

From 'sangley' to 'Chinaman', 'Chinese Mestizo' to 'Tsinoy': unpacking 'Chinese' identities in the Philippines at the turn of the Twentieth-Century

Richard T. Chu

To cite this article: Richard T. Chu (2021): From 'sangley' to 'Chinaman', 'Chinese Mestizo' to 'Tsinoy': unpacking 'Chinese' identities in the Philippines at the turn of the Twentieth-Century, Asian Ethnicity, DOI: [10.1080/14631369.2021.1941755](https://doi.org/10.1080/14631369.2021.1941755)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14631369.2021.1941755>



Published online: 30 Jun 2021.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



View related articles [↗](#)



View Crossmark data [↗](#)



From 'sanglely' to 'Chinaman', 'Chinese Mestizo' to 'Tsinoy': unpacking 'Chinese' identities in the Philippines at the turn of the Twentieth-Century

Richard T. Chu

Associate Professor , History Department, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, USA

ABSTRACT

This paper examines the historical antecedents of the terminologies ascribed to the Chinese in the Philippines, focusing on the late Spanish to the early American colonial periods. Many government records, newspapers, or books categorized the "Chinese" as either *sanglely*, *intsik*, Chinese *mestizo*, or "Chinese/*Chino*," in contradistinction to Christianized natives who were labeled as "Indios" and later "Filipinos." Following dominant and nationalized classifications of race, past scholarship on the Chinese in the Philippines also tended to paint the "Chinese" in the Philippines in a binarist opposition against "Filipinos." The essentialization of ethnicities has resulted in the perpetuation of a homogenized and monolithic "Chinese" identity that we see in the country today. Using government and non-government publications from the period under study, this paper seeks to demonstrate the power dynamic at particular moments in Philippine society that has led to the reification, reinvention, and reconfiguration of what it means to be "Chinese."

ARTICLE HISTORY

Received 16 April 2021

Accepted 28 May 2021

KEYWORDS

Chinese in the Philippines;
Tsinoy; mestizo; ethnicity;
race; *intsik*; colonialism

Introduction

On 24 November 2018, a prominent Filipino journalist and educator Solita Collas-Monsod wrote a piece in her regular column criticizing the political loyalty of the 'Chinese-Filipino' whom she claimed as 'never ever stat[ing] unequivocally that he/she is a Filipino first, and a Chinese second ... [and that they are] culturally averse to marrying Filipino women ... and ... are some of this country's most hated employers.'¹

Collas-Monsod's article² elicited many responses from readers, both supporting and criticizing her stance on the Chinese in the Philippines.³ A supporter, for example, wrote, 'Never, never trust the Chinese!!! Land grabbers, source of drugs, master of Idioterte!'⁴ The biggest objection of those who criticized Collas-Monsod was her conflation of new Chinese immigrants and long-term Filipino residents of Chinese descent otherwise known as 'Chinese Filipinos' or increasingly as 'Tsinoy's'. Caroline Hau, for example, argued that the 'Chinese' in the Philippines can be subdivided into 'Filipinos of Chinese ancestry who self-identify as Chinese Filipinos, Chinese nationals who hold Republic of China passports ... and People's Republic of China passports.'⁵

Collas-Monsod's piece was written in a period of increased political tension between the Philippines and China over the ownership of a group of islands located in the South China Sea (or West Philippine Sea), including those in the Scarborough Shoal.⁶ In early 2013, the Philippine government under Benigno Aquino III filed a case against the Chinese government with the United Nations court in The Hague, Netherlands. The Philippine government won its case in having the court dismiss China's 9-dash argument in claiming sovereignty over the entire area, a decision which China has chosen to ignore. Moreover, China has continued to build military-naval strips or bases in the area and sending warships.

With the election of Rodrigo Duterte in 2016, relations between the two countries have somewhat eased due to Duterte's pivot toward its East Asian neighbor. China has now overtaken Japan as having the most foreign direct investment in the Philippines, in areas such as on-line gaming and real-estate construction.⁷ The last few years have seen an increase in the number of Chinese employees and workers in the country (approximately 400,000 in 2019),⁸ and their influx has been accompanied by a rise in 'Chinese-only' establishments ranging from restaurants to grocery stores.⁹ Hence, economic reasons also led to the prevailing anti-Chinese sentiment in the country. The Philippine economy, although showing a yearly growth rate better than its Asian neighbors before the CoVid-19 pandemic, still has an economy that generally lags behind its Southeast and East Asian neighbors. For instance, its Gross Domestic Product per capita may be better than Vietnam's and Cambodia's, but its poverty rate (21.6% in 2015) is higher than most of its neighbors'. Due to the lack of domestic economic opportunities, more than ten million Filipinos (circa 2018) have left the country seeking jobs elsewhere, making the country one of the world's largest exporter of overseas-workers.

The political tension arising from territorial disputes in South China Sea; the ubiquity of Chinese nationals working in the country amidst hardships among locals; some very negative press showing offensive behavior among some of the new Chinese immigrants; the Duterte government's overt friendliness toward Beijing – all of these developments combined to lead many Filipinos to think that the Philippine government is selling-out to China, and that there is a Chinese 'invasion' of the country.¹⁰

Unfortunately, ethnic Chinese Filipinos who were born and raised in the Philippines, or whose families have been in the country for several generations, are often conflated with recent Chinese immigrants or nationals, and thus also bear the brunt of anti-Sinitic sentiments.¹¹ Such anti-Sinicism are reflected in the epithets used by different historical actors to construct the 'Other', a practice that also utilizes the various languages they speak. For Chinese Filipinos, their ability to speak English, Tagalog or another local language, Hokkien, and Mandarin allows them to be creative in inventing new terms to refer to others. For instance, in order to distinguish themselves from new immigrants, Chinese Filipinos have coined the English word 'G. I.' (i.e. 'genuine *intsik*')¹² and 'TDK' (after the popular Japanese audio-tape brand and to stand for the Hokkien word *tai-diok-ka* 大陆仔) to refer to the new immigrants.¹³ A 'TDK' is often regarded as someone not only from mainland China but also uncouth, ill-mannered, backward, or less cultured. But as the term has gained traction within the Chinese community, another word has been coined – 'CNN' (*chiaⁿ-nan-nang*¹⁴ 正咱人), a Hokkien word that literally means 'authentically one of our own' but figuratively means 'authentic Chinese'. Adapted from the popular U.S. television network, this new term allows Tsinoy to prevent those whom

they heretofore tagged as TDKs to know that they are being talked about if they happen to be within hearing distance.

