

Shades of L.A. Interview Project  
Interview Summary  
Royal Morales - PT.1-8/31/93, PT.2-9/9/93  
Interviewer: Amy Kitchener  
3 Cassette Tapes

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PT.1

SIDE A, TAPE 1

(corresponds to DAT tape 1)

000 Silence

002 Introduction

005 Born May 28, 1932 in Los Angeles -- parents lived in basement of Majestic Hotel at First and Grand (presently Dorothy Chandler Pavilion) -- location of first wave Pilipino community -- born at California Hospital at 14th and Hope -- spent first two years at home at First/Grand

017 Parents were first wave Pilipino immigrants -- recruited as workers and students as part of American colonization of Philippines -- father came in 1928 as a representative to a world church convention under the Disciples of Christ Christian Church -- went to Washington, D.C. -- father became acquainted with some of the American missionaries to the Congo -- met the Dye family who have been referred to as "the father and mother the Pilipinos" -- Dr. Royal J. Dye was Royal Morales' his namesake -- wife was Eva Dye -- they convinced Royal Morales' father to stay in the United States to get an education and then return to the Philippines

043 Two sets of Pilipino students -- student pensionnados recruited by authorities to come study and return to Philippines to take on leadership -- also individual students -- father was neither -- came as delegate in assembly and stayed and worked as domestic and farm worker -- father studied sociology and ministry -- first he attended school and then brought his wife -- located at First/Grand -- attended California Christian College (now Chapman University in Orange) -- CCC was located in Los Angeles at present location of LACC -- 1954 Chapman moved to Orange -- some Pilipino students went there -- then they would continue at USC -- father went to USC in 1933 and got degrees -- 1934 they returned to the Philippines -- he taught and established ministries in churches and in schools -- continued his work until WWII and then died (age 55)

086 Royal's birth in the U.S. was a key influence in his decision to return to the U.S. -- he was programmed by his family and others that he was an American citizen -- he grew up in the Philippines and completed Eureka High School (which his father founded) -- graduated in 1951 -- came to

the U.S. in 1951 via Hawaii at age 18 -- had to register for the draft -- went to stay with his uncle who was a first wave immigrant to the U.S. as a farm worker in Hawaii -- uncle was going to help him -- Royal wanted to go to the University of Hawaii but he did not pass the English test -- uncle suggested he try the mainland to find a school -- Royal decided to go to L.A. and try Chapman (his father's alma mater) -- registrar knew his father and helped Royal -- Father Dye and Rev. Felix Pascua met him at the airport -- those two started the congregation of Pilipino Christian Fellowship

- 141 Royal left L.A. age 2 -- no memories -- first impressions upon return in 1951 were the ocean, mountains, snow, beauty and size of country -- campus life was his acculturation -- the Pilipino Christian Church was his "anchor" -- church located on Union St. -- the Christian Fellowship was founded in the basement of the Majestic Hotel downtown -- the early Pilipinos also congregated on Weller St. (now Col. Onisuka near Otani Hotel between San Pedro and Los Angeles Street) -- center for Pilipinos with pool halls, restaurants, barbershops, tailors -- area continued until WWII -- was also location of Little Tokyo -- Bunker Hill Redevelopment took over many of the Pilipino areas -- Figueroa and Temple was also a little center of Pilipino businesses -- no longer there -- they were pushed west -- in the 1950s the Pilipino Christian Church bought church at 301 N. Union -- was beginning of the present Pilipino Town -- now at Union/Temple and west to Alvarado -- new Pilipino Town in 1950s and 1960s -- FACLA (Pilipino American Community of Los Angeles) came at the same time as church
- 210 FACLA used to be on Bunker Hill -- location for dances -- part of their socialization -- Royal went there and hung around the pool halls
- 220 When the Pilipino Christian Church moved it reflected a community wide desire to move there -- in the 1950s all the Pilipino Americans knew each other -- was a very small community -- the leadership hung around FACLA and the church -- the church was key factor that held them together -- was social/spiritual fellowship and FACLA was social/political
- 240 Royal was the only Pilipino at Chapman College -- made friends with a Hawaiian -- who served as his tutor/mentor/protector -- they cooked their own food on campus (rice, etc.) -- every weekend Royal was at the church -- old timers knew his father -- they were his protective family -- could have chicken adobo and rice on weekends -- demographics of college -- later two more Pilipinos came -- they were Royal's support group -- joined basketball -- worked as janitor at the school -- worked in the kitchen --

- he was able to cook what he wanted -- second year befriended some anglo students -- they invited him to go with them to Lake Tahoe to work for the summer
- 290 Every summer went to Lake Tahoe to work -- dug ditches, washed dishes -- there were other Pilipino workers there -- worked very hard there -- earned enough money in two months to survive the rest of the year -- Royal studied Sociology and Philosophy in college -- Professor B.J. Oliver encouraged Royal to go into Social Work -- went to USC School of Social Work and got Master's degree -- (also accepted to Boston University)
- 320 Moved into USC dormitory -- joined the Philippine Trojans Club -- Jim Nabors (comedian) was in club too -- about 75 members in club -- weekends Royal went to church -- the way he maintained his bilingualism -- spoke the vernacular at church and at Bunker Hill pool and dance halls
- 353 1956 he was drafted -- always deferred because he was in school -- after USC worked at Hathaway Home for Children and then was drafted into the Army -- Fort Ord, Fort Lewis, Sam Houston, Fort Carson (Colorado) -- many different climates -- stationed in Washington at Fort Lewis -- all the Asians hung around together -- trained as Social Workers -- ended up in Medical Corps in Mental Hygiene Clinic -- in service from 1956-1958
- 390 1958 returned to Los Angeles -- worked at Mark Booth Children's Home in E.L.A. for a year -- then to Neighborhood Youth Association through the United Way -- worked with youth gangs in WLA, Venice, Wilmington -- there from 1959-1970 -- worked doing outreach, group work, camping, counseling -- picked up children at school who were identified by teachers or police as having problems -- rewarding work -- Royal became director for the Wilmington office
- 424 In the 1960s was involved in South Central post Watts Riot programs -- helping to organize and work on job development -- 1970s -- service programs worked for funding for training Asian Pacific Islander students -- inspired by Chicano movement
- 442 Focus on ethnic identity -- Oriental Service Center, Asian American Education Commission, Council of Oriental Organization (now Council of Asian Pacific Organization)
- 456 Pilipino American identity issues raised -- Pilipino vs. Pilipino -- activists used P -- relates to ethnic consciousness and defining own terms -- Pilipino Far West Convention -- P or F was individual choice -- Royal uses

Pilipino -- similar changes of Negro to Black or Mexico to Chicano -- also from Oriental to Asian -- Pilipino was from the colonials -- move to Pilipino -- will probably change with new activist generation -- ideas of possible historical words that could be used

- 523 Ethnic studies in universities and gaining positions in politics -- revival of traditions -- kite making, sipa, poetry, artists and writers -- new curricula and books reflected Pilipino culture -- idea was to write about "ourselves" -- seeking roots -- Royal would return from visits to the Philippines with suitcases full of books, poetry, arts and crafts -- in effort to bring roots to U.S. -- values, beliefs, myths, legends, songs, gestures were rekindled
- 590 Similarities and differences between Pilipino Americans and other Asian Americans -- early immigrants brought in as indentured service was similarity -- "brown power" brought in to build plantations -- bracero program -- instances of racism are similar -- authors who wrote about the experience
- 638 Values from old timers to marry Pilipino -- anti-miscegenation laws -- unique aspects of Pilipino American experience, American colonization of Philippines -- "little brown brother" relationship -- English language and colonization -- Philippines as "democratic showcase of Asia" -- problem of many influences -- created a mentality -- all the colonization by different powers affected Pilipinos -- they were very confused about their identity

726 End of SIDE A, TAPE 1

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PT.1

SIDE B, TAPE 1

(corresponds to DAT tape 1)

- 000 Silence
- 002 1990s concerns -- Pilipino youngsters now asking about what their roots are -- want to learn their traditions -- festivals -- Pilipino American ethnic studies in universities
- 009 Royal teaches the Pilipino American Experience at Cerritos College -- students want to know their historical roots -- they feel they don't have any -- they do, but haven't discovered them
- 020 Experience of racial prejudice -- overt and subtle ways -- at Chapman College had a limited group of friends -- in Army racism related to social activities -- story of experience



at a social dance -- Royal and his group of friends were told they could buy tickets to the dance but that no one was going to dance with them -- Royal's black friend picked up on it and advised they not go to the dance -- in restaurants in Seattle they would not be served or they would be the last ones served (1960s)

- 057 Housing in L.A. -- after married in mid-1960s Royal and his wife had trouble finding housing -- inquired about places advertised for rent with posted signs -- they were told it was all ready rented -- one week later the sign was still up -- they asked friends to call to inquire (anglos) and it was still available
- 068 Royal involved in the Fair Housing Movement in late 1960s
- 073 End of PT.1 of interview  
Remainder of tape is blank

PT.2

SIDE A, TAPE 2

(CORRESPONDS TO DAT TAPE 2)

000 Silence

002 Introduction

006 School experiences in elementary school in Philippines -- industrial arts, gardening, basket making, games -- learned gardening as part of subsistence -- eggplants, bitter melon, tomatoes, cabbages -- sometimes students spend the night at school to guard their crops -- highlight for Royal -- learned arts and crafts -- kite making -- sipa ball making which is a handmade rattan ball used for kick ball -- games with sipa ball -- Royal used these skills in the 1970s to teach traditions to youth

