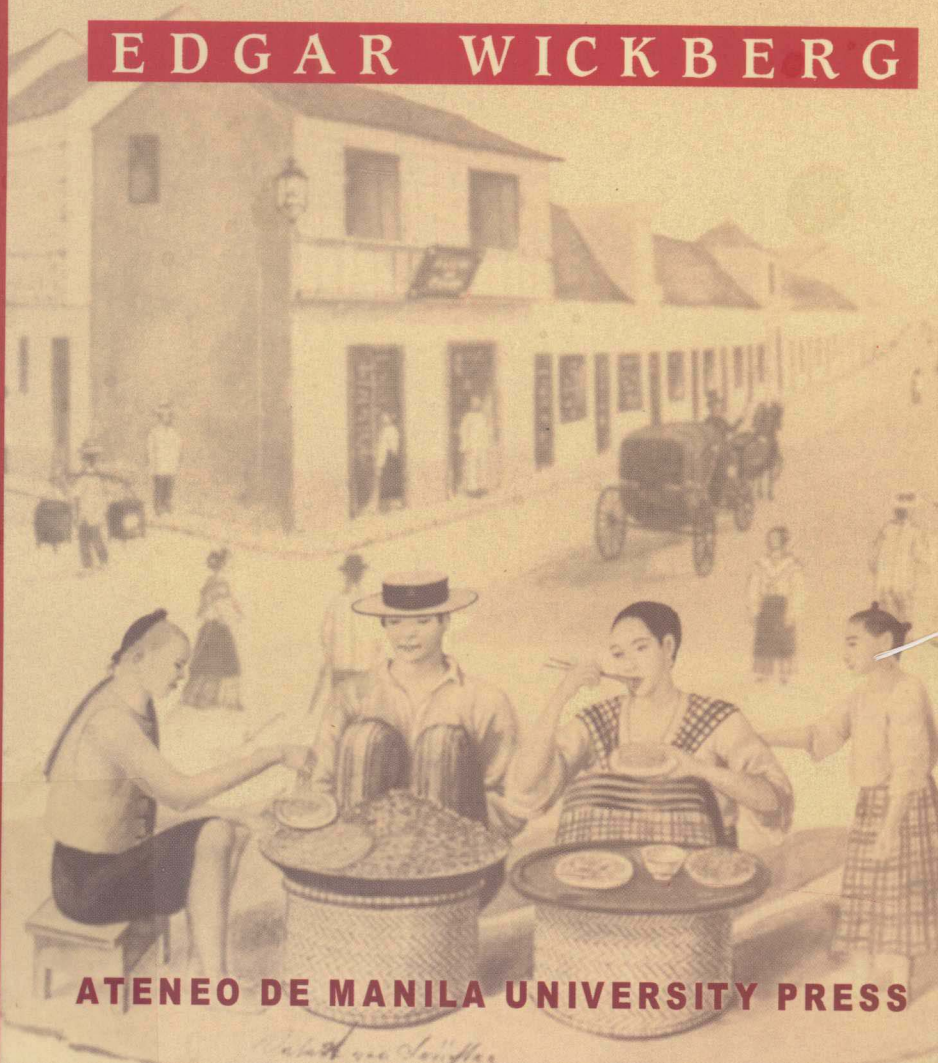


The Chinese in Philippine Life 1850-1898

EDGAR WICKBERG



ATENEO DE MANILA UNIVERSITY PRESS

**The Chinese in
Philippine Life
1850-1898**

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For Ellen Goldstein Wickberg



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Preface to the Republished Edition

When this book was first published in 1965, I wished to show that the situation of the Chinese in the Philippines during the 1960s was shaped in large part by the developments of the period 1850–1898. In the face of the body of writing on the subject that assumed a certain eternal condition of the Philippine Chinese, I wanted to argue otherwise. I wanted to show that historical analysis of specific periods would make it clear that the Chinese situation and their relations with Filipinos, with colonial rulers, and with China had varied over time, and that some periods were more important than others in shaping the situation of the 1960s. I also believed that we could best understand changes in the Chinese society of the Philippines by seeing them in the context of changes in Philippine society, since for Filipinos, as for Chinese, the last half of the nineteenth century was such a period of change. That is why the title of the book is “The Chinese in Philippine Life,” rather than something like “The Chinese in the Philippines.” In other words, I saw the history of the ethnic Chinese in the Philippines as both a history in its own right but also a part of Philippine history. I still do today.

