

### **The Chinese of Siasi: *quo vadis?***

As a concluding thought, the question might now be asked: where is Chinese integration heading in Siasi and Central Sulu? From the facts and data expounded in the foregoing pages, it is clear that the generation of pure Chinese in the local area is vanishing into history with no indication that migrations of this type are actually taking place. In fact, the Chinese of Jolo, who were uprooted economically or otherwise by the MNLF outbreak in 1974 and the consequent burning of the town, have moved north to Mindanao mainland, Visayas, and Metro Manila. There have been no new additions to the older generation of Siasi Chinese.

Consequently, the new generations of Chinese mestizos represent the only remaining link with the Chinese of the early Siasi settlement. Today, with the exception of their names and occasional festivities, the Chinese elements are gradually diminishing.

The implication of this preliminary observation points to the two types of Chinese integration. One is a dichotomy which allows two distinct traditions (Filipino and Chinese) to co-exist and develop along parallel lines, somehow linked to each other by a mutually shared and limited vision for the country. The second type is the dynamic blending of the two traditions eventually ending in a clear synthesis of culture truly reflective of the integration process that had marked the early centuries of Islam and Christianity in the Philippines. Which of these two directions is best for the country is a question that can only be asked today.

## **The Chinese in Kabikolan: Some Notes on the Role They Played in Kabikolan's History**

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### **The archeological and archival background**

Archeological and archival proofs suggested that the Chinese had been to many places in the Philippines several centuries ago. O.W. Wolters noted that as early as 300 A.D. "islanders in the Philippines were sailing 800 miles and more across the open sea to Funan<sup>1</sup> while three centuries earlier, Chinese envoys had made their way to the Malay peninsula by means of "barbarian' ships".<sup>2</sup> Locsin's study of oriental ceramics unearthed throughout the Philippines showed that Philippine inhabitants were already participating in ceramic trade with mainland Asia as early as the Tang Dynasty (618-906 A.D.).<sup>3</sup> Wang Teh-ming's study of various Chinese annals confirmed the existence of centuries of Sino-Filipino ties.<sup>4</sup> He found out that mention of the Philippines by many Chinese annals became frequent by the 3rd century A.D. Accounts naming this period named the Philippines according to the distinguishing features noted by the Chinese chroniclers about the country. They called the Philippines *Hey-Chiy-Kuo* (Black-Teeth Country) because some of its inhabitants already practiced teeth blackening as a form of adornment, and "Gold Country" because the natives were already trading gold with China. During the 5th century A.D., the Liang Annals (502-577 A.D.) called the Philippines *Tchih-Jan-Ta-Chow* (Self-Burning Great Island) and mentioned *chiau*, describing it as a kind of banana plant whose fiber was woven into cloth. The Sui Annals (581-618 A.D.) and the Tang Annals (618-907 A.D.) called the Philippines *Huo-San* (Fire Mountain or Volcano Country). These terms used by the Chinese chroniclers are highly suggestive that they refer to the Bikol region because of the following considerations: Bulusan and Mayon Volcanoes are prominent Bikol



landmarks which are visible tens of kilometers at sea which mariners and travellers had been using for centuries past. Jagor even compared Mount Bulusan to Italy's Mount Vesuvius because of the similarities in their profiles. Chau Ju-Kua's *Chu-Fan-Chi* (1225 A.D.) mentioned several places in southern Philippines, particularly the Bikol region: *La-it* (Daet, Camarines Norte) and *Pai-Pu-Yan* suggested either the Babuyan or the Kabikolan, but I am inclined to believe that the *Pai-Pu-Yan* refers to the Kabikolan because of the mention of adjacent areas like Daet.

The Ming Annals (1368-1644 A.D.) mentioned the western coast of Bikol and called it *Bali-Bu* or *Ka-Ba-Li*. Could *Bali-Bu* be Gabilong, the village in Sorsogon Gulf which the Spaniards used as the first capital of their Provincia de Ibalon? Also, could *Ka-Ba-Li* be Camalig, a town in western Albay considering that *Ti-Bih-San* has been identified now as "the mountain of *Tiui*", better known as Mount Mayon? These Chinese terms are highly suggestive that Kabikolan had been frequented by the Chinese traders and was already a major trading center (like Butuan, Manila, etc.) many centuries before the coming of the Spaniards in the light of the numerous porcelain wares unearthed in many places in the region.

Finally, it is not farfetched to assume that the relations between the Chinese and the inhabitants of Kabikolan were largely confined to trading. Experience indicates that intermarriage with the natives was one of the expedient means resorted to by the Chinese traders to facilitate ties with the latter. Thus, when the Spaniards arrived they found a sizeable number of Chinese already living among the inhabitants.

