CHINESE MESTIZOS AND THE ETHNIC CHINESE IN CAVITE DURING THE PHILIPPINE REVOLUTION 1896-1902*

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hinese and Chinese mestizos figured prominently in the history of Cavite. As early as 1630, Christianized Chinese in Maragondon, part lowland-upland town of Cavite, were known as church donors to the project to complete the new stone church. The Annual Letter of the same year cited the conversion of a Chinese in Kawit, a Tagalog town in Binakayan, where the Chinese mestizos (sangley or mestizos de sangley) cleared the mangrove swamps for farming, and carved their new thriving community. There was even a folklore in Kawit that the Chinese taught them rice techniques including paddy construction, use of agricultural tools, and even solar saltbeds.

Chinese mestizos usually flocked to flourishing business centers or progressive *hacienda* towns. In 1794, the greatest concentration was in Kawit (which then included Imus) followed by Bacoor.³

Towns	Chinese Mestizo Population (1794)
Kawit	6,382
Bacoor	1,212
San Roque	714
Cavite Puerto	504
Maragondon	262
Tanza	215
Indang	83
Silang	57

The royal *cedula* of 1766 (which was not implemented until about 1773) ordered the expulsion of Chinese in the Philippines. One hundred forty-seven of the 2,294 expelled came from Cavite. But Governor Basco's decree of 1778 readmitted all Christian Chinese to reside in the Philippines. Of the 19 who returned, 10 stayed in Cavite, three in Bacoor, one in Binakayan, two in San Francisco de Malabon (now Gen. Trias), one in Maragondon, and two in Rio de Cañas in Tanza.

At the threshold of the General Trias to this day are two slabs of Chinese granite dated 1755 and 1763 with characters reflective of the rise of the Chinese mestizos in Cavite in the mid-eighteenth century. One of them was identified to be Joseph Sucsay, *Sangley Christiano*. These inscriptions are further corraborated by the existence of such Chinese mestizo families as the Jocsons, Potentes, Pio Rodasses, Bansons, Lui-Jocos, Arnaldos, Mojicas, Portillas and Ysays.

In June 1808, a new census schedule of all Chinese residents proclaimed that they were dealers (*chucherias*), druggists, shoemakers and other artisans. The classification was perhaps accurate since penalty for non-compliance was a year of casting iron at the Cavite Arsenal and a fine of P10.00.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, Imus and Bacoor had acquired the most number of Chinese mestizos, broken down as follows:

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Year	Imus	Bacoor
1859	1,727	1,713
1864	2,005	1,868
1879	2,081	2,222
18944	20	56

The proximity to Manila of these towns, with their profitable farming, fishing and saltmaking outlets, certainly attracted these business-minded Chinese mestizos to live in Imus and Bacoor, considered the gateways to Cavite from the primate city. Curiously, there were no Chinese recorded in Imus in 1820.⁵ In the late 1830s, it listed only one Christian Chinese out of the 12,228 population.⁶ In the mid-1850s, there were 107 Chinese in the whole province, jumping to 692 in the late 1890s, with San Roque leading with 196, followed by Cavite Puerto with 158.

By the eighteenth century, Chinese mestizos started to appear as town *gobernadorcillos* (mayor) e.g., Juan Monzon of Imus in 1787 and Jose Sison of Bacoor in 1793.

Their influence on culture could be seen in the way many places were named: Sangley Point or Punta Sangley in Cavite City; Parian River, dividing the towns of Maragondon and Indang; Calle de Pariancillo (Cavite Puerto); Mestizo Bridge in Tanza; barrios Pasong Sangley in Naic and Salitran, Dasmariñas; Indukan in Silang and Pinaginsikan in Taywanak in Alfonso. The place names, associated with the Chinese, show the extent of Chinese influence on the province.