A Hokkien-derived term used by the Chinese Filipinos to refer to themselves is *lán-lâng* (咱人), which literally means ‘our own people’.¹⁵ This word was created in juxtaposition to the ‘Other’: the *hoan-á* (番仔), which is a Hokkien word meaning ‘barbarian,’ and which the Chinese use to refer to Filipinos.¹⁶ On the other hand, Filipinos have used the word *intsik*, a vernacular term to refer to the Chinese. Over time, the word had assumed negative connotations.¹⁷ In an attempt to appropriate the word, an anthology of Filipino-Chinese writings was collected in the volume *Intsik*.¹⁸ Furthermore, as a response to the exclusionist bent in the use of the epithet *intsik*, a group of young civic-minded Chinese Filipinos from *Kaisa Para Sa Kaunlaran* (United in Progress) coined in 1987¹⁹ the term *Tsinoy* – a word that combines the word *Tsino* for ‘Chinese’ and *Pinoy*, a colloquial term to refer to a ‘Filipino’. As Caroline Hau has pointed out, the use of ‘*Tsinoy*’ is a clever way to place the Chinese Filipinos ‘on the same ontological ground with the “authentic” or “truly Filipino” Filipinos’, since the term implies a grafting of Chinese bodies onto Filipino bodies in a form of embeddedness that is difficult to extricate.²⁰ It is these *Tsinoy*s/*lan-langs* who have been the most vociferous in opposing the conflation of their identities with that of the *xinqiao* (new Chinese immigrants), whom they refer to as TDKs/CNNs.

That the ‘Chinese’ is treated as a separate racial group by Filipinos today has its roots in the country’s colonial past, when the Spaniards and the Americans created ethno-legal categorizations classifying different colonial subjects.²¹ What follows is a close examination of how ‘sangleys’, ‘Chinese mestizo’, and ‘intsik’ were constructed, reconfigured, or changed over time, and more precisely, from the 1880s to the early 1900s. It was during this period that great changes were happening in both the Philippines and elsewhere that brought into focus the Chinese in the country. Thus, this time period provides an abundant supply of textual sources, such as newspaper articles, government reports, and published travel accounts pertaining to the ‘Chinese’ – a few of which will be included here for a close scrutiny and the deconstruction of the different meanings of ‘Chinese’. The goal of this essay is to demonstrate how 1) these terms are better understood as lying within a shifting and changing continuum, hence rescuing the histories and identities of the Chinese from nation-based narratives that tend to reify and homogenize their ethnic identities; and 2) power relations in Philippine society operated within the specificity of each era but also exhibit continuities from the past in reifying, reinventing, and reconfiguring what it means to be ‘Chinese’.

The ‘Chinese’

Spanish colonial period

Long before the Spaniards came in the sixteenth century, the Chinese and Japanese had been trading with the inhabitants of the different islands of what is today called Philippines. Of the Chinese traders involved, few of them actually stayed. But after the Spanish government set up the Manila-Acapulco galleon trade, leading to a triangular circulation of goods between the pre-modern states of China, Japan, and Spain, the

Chinese community in Manila started to grow.²² Attracted by the available economic opportunities to be found in the Spanish colony, they came not only as traders but also as bricklayers, carpenters, barbers, bakers, etc., and consequently formed the backbone of the colonial economy.

Over time, the Spanish colonial state established ethno-legal classifications in order to regulate and control the lives of indigenous and other subjects in the colony. In the case of the ‘Chinese’, the term created was ‘sangley’ and was used for politico-civic (e.g. taxation) and religious purposes. For instance, Spanish Catholic Church records would classify a Chinese as either ‘sangley infiel’ or ‘sangley Cristiano’, that is, to distinguish between a non-Christian Chinese and Christian Chinese.

The meaning of this term has been attributed to the Chinese characters 常來 (*chang lai* in Mandarin), as found in a sixteenth-century painting of a Chinese man and woman in the Boxer Codex.²³ Above the image are not only the Chinese characters but also ‘sangley’, which is a transliteration of the characters. It has been hypothesized that the word was derived from the Hokkien word *siông lâi*, to mean ‘(one who) comes often’.²⁴ Studies have shown that most of the Chinese who went to the Philippines were from the Minnan region of the province of Fujian.²⁵ Hence, ‘sangley’ became associated with people from this region, who spoke Hokkien and lived a peripatetic lifestyle. Over time, as more and more sangleys stayed, the word came to encompass both long-term and short-term residents, and both government and especially church records would continue for a time to append the term with a religious affiliation, that is, whether ‘infiel’ or ‘Cristiano’.

After the 1760s, the Spanish government stopped classifying them according to religious affiliation and instead began to classify them in terms of residence status, that is, as *invernado* (lit. ‘wintering’ or ‘transient’) or *radicado* (resident). Moreover, in the latter part of nineteenth century, ‘Chino’ started to appear on government records. According to historian Edgar Wickberg, its usage may have arisen from Spanish attempt to appease the Chinese government by using a more official term. The use of ‘Chino’ could also reflect a trend in which, during the latter part of the nineteenth century, Spain began to view the Chinese as a national minority, not just a cultural one, and to treat them as such. But this change was not entirely a result of Spain’s increasing political and economic relations with China; it was also brought about by the increase in the number of foreigners into the Philippines. As a consequence of the increased number of Europeans and Americans living in the Philippines, especially Manila, the ‘status’ of the Chinese under the Spanish regime in the late nineteenth century became ambiguous. Sometimes, the Chinese were included in Spanish legislation toward foreigners, e.g. in the legislation that allowed foreigners to own movable property and real estate. But at other times, the Chinese were excluded, especially when it came to the matter of taxation – in which case, the Chinese ‘were considered to be, as before, no more than a cultural minority group.’²⁶

Despite the introduction of ‘Chino’ as a term to call the Chinese, the term sangley continued to be used whether in popular parlance or in official records.²⁷ More precisely, both terms were used. An example of such usage can be seen in the work of Rafael Comenge, a Spaniard sent to the Philippines in 1892 by the Liberal Party in Spain. His mission was to investigate various problems existing in the colony and to come up with recommendations. In his work *Cuestiones Filipinas*, published in 1894

and in which he tackled the ‘Chinese’ question, Comenge used ‘sangley’ and ‘chino’ interchangeably.²⁸ However, upon closer scrutiny of his text, ‘sangley’ at times was used to specifically refer to Hokkien long-term and commercial residents in the Philippines, while ‘Chino’ was used more as an overarching or general term for ‘Chinese’, or a signifier, without the historical specificity of being a ‘Chinese’ in the Philippines. This can be gleaned, for example, when he wrote that, in 1851, upon the recommendation from legislators that the Chinese were no longer considered *perniciosos* (pernicious), and noting that the ‘Chinos’ were *laboriosos y útiles* (laborious and useful), Spain’s Queen Isabel II

sent through her ministers, the Governor and Captain General of the Philippines to favor all by all possible means, immigration of the sangleyes and *Chinos laboradores* (Chinese laborers).²⁹

However, as can be seen below, ‘Chino’ can also refer to the Chinese from Fujian when compared to those from other regions.