### The Chinese in Kabikolan during the Spanish era

The dominance by the Chinese in the Philippine economy was a development that greatly affected the Bikol region as elsewhere in the country during the Spanish era. Chinese traders were already a significant fixture in the country's economy when the Spaniards came. And, despite numerous Spanish efforts to curtail their influential role in the local economy, the Chinese survived and thrived throughout the Spanish period.<sup>5</sup>

Notwithstanding the many restrictions limiting Chinese activities in the country, they could be found already in almost all provinces in the middle of the 18th century. The *Alcalde Mayor* of Albay Province reported that there were 66 *mestizos de sangleys* in 1735, 75 in 1736, 83 in 1737, and 82 in 1740.<sup>6</sup> In 1741, the bishop of Nueva Caceres called the attention of all the parish priests in his diocese to the presence of many Chinese residing not only in the capitals of the provinces in Kabikolan but even in its most isolated towns, some had intermarried with the native women, that they were many and their number could not be ascertained. The bishop enjoined the parish priests to work for their conversions.<sup>7</sup>

In 1780, the Diocese of Nueva Caceres listed 117 *mestizos de sangleys* residing in Camarines Sur and 493 in Albay. In 1829, Ildefonso de Aragon reported that there were 196 of them in Camarines Sur and 394 in Albay.<sup>8</sup> By 1844, the Chinese *mestizos* in Albay was 430<sup>9</sup> and 502 in 1853.<sup>10</sup> By 1894, Albay Province's *Padron de Chinos* (Census of Chinese) listed 2,511 *mestizos de sangley* and Chinese, 64 of them were converted and the rest of them were not. Their respective professions were also listed as follows: *rancheria*—6, *panaderia*—15, *zapateria*—5, *negociante*—44, *negocienta de tienda de genero*—64, *negocienta de compra de abaca*—142, and *serviente*—2,235. Interestingly, all of them were listed as *solteros* in spite of the fact that many of them were more than 30 years old.<sup>11</sup> By 1896, Ambos Camarines had 321 Chinese residents; Albay had 2,030; Sorsogon had 1,000; Masbate, 120 and Catanduanes had 78.<sup>12</sup>

The process of Chinese penetration of the Bikol provinces was boosted in 1779 when Governor General Basco y Vargas enforced measures designed to foster interior trade in the Philippines aware that free trade was vital to the colonial government in the country (*la libertad del comercio como ramo tan esencial al Estado*). On February 25, 1779 he issued a decree allowing everyone in the country—Spaniards, natives, *mestizos*—to engage in trade and commerce in the provinces after securing the necessary permit from the colonial government.<sup>13</sup>

In two decades' time following Governor General Basco y Vargas' decree complaints, especially against the *mestizos de sangley*, were raised by provincial colonial authorities. On May 10, 1802 the *Alcalde Mayor* of Camarines Sur wrote the Governor General complaining about the numerous *mestizos de sangley* from Iloilo, Laguna, and other



provinces who continued to reside in Camarines Sur intermarrying, staying and continuing to engage in local trade even though their permits had already expired, not registering in any local *cabaceria*'s census list, and not paying tributes nor hearing mass. The *Alcalde Mayor* of Camarines Sur further mentioned that these *mestizos de sangley* exploited the native officials' ignorance of the Spanish language in which their permits were written by simply displaying them, impressing upon the timorous natives that their presence and activities in the province were sanctioned by the colonial authorities through such permits. For their part, the *Alcalde Mayor* noted, the native officials prudently dared not question the expired *superior licencia* considering that the permit was issued by no less than the *Superior Gobierno* in Manila.

Responding to the complaint raised by the *Alcalde Mayor* of Camarines Sur, the colonial authorities in Manila issued a harsh order on June 19, 1802 directing all *mestizos de sangley* to register, within a period of eight days after the said publication of the said order, in their places of residence or where they were doing their businesses. The order imposed a harsh penalty of two years hard labor in chains (*dos años de presodio con cadena y grillete a pie*) for any violators. The order apparently drove a number of Chinese mestizos or register in the *cabicerias* or barangays of the Bikol provinces where they were staying. In January 1803, the *Alcalde Mayor* of Camarines Sur reported that in two *arrabales* of Nueve Caceres-Naga and Santa Cruz—149 *mestizos de sangley* registered. However, he noted that a good number of them managed to evade registration by bribing *cabezas de barangay* to list them as "Naturales" (natives) in their *cabicerias'* *padron de almas* (census list) thereby evading the paying of tributes which was twice the amount paid by the native tribute payers. He further pointed out that those Chinese mestizos who got themselves registered as "Naturales" returned to their *gremios* to avoid rendering the *polos y servicios* (forced labor) required of the native inhabitants. The *Alcalde Mayor* of Camarines Sur wryly commented that the register of *mestizos de sangley* in the province, instead of growing through the years, declined.<sup>14</sup>

