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*

Pio Andrade Jr. Freelance Writer, Historian

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).

60 handpicked soldiers, Salcedo made the perilous trip south and reached the much-talked-about *Eldorado* in November, 1571. He named the coastal village Paracali from the words *para* and *cali* because the natives were wont to dig ditches *(cali* in the native language) in their search for the precious yellow metal. Thus did Paracale enter recorded history. But it is believed that Chinese had mined Paracale gold long before Salcedo's coming. That is why its existence was already known in Morong and Manila.

Franciscan missionaries after Salcedo evangelized the area, creating parishes and introducing many useful Mexican plants—camote, cassava, corn, and others. Paracale was declared a pueblo in 1581 and received its first priest, Fr. Jose de la Torre, in 1611. Encomendero Andres Cauchela established the local government for collecting tributes, building public works, and conducting local defense. The Spaniards improved gold mining by introducing the Mexican arrastre, a stone mill for grinding gold ore. The gold in powder form found its way to Manila where it was used as a medium of exchange. Very likely, the gold jewelry of the Virgin of Binondo Church came from Paracale.

During this period, a thriving trade in a Chinese delicacy, sea cucumber, which abounds in the area, developed. This trade and the traffic in gold dust strongly suggest Chinese influx into Paracale.

However, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were a difficult period for Paracale. The dense tropical vegetation, the annual destructive typhoons, the difficulty of gold mining even with the *arrastre*, and most of all, the frequent Moro raids, made progress difficult. The Moro raids, finally œased with the defeat of the raiders in August, 1808 with the intercession, according to popular legend, of the town's patron saint, Our Lady of Candelaria.

1808 to 1900

After the last Moro raid, Paracale entered a peaceful period. The galleon trade was ending and Gov. Jose Vargas Basco and the *Amigo del Pais* had initiated countrywide agricultural development projects for economic progress. Agriculture in the town started to flourish and a lively trade between Mauban, Tayabas and Paracale grew encouragingly many Chinese to settle in the town. The new Chinese settlers introduced a bamboo

dipper dredge for mining gold in the rivers and started the town's goldsmithing industry. Antique Paracale gold jewelry shows unmistakable Chinese features,

The Guia de Forasteros 1850 shows that there were 24 tribute-paying Chinese in Paracale at that time which was 90% of the tribute-paying Chinese population in the province. Although Paracale Catholic Church's records between 1810 and 1860 were lost, it is safe to say that many of Paracale's Chinese immigrants intermarried with native ladies and remained permanently. The basis for this conjecture are the physical features of Paracale's upper class citizens and their surnames.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, many developments occurred to the benefit of Paracale: the growth of the coconut and abaca as commercial crops, the creation of the public school system, the introduction of the steamship and the telegraph, and the opening of the Philippines to world trade. All these improved commerce in Paracale encouraged more Chinese to come. Church records during this period show several adult baptisms:

- 1873—Pablo Guadalupe
- 1877—Ceferino Vinzons
- 1884—Lo Quing Co, a 30-year old trader from Amoy, China who was baptized Pedro Loquingco.
- 1888—Pablo Venida who married a local girl.
- 1890—Manuel Moreno who married Damasa Velasco.

Mining became a serious and large business in Paracale in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. A Spanish mining firm put up a small bucket dredge in the Paracale River in 1892. A British firm, Philippine Mining Syndicate, started gold lode mining in 1896. These mining ventures stopped and never resumed operations because of the onset of the Katipunan Revolution and the subsequent Filipino-American War.

1901 to 1932

The end of hostilities during the Filipino-American War resulted in scientific prospecting of gold in Paracale and then the flow of foreign capital for placer gold mining. In 1906, the first modern dredge for gold mining came to Paracale and reaped a bonanza. More gold dredgers came and by 1915, there were nine dredges mining gold in Paracale. Nowhere was gold dredging technology more advanced as it was in Paracale during that time, according to Bureau of Mines Director Warren D. Smith.

The gold mining firms imported Chinese laborers for their operations, thus increasing the Chinese population of the town. Chinese from Manila also came to Paracale to trade. When the streets of Paracale were laid out that time, one street was named Parian because most of the Chinese stores were located there. The public cemetery laid out at the same time contained a lot of Chinese tombs attesting to the increased Chinese population.