Chinese from Macao

Back in the seventeenth century, the Hokkien Chinese in the Philippines had been increasingly from the Quanzhou region, and not Zhangzhou. Those from Zhangzhou started to move to Taiwan, Java, and other parts of the region instead.³⁰ The predominance of Quanzhou Hokkien in the nineteenth century is borne out by a study of the tombstones in the Chinese cemetery in Manila which shows that sixty percent of those buried there from the late Qing dynasty list Jinjiang county of the Quanzhou prefecture as their birthplace.³¹ During this period, migration from the Cantonese speaking region of China also reached a high, as the Spanish government adopted an export-oriented economy that resulted in more demand for farm and manual labor.³² In the early nineteenth century and for most of the century, the Pearl River Delta region of Guangdong had become a source of ‘coolie’ labor for the British, Spanish, Dutch, and other European imperial powers with colonies all over the world.³³

Those coming from Macao were classified as *Macanistas* (Macaos).³⁴ Certain types of occupations, such as cooks and shoemakers, became associated with the Cantonese.³⁵ This is clearly seen in Comenge’s book. Criticizing the existence of gambling dens in Manila which the Chinese and the locals patronized, he warned that

[v]ery soon you have such results: the servants steal in the domestic interior and flee; the *cocinero macao* (Macao cook) goes to the square and does not return, leaving the masters without food.³⁶

Comenge also pointed out that the *Macanistas*, aside from being cooks and shoemakers, were carpenters and cabinetmakers, and did not ‘like the other trades and even look[ed] down on the fabric merchants.’³⁷ Aside from making the distinction between the sangley (i.e. the Hokkiens) and Cantonese along occupational lines, Comenge noted a difference between the ‘Chinos’ and the ‘Macaos’, a differentiation that not only he himself but also the subjects of his own inquiry made. He wrote,

It is good to distinguish the *asiaticos* (Asiatics): not all are the same although they seem so from the external aspect; some are *chinos* and others are *macaos*, and these two epithets are

of great importance in the Philippines. Neither macao wants to be chino, nor chino macao.
38

In explaining this last statement, Comenge described that

[Those from Macao] are very uncomfortable if they are called ‘chinos’ and they answer with some haughtiness that they are macanistas, free men, even similar to the Spanish, friends of women, of games and of wine, rude as Persians and prodigals as the sons of usurers; while the chinos are poor, work in miserable conditions, and work to save, nothing more.³⁹

Other reasons that made themselves different from the ‘Chinos’ include the following: their ability to understand Spanish ‘due to their continuous dealings with the Portuguese’; their attire which consisted of black shorts made of a ‘shiny cloth as if it were rubber and the blouse . . . [and] almost always white’; their attributes of being industrious, submissive and brave, who were ‘the only ones . . . to hold armed quarrels with the Indians’; and their attitude of thinking very highly of their ‘Macao personality’. Furthermore, ‘the product samples in their shops always display[ed] that brand [or insignia], as a sign of pride and formality in their business.’ Although the price of their goods were as expensive as those sold by the ‘Chinos’, they were never as much as those of the ‘Peninsular’ (i.e. those from Spain). Lastly, the high cost of their work was ‘legitimized by its perfection, as they were painstaking and conscientious artists.’⁴⁰

On the other hand, the ‘Chinos’ did not like to be confused with these ‘pseudo-Portugueses’ whom they considered as racially inferior.⁴¹ Also, it can be pointed out that these ‘Chinos’, when specifically referring to the longer-term Chinese residents in the Philippines, seemed to also distance themselves from new immigrants who came as laborers. As noted earlier, Spain, in an attempt to expand the Philippine economy by exporting cash-crops, encouraged the importation of Chinese labor for farm work. Although it failed to entice the Chinese to go into agriculture, the new commercial economy in the Philippines attracted many other kinds of laborers to work in factories, warehouses, and the docks, or to become street vendors. As some were unable to secure work, hold a job, or enter legally, this situation led to the rise of the number of Chinese being arrested for failure to pay taxes, and/or lacking proper documentation to be in the country. Historian Jely Galang has noted in his work that the ‘upper-class’ Chinese, those belonging to the *principalia*, sought to help poorer members of their community, but at the same time distanced themselves in order to help preserve their good reputation and of the entire Chinese community as a whole. In 1892, Mariano de Ocampo, the *gobernadorcillo de sangleyes* (lit. ‘small governor’ of the Chinese) wrote a letter to the *Intendente General de Hacienda* (Treasurer’s Office) to be lenient toward the *desgraciados* (unfortunate individuals) within their community but also said at the time that it was justifiable to arrest them.⁴² When it suited them, upper-class Chinese, often belonging to the merchant class, could switch their identities to that of law-abiding Spanish subjects, then to loyal Qing dynasty subjects when expedient.⁴³ This flexible practice of shifting identities was a response to changes not only in Spanish Philippines but also in Qing China, which, toward the end of the nineteenth century, began to reach out to the Nanyang Chinese through efforts such as lifting the official ban on overseas travel in 1893, and referring to them as *huaqiao* (華僑) or ‘overseas Chinese’.⁴⁴ Moreover, it conferred titles or ranks to influential *huaqiaos* as a means to obtain their loyalty.⁴⁵ Hence, the combination of increasing new Chinese immigration to the Philippines, the precarity in which long-term

Chinese residents in the Philippines (sangleys or Chinos) found themselves in amidst a rising tide of anti-Chinese xenophobia, and their ambiguous socio-cultural and political position under the Spanish colonial state had made these upper-class Chinese conscious to disidentify themselves with other ‘Chinese’ (and later with Filipinos under the American colonial regime and up to the present as noted earlier) who were seen as ‘undesirables’.

Wickberg considered ‘sangleys’ derogatory.⁴⁶ How it became derogatory and to what extent it was derogatory deserves further exploration. My assumption is that in the beginning the word – used in naming institutions or positions (e.g. ‘Tribunal de sangleyes’ and ‘gobernadorcillo de sangleyes’, respectively) – did not have negative connotations, but that, depending on the historical moment (e.g. in the nineteenth-century when anti-Sinicism was on the rise in several parts of the world), the term assumed such connotations.

The misidentification of ‘sangleys’ under the U.S. colonial period

As I mentioned elsewhere, American colonization of the Philippines marked the definite disappearance of the term *sangleys* as a political-legal term.⁴⁷ When the United States colonized the Philippines in 1898, it nationalized citizenship by dividing its colonial subjects into either ‘Filipino’ or ‘non-Filipino/alien’, departing from the earlier three-way ethno-legal classificatory system of ‘sangleys-Chinese mestizo-Indio’ of the Spanish colonial period.⁴⁸ But before ‘sangleys’ disappeared from official and everyday lexicon, some non-Spanish writers used the term in their work. An examination of some of these works demonstrate how this term was misidentified. For example, the American Frederick Sawyer,⁴⁹ in 1900, wrote:

From the intercourse of Spanish and other European with the native women, there has sprung a race called Mestizo, or Mestizo-Espanol. Similarly, the Chinese, by their alliance with native women, have produced the Mestizo-Chino, or Sangleys.⁵⁰

In the same chapter, Sawyer gave this description of the *sangleys*:

In Manila, the Sangleys, as they are called by the Spaniards and natives, have a *gobernadorcillo* and tribunal of their own. In Santa Cruz they are very numerous, and amongst them are to be found jewelers, silversmiths, watchmakers, or rather repairers, sculptors, gilders and painters, besides one or two dentists of good renown.⁵¹

Santa Cruz was a district in Manila in which many Chinese mestizos resided. Hence, the ‘sangleys’ that Sawyer referred to in this instance were actually Chinese mestizos. However, he mistakenly identified them as ‘sangleys’. Another example in which confusion as to who the ‘sangleys’ was can be seen in John Foreman’s book.⁵² Foreman, a British writer who had traveled around the Philippines for several years, wrote that:

In Spanish times the Chinaman was often referred to as a *Macao* or a *Sangleys*. The former term applied to those who came from Southern China (Canton, Macao, Amoy, etc.). They were usually cooks and domestic servants. The latter signified the Northern Chinaman of the trading class. The popular term for a Chinaman in general was a *Suya*.⁵³

It bears repeating here that ‘sangleys’ had been associated with the Hokkien from the Minnan region in the province of Fujian, of which Amoy was an important city.