057 Students feel a sense a pride in learning their traditions -  
- Yo Yo was Philippine toy picked up by Duncan YoYo --  
Hackey Sack comes from Philippine Sipa ball

078 Values of extended family were strong in Royal's upbringing -- "circle of loyalty" in the family -- obligation to help one's own family and extended family and community -- words in Tagalog for these values -- "staying together" -- expressed through reciprocity

100 Added extension to circle of loyalty is the Spanish formalized system of Compadrazgo (godparents) -- example of family loyalty when guest stays in family bedroom -- family members are always welcome to stay

126 Extended family system helps Filipino immigrants when they first arrive in the United States -- now there are some conflicting values -- American individualism vs. Pilipino collective value -- clashing values -- need to maintain a balance

177 Royal feels value of helping one another is one of most important to instill in his children -- also to work on assertiveness and taking care of yourself -- finding a balance is necessary -- also values on education and religious values -- Protestantism in the Philippines and in Royal's family

219 His mother's family was Protestant -- mother's father insisted that his daughter's husband be Protestant -- Royal's father converted -- part of process of Americanization -- Thomasite teachers in Philippines

247 Royal from Northern Luzon , Ilocos Norte -- Illocano is

- first language -- hometown of Bishop Gregorio Aglipi who fought for Pilipino clergy during Revolution against Spain - began own church, the Philippine Independent Church (similar to Episcopalian)
- 286 Philippines diverse in region, language, religion -- not cohesive -- results when Pilipinos immigrated to the United States -- Tagalog was institutionalized as national language in 1940s in Philippines -- Pilipino immigrants were recruited from two areas -- young single farmers from the north, and from the south -- put them in separate work camps in the U.S. -- different Pilipino American communities developed
- 330 Pilipinos formed own fellowship in L.A. because they were excluded -- Catholics, Protestants, Pagans, etc. all came together to form own fellowship -- Masonic type groups -- Dimas Alang (American Legion) -- workers group -- also religious and cultist groups -- development of unions among farm workers
- 360 Pilipino farm workers moved around, Imperial Valley, Delano, Stockton, Salinas -- seasonal work -- fisheries in Alaska -- migrant workers -- "catch them bus" expression -- farmers from north and south Philippines worked in different locales in the U.S. -- when they came to L.A. they fought each other in the taxi dance halls -- had their own gangs -- about eleven taxi dance halls in 1930s and 1940s -- at 8th and Main St. "Danceland" still exists -- gambling and dance places were main places for Pilipinos to congregate -- wherever there were Pilipino communities there were taxi dance halls, prostitution and gamboling -- exploitation to make money off the Pilipino workers -- anti-miscegenation laws and non-ownership of land limited their possibilities
- 428 Dimas Alang group -- activities -- group divided -- not allowed in labor union
- 441 Domestic workers -- hotel workers, chauffeurs, bell hops
- 450 Important events in the 1950s -- July 4th picnics were big - - 500 block Grand was Bunker Hill Filipino Hall -- was the community dance hall -- Temple St. stores, barbershops, restaurants -- Royal went every weekend to the Morong Cafe or the Travellers Restaurant there
- 483 Community events and places -- in E.L.A. park on Soto behind General Hospital -- picnic place, basketball, sipa ball -- Pilipino basketball team called Coconut -- played teams in Delano, Bakersfield, Stockton, Salinas -- Pilipino Basketball League organized it -- Pilipino Alumni groups -- Philippine Trojans Club had monthly meetings, dances,

cultural shows for community, school and selves

- 530 Few Pilipina Americans -- great deal of intermarriage with Hispanics and Anglos -- rivalry and competition in "barcada" (group of young Pilipinos) for dates with Pilipinas -- groups of five boys would go to visit Pilipina girls and their families -- Miss Philippines event in L.A. -- candidates would have own dances given by family -- money collected went to her -- dance raffles to dance with Miss Philippines contestant -- whoever gets most money wins -- Royal and friends would follow the girls wherever they went -- took bus to Delano or Stockton for dances -- older folks and young people came together
- 621 Miss Philippines -- part socialization, also exploitation -- money went to community -- proceeds from contests went to FACLA (Filipino American Community of Los Angeles) -- they bought their building with money -- still a big event today
- 658 Role of women -- high social status in Philippines -- pre-Hispanic history -- women were priestesses, faith healers -- president today (Aquino) -- Spanish pushed them back to kitchen, altar, bedroom, convent for 350 years -- Americanization tries to reverse it -- after WWII women into politics and education -- women are more educated than men -- women hold purse strings of household
- 727 Philippine Women's Club in L.A. -- one of strongest organizations

728 End of SIDE A, TAPE 2

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PT.2

SIDE B, TAPE 2

000 Silence

002 Philippine Women's Club -- women strong in community -- strong leaders -- they are professionals

011 Royal met his wife at the Bunker Hill dance hall in 1955 -- met through a Miss Philippines dance -- wife's sister was running as candidate -- Royal went into Army later that year and corresponded with her -- her mother was a Chicana taxi dancer -- many old timers married the taxi dancers -- Royal's mother-in-law worked there out of necessity during the Depression at age 14 -- his mother-in-law and father-in-law married in Tijuana because of the California anti-miscegenation law -- father-in-law had some hard struggles as an early immigrant -- couldn't vote, own land, etc. -- old timers didn't put a lot of emphasis on education (opposite in Philippines) -- many in second generation

- didn't go to school -- many went into the Army and went to school on the GI Bill
- 080 Royal bought house through Pilipino real estate agency in mid-1960s without a problem -- realtor advised him where to move where he would not face racism -- moved to Gardena -- examples of subtle ways areas residents of certain areas kept non-whites out
- 124 Gardena neighborhood was integrated -- people moved out a few years later -- now its predominately African American -- Royal stayed
- 150 Fair Housing Movement in 1970s -- Royal became involved -- advocacy for integration and fair housing -- some of their projects were successful -- more need at present for integrated communities -- without that you have "dis-integration" -- Royal's children went to public schools -- a lot of isolation of ethnic groups in L.A. -- key is to find a way to come together -- was present in the 1970s but it was lost due to poor leadership and overwhelming contemporary problems
- 242 Poor leadership was cause of riots -- no education, etc.
- 250 Philippine or Manilla town situation -- Union St., Temple St., Alvarado St., Beverly Blvd. area known as Philippine Town -- in enclaves like Eagle Rock or Cerritos there are active Pilipino communities -- Carson has Pilipinos on the City Council
- 310 Greatest challenges in the Pilipino American community gaining political and business participation -- Corsillios in the Catholic Church could be strong structure in the community -- FACLA is not effective due to poor leadership -- high drop out of Pilipino American college students -- Royal is involved with students as a support to encourage them -- creating a campus-community connection -- students call him "Uncle Roy" -- works as a mentor/role model -- students have their own student support group at UCLA -- students are in search of their identity -- in the 1980s they all wanted to be yuppies
- 406 Royal teaches the Pilipino American Experience at Cerritos Community College -- in the winter he'll be teaching at UCLA again -- teaches twice a year there -- has many students -- he takes students on community tour to churches, stores, FACLA, historical sites and end at a Pilipino Restaurant
- 456 General population in L.A. not aware of Pilipino American community -- L.A. Times gives them good coverage -- growing exposure in the media



- 470 Present work at Refugee Service Center in Alcohol Program for Asian Americans -- statewide training -- teaching university classes -- Refugee Service Center purpose -- specifically for newer S.E. Asian immigrants -- created through Supervisor Edelman -- center was one of first in the country -- funded by the County -- includes services for the elderly and for youth
- 523 Contrasting Royal's immigration experience with present immigrants -- his experience was less intense -- purpose was education, not financial -- now large waves of immigrants -- many are refugees in exile from home countries -- reaction of mainstream to immigrant aliens -- high unemployment and recession contribute to hardship -- number and diversity of immigrants is far greater than in the 1950s -- new Pilipino immigrants are educated class -- now many undocumented immigrants -- creates turmoil in community -- in 1992 25,000 Pilipinos came to L.A. County
- 615 Royal's successes -- making it through the struggle -- raising family -- impact and advocacy in community -- developing programs -- founding member of SIPA youth program (Search to Involve Pilipino Americans) in 1970s -- organizing and participating in Coalition of Asian American and Pacific Islanders -- Asian Pacific Planning Council -- Asian American Education Commission -- UCLA Asian American Studies -- involvement in Filipino Christian Church -- married there, children go there -- honored by the Mayor, Supervisor Edelman, the community -- working with children
- 684 Disappointments, not personal -- member of the Filipino American Optimist Club -- explanation of organization -- Roman Gabriel football player was Pilipino American idol --

731 End of SIDE B, TAPE 2

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PT.2

SIDE A, TAPE 3

000 Silence

- 002 Disappointments -- not seeing Pilipino Americans advancing in politics and other activities -- wish for more Pilipinos in community work -- feeling a sense of optimism
- 015 Role models -- church members and faculty at Chapman College -- Dr. B. J. Oliver -- ministers at church -- uncle in Hawaii -- father -- mother's writings -- friends, Frank who was disabled -- old timers at church were Royal's "mirror" -- Hawaiian friend, John at Chapman -- friend in the Army -- minister who helped him with English, Truman Barrett -- dormitory at Chapman was protective environment -- friend