The Mestizos de Sangley of Cavite

The earliest Chinese mestizo in Cavite is represented by Fr. Mariano Gomez de los Angeles (1799-1872), who was parish priest of Bacoor, Cavite for 48 years from 1824 to 1872. His eldest sister, Maria Dolores Gomez, who helped him finance his studies while in Manila, became the wife of Jose Trias, grandfather of Gen. Mariano Trias. A champion of the secularization of the Filipino clergy, Fr. Gomez de los Angeles was executed together with two other Filipino priests, Fr. Jose Burgos and Fr. Jacinto Zamora by means of garrote vil (strangulation by the use of an iron collar) on February 17, 1872. This was a result of the Cavite Mutiny in January

1872 at its arsenal. Actually it was the first labor strike in Philippine history and considered a holiday by the Katipunan.

Unlike Andres Bonifacio's Katipunan in Manila, Cavite's leadership came from the different social and economic town elites who were either free Masons or *Katipuneros* or both, as in the case of Emilio Aguinaldo. An original president of the Provincial Council of Magdalo, Aguinaldo was known as "Colon" (Christian Columbus) among Masons and as Magdalo (after St. Mary Magdalene) in Katipunan. He was admitted to the Masonic lodge Triangulo Pilar in Imus in January 1895 and two months later, to the Manila Katipunan with Andres Bonifacio himself officiating the oath of membership in his own home. Not everyone knows that Aguinaldo had Chinese blood in his veins.

Aguinaldo's roots can be traced to the Ilokos region from where his family migrated to Cavite in the eighteenth century or earlier. Indeed, the Ilokano paternal grandparent of Emilio and Baldomero Aguinaldo was believed to have settled in Kawit where a Bernaldo [Bernardo] Aguinaldo was registered in Sitio de Binakayan in 1796. The large Ilokano migration to Kamaynilaan and the surrounding Tagalog provinces of sailors, ship's boys and pilots, had been observed even as early as the mid-eighteenth century by the Jesuit chronicler, Fr. Juan Jose Delgado.

General Emilio Aguinaldo (alias Magdalo) and his first cousin Baldomero (alias Mabangis) president of the Katipunan Provincial Council typify Chinese mestizos in Cavite who played a great role in both phases of the Philippine Revolution against Spain and the United States of America from 1896 to 1902. Starting as a mere flag lieutenant of the Magdalo Provincial Council at the outbreak of the Revolution in Cavite in late August 1896, Emilio Aguinaldo gradually rose to become General en jefe or Pangulo sa Digma (War Chief) on September 13, 1896 and ended as the first President of the Republic of the Philippines. Coming from the landowning inquilinos (land lessees), Emilio's paternal grandparents [Eugenio Kajigas Aguinaldo and Maria de los Santos (later changed to Maria Jamir in the 1830s)] were Chinese mestizos who settled in the Chinese-dominated barrio of Binakayan, Kawit. His maternal grandparents Joaquin Valerio and Simona Villanueva of Balok-Balok (now San Jose), Noveleta, then known as Tierra-Alta, a barrio of Kawit, were also Chinese mestizos.

Eugenio and Maria Aguinaldo, Emilio's parents, had eight known children: Carlos (Emilio's father), Cipriano (Baldomero's father), Sotera, Gregoria, Eugenia, Domiciana, Manuela and Feliciana. Carlos (1832-1878) and Trinidad contracted marriage on April 16, 1856 and raised eight children: Primo, Benigno (Escuela Normal de Maestros graduate), Esteban, Tomasa, Crispulo (revolutionary general), Ambrosio, Emilio (revolutionary general) and Felicidad.