The shaping forces of that history have been demographic (the size and composition of the Chinese population), social (relations with Philippine society as a whole and social institutions within the Chinese group), and international (relations with China). The interaction of all these in the last half of the nineteenth century provided all the elements of the situation I observed in the 1960s. The Chinese dramatically expanded demographically and economically, thus winning a major place in the economy of the Philippines. In reaction, an anti-Chinese movement began—not for the first time, but more directly related than any previous such to what I

saw in the 1960s. In response to this, the Chinese created community institutions for defense and called upon China for support. Thus, the 1960s era of nationalist policies directed at restraining the Chinese, the creation of the Federation of Chinese Chambers of Commerce and Industry, and the deep involvement of the Republic of China government in the affairs of the Philippine Chinese were all reminiscent—and reflective—of the earlier era. Two other conditions of the 1960s shaped my writing. One was the use of the Philippine National Archives, whose contents, largely unknown at the time, both enlarged and limited what I could do. The other was the concerns of the social science literature of the day, which stressed questions and vocabularies of “assimilation” and “integration.”

Much has changed. In the context of the year 2000 the Chinese are a much more stable, settled, and generationally deeper population. Their younger generations—Philippine citizens now—are losing some Chinese cultural skills as they acquire more Filipino ones. The “community” has become diverse and no longer able to speak with a single voice. The terms “Chinese Filipinos” and “tsinoys” are widely used by Filipinos as well as by ethnic Chinese. Mainland China and Taiwan are generally treated at arm’s length by both the Philippine government and the Philippine Chinese themselves. There has been much new historical research on the Chinese in the Philippines.* The Philippine National Archives is much better organized and large sections of it have been photocopied. Other

*Some major works on tsinoy history to 1946 published since 1965

•Teresita Ang See and Go Bon Juan, *The Ethnic Chinese in the Philippine Revolution* (Manila: Kaisa para sa Kaunlaran, Inc., 1996)

•Chen Yande, *Xiandai-Zhong de Chuantong: Feilubin Huaren Shehui Yanjiu* [Tradition in Modernity: Studies on Philippine Chinese Society] (Xiamen: Xiamen University Press, 1998)

•Chinben See, “Feilubin Huaren Wenhua de Chixu: Zongqin yu Tongxiang Zuzhi zai Haiwai de Yanbian,” [Persistence and Preservation of Chinese Culture in the Philippines: The Development of Clan and Hometown Associations in an Overseas Chinese Community], *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica* 42 (1976): 119–206; “Chinese Clanship in the Philippine Setting,” *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 12, no. 1 (March 1981): 224–47; “The Ethnic Chinese in the Philippines,” in *The Ethnic Chinese in the Asean States: Bibliographical Essays*, edited by Leo Suryadinata (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1989), 203–20

•Alfonso Felix, ed., *The Chinese in the Philippines*. 2 vols. (Manila: Solidaridad Publishing House, 1966–69)

•Pablo Fernandez, O.P. and Jose Arcilla, S.J., ed., “The Hospital of San Gabriel of Manila,” *Philippiniana Sacra*, 9 (Sept.–Dec. 1974): 509–59

•Huang Zisheng and He Sibing, *Feilubin Huaqiao Shi* [History of the Philippine Chinese] (Guangzhou: Guangdong Gaodeng Jiaoyu Chubanshe, 1987)