Therefore, Foreman made a mistake in stating that ‘Macao’ also referred to those who came from Amoy. Furthermore, Foreman referred to the sangley as ‘Northern Chinaman’, which, as we know, is inaccurate. These mistakes could have come from his unfamiliarity with Philippine society, particularly the ‘Chinese’ community, or with China’s geography. Lastly, Foreman mentioned that the Chinese were also known as ‘Suya’. ‘Suya’ in Tagalog means, as an adjective, ‘to be satiated with’. However, there is no other record of this term being used to refer to the Chinese. Did Foreman just make this up, or maybe misspelled something that he heard? James LeRoy, a contemporary of Foreman, and an American who was behind the project of collecting Spanish documents for the volume edited by Emma H. Blair and James A. Robertson entitled *The Philippine Islands 1493–1898* and a writer of two books about the Philippines,⁵⁴ reviewed and criticized Foreman’s book for providing ‘garbled versions of Philippine history and half-truths or downright inaccuracies regarding Philippines and Filipinos.’⁵⁵ So this could explain Foreman’s mistakes. However, to his credit, Foreman, unlike other foreign writers like LeRoy, recognized that the ‘Chinese’ community was not homogeneous and tried to point out the differences amongst them.⁵⁶

Thus we see how foreign observers had utilized the terms sangley, Chino, Macanista, Macao, or mestizo, conflating or misidentifying these during a time of an influx of new Chinese immigrants into the Philippines, and a transitional period when colonial rule transferred from Spain to the U.S. More than a century later, non-Chinese writers like Collas-Monsod are doing the same. The way they used these terms reflect an ignorance or misunderstanding of who constituted or constitute the ‘Chinese’.

The Chinese Mestizo

Another term cast, recast, or miscast was ‘Chinese mestizo’. In this section, I will discuss the ethnogenesis of the Chinese mestizo and how the malleability of the term became a site of contestation for colonizers and colonized subjects.

Spanish colonial period

Much has been written about the history of the Chinese mestizos in the Philippines. Edgar Wickberg’s pathbreaking work⁵⁷ on the Chinese mestizo provided not only an account of their history but also of their ethnogenesis from ‘Chinese mestizo’ to ‘Filipino’. The ‘Chinese mestizo’ category was formed after numerous intermarriages between Chinese men and local women – encouraged by both the Spanish government and Catholic Church, and for the latter as a way to increase Chinese converts in China – led to the creation of the ‘Chinese mestizo’ classification for tax purposes.⁵⁸ Hence, for three centuries Spanish colonial subjects were divided into ‘sangley’, ‘Chinese mestizo’, and ‘Indio’.⁵⁹

The Spanish empire created different castes in its system of mestizaje. While more popularly known as ‘creoles’ in Americas, in the Philippines ‘mestizo’ was used. Besides ‘mestizo de sangley’, there was the ‘mestizo de español’ (Spanish mestizo). However, so numerous were the former compared to the latter that when ‘mestizo’ was used in primary source documents without any other modifier it usually means ‘Chinese mestizo’.⁶⁰

The Chinese mestizos were viewed with disdain by Spaniards or Spanish mestizos, as reflected in the writings of Rafael Comenge, who wrote that offspring of ‘Chinos’ and ‘Indias’ (local Indian women) were ‘intelligent and light skinned’, but not physically attractive, and with some exceptions, were ‘riotous, rowdy, hypocritical, wasteful, with aristocratic desires and foolish ambitions.’⁶¹ In other words, Spaniards and Spanish mestizos looked down on the Chinese mestizos who desired to become like them. However, Comenge made an exception to the mestizos of Binondo, whom he regarded as constituting a ‘real aristocracy’ in the Philippines, and who Hispanicized their Chinese surnames and carried these with real pride.⁶² During the Propaganda Movement and, later, the revolt versus Spain, many Spaniards also saw the Chinese mestizos as the leaders of these anti-colonial efforts, and were thus suspicious of them.⁶³ The Indios, however, treated the Chinese mestizos with ‘mixed admiration’. On the one hand, they aspired to become like the wealthy and high-class Chinese mestizos, but on the other hand, despised them for their commercial practices as landlords or moneylenders.⁶⁴ It remains to be studied how Chinese viewed the Chinese mestizos. As I mentioned in another study, some Chinese fathers, especially from the mercantilist class, regarded their Chinese mestizo offspring as ‘Chinese’, and treated them differently from third- or fourth-generation Chinese mestizos, whom they regarded as having lost their Chineseness.⁶⁵

How Chinese mestizos treated or viewed the Chinese depended on their socio-economic position. The more Hispanicized (and upper-class) a Chinese mestizo was, the stronger was his anti-Chinese sentiment. On the other hand, lower-class, blue-collar, and less-Hispanicized Chinese mestizos (along with Indios) tended to view Chinese, especially from the laboring class, as economic competitors.⁶⁶

According to Wickberg, during the latter part of the nineteenth-century, ‘Chinese mestizo’ slowly became more identified with the ‘Indios’. There were a couple of factors that led to this. First, reformists like José Rizal, a Chinese mestizo, in their bid to fight for equality and political changes in the country, started to use ‘Indio’ for self-identification. Second, responding to Chinese mestizo demand to abolish the ‘tribute . . . based on ethnic considerations,’ the Spanish colonial government replaced the tribute with an industrial tax that was ‘in turn . . . replaced by the cedula, made uniformly applicable in 1894’ and broke down the legal distinction between the Chinese mestizos and the Indios by eliminating the Gremio de Mestizos and Gremio de Naturales and classifying ‘Chinese mestizos’ as ‘Indios’.⁶⁷ However, these government reforms failed.

Building on Wickberg’s work, I have argued that Chinese mestizo identities during this period, especially when dealing with first-generation or middle-class Chinese mestizos, are better understood as lying within a shifting and changing continuum, as demonstrated by the lives of some Chinese mestizos such as Mariano Limjap, Ildefonso Tambunting, and Bonifacio Limtuaco, who all maintained close ties with China or their Chinese heritage, and switched identities over time or when expedient.⁶⁸

American colonial period

When the U.S. took over the Philippines in 1898, the American colonial state sought to create citizenship along nation-based, territorialized lines. Under this system, the three-way ethno-legal classificatory system of ‘sanglely-Chinese mestizo-Indio’ of the Spanish colonial period gave way to a binarist ‘Filipinos vs. alien’ classification, in which the

'Chinese' were classified as 'aliens', and 'Chinese mestizos' could opt to become 'Filipino' or 'Chinese' upon reaching the age of majority.⁶⁹

One of the main differences between the Spanish and the U.S. empires was that American racial ideology was anti-mestizaje. Where the former tolerated or at least was ambivalent toward the mestizaje, the latter did not and aimed for anti-miscegenation.⁷⁰ In the succeeding paragraphs, I will demonstrate how U.S. racial ideology led to the confusion and recasting of (Chinese) mestizo identity during the early part of American colonization, especially when it came to defining the term legally.