Aside from Emilio Aguinaldo's first cousin Baldomero, his brother Crispulo was elected Fourth Councilor of the Magdalo government on September 13, 1896. He was the only other renowned revolutionary general with the rank of brigadier general, and also a Chinese mestizo who fought courageously and perished in the decisive battle of Anabu, Imus in March 1897. Crispulo married Irenea Rieta Aranzaso, belonging to the Rietas family, another influential Chinese mestizo clan of Binakayan. Their eldest brother, Primo's son Pedro Aguinaldo, served faithfully his intrepid uncle Emilio in his capacity as confidential military aide-de-camp at the revolutionary camp of Biyak-na-bato and in Hong Kong from 1897 to 1898, during Emilio Aguinaldo's exile there. Their other elder brother Benigno, the schoolmaster, married Esperanza Monzon of Imus and Kawit, an affluent Chinese mestizo family of these towns. Emilio himself married Hilaria Reyes del Rosario of Tinabunan (now Pag-asa), Imus, one of the highly respected Chinese mestizo clans of Imus.

Emilio Aguinaldo's uncle Cipriano (1834-) and aunt Sotera (1839-) Aguinaldo, younger brother and sister of his father contributed much to the success of the Philippine Revolution in Cavite. Cipriano married Silveria Baloy, another prominent Chinese mestizo family in Binakayan, Kawit. Married on May 26, 1858 in the town church of Kawit, the couple had nine children: Maria, Lucia, Pantaleona (1860-), Baldomero (1869-), Teodora, Tomas, Maura, Maxima and Espiridiona.

Pantaleona Aguinaldo married Silvestre Legaspi, another prominent Chinese mestizo family of Binakayan, Kawit. The Legaspi family, were prominent members of Aguinaldo's entourage. Silvestre Legaspi was elected *Cajero* or Treasurer of the Magdalo government on September 13, 1896. Teodoro Legaspi was one of the forty-three witnesses to an affidavit of April 23, 1898 which attested the receipt of President Emilio Aguinaldo

of P400,000 indemnity as provided by the Truce of Biyak-na-bato. Another relative, Mariano Legaspi, was one of the signers of the declaration of independence from Spain at Kawit on June 12, 1898.

Pantaleona's younger brother, Baldomero, was also a ranking general of the revolution against Spain and America and served as Secretary of Finance of the Magdalo government. In 1897, he was one of the signers of the Biyak-na-bato Constitution and was Secretary of War and Public Works in the First Philippine Republic in Malolos, Bulakan, in 1898-1899.

Another younger sister, Maxima, was wedded to Daniel Sambong, a revolutionary major-in-charge of Mindoro, Boac and Marinduque by December 1898 during the Filipino-American War. Two months earlier in October 1898, Sambong was military area commander only of Mindoro. He was related to Santiago Daño Damaso, (alias Sabakan), 1852- son of the Chinese mestizos Juan Daño and Dionisia Santos of Binakayan. Damaso was one of the original members of the Magdalo Katipuneros who started the Revolution in Kawit on August 31, 1896 led by his brother-in-law Emilio Aguinaldo and Candido Tria Tirona. He seized the weapons in the town municipal hall at the height of the revolution. He was elected First Councilor of the Magdalo government in September 1896.

His aunt, Sotera Jamir Aguinaldo, a former teacher and small-scale entrepreneur married Narciso Ilano, a Chinese mestizo of Kawit and Imus. After the death of Ilano, Sotera married Agripino del Rosario, likewise a Chinese mestizo of the same town. Agripino contributed greatly to the Philippine Revolution in Cavite.

Sotera had two daughters with Narciso. Josefa Aguinaldo Ilano was married to Pedro Bagalawis, fiscal of the Magdalo government in the construction of the Zapote trenches under the supervision of the brilliant Belgian-educated engineer Edilberto Evangelista. Her other daughter Isidora Aguinaldo Ilano was married to Manuel Victa, a schoolmaster for boys in the town, who headed the same trench construction project as treasurer in the latter months of 1896. However, by October 1898, Victa was assigned as military area commander of Nueva Vizcaya. The chief (pangulo) of the Zapote trench construction was Julian Legaspi, a Chinese mestizo who married Maxima, a sister of Pedro Bagalawis. Thus, the Chinese mestizo families of the Ilanos, Bagalawises, and Victas were brothers-

in-law of General Emilio and Baldomero Aguinaldo and were all related to the Aguinaldos through blood linkages.