•Liao Chi Yang, “Fuirippin Saha Aikoku Kakyō Soshiki no Hen-yō” [“Transformation of the Leftwing Overseas Chinese Patriotic Organizations in the Philippines,” 1918–1945], in

archives in the Philippines and abroad are beginning to be used for the study of the Philippine Chinese. Library and other sources in China are now accessible. And the Utah Genealogical Society's massive holdings in Chinese, Spanish, and English have become a major source. Research perspectives on migrant and minority populations have also changed: from those of assimilation and integration, which put the interest of national government at the center, to those of the ethnicity of "ethnic minorities"—like the migrant Chinese—themselves. This trend is reflected in some of the recent writings on the Chinese in the Philippines. Although there is still a tendency in nonacademic circles to "essentialize" the Philippine Chinese, scholarly trends stress historical change and variation, as this book does. Most recently, the history of the Chinese in some parts of the world is coming to be written as a transnational story, involving ongoing participation by Chinese migrants in both an overseas world and another world in southern China. This trend has not yet manifested itself in the Philippine case, but I look forward to future work that may appear as "The Chinese in Philippine and in Southern Chinese Life."

In some of my own recent work I have tried to fit the period 1850–1898 into broader periodizations of the full history of the Philippine Chinese. I have attempted two periodization schemes, the first of which takes the perspective of the Chinese themselves. In this version the period 1570–1750 is characterized as "the forma-

Tonan Ajia Kakyō to Chugoku: Chugoku Kizoku Ishiki Kara Kajin Ishikie [Southeast Asian Chinese and China: From China-oriented Consciousness to Ethnic Chinese Consciousness], edited by Hara Fujio (Tokyo: Institute of Developing Economies, 1993), 27–75

•Liu Zhitian, *Zhong-Fei Guanxi Shi* [History of Sino-Philippine Relations] (Taipei: Zheng Zhong Shuju, 1964)

•Nakata Mutsuko, "Fukken-sho Shinko-ken ni okeru Shi-shi no Bunsetsu Keisei to Chiiki Ido" [The Segmentary Formation and Regional Migrations of the Sy Lineage of Jinjiang County, Fujian Province], in *Shinpojiumu Kanan: Kajin no Kokyo*, edited by Kani Hiroaki et.al. (Tokyo: Keio University Area Studies Center, 1992), 36–46

•Nariko Sugaya, "The Expulsion of Non-Christian Chinese in the Mid-18th Century Philippines: Its Relevance to the Rise of Chinese Mestizos," in *The Ethnic Chinese*, edited by Teresita Ang See and Go Bon Juan (Manila: Kaisa para sa Kaunlaran, Inc., 1994), 111–19

•Oguma Makoto, "Fuirippin Kakyō to Kokyo Fukken" [The Philippine Chinese and their Ancestral district, Fujian], in *Shinpojiumu Kanan: Kajin no Kokyo* [South China Symposium: Ancestral Districts of Overseas Chinese and Ethnic Chinese Abroad], edited by Kani Hiroaki et.al. (Tokyo: Keio University Area Studies Center, 1992), 111–20

•Antonio Tan, "The Chinese Mestizos and the Formation of Filipino Nationality," in *Chinese in the Philippines*, edited by Theresa Cariño (Manila :De La Salle University, 1985); *The Chinese in the Philippines, 1898–1935: A Study of their National Awakening* (Quezon City: R.P. Garcia Press, 1972); *The Chinese in the Philippines during the Japanese Occupation, 1941–1945* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1981)

tion of Chinese society in the Philippines.” It is followed by the period 1750–1850, as “the formation of Chinese mestizo society”; 1850–1930—“the formation of political relations with China”; and 1930–present— “The Formation of the Chinese Filipinos.” The second scheme focuses on changing standards and categories of definition applied to the Chinese by the Spaniards, Americans, and Filipinos, arguing that these limited and shaped Chinese options for self-identification. Here the periods and categories are: 1570–1750—“cultural definitions”; 1750–1850—“Residential definitions”; 1850–1900— “towards national definitions”; 1900–1930— “The reality of China”; 1930–1975—“Filipino redefinitions”; and 1975–present—“citizenship definitions.” Here I attempt to address the question of whether the Chinese have ever been a part of Philippine society as a whole, arguing that in the century 1750–1850, when Chinese mestizos were in the ascendancy and Chinese were few in number, they came as close as they ever have to being a full part of the larger society. In my view the Chinese of the post-1975 era are again in that position: on the edge, not fully admitted, but with the potential that will happen. I also argue that national categories and definitions have been a major factor in keeping Chinese and Filipinos apart, beginning in the late nineteenth century.