Twenty-five years after the 1802 complaints of the Camarines Sur *Alcalde Mayor*, the *mestizos de sangley* had not grown more but were now a dominant sector of Kabikolan's economy. This time, it was not only with expired permits—a good number of them were doing business

in Kabikolan without permits and without passports (*sin competente licencia ni de radicacion*).<sup>15</sup> By 1826, the friar-curate of Oas, Albay already deplored the fact that the entire abaca trade of Camarines Sur (including Albay Province since the Yraya Partido of Kabikolan was the trade center of both provinces) was in the hands of Chinese mestizos from Iloilo. He likewise noted that the entire supply of *guinaras* (coarse abaca cloth) produced annually by the Yraya towns of Cagsaua, Ligao, Camalig, and Guinobatan was controlled by these Chinese mestizos from Iloilo. Despite the abundant natural wealth of the Bikol provinces, the good curate could not understand why it was the Chinese mestizos who prospered and not the natives of Kabikolan. He even asserted that he had not met more than three natives throughout Camarines Sur worth more than a thousand pesos.<sup>16</sup> The same observation was raised, some years later, by *Alcalde Mayor* of Albay Jose Maria Peñaranda who further noted that since the Yraya Partido was the commercial center of Kabikolan, most of the Spanish and Chinese mestizo merchants had established their residences there, notably in the towns of Ligao and Cagsaua.<sup>17</sup>

Like in Camarines Sur, very few natives in Albay Province became prominent in the abaca industry—the sole industry of the province. In 1844, the *Alcalde Mayor* of Albay reported that the inhabitants of the province were solely engaged in the cultivation of abaca and palay and their women in the weaving of *guinaras*.<sup>18</sup> His report clearly indicated that it was not the native inhabitants of the province who were dominant in the abaca industry. The report on the economic condition of the province in 1885 was terse: abaca was the sole industry of Albay.<sup>19</sup> The reason was obvious—the Spaniards, the Americans, and the Chinese dominated the industry, the Spanish and American houses of commerce serving as the collection points for exportation and the Chinese acting as their middlemen buying directly from the native cultivators.<sup>20</sup>

It was not only in the abaca industry that the Chinese became dominant. They also figured in the various leases farmed out by the colonial government. On April 20, 1870 the Chinese Rafael Dy Choco was awarded the lease of all public markets in the province of Camarines Sur for the next three years after paying the lease fee of 15,055 *escudos*.<sup>21</sup> Feodor Jagor's observation in 1860 that the Bikol trade was dominated by the Chinese was not an empty comment.<sup>22</sup>



During the revolutionary period, the authorities of the First Philippine Republic in Kabikolan awarded to Bonifacio Nubla Lim Chico on December 24, 1899 the lease of all public opium houses in the province of Albay, Sorsogon, and Catanduanes as part of its campaign to raise war funds with the order that those other than him who would engage in such business in the said provinces would be prosecuted.<sup>23</sup>

Spanish policies regarding elections of *gobernadorcillos* and other local officials did not exclude *mestizos de sangley*s from occupying said positions. Colonial policies simply provided that one could be eligible to these positions if he is a person(s) of means (*personas de seguros y mas abonados*), had the knowledge of speaking and writing the Spanish tongue, and without any legal impediments or record in the colonial government (*sin tachas legales*). The impoverished lot of the natives effectively eliminated most of them from aspiring to such positions. On the other hand, considering the colonial authorities' predisposition to ensure the collection of tributes, it being the primary function of local officials, the relatively well-off condition of the *mestizos de sangley* enabled them to occupy the said posts. Subsequently, many of them became *gobernadorcillos*, *almaceneros*, and *cobradores del real tributos*. As early as 1782, the *Alcalde Mayor* of Albay Province reported that of the 18 towns when comprising the province, four were headed by a *mestizo de sangley*. Even prior to this, it was evident in his report that almost all of the towns of Albay Province had been headed by a *mestizo de sangley*. The 1782 report of the *Alcalde Mayor* of Albay listed the following *mestizos de sangley* who had rendered service or were serving the colonial government:<sup>24</sup>

