial Governor's Papers Roll 315-63-3.

3. The Association of Pacific Fisheries was established by the canneries in 1914 "...to improve and perpetuate the fishing industry along the Pacific coast and to promote the welfare of the individual members by all legal means." (Cooley, p. 913)

4. Gilbert to Krause, 12 June 1935. John N. Gilbert Papers, University of Washington Manuscript Collection, Seattle, Washington.

5. O. Bergseth to Gilbert, 24 June 1935. John H. Gilbert Papers.

6. Gruening, Ernest, The State of Alaska, (New York: Random House, 1968), p. 385.

7. It had become the policy of the union to assign the number of men used previously, the number of lines run, and the speed of the machinery. Although this policy was specified in the 1937 contract with the San Francisco

local, it did not appear in subsequent APA contracts nor in contracts with other firms reviewed by this researcher. The contract stated: "The Company shall hire and work full complement of men as specified and agreed to for the various canneries and lines, and the same number of men shall be employed in a cannery as formerly, provided the cannery operates at an equal capacity as heretofore. Where the number of lines is increased, and additional men are not hired to do the additional work, the monies which would have been earned by men performing the additional work shall be divided equally amongst all the cannery workers." (1937 Alaska Packers Association Contract, Alaska Packers Association Papers, p. 243, Alaska Historical Library.)

8. Gruening to Bartlett, 23 June 1939, Alaska Territorial Governors Papers, Roll 315-63-3 and Bartlett to Gruening 10 June 1939, Roll 284-44-1. Most Native Alaskans belonged to this organization rather than to the unions from the Lower 48.

9. U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, Hearings on HR162, 1939, p. 230-231.

10. Ibid, Testimony of Monrad C. Wallgren, Republican, Washington, p. 897.

11. Quote of Honorable Edward Coffey, Alaska Territorial Legislature, Anchorage. Hearings before the Subcommittee on Alaskan fisheries of the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, House of Representatives, 76 Congress, First Session and the Joint Committee on Fisheries of the Legislature of the Territory of Alaska pursuant to authority of HR162, part one, Anchorage, September 1, 1939, p. 28-29.

12. Ibid, p. 949.

13. Gruening, p. 390-391.

14. U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries. Hearings on HR162, 1939, p. 230-231. Testimony of Senator Henry Roden, Alaska Territorial Legislature, 1st Division, p. 865.

15. Trinidad Rojo, "Salmon Cannery Workers and the Salmon Industry", A Report to the Coastwise Conference of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific, 9 January 1940, Alaska Historical Library, Juneau, Alaska, p. 6.

16. Andrew Vigin, Alaska Fishermen's Union, to the Members of the House of Representatives Committee on Merchant Marine Fisheries. A Brief in Opposition to HR8115, 7898, 7988, 6690, 5476, 1939. Alaska Territorial Governors' Papers, Roll 315-63-3.

17. Trinidad A. Rojo, "Excerpts on Alaska Congressional Fisheries Hearings with Special Reference to the Salmon Cannery Industry, Traps, Non-resident Workers, Whites, Filipinos, Others, etc". 1939. Mimeographed. University of Washington Library, Seattle, Washington, p. ii.

18. Ibid, p. i.

19. Gruening to Murray, 19 May 1944. Alaska Territorial Governor's Papers, Role 285-44-1.

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Chapter X The Filipino-Alaskan Residents

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2. Velasco Papers, Box 12, poems.

3. Velasco to Buson, 6 August 1952, Velasco Papers.

4. Interview with M.Z., March 5, 1976, Juneau, Alaska.

5. Interview with Dorothy Larson, April 6, 1976, Dillingham, Alaska.

6. Salvadore del Fierro, ~~interview~~ Interview with 1 June 1976, Seattle, Washington.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid.

10. Velasco Papers, Box 12, poems.

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