Bill

- 063 Plans for future -- enjoy family -- do more teaching, mentoring, organizing across ethnic groups -- have more interethnic dialogue -- ignoring that dialogue means another riot in future
- 080 Conclusion -- importance of continuation of documentation of the Pilipino American experience
- 084 End of interview  
Remainder of tape is blank

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SHADES OF L.A. INTERVIEW PROJECT  
INTERVIEW EXCERPTS

Accession #

INTERVIEWEE: ROYAL MORALES  
INTERVIEWER: AMY KITCHENER  
DATE OF INTERVIEWS: PART 1-AUGUST 31, 1993  
PART 2-SEPTEMBER 9, 1993  
LOCATION: LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA  
ETHNICITY: FILIPINO AMERICAN  
OTHERS PRESENT: NONE  
TRANSCRIBER: AMY KITCHENER AND SOJIN KIM

INTERVIEW NUMBER: SH-  
NUMBER OF DAT TAPES: 2  
NUMBER OF CASSETTE TAPES: 3

K: Kitchener  
M: Morales

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Note: Interviews were recorded on DAT (Digital Audio Tape) and transferred to standard cassette tape for transcribing and listening purposes. The three digit numbers are indexed from the cassette recording and not the original DAT recording. These numbers may be used as a guide for locating indexed information on the cassette tapes. In some cases, the numbers on the transcript may not correspond exactly to the counter readings on the cassette player.  
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Interview Pt.1  
SIDE A, TAPE 1

000 Silence

002 Introduction

K: 004 Roy, when and where were you born?

M: I was born in--gee, that was some time ago--May 28, 1932.

K: And where was that?

M: Right here in Los Angeles. I think...I guess my parents were then living at some of the bungalows or the basements of the

Majestic Hotel at First and Grand by Dorothy Chandler Pavilion. That's where they used to live where a lot of the Pilipinos, first timers, the old timers in the first wave were living at that time during the depression. And think that I was finally born in the California Hospital here on 14th and Hope. My early childhood, first two years, would be in that area I just mentioned on First and Grand.

017 Parents were first wave Pilipino immigrants -- recruited as workers and students as part of American colonization of Philippines -- father came in 1928 as a representative to a world church convention under the Disciples of Christ Christian Church -- went to Washington, D.C. -- father became acquainted with some of the American missionaries to the Congo -- met the Dye (sp?) family who have been referred to as "the father and mother the Pilipinos" -- Dr. Royal J. Dye was Royal Morales' his namesake -- wife was Eva Dye -- they convinced Royal Morales' father to stay in the United States to get an education and then return to the Philippines

043 Two sets of Pilipino students -- student pensionnados Recruited by authorities to come study and return to Philippines to take on leadership -- also individual students -- father was neither -- came as delegate in assembly and stayed and worked as domestic and farm worker -- father studied sociology and ministry -- first he attended school and then brought his wife -- located at First/Grand -- attended California Christian College (now Chapman University in Orange) -- CCC was located in Los Angeles at present location of LACC -- 1954 Chapman moved to Orange -- some Pilipino students went there -- then they would continue at USC -- father went to USC in 1933 and got degrees -- 1934 they returned to the Philippines -- he taught and established ministries in churches and in schools -- continued his work until WWII and then died (age 55)

K: 090 So what were the circumstances for you returning.

M: Well, I think the fact that I was born here was one of the key influence or factors. They used to tell me that I was an American citizen, I will have to go back to America if I want to claim that citizenship, I had to go to study. Sort of I was programmed to come back: "When you get older, when you're ready to go, we'll find some ways for you to get to your country"-kind of a thing. And so by the age of...I went to elementary school over there, I grew up there--elementary school. My dad was doing his preaching and teaching and establishing churches and organizing. I went to my elementary public school and high school locally in our area. As a matter of fact the high school that I went to was known as Eureka, Eureka High School, that was

founded by my father after the World War II. So I also graduated in there in 1951. Then I came to the United States in '51.

K: 108 Did you come alone?

M: Yeah, and I was just about 18 because they said "Well, you have to register for the draft. You're 18 years old. If you don't--." And that's what the embassy told us in the Philippines; that if I didn't come back by the age of 18 I would lose the citizenship. So through my uncle in Hawaii who was a farm worker there--one of the early old timers who was, again, part of that 30, 20, 30 recruitment of workers in the plantations of Hawaii and here in the vegetable and fruit vineyards in places on West Coast.

My uncle in Hawaii sought out...said "Well, if you're going to come to America, if you're going to go to school and make a commitment, then I will help you get your education." So I passed by Hawaii in 1951, summer of '51 where I stayed with my uncle. Matter of fact, he wanted me to go to University of Hawaii and I had no problems. So I tried to go to University of Hawaii, but there were so many restrictions and examinations, and I didn't pass the English test and the entrance, so I was not admitted. So my uncle said "Well, I guess try the mainland. Go to the mainland. Find a school there." And that was quite an experience. It was really a let down. But then I was young, so I said "Well, maybe I'll go to America." That was what my dad and mom were always saying, "Go to America, go to Los Angeles, go to Chapman." And so that rang a bell. And so I got my dad to write to Chatman. I wrote to Chatman asking how to be admitted into Chatman. And right away I said my father came to the school a long time ago. And right away, it was very interesting because the registrar at that point was a classmate of my father, and he knew my father. So he said "That's no problem. Just come on over, we'll admit you. Do all the tests and don't worry about it. Stay in the dormitory." And that was it. My uncle sent me over here. I was then met by Father Dye at the airport and the minister friend of my father who also was part of the founders of now the Filipino Christian Church, Reverend Felix Pascua. He's still alive. And they were the people who came together, who were together here, who started actually the congregation of Filipino Christian Fellowship, who had the sponsorship of the Dye family.

K: 147 How old were you when you had left L.A. when your family moved?

M: Two years, three years.

K: Did you have any memories at all?

M: No.



K: What were your first impressions when you returned in 1951?

M: Well, I saw the big trees, the big ocean. I saw the mountains and snow, very impressive, very clear, beautiful country (--?). Seeing this vast, big country was very impressive. And then going directly to the campus, of course that was my acculturation, the campus, the school. And right away the other connection was going through the Filipino Christian Church. That became my anchor.

K: 159 Was that in the present Union location?

M: Yup. They were just at that time buying that place. They had just bought it.

K: Because they were downtown before that--

M: They were mostly downtown: First and Los Angeles, and before that I understand they were on Winston and Main Street. But that was the transition from downtown L.A. to this place, which was their dream all the time to "someday we will have our own church."

K: And where was the Pilipino American community centered time? Was there a particular area of town?

M: In the days of my father, it was basically in that area that I just mentioned. The Christian Fellowship was founded in the basement of the Majestic Hotel or Motel. And that's where they were all congregating. But they were also congregating then in Weller Street, now it's Colonel Onisuka by Otani Hotel between San Pedro and Los Angeles Street--the small street there. That was a big Pilipino center over there. They had the pool halls, they had the restaurants, they had employment agencies, they had barbershop, tailor. And that was their little community as I see it and as I look and read, and look at the maps. That's where they were. And so if you look...if you go further then you could say Filipino Christian Fellowship at Winston and Main Street-kind of a thing.

K: 182 But that wasn't there in 1950?

M: By 1950 it was gone. Because see that continued all the way to World War II. But then when the Japanese Americans came back--that basically was the Japantown, but part of this was where a lot of the Pilipinos hang around...well, around the other side of it too. South of San Pedro is the old Chinatown. So within that parameter, you had the Pilipinos, the Chinese, and the Japanese. And they were sort of (right near--?) to each other until there were some changes. World War II and after World War II, Chinatown developed, Japantown developed, Bunker Hill redevelopment took over a lot of the places where the Filipinos

were and they got moved west or they left.

K: To this area now?

M: The next stop where a lot of Pilipino congregation or spots, places, restaurants, stores, barber shops, tailor, pool halls, was on Figueroa and Temple. Now it's no longer there because the department (apartment?) took over and the freeway took over and all that. So then they got pushed again west. And that's when the Filipino Christian Church also then bought, in the '50s, and that's really the development of this area here, of the Pilipino Town.

So from the Figueroa/Temple area concentration moved west. So now you see it comes here: Union and Temple area to further down to Alvarado and west then became the 50s/60s new Filipino Town. The Filipino Community Center is about the same time too.

K: FACLA (Filipino American Community of Los Angeles)?

M: Yeah, FACLA. If you look at the dates of when it was established it was about the same time. Because when I first came here it used to be housing in those areas; little bungalow houses, wood framed houses. The first FACLA over there...matter of fact, the center used to be right close by Sunset and Figueroa. There's an empty lot over there now, just overlooking next to the Board Education building, the entrance of the freeway on Grand. Right around that area used to be the Filipino Center. We used to call it The Bunker Hill. So let's go dancing, we said "Let's go to Bunker Hill," that's what we meant in the 50s.

K: 221 Where did you go dancing?

M: Bunker Hill, the Filipino Community Center. And that was part of our socialization. And it's like I mentioned in Figueroa and Temple, the pool halls--we hung around the pool halls, the restaurants, and the dancing hall of the Filipino Community Center.

K: Before when you said the Filipino Christian Church moved over here to Union, did they pretty much lead the way then? What has been the role of that church in the community.