Confusion

In September 1898, Major-General Elwell S. Otis declared the establishment of a military government over the Philippines. This was done in order to pave the way for U.S. control over the Islands and to contain the resistance put up by Emilio Aguinaldo's soldiers and followers, whom the U.S. government labelled as 'insurgents'. Historian Philip Ginsberg pointed out in his study that Chinese direct participation in the Filipino resistance movement against the Americans was nil or negligible.⁷¹ Basing his assessment on the testimonies given by two Chinese businessmen Carlos Palanca Tan Quien-sien and A.R. M Ongcakwe, who testified that the Chinese community was 'very friendly' towards the U.S., Ginsberg wrote that the Chinese were really more concerned about their business than patriotism to any particular nation.⁷² Ginsberg then went on to write that Otis himself must have 'confused, or lumped together, Chinese and mestizos' when the latter in his assessment of the situation reported to the U.S. Congress that '[w]ithin our military lines [the Chinese] are ardent friends of the Americans, . . . and beyond, a good many are apparently active insurgents.'⁷³ Challenging Otis' claim that there were some 'Chinese' who fought alongside Filipinos against the Americans, Ginsberg stated that:

[i]t should be kept in mind that to a non-professional or careless observer the distinction between a Chinese mestizo who lived and worked with Chinese, and a full-blooded Chinese, would not be apparent. To some, presumably, a mestizo living and working among Filipinos might still seem a Chinese.⁷⁴

To Ginsburg, then, 'Chinese mestizos' who fought against the Americans were 'Filipinos', though they might look 'Chinese' to outsiders such as Otis.

The same kind of confusion in regards to the identity of the Chinese can be seen in the application of the Chinese exclusion laws. When these laws were extended to the Philippines in 1902, the American government had to clarify amongst their officials who was 'Chinese' and who was not, and consequently whom to allow to enter the country. The War Department, in response to queries from American officials as to who was 'Chinese', 'Chinese persons', of the 'Chinese race', or 'a person of Chinese descent', declared that the exclusion laws applied:

to all persons who were directly descended from one or both parents of pure Chinese blood; and that the admixture of blood other than Chinese, when the Chinese blood predominated, would not be held to exempt persons from the operation of those laws. The definition also stated that while the question had not been passed upon judicially, if a concrete case arose in which the admixture of Chinese blood was less than half or in which the white blood

predominated, then the Department would be inclined to decide in favor of the predominant white blood.⁷⁵

But even with such a definition the laws were still subject to contestation. A foreign company in the Philippines, applying to bring in Straits-born and Baba Chinese to be employed as shroffs or cashiers, argued that the Chinese exclusion laws did not apply to their employees since they belonged to a different race, 'and are so considered by the government of the Straits Settlements, which are their home; that they are British subjects and descendants of British subjects.'⁷⁶ According to the Collector of Customs, the company further argued that:

their forefathers emigrated from China and settled in the Straits, intermarrying with Malay women for some generations, with the result that a distinct race has been formed, who are different from both the Chinese and the Malays; that of late years many of them have discarded the cue, and that few of them talk Chinese, their own language being Malay; that they are the cashiers and godown keepers of the Straits Settlements and do the greater part of the clerical work there; and furthermore, that [the] company has found it impossible to obtain suitable men [in the Philippines] to work in its cash departments.⁷⁷

W. Morgan Shuster, Collector of Customs for the Philippines, replied that the Chinese exclusion act prohibited Chinese and 'persons of Chinese descent', unless they belonged to the exempt class.⁷⁸ Thus, these Straits-born and Baba Chinese were denied entry.

On 13 May 1903, the Collector of Customs in the Philippines, in relation to the policy of registering all the 'Chinese' in the Philippines, distributed 'Chinese and Immigration Circular No. 94' to all immigration officials as a guide. Its definition of 'Chinese' closely resembled the War Department's definition:

Persons of Chinese descent are held to be: (1) Those of pure or unmixed Chinese blood; (2) those whose father or mother is of pure Chinese blood; that is, those who are descended a single degree in the genealogical scale from a person of pure Chinese blood. Therefore, the child of two parents, neither of whom is of pure or unmixed blood, is not a person of Chinese descent.⁷⁹

A few years later, at least one American official, American Consul General Amos F. Wilder from Hong Kong, found this definition to be problematic. In a letter to Assistant Secretary of State in Washington, D.C., dated 23 March 1908, he asked for a definition of 'Chinese half-caste mestizo'. He said: 'If there are interpretations and rulings on this subject, where is the available literature will I find the same? What is a "Chinese" person' and what is meant by a person of 'Chinese race' or 'Chinese descent?' Furthermore, he cited Circular No. 4 and sought clarification, stating that:

[t]his question comes up occasionally in the application of persons of mixed blood in this Colony. There are thousands of so-called Portuguese, descendants of marriages between the Spanish who came to Macao two or more centuries ago and of Chinese.⁸⁰ In many of these the admixture is very small. Are all such persons subject to the Exclusion Laws? In the case of a marriage for instant of a half-caste and a Chinese woman; are their children subject to the Exclusion Laws? To take it a step further, in the case of a marriage of two persons, neither of whom is of pure Chinese blood, are their children subject to the Exclusion Laws?

⁸¹

Wilder also referred to 'Chinese and Immigration Circular No. 51', dated 31 July 1902, and said that it ruled 'adversely' against Straits Chinese and Baba Chinese when the

U.S. government considered them ‘persons of Chinese descent’.⁸² He argued that descendants of unions ‘some generations back’ between Chinese settlers and Malay women had already – echoing the same argument given six years before by a ‘foreign company’ seeking to bring in Straits Chinese and Baba Chinese employees – ‘discarded the queue, and many [are] ignorant of the Chinese language.’⁸³ The matter was eventually brought to the attention of the Department of Commerce and Labor in Washington, which replied through Oscar Straus, Secretary of the Department, that in the U.S. there had not been a judicial ruling over the question who qualified as a ‘person of Chinese descent’. Furthermore, Straus explained that in the U.S. and in Hawaii, the policy followed had always been that if in the case of a mixed offspring from one or both parents of pure Chinese blood, ‘the admixture of blood other than Chinese, when the Chinese blood predominates,’ did not exempt the person from exclusion. Conversely, if in the case where ‘the admixture of Chinese blood is less than one-half, or in other words, in which the white blood predominates, the Department would be inclined to decide in favor of the predominant white blood.’ The Department also mentioned that in the case of the Philippines, the opinion it was giving ‘could not be regarded as directly in point but only of a suggestive character,’ for it admitted that ‘the conditions within said Islands are doubtless quite different from those encountered in the administration of the laws by this Department, and moreover, the admixture of blood is more likely to be that of Chinese with that of other peoples of Mongolian stock.’⁸⁴

On 1 August 1908, in a letter sent to the Executive Secretary of the Executive Bureau of the Philippine government, the Bureau of Customs in Manila indorsed the opinion of the Department of Commerce and Labor and explained that ‘Chinese and Immigration Circular No. 94’:

deals not with persons arriving in the Islands for the first time, but with the question of what classes of native inhabitants should be registered. The Chinese and Filipinos have inter-mixed to such an extent, and the Spanish laws upon the subject of citizenship were so vague and unsatisfactory, that it was necessary to lay down some definite rule for the purpose of determining who must register and who need not. Chinese and Immigration Circular 94 has served its purposed and the construction of the law, if it was ever different, should now be understood to be uniform with that followed in the mainland territory of the United States.⁸⁵

Unfortunately, no information can be found on what happened to the Straits-born or Baba Chinese who were seeking to enter the Philippines, but from these correspondences it is apparent that they, as the employees of the foreign company mentioned above, were considered ‘persons of Chinese descent’ and thus not given entry.⁸⁶

Conflation and distinction

While American government officials sought to clarify what and who ‘Chinese mestizos’ were, some American writers tried to explain it to their baffled or curious readers. For instance, Edwin Wildman, former vice and deputy consular general in Hong Kong, a war correspondent during the Philippine-American War, and Special Commissioner to China to China during the Boxer Revolt, wrote in a book that all Filipinos were ‘mestizos.’