Cabacera de Albay ...	Capitan pasado Don Phelipe Sta. Ana
Tabaco .....	Capitan pasado Don Vicente Geronimo
Malinao .....	Alcalde Actual de Naturales Don Fulgencio Adriano
Tiui .....	Alcalde Actual de Naturales Don Christoval Moran
Bacon .....	Capitan pasado Don Theodoro Saenz
Gubat .....	Alcalde Actual de Naturales Don Francisco Nicolas
Donsol .....	Alcalde Actual de Naturales Don Manuel Rodrigo

The *Alcalde Mayor* of Albay added in his report that the above-mentioned local officials were descendants of the pre-colonial rulers of the province. In other words, the Chinese had established linkages with the local elite perhaps as a means to improve their position in the

local level.

In 1810, the *Alcalde Mayor* of Albay mentioned one Don Manuel Quimzon as "*mestizo de sangley Capitan pasado de esta Cabecera de Albay*" and one Don Pedro Aguirre, incumbent *gobernadorcillo* of Sorsogon "*tambien mestizo de sangley*". The *Alcalde Mayor* described Don Pedro Aguirre as a well-known individual in Albay Province not only because of his very powerful and wealthy parents but also because he was occupying a sensitive post in the colonial government in Albay province as the overall collector of tributes in the province (*Cobrador General del Real Tributo*).<sup>25</sup>

Records further indicated that *mestizos de sangley* had also become members of the clergy. The Archbishop of Manila's report in 1810 following his visitation of Kabikolan mentioned that the parish priest of Bulusan, Sorsogon, Don Eusebio Vidente de le Cruz, was a *mestizo de sangley* and had been administering the town for the past sixteen years.<sup>26</sup>

The growing *mestizos de sangley* influence and position in the local level inevitably led to tensions between them and the native inhabitants. To avoid conflicts, the *Alcalde Mayor* of Camarines Sur allowed in 1776 the *mestizos de sangley* particularly in Nueva Caceres to form their own *gremios* and the opportunity that one of them would be elected the *gobernadorcillo* of Nueva Caceres where they were residing alternating with the natives every two years. While the concession appeared substantial, the condition attached to it was equally heavy: they were required to pay tributes twice the amount paid by the natives. This concession was removed by the *Superior Gobierno* in 1802 although they were allowed to continue to have their own *cabicerias* and *cabezas de barangay* but under a native *gobernadorcillo*. They appealed in 1804 for a reconsideration adding a proposal that they would pay for the tribute of any tributante in their *gremios* who may be unaccounted for. This was disapproved again by the *Superior Gobierno* in August 1804.<sup>27</sup> It is significant to note that their efforts and proposal demonstrated the extent of their influence and economic well-being that they had achieved in so short a time.

Towards the end of the Spanish rule in Kabikolan, the Chinese *mestizos* had already entrenched themselves such that they could already resist orders by the town's *gobernadorcillo* and even had the latter imprisoned. This had happened to the *gobernadorcillo* of Bacon, Sorsogon who was incarcerated by the colonial authorities of Albay



Province in October 1888 as a result of a complaint by the Chinese in the said town for illegal exactions in connection with the celebration of the town fiesta during that year.<sup>28</sup>

Perhaps it was the Chinese, Jose Ignacio Paua, who epitomized Chinese involvement in Kabikolan's history. During the Philippine Revolution and the Philippine-American War, Paua's involvement in these events made him unique particularly because his fellow-Chinese remained aloof or indifferent. He distinguished himself in various capacities during these periods. During the early stages of the Revolution, he headed the Revolutionary Government's arsenal in Cavite and, through his innate skills, substantially helped ease the revolutionary forces' lack of arms. As the Philippine Republic's fiscal agent, his success in soliciting and collecting contributions among the Chinese in the Bikol region was unmatched by all the other fiscal agents of the Republic. He raised and remitted to the treasury of the Republic the staggering amount of 400,000 Mexican dollars during the period May 18, 1899 to October 28, 1899. And, as a guerilla fighter, his "scorched-earth" policy made him the most feared and hated among the Republic's military leaders by the Americans and their Filipino collaborators.<sup>29</sup> Aguinaldo's tribute to him many years after he died, perhaps symbolized his total commitment and transformation from Chinese to Filipino:<sup>30</sup>

Through his unselfishness and heroism, General Paua had earned the gratitude of the Filipino nation to whose freedom and welfare he dedicated his life. He loved the Philippines as his own country ....