These interpretations stress changes. But there is no denying the continuity of deeply felt attitudes on both sides. I see the Filipino-Chinese relationship as a mixed one of harmony and common action, but easily aroused attitudes of suspicion, resentment, and

•Piet van der Loon, *The Classical Theatre and Art Song of South Fukien* (Taipei: SMC Publishing Inc., 1992)

•Fidel Villaroel, O.P., ed., *Pien Cheng Chiao Chen Ch'uan Shih-Lu* [“Apologia de la Verdadera Religion”], by Juan Cobo, O.P. (1593) (Manila: University of Santo Tomas Press, 1986)

•George H. Weightman, “The Philippine Chinese Image of the Filipinos,” *Pacific Affairs* 40, nos. 3–4 (Fall–Winter, 1968): 315–23

•Edgar Wickberg, “Chinese in the Philippines, Yesterday and Today,” *Philippiniana Sacra* 27 (1992): 491–504; “Anti-Sinicism and Chinese Identity Options in the Philippines,” in *Essential Outsiders: Chinese and Jews in the Modern Transformation of Southeast Asia and Central Europe*, edited by Daniel Chirot, and Anthony Reid (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997), 153–83; “The Philippines,” in *Encyclopedia of the Chinese Overseas*, edited by Lynn Pan (Singapore: Chinese Heritage Centre, 1998), 187–99

•Wong Kwok-chu, *The Chinese in the Philippine Economy, 1898–1941* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1999)

•Yung Li Yuk-wai, *The Huaqiao Warriors: Chinese Resistance Movement in the Philippines, 1942–45* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, and Hong Kong: University of Hong Kong Press, 1995)

•Zhou Nanjing, *Feilubin Yu Huaren* [The Philippines and the Ethnic Chinese], edited by Go Bon Juan (Manila: Kaisa Para sa Kaunlaran, 1993)

contempt. These attitudes have deep roots, some of them stretching back to the early Spanish period. They are a legacy of the long-standing confrontation of ambitious migrants seeking opportunity and a chance to send remittances to relatives elsewhere and those in host societies who want to use the energies and skills of the migrants without recognizing their humanity and culture. The world of 2000 contains many examples of “diasporas” of this kind and host governments, and societies. There is, among them, a Filipino Diaspora of income-seekers and remitters. Perhaps empathy and historical reflection may help all of us to moderate deeply held feelings.

My knowledge of the continuing use and usefulness of *The Chinese in Philippine Life* has encouraged me to propose its reprinting—without change, except for the addition of this preface and the deletion of the Chinese and Japanese characters in the appendixes and bibliography. I repeat here my thanks to those—some now deceased—who aided in the original publication. I add two new statements of appreciation. One is to Chinben See and Antonio Tan, tsinoy historians of the tsinoys, taken from us much too soon. The other is to Benito Legarda, Jr. and Ateneo Press director Esther M. Pacheco for their efforts towards the republication of this book. As before, I assume full responsibility for errors and shortcomings.

Preface

One of the most fascinating and significant phenomena in the modern history of Asia has been the development of overseas Chinese communities, economically powerful, socially and culturally resistant to assimilation by their host countries, and tied in many ways to China. The existence of these communities presents the historian with the important task of identifying periods of significant change in their institutional lives and in their relations with both their host societies and their "mother country," China.

In the case of one group of overseas Chinese, those in the Philippines, the latter half of the nineteenth century was just such a transition period. For the Philippines as a whole it was a time of considerable economic and social change. Many of the most important features of Philippine economy and society in the middle of the twentieth century may be traced back to developments in that period. Indeed, it may be no exaggeration to say that the formative years of modern Philippine economy and society were those of the half century from 1850 to 1898.

The economic and social changes of those years could not but have affected the resident Chinese. Changes in China affected them too. At the end of the nineteenth century the status of the Philippine Chinese—both with respect to their host society and with respect to China—had been redefined in terms that were to remain substantially the same down to the present day. Thus, if we can speak of the late nineteenth century as a formative period in the development of contemporary Philippine economy and society, it is no less possible to find in the same period the origins of the present status of the Philippine Chinese community. The purpose of this study is to describe the economic and social position of the Chinese in the Philippines as of 1850 and to determine how it was affected by the ensuing changes of 1850–98.