Then, too, we have a mixed race, for the blood of the Filipino is strengthened by the infusion of foreign elements. We have the Spanish Mestizo, the Chinese Mestizo, the English Mestizo, and the Japanese Mestizo. This Mestizo element, for good or bad, is at least full of possibilities. Rizal was a mestizo. Arellano is a Mestizo. Buencamino is a Mestizo. Luna was a Mestizo. I could name a hundred others; leaders in the rebellion, men of wealth, ability, and education. I do not believe with the archbishop that because these boast of being 'high and might' they are entirely devoid of common sense. I do not believe that they are simply overgrown children, who, by mimicking civilization, think they have reached the utmost heights of culture . . . The cultured Filipinos, it is true, are in the minority, but the masses are not wanting in virtues.⁸⁷

Wildman gave his appraisal of the Filipinos in relation to the question whether the U.S. would succeed in civilizing them. During the early phase of American takeover of the Philippines, Chinese mestizos were regarded by Americans as a 'dangerous' element as Emilio Aguinaldo, the leader of the revolution versus Spain and then the war against the Americans, was Chinese mestizo, as well as other Filipino leaders. However, in Wildman's assessment, some Chinese mestizos like Rizal and Buencamino were testaments to the capacity of being 'cultured', and that consequently, the Filipino 'masses', would be too, though not as 'cultured'.

While during the Spanish colonial period, 'mestizo' often meant 'Chinese mestizo', during the American colonial period a number of books equated 'mestizo' with 'Spanish mestizo'. An example is William S. Bryan's *Our Islands and Their People as Seen with Camera and Pencil*. Bryan, who edited the book, wrote that

[t]he Spaniards refer to all the natives as 'Indians', without distinction as to race or tribe. All natives of mixed blood are now called 'Mestizos,' *but this term originally meant those who were of Spanish fathers and native mothers* (italics mine).⁸⁸

As can be seen here, this is in stark contrast to what Edgar Wickberg said about 'mestizos', that is, that the term generally pertained to Chinese mestizos under the Spanish colonial period. Furthermore, Bryan praised the 'better' qualities of the Spanish mestizo, particularly women.

The Mestizos, or half-breeds, constitute a large percentage of the native population, both among the Tagalogs and the Visayans. Those of Spanish fathers, however, constitute a distinct class from those who have Chinese fathers. The former are usually far more intelligent and enterprising than the natives, and many of them are to be found among the leading merchants and professional men of Manila and other cities of the Archipelago. These men are usually large and handsome, and associate on terms of equality with the Spaniards. Among the Mestizo girls of Spanish fathers there are many who possess a wonderful beauty. They are lithe and graceful in form and figure, with soft olive complexion, scarlet lips and teeth white as pearls; long, waving, jet-black hair, and dark, languishing eyes that glow in the subdued passions of the tropics. Many of these girls have been highly educated in the convents, *and possess a culture and refinement of manner equal to that of the best American and European society* (italics mine). They have a natural talent for music, which they inherit from their native mothers, and there are few amateurs in any country who can surpass them in this elegant accomplishment.⁸⁹

Below are two photos from Bryan's book showing Spanish mestizas. See [Figures 1 and 2](#). Bryan also contrasted between 'Spanish-Mestizos' and 'Chinese-Mestizos'.



GROUP OF THE BETTER CLASS OF FILIPINO WOMEN, SUBURBS OF MANILA.
The two women standing second and third on the right of the group are Mestizos, and their more agreeable cast of countenance is inherited from their Spanish father. The Malay predominates in the others, and shows plainly in the rather unpleasant scowl of their faces.

Figure 1. ‘Group of the Better Class of Women, Suburbs of Manila. The two women standing second and third on the right of the group are Mestizos, and their more agreeable cast of countenance is inherited from their Spanish father. The Malay predominates in the others, and shows plainly in the rather unpleasant scowl of their faces.’⁹⁰

Social distinction is so much a part of woman’s life that we find even these poor people divided into castes and classes, each associating with its own kind and entirely distinct from the others. The Mestizos, for instance, whose fathers are Spaniards, move in the best circles of society, and are honored and respected by all. But the Mestizos who have Chinese fathers, even though they be wealthy, are regarded with aversion, *and are compelled by force of circumstances to associate with their father’s people* (italics mine). The women of this class have the Chinese cast of countenance, and usually adopt the dress and customs of that race. They are unattractive in person and manner, and possess no social standing whatever outside of their own class. They receive no recognition either from the Spaniards or the native Tagalogs. The Chino-Mestizo [sic] men have grown wealthy as traders and merchants, but they are universally regarded as tricky and do not possess the confidence of the public. They have the mongrel stamp of countenance, and are full of intrigue and low cunning.⁹²

Apart from contrasting the Spanish mestizo and the Chinese mestizo, Bryan claimed that Chinese mestizos were hated by ‘educated Filipinos’, who, as a result, favored the Americans.

The better classes of natives despise them as cordially as they hate the Spaniards, and the fact that they almost universally sided with Aguinaldo and his party explains why the educated Filipinos in Manila and the other cities were generally favorable to the Americans.⁹³

Amidst the situation in which Aguinaldo and his forces continued to resist the American invaders writers such as Bryan must have felt it important to ‘win’ the hearts of the Filipinos by scapegoating the Chinese mestizos. Below are some more images from the book about the mestizo.⁹⁴(See [Figures 3-7](#))



THREE MESTIZO SISTERS.
 These three young ladies are daughters of a wealthy Spanish planter and a high-caste
 Tagalog mother. They represent the best element on the island of Luzon.

Original from
 CORNELL UNIVERSITY

Figure 2. Three Mestizo Sisters. These three young ladies are daughters of a wealthy Spanish planter and a high-caste Tagalog mother. They represent the best element on the island of Luzon.⁹¹

The disappearance of the Chinese Mestizo identity in the Twentieth Century

The reason for the inclusion of the Spanish mestizo in our discussion of the Chinese mestizo is to show how the shift of the term ‘mestizo’ (or its contemporary colloquial counterpart ‘tiso’y’) from a term that referred to the Chinese mestizo to mestizos of Caucasian blood was a result of American attempts to extol racial ‘whiteness’ and to alienate the Chinese further from Filipinos. In *Chinese and Chinese Mestizos of Manila*, I argued that the combination of U.S. citizenship laws based on an anti-Chinese racist ideology, and Chinese and Filipino nationalisms helped reduce the number of or discouraged intermarriages between the ‘Chinese’ and ‘Filipinos’.¹⁰⁰ This led to the ‘disappearance’ of the use of ‘mestizo’ to refer to ‘Chinese mestizo’, and instead used to refer to someone with mixed ‘Spanish-Filipino’ or ‘Caucasian-Filipino’ heritage,



Figure 3. 'A Mestizo Merchant'⁹⁵



CHINO-MESTIZO GIRL, MANILA.