Among the noteworthy Chinese in Paracale during the placer mining boom were the following:

- Lo Yang Co—The first baker of the town. In addition to his bakery, he operated a cockpit and a general store trading in abaca and copra. He was the richest Chinese in the town.
- Duan—Manufacturer of soybean products, like tofu and salted black beans and sea cucumber trader. The perennial president of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce in the province because he was a scholar.
- Bo Ya—Abaca and copra trader and general store owner. He supplanted Lo Yang Co as the richest Chinese in the town after the latter's death.
- Gan Ding Co—A gardener, he introduced Chinese vegetables pechay, cabbage, radish, etc. in Paracale.
- Ty Po Co—family of world-famed tycoon Tan Yu.

Several Chinese married local girls. Some married Chinese took on Filipina concubines resulting in closer integration of the Chinese with the local population.

Placer mining started declining by 1918 and the last dredge stopped operation in 1928. By then the Philippines, like the rest of the world, was gripped by a severe economic depression. Many Chinese left Paracale, but more remained like the Chinese mentioned above.

1933 to 1941

In 1933, U.S. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt raised the price of gold from \$20/oz to \$35/oz to stimulate the economy, thus making gold mining profitable again. Jan Hyndryk Marsman, a Dutch businessman, opened United Paracale Mining Company in 1934 and Coco Grove Mining Company in 1935 for lode and placer gold mining, respectively. He reaped a bonanza. Soon other mining ventures followed, and by 1941, there were six big gold mines operating profitably with a dozen more in the start-up stages. By 1936, Paracale was a city except in name. It had three big hospitals, three modern *cines*, the second biggest hardware and coldstores in the country, a branch of Beck's Department Store, a modern water supply system, the third busiest airport in the country, and the best country club in the Philippines complete with golf links, tennis courts, and baseball diamond. And the beaches of Paracale remained clean and its forest cover intact.

The gold boom brought more Chinese to Paracale. These newcomers went into the restaurant and entertainment business. The top restaurants, hotels, and cabarets were Chinese-owned. The earlier Chinese, meanwhile, had enlarged their grocery stores and abaca and copra trading businesses.

World War II 1941 to 1945

World War II came and all the gold mines ceased operation. Many Chinese left, but more remained in Paracale. Those who remained engaged in the buy-and-sell business. The Japanese did not persecute the Chinese because they needed their help in getting provisions. In fact, they secured Bo Ya's help in procuring abaca for the Japanese navy.

Postwar 1946 to 1995

Some 20 Chinese families that remained in Paracale during the war resumed their former business after liberation. Many employees of the richer Chinese struck out on their own to gasoline trading, copra trading, and trucking. The Chinese copra traders performed a valuable service to the many coconut farmers in the area by supplying credit without interest in exchange for selling the copra to them by harvest time at the prevailing prices.

Three pre-war mines resumed operation: United Paracale in 1951. Coco Grove in 1951, and Paracale Gumaus in 1953. But the low price of gold forced the closure of the mines one by one. United Paracale closed shop in 1953, Coco Grove in 1958, and Paracale Gumaus in 1968. Iron mining came to the fore in the early 50's but it petered out in the late 60's.

Beginning 1960, Chinese merchants started leaving Paracale for Taiwan, Manila, and other greener pastures. To date, there is only one remaining Chinese family in Paracale, one member of which ran unsuccessfully for mayor in 1976. But the children of Chinese-Filipino marriages remained fully integrated in the community today.

THE STATUS OF THE CHINESE FILIPINOS IN THE 1950s, CEBU: An Analysis of Articles in Two Local Newspapers

Gyo Miyahara Tokyo Metropolitan University

Recently, friction between ethnic groups has emerged in almost every corner of the world, forcing social anthropologists to reconsider concepts such as "nation," "nationalism" and "ethnic group." In a political sense, these concepts connote a linkage between people and land, based on the "native ideology." Anthropologists have been able to romanticize an object of their fieldwork, while they observe people as the native of the community. It is in this sense that "human migration," as an antithesis for "native," becomes a key to the relativistic view for "nation," "nationalism" and "ethnic group."

In this essay, the author will shed light on the ethnic Chinese in Cebu, and discuss the political environment in the 1950s. Through the analysis of local newspaper articles on the anti-Chinese sentiments and the national integration of the ethnic Chinese, the author will reconstruct the politico-

^{*}The author could not write this essay without the generous assistance of a lot of people, especially, Dean Aurora Roxas-Lim, Dr. Sylvano Mahiwo and Ms. Ma. Remedios R. Cortado, of the Asian Center, UP, which accepted the author as a visiting researcher, and Dr. Resil B. Mojares, Director, Sebuano Studies Center in University of San Carlos, who kindly facilitated the author's use of the San Carlos library.