M: I would say it's a simultaneous thinking process of those people involved because it certainly was a small community leadership and they all knew each other. Matter of fact I remember in the 50s we knew practically everybody. And we used to hang around every weekend there. And so the leadership as I see it and as I relate to them, a lot of them hang around the Center as well as the church. And the church was the key factor, I think, that held them together because fellowship, the dramatic club, the debating club, their choir. The student youth

activities were centered around the church before the Pilipino community started to develop their own activities. It was more of a social, political thing that the Center was doing, while the church was concentrating on social, spiritual fellowship and community development. Then they sort of went on their own.

K: 248 Going back a little bit to the college where you were. You were saying that was sort of your introduction to America. What were some of the things that you remember about that?

M: Well at the time I was the only Pilipino. And then I met also a Hawaiian guy. And that was part of my orientation. Right away they sort of connected me with the Hawaiian guy, and said "Hey, he'll take care of you. He's around here. He's on the campus." And I sort of hung around with him, and he was sort of my tutor, mentor, protector so to speak, until I got acclimated to the campus. So I used to talk to him, here from him. We used to eat together. Cook our own food on the campus: rice, Hawaiian, Pilipino. He would be asking but I said "Well we'll try and learn from each other." Because he was a World War II veteran so he was older than I am. And he was the one who was showing me the places.

And then the church. Right away on the weekend, I was in the church (description continues on tape).

290 Every summer went to Lake Tahoe to work -- dug ditches, washed dishes -- there were other Pilipino workers there -- worked very hard there -- earned enough money in two months to survive the rest of the year -- Royal studied Sociology and Philosophy in college -- Professor B.J. Oliver encouraged Royal to go into Social Work -- went to USC School of Social Work and got Master's degree -- (also accepted to Boston University)

320 Moved into USC dormitory -- joined the Philippine Trojans Club -- Jim Nabors (comedian) was in club too -- about 75 members in club -- weekends Royal went to church -- the way he maintained his bilingualism -- spoke the vernacular at church and at Bunker Hill pool and dance halls

353 1956 he was drafted -- always deferred because he was in school -- after USC worked at Hathaway Home for Children and then was drafted into the Army -- Fort Ord, Fort Lewis, Sam Houston, Fort Carson (Colorado) -- many different climates -- stationed in Washington at Fort Lewis -- all the Asians hung around together -- trained as Social Workers -- ended up in Medical Corps in Mental Hygiene Clinic -- in service from 1956-1958

M: 401 That would be around '56 to '58, the end of November '58. And then from there I came back to L.A. and sought all my other friends that I knew before I went to the army. And first working in a children's home right here in East L.A. It used to be called Mark Booth Children's Home under the Volunteers of America. And I worked there for a while, about a year I think. And then I was offered...outreach to neighborhood youth program, they were a youth association.

K: 412 What was the name? Neighborhood Youth...

M: Neighborhood Youth Association and United Way working with youth gangs and kids in Venice or West L.A., Wilmington. That's where I stayed for a number of years, maybe about '59 through '71.

K: What kind of activities and projects did you do with them.

M: They deal mostly with outreach, what we call "group work," working with them through groups and individuals where we would meet weekly. And special times, special days, specific times, camping, picnicking, counseling, driving them around, going to different socialization activities. We used to have wagons, cars that we used and we called it our "clubhouse on wheels." And we would pick up the kids in school. We knew who they are. They would be referred by police, parents, or the schools that were having trouble. So we do the outreach and form a group out of that and work with them for a year or two to keep them out of trouble, help them out to straighten their lives out. And that was a very, very rewarding experience in West L.A., Venice, and then until I became the director for a similar project activity for the Wilmington office.

424 In the 1960s was involved in South Central post Watts Riot programs -- helping to organize and work on job development -- 1970s -- service programs worked for funding for training Asian Pacific Islander students -- inspired by Chicano movement

442 Focus on ethnic identity -- Oriental Service Center, Asian American Education Commission, Council of Oriental Organization (now Council of Asian Pacific Organization)

M: 471 Then at that time the...shall we say, coming of the Pilipino Americans. The definition of "to P or not to P?" Should it be "F" or not? So the activism of the time in the '60s and 70s. Some say "Well, we're Pilipino now," so the shifting to the use of the P for the activists, and into the movement. And it relates to the ethnic identity, and the ethnic consciousness, Civil Rights movement, and being able to define our own terms. So...a lot of meetings through the Far West---it's interesting

because part of the big umbrella that was developing was the Filipino Far with the F, Filipino Far West Convention. And all those things bringing Pilipinos from different parts; the activists, the students, community folks, Seattle, San Francisco, Los Angeles, San Diego. And the definition...it was resolved in such a way that O.K., those who want to use the P, stay with the P, those who want to be with the F, fine. You want to be traditionalist, use the F. You want to be the activist radical, use the P. So some of us ended up with the P, Pilipino American, because of the consciousness.

K: 497 Is that what you use?

M: 498 Yeah. So pretty much for some of us, we utilized that, and the Ethnic Studies picked that up. So when you relate to the Ethnic Studies on the West Coast especially--and even the East now, they're picking it up--they use the P. And the writings would have an explanation saying "well, this is the evolvement of it." And the reason we utilize it is, again, identification with ethnic activities, consciousness. We used the phrase "from the Negro to the Black." That was part of "Black is Beautiful." Then from the Mexican to Chicano.

K: 512 --to the politicized.

M: 513 So politicized was part of that. And then: From the Oriental to the Asia. See? Oriental is for the rug, Asian is for the people. And then the Pilipino comes along, "Hey, we are Pilipino," and give their own rationalization: We are no longer Filipinos, that's from the Colonials. So we are Pilipino Americans." And that's the phrase that we usually follow in terms of the rationalization and the time element and the development. And it's probably going to change. Maybe they will switch to something else.

K: 523 What would that be? Why would it change?

M: 524 It'd be interesting. The new generation. New activists come along: "We want to be named something else."

K: 528 Would there be a pre-colonial name for what we call ourselves?

M: 530 They might end up using the word like "Maharlika."

K: 532 That would be challenging.

M: "We are Maharlika". Or they might say: "We are the Lapu Lapu." That's our old historical meaning. Or "We are the Barangay." So there's possibilities there, but it's going to be interesting how it's going to play out. We still have the debate. And people will say "Hey, why are you using that?" And



then give them the rational. The use of the P and the F in the Philippines goes back and forth in all sorts of cycles anyway.

K: 541 What were other issues that were particular to Pilipino Americans at this time?

M: 543 In the '70s, well the Ethnic Studies and then Empowerment, getting into certain positions of importance, getting further into the roots, heritage, a lot of the games, culture, kite-making, sipa, parol making, poetry that are combinations of Pilipino as well as English were developing. And the artists, writers that were coming up. A few books were beginning to be written. Curriculum syllabus were being developed that has...

K: 557 And this was really the first time that this was starting to happen.

M: 558 That's right. You read books, histories, articles--hardly anything about Pilipinos. And what is stated in the history books are incorrect anyway. It's from whoever, the writers, historians of the time. So a lot of this was "Let's write about ourselves." Drama, poetry, essays, articles, arts and crafts were all part of the seeking the roots. And putting out what they could do and a lot of this...the books coming from the Philippines. I remember whenever I went to the Philippines I empty my suitcase but I come back with books and articles, stories of the old, and dictionaries, and poetries, and arts and crafts from the Philippines.

Now why are we doing all that? It's all part of that trying to bring the roots from there to here so that we find some kind of reality and relevance where we were. Because we were mis-educated and colonized and we lost a lot of roots, traditions, history. So we were into a lot of history. A lot of the discussions, debates were "let's go back to the roots," so to speak. And the value system, the religion, the cultural traditions, the beliefs, even the myths and the legends were all part of the thing that we were all talking about, sharing with each other. The songs and the gestures were all part of that identity that was really developing. Which is in line with what's happening with the Chicanos, the blacks, and all that. The books, the curriculum was very important. I didn't mention about the Asian American Education Commission. And the conferences we used to have on Asian Americans. It was all related to that and some of us Pilipinos were relating to the whole experience.

K: 603 So you had coalitions and then you had Pilipino American groups. But one thing I'm interested in is what were some of the similarities with the other Asian American groups, but what were the differences that were unique to Pilipino

Americans?

M: 610 I think the similarities relates to their experiences. The early pioneers, the first wave, why did they come here to begin with? It's related to being the workers, it relates to the indentured servitude that comes back from earlier times. And they were brought in as workers. We usually try to refer to the old timers as the "brown power," the muscle power that was brought in to rebuild the plantations, continue the plantation of Hawaii or here the vegetable, enriching the farms. And that's true. That was part of the Chicano---the Bracero program. So they were all part of that.

Then you also have those who are wanting to be getting more education. So you have that part of the experience. The racism, the loss of the anti-Asians...the Pilipinos went through with the Japanese, Chinese in a different way. And they went through all that. Carey McWilliams will write about those things. John Steinbeck, Carlos Bulosan, America is in the Heart, Manuel Buaken will write about those things. That's part of what they went through in terms of the Anti-Pilipino. But then, there's some similarities in terms of the experience. Racism, sexism--the males were the males were the only ones brought here, and the anti-miscegenation laws, the male was really an endangered species.

K: 651 Was that a factor when you came here in the '50s?

M: 655 I think it's probably less but it was still there.