Figure 4. 'Chino-Mestizo Girl, Manila.'⁹⁶

a practice that is observed today.¹⁰¹ A Filipino who, physiognomy-wise, looks 'Chinese' (especially one who is fair-skinned and has eyes with an epicanthic fold) is referred to in Tagalog as *tsinito*, that is, a 'small Chinese' or 'like a Chinese'. Rarely does one hear the person being referred to as 'mestizo' or 'tisoy'. Amongst the Chinese Filipinos, he/she would be called *chhut-si-á*¹⁰² (出世子), a Hokkien term that has negative undertones.¹⁰³

With the invention of the term *Tsinoy*, which Kaisa has defined as a 'Chinese who is Filipino or a Filipino who is Chinese,'¹⁰⁴ both 'Chinese mestizos' (i.e. those of mixed Chinese-Filipino ancestry even after several generations such as Corazon Cojuangco Aquino or national hero José Rizal) and 'pure' Chinese who identify primarily as Filipinos (i.e. Chinese Filipinos) are subsumed under this term. In the first sense, 'Tsinoy' can be regarded as the contemporary equivalent of the 'Chinese mestizo' from Spanish colonial times, although its usage is nonlegal.

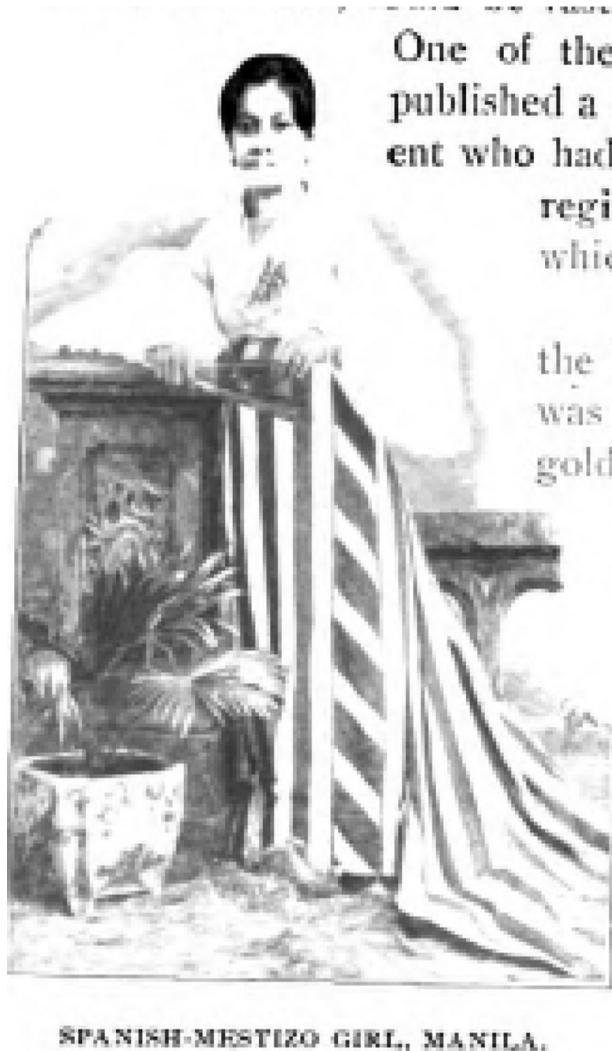


Figure 5. 'Spanish-Mestiza Girl, Manila.'⁹⁷

Intsik or insic

'Intsik' (引叔; 'ensic' in Malaysia) is the term still used by Filipinos to refer to the Chinese today. This word came from the Minnan word *in-chek*, which means 'his uncle'.¹⁰⁵ The earliest reference I found of this word in the Philippines is in the nineteenth-century *Manual del Cabeza de Barangay*, that is, a manual for the heads of *barangays* (the smallest administrative district) in Manila, written in 1874 by Rafael Moreno y Diez.¹⁰⁶ Interestingly, the manual, written both in Spanish and Tagalog, used different terms for the 'Chinese'. In the Spanish translation, the words 'Chino' and 'sangley' were used, while in the Tagalog version or translation, it was '*inchic*'.¹⁰⁷

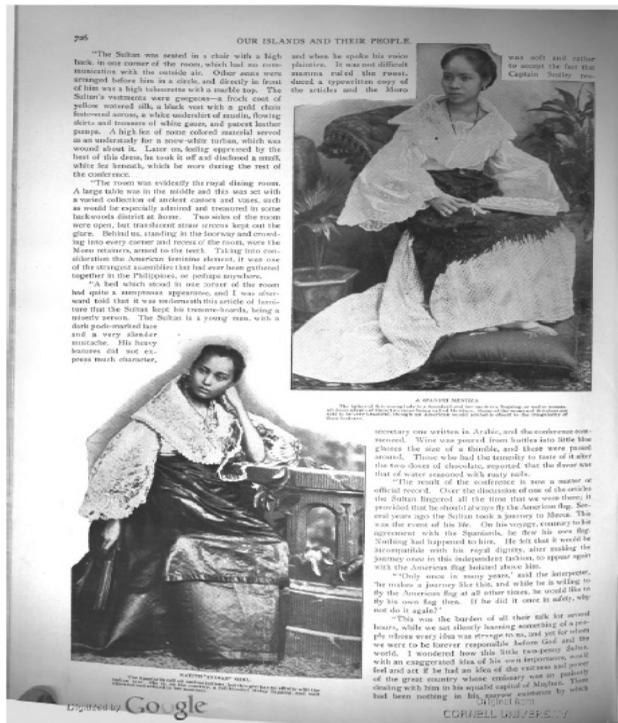
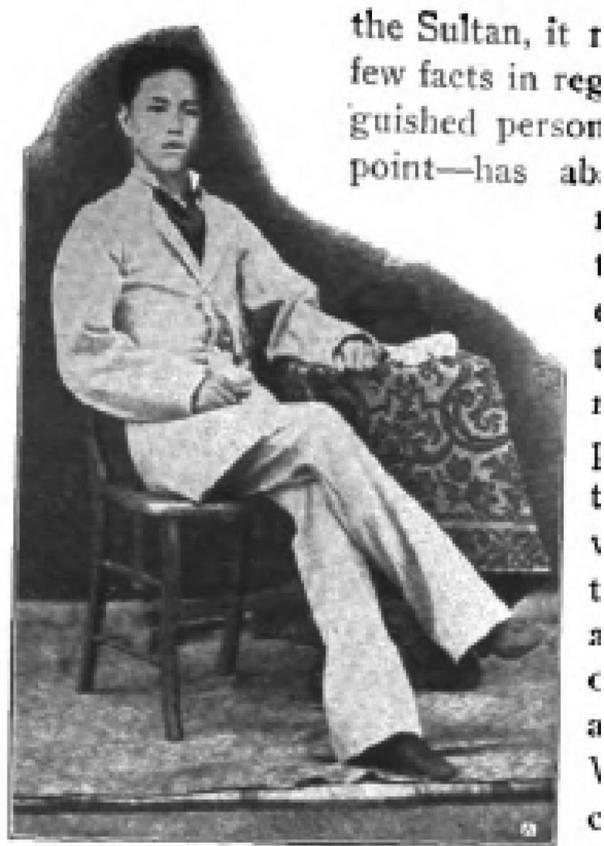