On the maternal side of Emilio Aguinaldo can be cited his mother Trinidad Jamir Valerio (Fami or Famy) of Binakayan, Kawit who also had Chinese blood in her veins. Her first degree cousins, Apolonia Jamir (1872-), daughter of Felix Jamir and Gregoria Lagac, both belonged to Chinese mestizo families of said barrio. Apolonia married Jose Ignacio Paua also known by his Chinese name of *Hou A-pao* or *Hou Fu Pao* (1856-1926). Paua was the only full-blooded ethnic Chinese general in the Philippine Revolution (1896-1902).

Ignacio Paua was a member of the underground Triad Society (Ti'en Ti Hui in Chinese). He came to the Philippines in 1890. Already in Cavite when the revolution flared up in that province on August 31, 1896, he was easily accepted as a non-Filipino member of the subversive Katipunan of the Magdalo Provincial Council about the same year. We can only surmise that this was due to his first wife's blood ties with the Aguinaldos. He was in-charge of the arms arsenal set up in the friar estate of Imus repairing and manufacturing home-made guns assisted by a Chinese foundry worker and sixteen other Filipinos who saw service in the arsenals of Cavite and Manila. The arsenal lasted till about February 1897. Paua saw service in April of the same year, when he was commissioned by Aguinaldo to join forces with Colonel Agapito Bonzon, a Chinese mestizo from Bacoor, and Colonel Felipe Topacio of Imus in the capture of the brothers Bonifacio, Andres, Ciriaco and Procopio. Paua fought in the bloodied battlefields of Cavite, Bulakan, Pampanga, Pangasinan, Tarlak and later in the Bikol region where he married his second Filipino wife.

Another cousin on Emilio Aguinaldo's mother's side was Canuta Famy who became Eugenio Viniegra's wife and mother of General Wenceslao Viniegra, trusted military aide-de-camp of his famous uncle General Emilio Aguinaldo. Wenceslao was later assigned military commander of the Zambales area from October 1898 to 1899 with the rank of Colonel. Eugenio was a Chinese mestizo of the Viniegra-Sinilong clan. Viniegra was Aguinaldo's brother-in-law. He was municipal captain of the town when the Mapagtiis Council initiated the first Katipunan assault on August 31, 1896 in the San Francisco de Malabon town hall. He was later ordered

killed by the Revolutionary Council upon instructions from the local Katipunan headed by its president Diego Mojica Legaspi (Katibayan), Artemio Ricarte (Vibora) and Santos Nocon (Duhat) in 1897 for serving the colonial government. Canuta's mother, Francisca Razonable, a Chinese mestiza of Kawit, was Angel Jani Jorge's first wife. Jani Jorge, and other Chinese mestizo belonging to the social elite of Kawit, served as town mayor. His house on the principal street was the arms arsenal where native cannons, bolos, spears and other material were manufactured. He replaced Benigno Santi y Balan, town schoolmaster, as the Magdalo Council's former secretary.

Emilio Aguinaldo's beloved *compadre* Gen. Candido Tria Tirona, son of the well-respected Chinese mestizo families of Tria Tirona and Mata marriages in 1858 and Candido's only brother Daniel, former schoolmaster, both served in various capacities in the Cavite phase of Philippine Revolution. Candido was elected earlier on September 13, 1896 as Director of War of the Magdalo government. Daniel's first wife was Felisa Osorio, widow of Francisco Osorio of Cavite Puerto and one of the Thirteen Martyrs of Cavite. Juana Mata, Candido and Daniel's mother, stood as General Tomas Mascardo's godmother during his baptism, and Capitan Angel Jani Jorge's during his wedding in 1884.