### Why the Chinese became prominent in Kabikolan

Their rise was a result of a confluence of many factors that operated during the Spanish colonial era. What enabled them to gain a foothold in local society was their intermarrying with the native women. This was facilitated by their practice of not bringing with them their own wives or womenfolk during their trading trips to the Philippines. This was further reciprocated by the native women's "unprejudiced attitude" in forming temporary or permanent ties with foreigners. Frederic Sawyer, a foreigner who resided in the Philippines

for several years during the 19th century, noted the reason why the native women had such an attitude especially towards the Chinese men:<sup>31</sup>

...they do not disdain even the Chinamen. They perhaps do not like them, but they know that John Chinaman makes a good husband, provides liberally for his family, and does not expect his wife to do hard work.

The numerous Spanish restrictions limiting their movements outside of the places where they were designated to stay did not hinder many Chinese from moving from one place to another in the Philippines. While some obeyed the colonial requirements, many opted to evade or circumvent these restrictions. This could be seen, for instance, in the orders issued by the colonial government dealing on them. On August 19, 1771 the Governor General issued a decree requiring all *mestizos de sangley* to reside in the capital town of the province, to form their own *padron de almas*, and to pay the tributes. The decree was the offshoot of the *Alcalde Mayor* of Samar Province's complaint against the Chinese in Samar whom he describes as vagabonds, not paying tributes, and having the poor native inhabitants work for them after paying the tributes of those natives who could ill-afford to pay this colonial exaction.<sup>32</sup>

The facility with which the Chinese moved from one place to another in the Philippines must have been influenced by the native inhabitants themselves. Leaving one's place of residence and transferring to another was a means often adopted by native inhabitants to evade the heavy Spanish impositions (tributes, *polos y servicios*, *quintas*, *repartimientos*, etc.). This could be seen from the December 16, 1815 report of the Camarines Sur *Alcalde Mayor* to the Governor General. The reports mentioned the problems brought by the ease with which the native inhabitants transferred from one place to another, disappearing or registering in distant *cabiceria*, and abandoning their obligations (*la facilidad con que los Indios estan mudando de Pueblo ... abandonan sus obligaciones, se desaparecen, y se empadronan en otro pueblo distante*) and the facility with which such migrants were accepted in said places (*la mayor facilidad que encuentran en recibirlos*). As a result, the *Alcalde Mayor* commented, there were numerous persons, natives and Chinese, who were without fixed residences in the



province.<sup>33</sup>

On June 22, 1827, the Governor General ordered the apprehension and remision to Manila of any Chinese who travelled from province to province with expired permits or without passports. This only indicated that the problem about the Chinese without permits or passports had worsened.<sup>34</sup>

Among the Chinese who migrated to the Bikol region, it was the Chinese mestizos from Iloilo who were singled out by the Camarines Sur *Alcalde Mayor* not only because they came to dominate the province's trade but because of the means they used in residing and staying in the province.<sup>35</sup>

Under pretext of temporary license, they migrated and were allowed to reside in the province, without ascertaining the source of their permits. Many, after verification, were found to have not obtained those permits. From the money they earned from their trade, much of them through shortchanging the natives, they bribed the *cabezas de barangay* and the *gobernadorcillos* for them to be admitted in the barangay and the town's census lists. Thus, most of them had been included in said census lists without knowing how and when they came to the province.

The abused and miserable condition of the natives also enabled the Chinese to occupy a major place in Kabikolan's society because the native inhabitants were generally unable to compete against them. The natives' plight could be seen in their numerous petitions to the Governor General for relief or alleviation from heavy colonial impositions. In 1845, for example, almost all the towns in Camarines Sur submitted complaints to the Governor General against the *Alcalde Mayor* mentioning the various heavy loads they suffer, such as the frequent works they render for the construction or repair of roads, bridges, canals, and public buildings which largely benefitted the merchants and the colonial government. They also mentioned that in the performance of said tasks they had never received any aid nor wage and that they were also forced to leave their families and fields for many days.<sup>36</sup>

The radical economic transformation of the Philippines during the second half of the 19th century into a cash-crop economy ensured the elimination of the native inhabitants from playing a significant role in this area. At most, they were relegated to the role as mere producers of the raw materials required by the said cash-crop economy. It was

those who had the capital—the Chinese, the Spaniards, the Americans, etc.—who benefitted from this transformation of the Philippine economy.