K: Were there many Pilipinos?

M: Very few. Very few, again that's why I say you can count your fingers. Everybody knows who's going out with who. And they say "Well, don't marry anybody else but Pilipinos." You would here from the old timers you should not be dating outside of your family and outside of your group because we went through all this and you don't want to be hurt and disappointed. So you kind of worry and wonder about it but then--that's what they were saying. And then you run into some of the Pilipinos or Pilipinas who are mestizas or mestizos and you hear: "Well, we did not really get married here, we got married some place else because we were not allowed to marry white." My father-in-law was telling us that he got married in Tijuana because that's the only place that they would allow them to marry.

So you have that. But besides those other experiences, I guess the different experience some of the Pilipinos went through would be: 1) Because of the Americanization, colonization of the Philippines there's a separate relationship that's...McWilliams would say "the little brown brothers"--kind of relationship. Then the English because English became the medium of expression,

communication. So there's a little bit of that. So there's a little closer affinity or relationship between the Pilipino and the Americans, so to speak. And then the colonization process, the development of the Philippines as the democratic showcase of Asia of America. So they take on those images, different kinds of images. There's some pros and cons to that. And I look at that as a historian and try to analyze and all that. Maybe that's part of the real problem, we've been invaded, colonized by so many countries that that created the colonial mentality and the lack of real closeness to the roots because everything was sort of taken away; the religion, the politics, the values were shifted. 350 years of Hispanic colonialism, then you have over 75 years of Americans, then you have 4 years of English invasion, and 4 years of Japanese invasion and changes. And then you have the American and Korean War, and all these different things, changes, confusion, shifting of things. I'm pretty sure it affected the Pilipino mentality and up to this point we're very confused.

K: 726 So it had to be a very self conscious movement to take back that heritage and those traditions and to teach them to the children.

M: 734 And so that's part of the thing that we picked up on. And today it's the same thing. The student will ask "How come I don't know this thing?" So now you begin to see that the young Pilipinos are beginning to pick up on what we were saying back in the '70s. This was kind of quiet down in the '80s. The 90s, I feel a sense of the Pilipino --

742 End of PT. 1-SIDE A, TAPE 1

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PT.1-SIDE B, TAPE 1  
(corresponds to DAT Tape 1)

000 Silence

M: 002 I feel a sense of the Pilipino youth people, the younger ones who are now asking that big question that we were asking. A lot of the activities going on right now is development of Ethnic Studies, History, culture, the dances, and it's getting bigger. The Pilipino Festival, for instance. Picking up more. Classes in different schools, universities, high schools as well as the colleges. They are moving in the direction of "Hey, let's have some Pilipino American Ethnic Studies."

009 Royal teaches the Filipino American Experience at Cerritos College -- students want to know their historical roots -- they feel they don't have any -- they do, but haven't discovered them

K: 020 One thing I wanted to know was whether you had encountered racial prejudice?

M: In some overt and some subtle ways I have. In terms of dating, I would say. In Chatman for instance, in campus, only certain people I could get close to in any sort of dating. I didn't realize it then but I guess I was only 18, 19. Only certain people would run around with us, so to speak. And then later on, I felt that was part of the racism, prejudice that was going through. However, I was also invited in some of the American homes. I was going there with some friends to their family for Thanksgiving.

The one that I really encountered was when we were in the army. I was mostly in the campus so whatever happens on the campus with dating, etc. But when we were in the army, we really did face some racism there. It's more related to social activities when we would go out into the neighborhood or into the cities, where we would be invited to certain places or we go some place where we're not supposed to go, and they kind of tell you or give you a slight comment. One that I remember very well would be when--we had a mixture group that hangs around together and we would go to social dancing place. And I remember very vividly this, they said "We'll sell you guys the tickets, you guys can go in, but I don't think anybody's going to dance with you guys." That kind of comment. We did not pick it up. But the black dude picked it up-- our friend was a black guy from Philadelphia. He said: "Hey Roy, I know what they're talking about." I said "What do you mean?" He said "I don't think we should go because we might get into some trouble." I said "Why?" And then he would say that was a hint telling us that we looked different, we shouldn't go there. So we said, "O.K. Can we get our money back?" They said "yeah, take your money back." And they were very willing, so we took our money back.

050 And another time in the area, in Seattle some place, where we would go into a restaurant and we would not get served. And this was the '60s. We would not get served, or we would be the last one to be served. Who's going to wait for an hour and a half, you know? And our friend would point that out again: "Maybe it's because we're mixed here or maybe it's because I'm here." But then we figure we all look alike, we're the same minority, but we had a white dude with us too--Jewish. Well if one gets it, we all get it, and let's get out of it. That kind of thing.

057 And here in L.A. I think it was more overall living. When I just got married, and again this was the '60s, late or middle '60s, where we would try to--and I don't have to mention places--wanted to rent a place and get a house or apartment. And there's a big sign saying it's available. We would go and they would say "It's already been taken." So O.K., we don't take it. But then

we go by the next week and it's still open. And then we ask finally--and at that time '60s we're into the civil rights and we'd say "hey, man this shouldn't be happening," so we would get our friends to call and they say "yeah, it's available."

068           Royal involved in the Fair Housing Movement in late 1960s.

073           End of PT.1 INTERVIEW  
Remainder of tape is blank



PT.2-SIDE A, TAPE 2  
(CORRESPONDS TO DAT TAPE 2)

000 Silence

002 Introduction

006 School experiences in elementary school in Philippines -- industrial arts, gardening, basket making, games -- learned gardening as part of subsistence -- eggplants, bitter melon, tomatoes, cabbages -- sometimes students spend the night at school to guard their crops -- highlight for Royal -- learned arts and crafts -- kite making -- sipa ball making which is a handmade rattan ball used for kick ball -- games with sipa ball -- Royal used these skills in the 1970s to teach traditions to youth

057 Students feel a sense a pride in learning their traditions -- Yo Yo was Philippine toy picked up by Duncan YoYo -- Hackey Sack comes from Philippine Sipa ball

K: 080 What were some of the values instilled in you when you were growing up?

M: 081 Some of the things in specific is in relationship to extended family, culture, closeness, the loyalty. I call it "the circle of loyalty in the family." And we have that so that even here where it's practiced the value of "Utang na loob." Utang na loob means "debt or gratitude" and your obligation to help your family. It means, first you have your immediate family, then you have your extended family, and then your tong mates or province mate or village folks are the people within your community that you should help. And it relates to other values that...in Tagalog they call it "Pakikisama," being together, or "Bayanihan," being collective--collective effort to survive together, help together, and it's expressed through caring or extending several help or accommodations to families. A while ago we were talking about here and how is that expressed. It's expressed through, again, if some relatives are here who are extended family you go after them, you search for them. And you try to be close to them. And when you go visit, they extend respect and accommodations for you like we do, we practice in our home.

K: 101 Are some of these relationships formalized through institutions, like I'm thinking...I know the Mexican and Mexican American tradition of godparents, of compadres. Do you have something like that?

M: 105 As a matter of fact, when you talk about the circle of

loyalty, you're talking about the extended family, families, then the people in your home town. The added circle to that is the compadre/comadre system, the godfathers. So that's the other loop within that circle of loyalty. And the Spaniards, seeing the extended family circle of loyalty, then automatically added the compadre system/comadre system to help...shall we say, as part of their colonialization of the Philippines. So it's now a value, part of that value system.

K: 114 And it parallels the value that's already there on a family.

M: 115 And so it is very significant. And it's here, the extended family we talked about a while ago. When somebody comes, automatically you extend your house. It's not unusual in our family, and other families, that the family bedroom goes to the guest, and whatever is on the table. And they will do the same thing. It perpetrates itself. And that's when you say "How do you learn it?" It's already institutionalized within the family system. It's not unusual for some families to...some children to say "I'm going to visit Uncle Pedro in the Northern part of the Philippines." He's welcome, he stays there as long as he wants. And they would do the same thing. They'd bring food. The resources, the accommodations, whatever happens is just automatically would be part of the process of relating to one another.

K: 129 For more recent Pilipino immigrants to the United States, do you feel that that extended family network is one of the support systems that enables people to immigrate.

M: 132 I would say yes, that's probably one of the big support group system or values that is still there now. There's some negative and positive to it also obviously. And there is now what I would say is a distortion of it. And it's probably related to the conflict of values now. The clash of the American value versus the Pilipino value. There is the "Bayanihan" spirit, the collective effort to do together, do things together, help one another, extend your hand to help the friends, the people, the immediate family. Here, the clash comes in with the rugged individualism value of America, American society. Now the Pilipino begins to see that, or begins to experience that so that's beginning to clash. Specifically when it comes with the second generation. First, second, third generations living here begin to see that and live the American value system and then it becomes versus the new system. So that even my children already begin to question. They say "How come you're doing all this to the family's coming from the Pilipinos, but you don't seem to do that with those who are here, born here." And I say "Well, I try to balance it." But obviously, there's going to be a clash unless there's going to be some way to balance it because it's very, very opposite. And they also see that and they would

question that. But then they don't question so that they say "don't do it." They just question it and say "why do you use it." So then you bring in the Pilipino value and why this is done and you've got to explain it. Then they say "O.K. that makes sense." So some of them even do that but there is some hesitation. But I think the more Americanized acculturation gets on to the third, fourth generation, some of that will end.

A: 161 Do you feel there's a conflict of values then for second generation? Would you consider your children---?