The choice of 1850 and 1898 as terminal dates is mostly a matter

within the context of the almost neglected history of nineteenth-century Philippine economy and society. If it raises questions and suggests themes for further study it will have served its purpose.

There is another justification for this study: the introduction of unpublished materials from the Philippine National Archives, acquired on microfilm during 1952 and 1953, when the writer was a Fulbright scholar in the Philippines. Material from these archives has never been systematically used, whether for a study of the Philippine Chinese or for any other topic. Perhaps this volume will, in a small way, suggest the possibilities of this hitherto untapped source of information, both for studies of the Philippine Chinese under Spain's administration, and for other problems in the study of the Philippines.

The use of this Philippine archival material as a major source, while expanding the possibilities of treatment of the subject, also imposed certain limitations upon the study. Given the disorganization of the Philippine National Archives, it was not possible to be as systematic in collecting research material for this topic as one ought to be. Many questions of importance had to be left unanswered simply because of inability to locate material about them. It is to be hoped that further archival work, by the writer or others, may clear up many of the points left at issue.

A number of obligations have been incurred in preparing this book—too many to give all of them the acknowledgment they deserve. I hope those not mentioned will understand that I list here only major contributors. Former Director of Public Libraries Luis Montilla and the staff of the Philippine National Archives facilitated my use of their collection with the utmost freedom. Srta. Consuelo del Castillo of the Archivo del Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, Madrid, lent understanding and efficient assistance. For providing primary material from sources other than these two archives I am indebted to Dr. Pao Shih Tien, Principal of Chiang Kai Shek High School, Manila, to Rev. Juan Velasco, O.P., National Director of Chinese Missionaries in the Philippines, to Robert Irick, to Rev. Pablo Fernández O.P., Rev. Jean Desautels, S.J., and Rev. Jacques Amyot, S.J. For assistance in miscellaneous ways I am happy to thank Thomas R. McHale, Benito Legarda, Jr., Fernando Zóbel de Ayala, John S. Carroll, P. Y. Wu and Peter Schran. The editors of the *Journal of Southeast Asian History* and *Pacific Affairs* have kindly granted permission to use material originally published in those journals.

Joseph Levenson did more than direct the study in its original dissertation form; he played a major part in shaping my thinking about historical problems. I am especially grateful to him for that. G. William Skinner and Donn V. Hart gave generously of their time and knowledge in reading the manuscript. Because of them there are fewer embarrassing moments here than there would otherwise have been. I wish also to thank my colleague, Karl Lo, for writing the characters in the Glossary and Bibliography. Finally, a special acknowledgment is due Harry Benda for his efforts toward the publication of this volume.

Parts of this study were completed with the assistance of the Ford Foundation, the Center for Chinese Studies of the University of California, and the Social Science Research Council. I am happy to express my thanks for their support and to absolve them and the previously named individuals of responsibility for errors and shortcomings. I alone assume that.

Abbreviations used in the notes

- AMAE Archivo del Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, Madrid
- BR Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, 1493–1898
- CWHKCC *Chang Wen-hsiang-kung ch'üan-chi* (Collected Works of Chang Chih-tung)
- CSMJPKJC *Ch'u-shih Mei-jih-P'i-kuo jih-chi* (Diary of an Embassy to the United States, Spain, and Peru) by Tsui Kuo-yin, in *Hsiao-fang-hu-chai yü-ti ts'ung-ch'ao*
- IMH-AS Chinese government archives deposited at the Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, Taiwan
- LWCKCC *Li Wen-cheng-kung ch'üan-chi* (Collected Works of Li Hung-chang)
- PNA Philippine National Archives
- SCJC *San-chou jih-chi* (Diary of Three Continents) by Chang Yin-huan
- WCSL *Ch'ing-chi wai-chiao shih-liao* (Historical Materials on Foreign Relations in the Late Ch'ing Period, 1875–1911)

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PART ONE

Historical Patterns