Finally, another significant factor that enabled the Chinese to acquire political power was Spanish policies as regards local elections. These policies did not bar them from getting elected to the local positions, especially the post of *gobernadorcillo*. Eventually, as discussed above, many of them got elected to these local posts. During and after their terms of office, they acquired the native inhabitants' respect and deference accorded to local officials being addressed either as *Capitan*, *Teniente* or *Cabesa*.<sup>37</sup>

## Conclusions

The paper gave a general presentation of the transformation that the Chinese had underwent from migrant-traders to permanent residents of the places where they eventually stayed. As aliens in the Philippines, they were confronted by suspicions and hostilities by the Spaniards and the native inhabitants. Haunted by the spectre of the miserable life they left behind in mainland China and confronted by animosities in the land they chose to stay in, the Chinese trader-migrants did not have any choice but to play with the hostile forces which faced them. Eventually, they found means—such as intermarrying natives—which enabled them to circumvent or surmount these forces. The loopholes they saw in the numerous colonial policies enforced precisely to restrict them, provide the means to protect themselves and, eventually, to exercise power and influence over the hostile forces. Intermarrying with the native elites gave them the necessary footholds to overcome native suspicion and gain ascendancy over the latter. Trade gave the material advantage which they achieved through shrewd dealings with the native inhabitants. Wealth, resulting from their economic activities, enabled the Chinese to occupy positions in the colonial system thereby giving them additional influences over the inhabitants and a bargaining power vis-a-vis the colonial authorities. In time, many of them became prominent. Where before they were the passive participants in the local colonial society, now they became the prime-movers. Whether in charting the abaca industry, acquiring leases farmed out by the colonial government,



running the town as *gobernadorcillos*, collecting the tributes as the colonial government's *cobrador del real tributo*, or as a reformist of a revolutionary during the last tumultuous decades of the Spanish era they demonstrated their capabilities as actively as possible. Definitely, any student of history writing about the Philippine past could not disregard the significant role played by the Chinese in the Philippines then and now.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> An ancient Khmer kingdom located along the Mekong River in present-day Cambodia or Kampuchea.
- <sup>2</sup> O.W. Walters, *EARLY INDONESIAN COMMERCE: A STUDY OF THE ORIGIN OF SRIVIJAYA* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1967), p. 154.
- <sup>3</sup> Leandro Locsin and Cecilia Y. Locsin, *ORIENTAL CERAMICS DISCOVERED IN THE PHILIPPINES* (Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1967), p. 6.
- <sup>4</sup> For a detailed discussion of Chinese about pre-Hispanic Philippines, see Wang Teh-ming, "Sino-Filipino Historico-Cultural Relations," *Philippine Social Sciences and Humanities Review*, Vol. 29, Nos. 3-4 (September-December 1964).
- <sup>5</sup> See, for example, the royal decree of June 19, 1661 ordering the colonial officials in Manila not to permit the Chinese to reside among the native inhabitants in the Philippines, especially in Tondo (*no consiente vivan sangleyes infieles de los Pueblos de Yndios Christianos y en especial en el Pueblo de Tondo*) brought perhaps of Spanish fear of alliance between the Chinese and the native inhabitants, *Cedulario*, 1651-1669.
- <sup>6</sup> *Cédulario, 1744-1752. Real cedula de 16 de Mayo de 1744 participandole averse aprobado el planteo hecho de la cuenta de tributos por padron de los habitantes en las provincias de Tondo y Cavite y ordenandole que de Nueva Comision al Oidor Don Pedro Calderon Enriquez para que practique lo mismo en las otras provincias con lo demas se espresa. Aranjuez, 16 de Mayo 1744.*
- <sup>7</sup> *Gobierno de Obispos Sufraganeos, 1697-1897*, Box 4-E-13, Folder 1741-1918. *Copia de un libro de Gobierno del Obispado de Nueva Caceres. Fr. Ysidoro de Arevalo, Obispo electo de Nueva Caceres [to the Cura Parrocos], Nueva Caceres, 12 de Diciembre 1741.*
- <sup>8</sup> Ildefonso de Aragon y Abollado, *Plan General de defensa de las Islas Filipinas con su plano hidrografico y topografico, año de 1829 (ms.)*, Fol.38, 42+.
- <sup>9</sup> *Memoria de Albay*, 1844.
- <sup>10</sup> *Tributos-Albay and Pampanga Bundle. Relacion jurada en cargo y data que yo Don Juan Maria Haedo, Gobernador P.M. de la Provincia de Albay, presento al Tribunal de la Contaduria Mayor de estas Yslas del Real Haver y Demas ramos de la Real Hacienda Publica que administra y recaude en la espresada provincia en el año de 1853... Albay, 12 de Abril 1854.*