M: 163 Third generation. There would be some conflict. There's acceptance...I've got to use my life example and my home experience. It's probably less threatening or less confusing or less difficulty with my family because they grew up with it. They're growing up with it. There's always somebody in the house. There's always an extended family coming into the picture so they see this. There's enough relationship to the Philippines and the people and relatives that they see through writings, through letters, through visits or whatever--and when we go home it's the same thing. So they experience that. But probably for those who begin to really become Americanized, I'm pretty sure there's a bigger clash value--or clashes or discomfort in relationship to them. And I think if the Pilipino folks do not continue to process that or introduce it or to do it, automatically they're going to lose it. I think that's sad. I think that's not good. There should be some kind of sure balance some place, at the same time maintaining both groups, some of the values that are really good.

177 Royal feels value of helping one another is one of the most important to instill in his children -- also to work on assertiveness and taking care of yourself -- finding a balance is necessary -- also values on education and religious values -- Protestantism in the Philippines and in Royal's family

M: 222 My mother's side, I think, were the first one to be converted to Protestant. My mother's side, my grandfather on my mother's side who was going to become a priest and then he ended up to become a minister, lay minister--he didn't go to school for it. And with that influence...my understanding is that my father started courting my mother at that point in time back in the '20. But my grandfather said "Well, if you're going to court my...if you're going to marry my daughter you better become a Protestant." And so that was the role. Again, it's a cultural thing. If you're going to be in my family, you should at least follow our traditions and our culture. And the men usually try to follow that goes back to...he was poor, he didn't have anything, but somehow you bring your own values, you bring yourself, so that the courting period would be either changing some of your values to adjust to what you're going to marry into.

You have to go there and serve time, so to speak. You bring something that was the marriage. And I guess my father was "O.K. you got me and you got your religion." He became protestant and also doing some teaching. He was part of the group that was taught early by the Americans to take on the process of Americanization: Going to school as teachers to teach the American way in the Philippines through the Thomasites.

And I think you were talking about Helen Brown. Helen Brown is a product of the Thomasites. So the teachers who were taught who were there from America to teach, they gathered these young people--energetic--and then started teaching them...so they finish 6th grade and 8th grade and give them the text book, give them a classroom, and say "you go teach." And that's how my father got into a little teaching there. And then through the ministry, when the Disciples of Christ Christian Church came into that area because that was where they were assigned.

247        Royal from Northern Luzon , Ilocos Norte --Ilocano is first language -- hometown of Bishop Gregorio Aglipi who fought for Filipino clergy during Revolution against Spain -- began own church, the Philippine Independent Church (similar to Episcopalian)

M:    290    The Americanization, in terms of religion, of the Philippines was split up by the different denominations. The disciples of the Christian churches came to the north, Episcopalians stayed in the cities and in the mountains, Presbyterian went to the South, Methodist stayed in Central Luzon.

K:    295    So then what happened when sort of in the first wave of immigration to the United States--the '20s, '30s--it sounds like what we're talking here is a lot of different religious backgrounds, culture, language in the Philippines. Was there a cohesive community when Pilipinos came to the United States or were they sort of separated into different groups based around language or religion or culture.

M:    302    I would say that there's no such real cohesive, nationalistic group. Because to begin with that was not part of the intent of the imperialists, or the people who (go off?) by the Philippines. The country was already divided in languages, regions, etc., culture, and whatever, and all the history. There were attempts. And the Spanish tried to make the attempt and they did in terms of the national government, you have the provincial government, you have the local. But in terms of the dialects, there's still the regionalism. Their attempt to nationalize the language was one way, and that's why the use of the Spanish, English to nationalize; everybody speak that. And then the use of Tagalog to nationalize the people. That didn't come up until the '40s. Before that the people who came here,

they were already divided.

317 As a matter of fact in terms of the coming in of the first wave, it was an automatic split. They had two different places where they recruited the people to come to America. Those farmers, young, single farmers from the north. And those from the south, from the Visayan islands they have their own group that they recruited and they put them in separate camps. They took the Ilocanos from the north and put them in another camp in terms of say, Hawaii plantations. So that they segregated them in different places.

K: 327 So in a way you have a growth of two different Pilipino American communities.

M: I would say yes. Plus the regionalism that may be in there. And so then part of that is the growth of then, if you follow it up with groups, you're either going to come up with town people, town mates, or you come up with provincial, or their language. Then there can be reclassified too or can be cut off or separated into other smaller units in terms of say, your own village there would come up with a group. And then further down, there would be a religious groups. They could be Catholic, they could be Protestant. In earlier times though, according to my dad, historians, right here in L.A.--obviously at that point in time the first wavers in the '30s, they were basically coming together as a fellowship, partly because they were not welcomed by the churches because of racism, segregation, etc. That then they had to form their own fellowship: the Catholic, the pagans, the atheists, the Protestants, they came together to provide a fellowship in Los Angeles. So you find that. They would also form what you would call...sort of like a Masonic type of group or workers group.

K: 350 What was that?

M: You would get the American Legion, the Legionnaires. You would hear of the Masalong, it's a workers group. That's part of the outgrowth of workers growth, or Masonic-type of protection for each other. And they have those. You have the religious groups. Then you had the cultist group, like...which group was that? It escapes my mind. But there was another gentleman here who in the '30s to the '40s formed their own religious, cult group--very, very active in terms of Free-Philippines, Independence, or related to the war or coming together as a group to speak as a group. The development of labor unions was part of it among the farm workers. It was difficult but there was some attempt. And there were some good support groups among the farmers that developed following some of the unionizing that was developing in the '30s and the '40s.

K: 369 For the Pilipino Americans in L.A. who were laborers,



what areas and what kinds of crops were they farming?

M: You get a great deal of the farm workers--and that's the majority of them, were either moving from one place to another from Imperial Valley to Delano to Stockton to Salinas, and they would be doing the different, whatever is seasonal. If it's cabbage, is it for the tomatoes, is it for the grapes, is it celery time, the fruit, walnut. They go to Washington for the apples. Then some of them would move to Alaska to the fisheries.

K: 383 So it was migrant laborers.

M: A lot of them were migrant. And they would be controlled by certain...the structure, and some of the leaders maybe, and even controllers or managers would be Pilipinos, but basically it would be non-Pilipinos. But they would go from one place to another. I would say they were migratory people. An expression that I used hear "catch them bus"--about catching the buses all the time, "catch them bus," or the train. They move from one place to another. And some would go as a group. And usually the Ilocanos will be in the same region all the time, the Visayans would be another region. Then they come to L.A., they fight each other in the taxi dance halls.

K: And they do what?

M: They fight each other in the taxi dance halls over the women or the dances or the other things happening in town. They had their own gangs for self-protection in the Main Street, Fifth Street--that's a story in itself.

K: So they would live sort of in the same area, but then within that area maybe there would be a dance hall, and then they'd have their different cliques kind of.

M: They would patronize certain taxi dance halls. In L.A. alone in the '30s to the '40s there were about eleven taxi dance halls.

K: And when you came here, were some of those still existing?

M: A couple.

K: Did you go to them?

M: Not really. We passed through, go by, but never really participated. There's still one more dance hall on Eighth and Main Street. There's a dancing place over there: Dance Land.

K: Was that one of these original?

M: Yeah, one of the original. And it's still there.



K: Is it an important meeting place for Pilipino Americans?

M: No. But those were where you find the hundreds and hundreds of the young men of those days, for companionship, for fellowship. Because that's where they were confined to. The gambling places and the taxi dance halls, the take for the Pilipinos was 2 million a year--documented by writers like McWilliams, Carey McWilliams and all those folks who wrote about the taxi dance halls--up and down the coast.

K: Why were they so popular?

M: Wherever there was a Pilipino laborer, the taxi dance halls and the prostitution and the gambling followed. It was exploitation by whoever--the people in control--to make money off these people. They had no other...because anti-miscegenation law, because of non-ownership on land, because they cannot live in a certain area, the only place they could hang around for socialization is either the taxi dance halls, the gambling pool halls, the barber shops, the prostitution, and then the church if there's a fellowship. Then, the formation of the laborer or the Masonic group.

K: What kind of activities did the--like you had mentioned the Dimas Alang--?

M: 442 A great deal of their fellowship coming together and picnics and protection for their rights, fighting for a place. But obviously at that point in time they didn't really have strong leadership. They were divided, obviously, and that was part of the game plan, I think. I mean, they have more control if they are divided--that kind of a thing. So you move them around quickly so they have different pit bosses, labor organiz--they were not even allowed to go into labor unions. They had to form their own labor union activities as farm workers or domestic workers.

K: So when you came in the '50s, what do you remember as some of the very important events in the Pilipino American community?

M: Besides the church, the picnics. And vivid is the July 4th picnics.

K: Who would sponsor those?

M: Dimas Alang or the Legionarios [del Trabajo] combined with the new leadership developing in what you would call the Pilipino community of Los Angeles for instance.

K: At FACLA you mean?