Daniel Tirona's notoriety was linked to his action during the Tejero's convention (March 22, 1897) when he questioned the educational credentials of Andres Bonifacio who was then elected as Director of the Interior. He instead nominated Jose Maria del Rosario y Torres, a Magdiwang and famous Cavite lawyer from Tanza. Del Rosario, also a Chinese mestizo like himself, was a licentiate in law of the University of Santo Tomas in 1892. Del Rosario was Mariano Trias' brother-in-law and belonged to a very influential family in what is now General Trias. He got disaffected with the Magdiwang top hierarchy due to the political maneuvering of the Magdalo that led to the split of the Magdiwang votes between the candidates Andres Bonifacio and Mariano Trias who finally got the position. Feliza, the sister of Maria Trias, became Mrs. Jose del Rosario in 1891.

The linkages shown above not only affirm the Chinese presence in Cavite but the effect of close family ties that inhere to the development of the Revolution. When the revolutionaries of Cavite moved to other fronts and provinces, the family connections sometimes affected decision-making and even discipline as when the Cavite battalion fought in Manila and Nueva Ecija in 1899.

Other top officers of the Magdalo government elected on September 13, 1896, identified as Chinese mestizos through our church records and genealogical studies, include Captains (Pangulong Kawal) Casimiro Vidal and Simeon Satorre. Vidal was the son of the Chinese mestizo couple of Kawit, Agustin Vidal and Gregoria Quiamzon. Satorre of Imus, married a second wife, Cipriana Bautista, a widow of Chinese mestizo roots. Satorre died heroically in the sanguinary battle of Binakayan led by General Candido Tria Tirona on November 12, 1896.

Agrifino (Agripino) Rieta *alias Bakal*, third Councilor elected to the Magdalo government also in September 1896, was a former town mayor of Kawit from 1879 to 1881. He belonged to the economic elites of Kawit Chinese mestizo class.

The military arm of the Magdalo government was restructured in an emergency meeting held on November 16, 1896 upon the death of Gen. Candido Tria Tirona four days ago. His only young brother, Daniel (alias Nahahanda), took his place as the Director of War (Taga-Pangulo sa Laban). With him were other officers who were Chinese mestizos, Gregorio Bautista of Imus as Major and Rufino Mata Mateo of Kawit as Captain. Bautista was military area commander of Bataan with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel during the Filipino-American War and Mata was promoted to the rank of Major in the Batallon Cavite.

Ranking among the famous Chinese mestizo revolutionary generals of the Magdalo government was Flaviano Yenko, a graduate of *Escuela Normal de Maestros* of Manila. He was the son of Basilio Yenko and Maria Abad, both *mestizos de sangley* of Imus. In the town of Imus, he was a schoolmaster of boys. He fought heroically in the battle of Salitran, Dasmariñas on March 1, 1897. Two days after, he fought for the defense of Sabang, where he was shot and killed by enemies.

Another Chinese mestizo, Victor Quiamson, was Major in the Chief of Staff of the Batallon Magdalo during the Filipino-American War. He could have been the descendant of Lazaro Quiamson who figured in the Silang Revolt in 1763 and also served as town mayor at that time.

Acting as middleman of the Revolutionary Government in Cavite under Aguinaldo in the procurement of guns and ammunition in Hong Kong was Feliciano Jocson y Fernandez, another Chinese mestizo in Cavite. He was a licentiate in pharmacy graduate of the University of Santo Tomas in 1893. Surreptitiously bypassing the Spanish checkpoints, he successfully sneaked into Cavite with Teodoro Gonzales y Leoño, reaching Maragondon by early May 1897. A zealous Katipunero from Quiapo, Manila, Jocson travelled regularly to recruit new members to the then subversive organization in Cavite, Morong, Tarlak and Nueva Ecija. Eventually he was captured by the Spanish authorities and was killed on May 4, 1898.

The Mapagtiis Council of the Magdiwang was spearheaded by its Chinese mestizo president Diego Mojica Legaspi. According to General Artemio Ricarte, Mojica was originally a member of the Magdalo. He was the son of Mariano Mojica Legaspi and Martina Porfia Bernadina, both social elites of the town.