- <sup>11</sup> *Padron de Chinos-Albay, 1894-1897 Registro parcial de los existentes en el territorio de esta Provincia formado con arreglo a lo dispuesto en el Superior Decreto de fha 16 de Marzo del presente año inserta en la Gaceta Oficial No. 76 del día del mismo mes, Año de 1894.*
- <sup>12</sup> *Philippine Insurgent Records-Selected Documents*, Box 13, Folder No. 313, Document No. 313.3 - *Estado general de los habitantes de las Islas con especificacion de los naturales, chinos...estadística desde 5 Abril 96.*
- <sup>13</sup> *Bandos y Ciduales - Bundle 14. 1779. Comercio Interior. Bando del Sor. Basco de 25 de Febrero sobre que todo Español, Yndios y mestizos tienen libertad de comerciar por las provincias de esta Ysla de Luzon que las mas les acomode, y por lo que hace a las de mar en fuera lleven las licencias acostumbradas.*
- <sup>14</sup> *Ereccion de Pueblos-Camarines Sur 1799-1820*, Folio 51-57b. *Consults del Alcalde Mayor de Camarines relative a los muchos mestizos de ostras provincias que abiendo ido a aquella provincia con superior licencia sin pagar tributos. Camarines Sur, 1802; Folio 58-75, Expediente creado de consulta del Alcalde Mayor sobre haverse empadronado en la Cavesera 149 tributos de mestizos de sangley, con el fin de que se les conceda un Gobernadorcillo y Oficiales. Camarines, Año de 1803.*
- <sup>15</sup> *Bandos y Ciduales-Bundle X. 1827. Circular de 22 de Junio Para que los jefes de provincia remitan a esta Capital los chinos que existen en ellas sin la competente licencia de redicacion.*
- <sup>16</sup> *Memoria de la Provincia le Camarines Sur, 1826*, Folio 13-14b.
- <sup>17</sup> *Ereccion de Pueblos-Camarines Sur, 1797-1852*, Folio 150-163. *Expediente creado sobre poblar y fortificar el Puerto de Pantaon en Macabogos de la Provincia de Camarines Sur, Año de 1832 a 834. Jose Maria Peñaranda (to) Gobernador Gral Pascual Enrile, Tayabas, 13 de Febrero 1833.*
- <sup>18</sup> *Memoria de Albay, 1844*, n.p.
- <sup>19</sup> *Memoria de Albay, 1885*, n.p.
- <sup>20</sup> *Estados Unidos - uncatalogued bundle. Expediente iniciado por el Alcalde Mayor de la provincia de Albay sobre la permanencia en aquel punto del subdito Norte Americano Mr. Jorje Peirce remitido por decreto y con oficio del E.S.Gobernador Superior Civil fha. 20 de Febrero de 1863 a informe del Consejo. The document mentioned only three foreign merchant houses that controlled the abaca trade in Manila.*
- <sup>21</sup> *Varias Provincias-Ambos Camarines, 1839-1897. Don Rafael de Escalada y Lopez, Alcalde Mayor y Gobor Civil de la Provincia de Camarines Sur certifico... Nueva Caceres, 31 de Diciembre 1870.*
- <sup>22</sup> Feodor Jagor, *Travels in the Philippines* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1875), p. 152.
- <sup>23</sup> *Philippine Insurgent Records - Sorsogon*, Box PR-182. Document dated December 24, 1899 ... *Haber dado posesion por ese Consejo Provincial al Chino Bonifacio Nubla Lim los fumadores de anfon de las provincia de Albay y Sorsogon y distrito de Catanduanes en la tarde del día 24 del mes de Diciembre del año ppdo....*
- <sup>24</sup> *Spanish Manila - Reel Bundle. Principales. Circular para que los Gefes de Provincia indaguen con el mayor esmero e imparcialidad los principales que por legitima descendencia o por adquisicion propia estuvieren devidamente en posesion de nobles. Manila, 6 de Febrero de 1782.*



<sup>25</sup> *Ereccion de Pueblos - Albay, 1772-1836*, Tomo I Alcalde Mayor de Albay Domingo Navea (to) Gobernador General, Sorsogon, 26 de Abril 1810. As of 1834, Don Pedro Aguirre continued to occupy a position of power and responsibility in Albay Province—he was the Almacenero of partido de Sorsogon (In-charge of the colonial government's warehouse in Sorsogon), see Albay (new bundle), Folio 66.

<sup>26</sup> *Santa Vizita*, Box 4-A-2, Folio 159-162. *Santa visita del Pueblo de Bulusan, 1810*.

<sup>27</sup> *Ereccion de Pueblos-Camarines Sur, 1799-1820*, Folio 58-75. *Expediente creado de consulta del Alcalde Mayor sobre haverse empadronado en la Cavecera 149 tributos de Mestizos de Sangley, con el fin de que se les conceda un Gobernadorcillo y sus Oficiales. Camarines, Año de 1803*.