M: Before FACLA, there were in Main Street, Bunker Hill, that

was City Hall. I remember the dance hall we used to go around and we used to call it the Bunker Hill Filipino Hall. And it's right by Bunker Hill, 500 block, right by the freeway, not too far from the west side of Grand. It's now empty. It's an empty lot. I was just there the other day, took some pictures. It's really empty. And that used to be our dance hall. The Filipino community was over there. There's a bar, there's band, there's dancing every weekend. We would hang around there. Three blocks away, the other side, Temple and Figueroa, would be the Filipino stores, the barber shop, the pool hall. I think there was one taxi dance hall there in the back maybe. And then the grocery store, the restaurant, and the barber shops. And that's where we used to hang around. So every weekend I would go over there to eat either at Morong Cafe or the Traveller's Restaurant. Both of them are all gone. They all disappeared. I think they ended in the '80s.

530 Community events and places -- in E.L.A. park on Soto behind General Hospital -- picnic place, basketball, sipa ball -- Filipino basketball team called Coconut -- played teams in Delano, Bakersfield, Stockton, Salinas -- Filipino Basketball League organized it -- Filipino Alumni groups -- Philippine Trojans Club had monthly meetings, dances, cultural shows for community, school and selves

K: 545 We talked a little bit about how especially with the earlier immigrant were mostly men. By the '50s, were there many Filipinas?

M: I would say probably there were more than what the old timers had, but still very few.

K: And how did that affect the growth of the Filipino American community in L.A.?

M: The inter-marriage with either Anglo, Hispanic group, that was already the pattern, that would be continuing. And there was a great deal of rivalry. And I remember those days, we had a group--we had our own "barkada," or our own little gang--it's not a gang, but we call it "barkada," the group of young Filipinos who sort of hang around. And I remember visiting some families of some girls who grew up here, were born here, and there would be 5,6 of us going to the same house just visiting. Maybe one or two are interested. The rest of us, we just go for the company and for the fellowship. And we would be accommodated without any problem. And we would go by pack.

K: So how would it be decided...I mean was there a formal way?

M: Not really. I think it's more whoever said it first, "I'm interested," or "I'm after her. I would like to know more about

her"-communication. So then just everybody just leave it alone. Your turn will come next. And a lot of the going to Bunker Hill Dance Hall was part of that; hopefully to identify some young Pilipina coming in there. And one of the key things that they used to do, and that was money making, and it's always been perpetrated, is what they call the Miss Philippines. So that's part of the yearly activity. So there would be then the coming together of some of the older folks finding out the youngest daughter around, then they would solicit or ask the parents. The parents is really the one who makes the decision and say "yeah, O.K., she's going to be a candidate for Miss Philippines." Then you have five, six of them. Then there would be dances so that wherever you go each one can have their own dance; maybe this Friday's going to be Janet's evening, so all the money that's collected will go to her. And then the dances goes and then we would have what you call a dance raffle where you would dance-- "O.K. this is 50 cents a dance," so 50 cents a dance for two minutes, you dance. And then they may raise the ante or they may say "O.K., highest bidder." And they do that. That happens as part of the fund raising. The girls and the parents get a cut to pay for the expenses and the clothes and whatever. Usually whoever gets the most money becomes the queen and the second is the runner up. And we used to do that. I mean that's one of the things we used to do is follow the girls. If they went to Delano, we would be driving all the way to Delano, take the bus, whatever. They go to Stockton and dance over there, and they go to the farm in Riverside or Pomona, we would go there, follow them. Like I said, the people that are going there is going after the older folks. And the older folks like the young people obviously, and they like the young girls, and so this was their socialization because there were no other women unless they go to a taxi dance hall or the house of prostitution.

K: 628 Sort of in that context, the Miss Philippines, social and the institution of the Miss Philippines contest became very important. So due to that context of there not being many Pilipinas here--

M: It's like I said, it's related to the socialization. It's also part of the value system of the women, status of the women. And the thing is, there's a lot of negative to that also because then you're really exploiting the young people: the women, the girls. I remember some of the girls who hated to dance with the older folks: "Why do I have to do this?" But the parents would say "You gotta go dance." So they dance (laughs), but very unhappy about the whole thing but they have to go through with it and do that. But it was part socialization for some of us. It's exploitation in some ways. It was for the community because, see, the money goes for the community and then to development also. The fruit and labor of the Miss Philippines contests of the younger ones, earlier times, is the FACLA. The money bought FACLA. So that's--you can say "What were the goodness?" And if

you go into FACLA--I don't know if you saw that they still have it--you see all the Miss Philippines, the pictures. They're the one who really--those older folks, that was their money and their energy, their vision.

K: 663 So the Miss Philippines were from really from the L.A. community, not imported from --?

M: Yeah. Now there are others. Now it's getting bigger: Miss This, Miss That, Miss That.

K: Oh, so it's still a big deal.

M: It's a big deal. Big money making, big socialization activity. Like I said, there's some exploitation to it.

672 Role of women -- high social status in Philippines -- pre-Hispanic history -- women were priestesses, faith healers -- president today (Aquino) -- Spanish pushed them back to kitchen, altar, bedroom, convent for 350 years -- Americanization tries to reverse it -- after WWII women into politics and education -- women are more educated than men -- women hold purse strings of household

K: 740 Have there been women's organizations here in L.A.?

M: Pretty strong. One of the strongest organizations is the Philippine Women's Club.

743 End of PT.2-SIDE A, TAPE 2

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PT.2

SIDE B, TAPE 2

000 Silence

002 Philippine Women's Club -- women strong in community -- strong leaders -- they are professionals

K: 011 When did you meet your wife?

M: In the Bunker Hill Dance Hall. That's back in '56? I guess '56. Yeah, because I went into the Army in '57. '56, '57, '58-- so the early part of '55, I guess--the latter part of '55. And we met through a Miss Philippines dance. Her sister was running as one of the new candidates. So that's how we met. And that's why I was saying all of the guys hang around there, over there and that's where we meet them. Then the sister--friend of mine was very interested in this younger sister. And so we got introduced there in the dance floor. And then from there we visited and then I went into the army. So just through

correspondence and visiting we sort of stayed together. Before that there were a lot of other young girls around that we ran around with. Being honest, the mother was one of the taxi dancers. Her father married a Chicana who hanged around in the taxi dance hall in the '30s. And a lot of the Pilipino old timers married a lot of the taxi dancers.

Now the taxi dance halls, two or three different kinds of women that go there: One by necessity, one is for obviously for sexual exploitation, and other it's just "Hey, I've got to earn a living." My understanding is my mother-in-law and her sister had to earn a living. This was the depression, they've got to earn a living. So the taxi dance hall was convenient. I think she was only 14--14 or 15. So my father was probably in his 20s and decided "Hey, this is not the place for her," and they got married and had several children. But that was part of that. And that's not the only one, a lot of people we know---

K: 037 And his--your wife's mother was a Chicana.

M: Chicana/Indian. A Mexican Indian. They just moved here, I think, from Albuquerque, New Mexico or something.

K: And how many children do you have?

M: And by the way, because of the anti-miscegenation laws, they did not get married in L.A. It was against the law. They married in Tijuana.

K: Did many people go to Tijuana or did they just go anywhere out state?

M: Yeah. Tijuana, Mexico, New Mexico, Arizona, I think it was allowable. Idaho. Certain places that that was allowed. But as I understand it they went to Tijuana. Interestingly enough, my wife and the family never knew that. It was only the last few years of my dad--father-in-law--who finally when we started asking questions: "By the way, how did you meet--?" They never shared. "Well, you never asked. I didn't know you were interested." That kind of thing. They never talked about some of that. And there were a lot of struggles and sad stories of the old timers, the early pioneers because they faced so much racism, anti-miscegenation law--

K: 054 What were the other laws--

M: --social and political. They cannot own property, they cannot marry whites--anti-miscegenation--they cannot live in certain areas, they cannot vote. They were nationals. That's what the old timers faced. So the second generation began to feel that. And interestingly enough, one of the key things from the old timers is they would not put a lot of emphasis on



education, while education in the Philippines is education, a big one and always you've got to move up through education. Here, it was the opposite. They said "Forget it. You're not going to move up here. Don't bother to go to college or go to school." And a great deal of the second generation did not go to school. They finished high school and they go to work.

K: I wonder why that was.

M: Again, discouragement by the parents or not enough support: "Education is not enough." It might be related to whatever the messages the Pilipino received in terms of "We're not going to be here. We're here as a sojourner and we came here to make money then we're going to go back." Those kind of things. "You will not advance." Many of the old timers and the pensionados, and those students who came as students who stayed never got any decent job--because they were promised or at least through their education...They may have B.A.'s, masters, or even Ph.D.'s but they could not really get any kind of decent job in the '40s and the '50s. So they discouraged that. So some of the second generation, like us, some of them went into the army, and then out of the army, G.I. Bill. Many of them went through like that.

K: You had already gone to college before the army.

M: Yeah.

K: 079 Could you go back on the G.I. Bill?

M: No, I didn't need it. Already done. I could use it if I wanted to...I used some of my money to buy a house. So those are some of the by-product of what was happening, the condition.

K: Where did you buy your house when you came back out of the army?

M: When I finally bought a house, it was through a Pilipino real estate (agent) who knew the place that I should buy a house without any problem.

K: What year was this?

M: This goes back to...middle '60s maybe or late '60s.

K: When you say there wasn't any problem, what do you mean?

M: In buying property for Pilipino's in that area. So he knew where it was safe to buy or get it. He was really a good real estate person who did everything that we should be able to get it without any problem, financially as well as not running into racism or other kind of--



K: --So what area is that?

M: It ended up towards Gardena. Yeah, that was Gardena. The edge of Gardena, north Gardena side.