In the Augustinian estate-house of Tejeros, where the historical defeat of Andres Bonifacio by Emilio Aguinaldo as president of the newly-created revolutionary government replacing the Katipunan took place in March 1897, the first military hospital in Cavite during the Revolution was established. The two physicians of the hospital were Dr. Anastasio Francisco y Francia (1867-) and Dr. Agaton Cecilio y Papa (1871-1948) both Chinese mestizos from Santa Cruz, Manila. Dr. Francisco graduated from the University of Santo Tomas in 1892, while Dr. Cecilio finished in the same institution on January 10, 1896, just seven months before the outbreak of the Philippine revolution. The two were assisted by Dr. Francisco's brother Pedro and cousin Pascual, both undergraduate students of medicine at the U.S.T. The four "worked there day and night, for many revolutionists were brought ... to cure our patients and return them to active service, in spite of lack of surgical instrument, medicines, etc. They had to operate by the glimmering light of tallow candles with ... simple instruments." One of the medico-legal achievements of these zealous doctors was the autopsy conducted on General Edilberto Evangelista who was mortally hit directly on the forehead while defending the Zapote bridge on February 17, 1897. After performing the rigorous autopsy, they discovered that the rumor then prevailing that General

Evangelista was shot by one of his men who was whipped by the deceased officer was false. It was a Spanish sharpshooter who fired the mauser that killed the general.

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When the estate-house of Tejeros was burned totally by the Spanish occupation forces on March 24, 1897, the base hospital was relocated to Maragondon up to its fall in early May 1897. Dr. Francisco cast his lot with President Emilio Aguinaldo and was gradually elevated as the elected vicepresident of the Departmental Government of Central Luzon in 1897. He later headed the Department of Hygiene of the General Staff of Aguinaldo in July 1899 during the war against the United States. Meanwhile, Dr. Cecilio, who was the sole physician in the military hospital established in Balara, (then part of Marikina but now part of Quezon City) in November 1896, and a pro-Bonifacio, joined the forces of General Miguel Malvar in Batangas until the Truce of Biyak-na-bato in December 1897. He went to Hong kong with the revolutionary leaders exiled there by the Spanish government. From Hong Kong, he went to Australia to complete his mission entrusted by the military junta to collect money from the Filipino colony led by his relative Heriberto Zarcal, the Malolos government's delegate to that continent.

The Riego de Dios brothers Emiliano, Vicente and Mariano of Maragondon were scions of Sotero Riego de Dios, a Chinese mestizo, a candlenut oil merchant, owner of a fleet of cascos, and a former town mayor. The family was the richest in the town. Emiliano (1864-1926) alias Magpuri was elected Minister of Fomento (Economic Development) in the Magdiwang government in September 1896, a Minister of War in the Tejeros Convention in March 1897 and Secretary of War in the Biyak-na-bato Republic in November 1897. Vicente (1866-1936) alias Taong-Agila, was colonel during the Revolution in Cavite, while their youngest brother Mariano (1875-1935) alias Di-Tapat was a ranking revolutionary general. During the Filipino-American War in 1899, he was president of the Council of War with the rank of Brigadier General. His youngest brother Mariano was one of the councilors with the rank of Captain.

Naic's Gregorio Jocson, a Chinese mestizo belonging to the town's social and economic elites, was a major in the Philippine Revolution and a *compadre* of General Emilio Aguinaldo. He was one of the earliest re-

cruits to the Katipunan, taking the oath inside Aguinaldo's home on July 22, 1896. Aguinaldo so trusted Jocson that when he got afflicted with malarial fever, he stayed in Jocson's house.