<sup>28</sup> *Varias Provincias-Albay, Bundle V. Expediente sobre conflicto de atribuciones suscitado entre el Gobierno Civil y Juzgado de Primera Instancia de esta provincia / de Albay / contra el Gobernadorcillo Don Esteban Amador / del pueblo de Bacon / por exacciones ilegales. Albay, 5 de Octubre 1888*.

<sup>29</sup> For a detailed discussion of General Paua's role during the Revolution and the Philippine-American War see Luis C. Dery, "General Jose Ignacio Paua and His Role During the Philippine Revolution", JOSE IGNACIO PAUA: CHINESE GENERAL IN THE PHILIPPINE REVOLUTION (Manila: Kaisa Para Sa Kaunlaran, Inc., 1988), pp. 19-41.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Frederic H. Sawyer, THE INHABITANTS OF THE PHILIPPINES (London: Sampson Low, Marston and Company, 1900), pp. 204-205.

<sup>32</sup> *Ereccion de Pueblos-Samar, 1769-1799. Expediente en que el Alcalde avisa que hallandose en aquella Provincia muchos mestizos de Sangley y Vagamundos, sin querer cultivar ni hacer sus sementeras seria combeniente que estos viniesen a vivir ala Cavecera bajo del mando del Alcalde. Catbalogan, Junio 15 de 1771*.

<sup>33</sup> *Ereccion de Pueblos-Camarines Sur, 1799-1820. Camarines, 1815-1820. Consulta sobre la emigracion de los Indios a otros pueblos sin mas motivos. / Nueva Caceres, 16 Diciembre 1815. Antonio de Zuñiga /*.

<sup>34</sup> *Bandos y Circulares-Bundle 10. 1827. Circular de 22 de Junio para que los Gefes de Provinciana remitan a esta Capital los Chinos que ecsisten en ellas sin la competente licencia de radicacion*.

<sup>35</sup> *Ereccion de Pueblos-Camarines Sur, 1837-1850*, Folio 260-264. Camarines Sur, 1839. *Consulta sobre los Ilongos sin pasaportes ni licencias en la provincia de Camarines Sur*.

<sup>36</sup> *Ereccion de Pueblos-Camarines Sur, 1781-1833*, Folio 415-457b. *Los Cavesas de Barangay del pueblo de Camaligan de quejan de lo molesto que les se trabajan en el camino de Pasacao, en las sementeras de Anayan, en las conducciones de arroz de a la Yraya, en el pila arros cascara y en presnar abaca de Gobernador de aquella provincia (van unidos otros recursos de los de Milaor, Canaman, Baao, Bonbon y Oas sobre quejas que tienen analogia con la procedente). Camarines Sur, 1845*.

<sup>37</sup> *Ereccion de Pueblos-Camarines Sur, 1799-1820*, Folio 58 - *Expediente creado de consulta del Alcalde Mayor sobre haverse empadronado en la Cavecera 149 tributos de Mestizos de Sangley, con el fin de que se Camarines, Año de 1803*.

## Images of the Chinese in the Philippines

Teresita Ang See

### Introduction

When we were first brainstorming over topics for this conference, the first choice of topic for me was historiography of works on the Philippine Chinese. However, when we had our planning session at Los Baños two months ago, there was a consensus that historiography as a topic would interest only a limited number of scholars who are doing research on the Chinese in the Philippines, and we must admit, the number is, indeed, limited.

When we formed the Philippine Association for Chinese Studies (PACS), we stated that one of our goals is to do research and studies that would, hopefully, have impact on a greater number of people, and most importantly, on policy-makers and opinion-makers. A paper I delivered last year, in another conference jointly sponsored by PACS and De La Salle China Studies Program, we are happy to say, had a positive impact on some of our policy-makers. Articles written by some of our PACS members, (those published in the papers, especially), also had impact on opinion-makers. Hence, the decision to change the topic came about and the new one chosen is "Images of the Chinese in the Philippines."

What prompted us to arrive at a unanimous decision on the choice of topic was an incident recounted to us by Dr. Bernardita Churchill during our meeting. This was about the Radio Veritas program on Filipino American relations last July, 1989. In a discussion on the adverse effects of multinational companies, a young moderator quipped - "The adverse effect of multinational companies is small compared to the damage done if the Chinese were to gain control of our economy."

No less than Teodoro Locsin, former Presidential spokesman and now publisher of *Daily Globe*, in his recent column dated October 22, 1989, said:<sup>1</sup>