K: So there were obviously still problems in the late '60s. You know you're saying to know the right place to buy the house...What were those problems and where did that exist?

M: I don't know the specific places but I could guess. I think if I said at that point in time "I want to buy a house in Palos Verdes," he probably would say "Forget it. Don't go that direction."

K: Well, that was against the law at that point, so what were the ways that people kept others out? It was against the law because the house law situation.

M: It was subtle. Very subtle.

K: 107 So what would a typical experience be.

M: What I heard is that they would contact other real estate people who say "Where is this place that we should be selling this property to these people?" And they would ask the question "What is their ethnicity, nationality?" and things like that. And they already know. There's a respect for one another as I understand. So they would say "Hey, don't go there. Show them these other places rather than this place, even if they say they like that." I think the subtlety of it is this: "I think you will feel more comfortable in this particular place rather than in that area. And then you'll get the hint already that you're not welcome there. And so we say "O.K., that's fine."

Another point...some of us, although there was demonstration, fair housing law, etc., didn't really come out to, as individuals, to completely oppose it. Because we know...then we were not connected to the fair housing people or groups or lawyers or anything. So that as individuals we just accepted it. I just accepted it.

K: Would the general feeling be "Well, I don't want to live somewhere where my neighbors don't talk to me." Would that be part of the feeling? Like "I want to live somewhere where I'm going to feel comfortable."

M: --feel comfortable, and there are people there--I know some of the people, there are Pilipinos over there. That's how we would say it. Interestingly enough we moved to a place where there was integration. That was integration; the concept of integration: "Hey I'd like to be in that neighborhood because there's a lot of other people." A few years later, everybody left.

K: 131 Why?

M: Call it what you want.

K: Are you still there? You're still there.

M: I'm still there. Now it's all black. When we went there they said "Oh this is a nice neighborhood. We have everybody here." But within five, six years, everybody left. We bought it from a white person. Every (?) property we bought, twice we moved. Same thing. This is interesting. And you we used to brag about it "Oh I live in an integrated neighborhood." This is in the '60s and '70s. Lo and behold, the next thing we know is everybody is selling including the Pilipinos. Then again the comment is "Hey, it's getting to be integrated here. We're moving out." I said "Good luck." We stayed.

Some of the people did not move too far either, maybe about 1/4

mile, but then it's a different neighborhood altogether. So even at this point, that point in time, you see it. So I said "Oh, O.K." But what are you going to do. People have the right to move. And some of our Japanese friends who were over there said "Why don't you guys go with us over there. There's a nice place. "Oh really?" I said, "You're just chasing the rainbow." So that's part of the experience. So my children grew up in a fairly integrated neighborhood that changes quickly too.

- 150 Fair Housing Movement in 1970s -- Royal became involved -- advocacy for integration and fair housing -- some of their projects were successful -- more need at present for integrated communities -- without that you have "dis- integration" -- Royal's children went to public schools -- a lot of isolation of ethnic groups in L.A. -- key is to find a way to come together -- was present in the 1970s but it was lost due to poor leadership and overwhelming contemporary problems
- 242 Poor leadership was cause of riots -- no education, etc.
- 250 Philippine or Manilla town situation -- Union St., Temple St., Alvarado St., Beverly Blvd. area known as Philippine Town -- in enclaves like Eagle Rock or Cerritos there are active Filipino communities -- Carson has Filipinos on the City Council
- 310 Greatest challenges in the Filipino American community gaining political and business participation -- Corsillios in the Catholic Church could be strong structure in the community -- FACLA is not effective due to poor leadership -- high drop out of Filipino American college students -- Royal is involved with students as a support to encourage them -- creating a campus-community connection -- students call him "Uncle Roy" -- works as a mentor/role model -- students have their own student support group at UCLA -- students are in search of their identity -- in the 1980s they all wanted to be yuppies
- 406 Royal teaches the Pilipino American Experience at Cerritos Community College -- in the winter he'll be teaching at UCLA again -- teaches twice a year there -- has many students -- he takes students on community tour to churches, stores, FACLA, historical sites and end at a Filipino Restaurant
- 456 General population in L.A. not aware of Filipino American community -- L.A. Times gives them good coverage -- growing exposure in the media

470 Present work at Refugee Service Center in Alcohol Program for Asian Americans -- statewide training -- teaching university classes -- Refugee Service Center purpose -- specifically for newer S.E. Asian immigrants -- created through Supervisor Edelman -- center was one of first in the country -- funded by the County -- includes services for the elderly and for youth

K: 533 What would you say some of the similarities and differences are from the experience of when you first came-- actually you're second time coming to the United States in the 1950s, when you came here to live--and immigrants arriving now from the Philippines and also other places?

M: 541 Well, I think the big difference is in my time we didn't really have the immigrant waves. It was more a few immigrants coming in. So it's less intense. My purpose was educational basically, not so much an economic thing, although in the end it's economic. While now you have so many waves. And there's a high and numerous number of immigrants coming in all at once. So that the community is saturated with various immigrants as well as refugees. And the refugees have a different status because they are refugees--they are exiled for political reasons. They can't go home. And there's a different--they were forced into it, they didn't really want to come here, but--

K: 561 --like the Hmong--

M: --like the Hmong, or the Cambodian, or the Vietnamese. And so are the others that are now coming in from other parts of the world. So that makes it a lot different.

Then you have the reaction of the community now of the immigrant/aliens. And I think there is more reaction now. I'm talking about this decade in regards to the number and the saturation of the big cities with new immigrants. And I think that is really a difficult one for the system, the city--whether it's the city, county, or the state government to handle it--they're not prepared--or businesses. So it's difficult. Then you have high unemployment plus we're in a depression, recession--who's ever definition--economic slump. And then you have some reactionaries who are coming down who are going to start blaming the immigrant. So that's the difference: The number and the diversity of culture, language, education, whatever background.

Pilipino immigrants are basically the "educational elite" of the Philippines coming here for economic reasons.

K: 593 So it's a different situation.

M: Very different. Facing a lot of problems. Then you have the undocumented coming in who's hiding under--going into the

economy, participating in a lot of things, but they're under cover. These are some of the people that are playing the hide and seek game, and that's also causing a lot of turmoil within the community. And exploitation. I know for sure a lot of Pilipinos exploiting other Pilipinos because of their own status as undocumented. And so it makes it difficult for some of them. And doesn't matter if they were very well educated--doctors, or lawyers, or whatever their credentials from the Philippines--if they don't have the documents, they're going to be caught with the stress of trying to hide. Hide and seek.

And for the newer ones, even those who are legal, again the issue of re-education, re-orientation, and they may face unemployment or lack of employment, and causing some problems with their own self and their own status and their direction. And it's growing. I understand that in L.A. County last year we had about at least 25,000 Pilipinos came to L.A.

K: 625 What would you say you're greatest successes have been in your life?

M: (laughs) Well, I made it through the struggle. So I would say comfortable, family, and able to at least do some impact with some creative things, new things in the community, advocacy, and being able to develop some programs for the community. In terms of specific services is the development of SIPA, Search to Involve Pilipino Americans, youth program.

K: 640 You were there?

M: Yeah, we were there back in the '70s. We were the few who said "You're not going to make it. It's difficult." But they were the second generation who put it together. It was a combination of those born, raised in the Philippines and second generation here. And I think that was good. So in a sense, some of us at that point in time, in the '70s started saying "Hey, let's respond to some of the community youth problems." The other one, I would say, is the organizing, participation with the Coalition of Asian American and Pacific Islander groups, including the development of this. We're very supportive of it. They have the Asian Pacific Planning Council, still going on, pretty active, a strong force in the community. I was part of that too. Asian American Education Commission, we were there. Asian American Studies, UCLA, development there from ground zero to the current things they've got and then the continuation of the Pilipino American class. Of course I tried to take some pride in the continuation role of the Filipino Christian Church. I was part of it in the earlier times, survived as a student through it, married through it, still there, my children go there, and still moving.

K: So many of the photos that we documented, a lot of the

photos centered around that church.

M: And some of those photos were my photos [...] And been honored many, many times--by the Mayor, Supervisor Edelman, that kind of thing. It goes with the territory I guess when you get very visible. And still working closely with the kids.

691 Disappointments, not personal -- member of the Filipino American Optimist Club -- explanation of organization --  
-- Roman Gabriel football player was Filipino American idol --

739 End of PT.2--SIDE B, TAPE 2

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PT.2

SIDE A, TAPE 3

000 Silence

002 Disappointments -- not seeing Pilipino Americans advancing in politics and other activities -- wish for more Pilipinos in community work -- feeling a sense of optimism

015 Role models -- church members and faculty at Chatman College -- Dr. B. J. Oliver -- minsters at church -- uncle in Hawaii -- father -- mother's writings -- friends, Frank who was disabled -- old timers at church were Royal's "mirror" -- Hawaiian friend, John at Chapman -- friend in the Army -- minster who helped him with English, Truman Barrett -- dormitory at Chapman was protective environment -- friend Bill

063 Plans for future -- enjoy family -- do more teaching, mentoring, organizing across ethnic groups -- have more interethnic dialogue -- ignoring that dialogue means another riot in future

K: 082 Those are all the questions I have, is there anything you'd like to add?

M: Oh yeah, I think we covered so much, at any rate hopefully this will be some beginnings, some continuation of documentation of what is the Pilipino American experience.

087 End of interview  
Remainder of tape is blank