An ethnic Chinese, Antonio Osorio or Antonio Tan Quinco Tean-Guengco, was the father of Francisco, one of the thirteen martyrs of Cavite A contractor for the Cavite Arsenal, he also owned one of the five food stores specializing in local and European goods and proprietor of several houses and accessorias for rent valued at P63,400. Osorio was the wealthiest in Cavite Puerto. Two other Trece Martires members who were Chinese mestizos were Agapito Conchu and Victoriano Luciano. Conchu (1858-1896) the son of Saturnino Conchu and Nemencia Jocson, both Chinese mestizos from Guagua, Pampanga, initially stayed in Binondo, Manila but came to Cavite as a teacher upon graduation from the Jesuit-run Escuela Normal de Maestros. He was listed as a schoolmaster in a boy's school at Cavite Puerto in 1895 to fill in the vacancy of a deceased teacher. (Ateneo de Manila University Archives, Quezon City, APP. Escuela Normal de Maestros, V-14-3522, February 28, 1874).

Another martyr was Victoriano Luciano y Simona whose parents were from Cavite (now Cavite City), where he was born. A licentiate in medicine in pharmacy who graduated *sobresaliente* (Excellent) at the University of Santo Tomas in 1888, Luciano was an indefatigable Mason and secretary of the local chapter in Cavite Puerto. The Venerable Master of the lodge to which he belonged was Dr. Hugo Perez y Gil. Luciano was simultaneously also a member of the Katipunan in the San Roque cell. Osorio, Conchu and Luciano were shot by firing squad at the Fort San Felipe Neri on September 13, 1896 for supposed involvement in the Philippine Revolution.

One of the famous figures of the Philippine Revolution was Julian Felipe, son of Justo Felipe, a Chinese mestizo tinsmith and Victoria Reyes y Nicodemus. He was baptized on January 28, 1863 at the San Roque church. He was implicated with the thirteen martyrs of Cavite and imprisoned at the Fort San Felipe but was spared from execution. He was transferred to the Fort Santiago dungeon in Manila in 1896 and released after six months of incarceration. He was widely-known as the composer of the Philippine National Anthem which he wrote in six days and nights. His

piece was played for the first time by the Banda de San Francisco de Malabon, owned by a Chinese mestizo, on the occasion of the Declaration of Philippine Independence in Kawit on June 12, 1898.

Thus, as illustrated by specific examples, it may be observed that both Chinese mestizos and ethnic Chinese of Cavite contributed greatly to the cause of freedom from Spanish and American tyranny and oppression.

Special emphasis should be given to the Aguinaldos of Kawit and their affinal and extended familial linkages and the other prominent Chinese mestizos of the lowland towns of Imus, Dasmariñas, Bacoor, General Trias, Cavite City, Naic and upland towns of Silang and Maragondon. These special mixed racial groups spearheaded the economic progress of the town in particular and the whole province in general. They started out as small landholders or lessees, money lenders engaging in wet rice, sugar, and later of abaca and coffee cultivation. Though economically well-off, they answered the call of patriotic duty at the time that our nation was being born.

THE ETHNIC CHINESE IN PARACALE 1571-1995*

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aracale in Camarines Norte is a very historic town. As the Philippines' premier gold town, its history is practically the history of placer gold mining in the country. Paracale's gold helped Fr. Antonio Moraga convince the reigning Spanish king in 1620 not to abandon the Philippines as it was a drain in Spain's treasury. Between 1905 to 1920, gold dredging technology in Paracale was unmatched in the world. During the 1930's gold boom, Paracale was the richest town in the Philippines. As Paracale's recorded history dates back to 1571, with extant Church records up to 1733, a look at Paracale's history provides a more intimate look into the grassroots integration of the Chinese in Philippine society. This is the prime goal of the sponsors of this convention.

Before 1571 to 1808

Conquistador Juan de Salcedo learned of a gold laden place in the Southeast while in Morong during his pacification of Laguna lake settlements following the conquest of Manila by his grandfather, Legaspi. With

^{*}Adapted from Pio Andrade Jr., Romancing the Gold: The Story of Paracale 1571-1995 (in preparation).