Figure 6. Upper right hand: 'A Spanish-Mestiza Girl. The father of this young lady is a Spaniard and her mother a Tagalog, or native woman, all descendants of the two races being called Mestizos. Some of the women of this class are said to be very beautiful, though an American would probably object to the irregularity of their features.'⁹⁸

Was the word derogatory? There was an anti-Chinese sentiment in the latter part of the nineteenth century as seen in the number of periodicals or writings in Spanish that expressed anti-Sinicism.¹⁰⁸ However, these represented Spanish colonists' views.¹⁰⁹ My hypothesis is that in the 1880s, a time when a 'national' consciousness is being formed by reformists and later on revolutionaries, both in the Philippines and in China, the *insic* (as spelled in earlier sources) was starting to be racialized, either by themselves or by 'Filipinos', as a discrete entity (although the Chinese would use a different term for themselves). During the early American colonial period, Filipino nationalistic sentiments were naturally running high after a long period of armed conflict between the Filipinos and the Americans. For one sector of the Philippines, specifically that of Tagalog laborers and their leaders in and around Manila, the *insic* (sometimes spelled 'insik'), at least those who were laborers, were unwelcome.¹¹⁰

On 29 April 1902, the U.S. Congress extended the Chinese Exclusion Act in the United States and also approved its application in Hawaii and the Philippines. In the days, weeks, and months before and even after the implementation of the act in March 1903, newspapers from both the United States and the Philippines published articles debating the pros and cons of extending this act to the colonies. In the bilingual newspaper *El Renacimiento*, the Tagalog version carried a number of articles that dealt with the *insic*.



A MESTIZO MERCHANT OF MANILA.

Figure 7. 'A Mestizo Merchant of Manila.'⁹⁹

Most talked about the political issue surrounding the 'Chinaman question', that is, whether to exclude them or not. In particular, these issues covered the 'meetings' of the Union Obrera Democratica (UOD), the first labor federation in the country.¹¹¹ In the January and February meetings, noted labor union leaders spoke out against the immigration of the *insik*. Among those who spoke were Lope K. Santos, Pascual Poblete, Severino Reyes, Estevan Reyes, and Manuel Artigas. The meeting was well-attended. Thunderous applause and boisterous cheers punctuated passionate speeches that supported the move by the U.S. Congress to prohibit Chinese immigration into the Philippines. Santos talked about sending a telegram to the U.S. stating that '*insik ay walang nasasabing napakinabang ang Filpinas mula pa ng tulutan ng pamunuang kastila ang dito'y pagpasok nila*' ('the entry of the *insik* ever since the Spaniards allowed them entry did not bring any benefit to the Philippines').¹¹² At the end of his speech, the crowd shouted:

Isigaw nating ayaw tayo sa insik . . . Ayaw kami sa insik!!!

Let's shout that we do not want the insik . . . We don't want the insik.¹¹³

The speakers pointed out that other Filipinos and Americans who supported Chinese immigration did not understand the implication and consequences of allowing them in, especially on how these would impact Filipino laborers. According to the newspapers, labor leader Modesto Santiago spoke against:

. . . the bad habit of certain women because of their acceptance of those not of their blood [i.e., the Chinese]; and as they say, this is one of the biggest things that should be remembered and that we should fear for in the coming of the insik, because the Filipinos in the future will know less and less of their identity.¹¹⁴

The article went on to say that one of the speakers, Dominador Gomez, pointed out an important issue the federation faced, which was, that Filipino women continued to patronize goods from Chinese stores. He was quoted as saying:

If language as a weapon is what we men are using to oppose the coming of the insik, [for] you women [it] is to withhold your love. The enthusiasm of your spirit hopefully is not just momentary; and that the moment you step out of this Theater, you do not proceed to the store of the insik, because what you buy there is not life-giving food, but poison.

Due to the rise in the consciousness of Filipino laborers in the Philippines of their rights and nationalistic fervor, as well as influence from anti-Sinicism in other parts of the world, the *intsik* in the Philippines increasingly acquired a negative connotation, that is, as a race that not only provided economic competition to Filipino laborers, but also enticed their women to patronize their stores. In time, the word would become part of a popular ditty with a line that went *intsik viejo tulo laway* ('old Chinese drooling'), and could have possibly further ingrained in the minds of the Filipinos that the Chinese were 'undesirables'.

Use of insic in other regions

In her forthcoming book on the Chinese in Baguio city, historian Anavic Bagamaspad points out¹¹⁵ that people in the city in earlier times made a distinction between 'the Macao and the *Intsik* and there was a connotation that the Macao was a different kind of Chinese, probably a better Chinese.'¹¹⁶

The Fukienese were referred to as *intsik* by the natives as differentiated from the Macao or Cantonese. Later, the term *intsik* became a generalized term to refer to all Chinese in Baguio by the native of Baguio.¹¹⁷

In creating Baguio as the 'summer capital' of the country, the American colonial government hired many Chinese to build the roads up the mountains. Northern Luzon as a region is an interesting site to study in terms of how the Chinese were/are perceived there.¹¹⁸ Their histories are very different. It has been said that Limahong's men fled to the northern province of Pangasinan where they intermarried with local indigenous women.¹¹⁹ Other scholars might be encouraged to examine the lexicon or terminology Filipinos from that region used to refer to the Chinese. For instance, my mother, who was born in Camiling, Tarlac (which is another northern province) mentioned to me that

they used the word *kap-i-se* [跟他說], which is a Hokkien word to mean ‘to talk to him’, and derived from the Spanish ‘cabeza’ (‘headman’), when referring to a Chinese community leader of their region. The use of *kap-i-se* reflected the role that Chinese community leaders held as the liaison between their community members and the government, and to whom one approached when in need of help.

Conclusion

In 2017, a big shipment of drugs called *shabu*, worth P6.4-billion and weighing 604 kilos, was found in two warehouses in a city north of Manila. This shipment came from China, and a hearing was called by the Philippine Senate to investigate who allowed this shipment to pass through the Customs Bureau. One of those summoned in the hearings was Neil Estrella, who was the Bureau’s Director of Intelligence and Investigation Service.¹²⁰ At some point in the hearing, Senator Dick Gordon asked Neil Estrella: ‘You’re half-Chinese, aren’t you?’ Gordon was asking Estrella because he saw Estrella using a Chinese interpreter to talk to Richard Tan, the Chinese national whose company received the *shabu* shipment from China, and in whose company’s warehouse the shipment was found. Estrella seemed stupefied at the question and looked at Gordon quizzingly. And the latter repeated his question: ‘You’re half-Chinese, aren’t you?’

Estrella: Not ‘half’ your Honor, but my mother’s surname is Lim.

Gordon: Lim. You speak Chinese, right?

Estrella: No, your Honor.

Gordon (appearing surprised): You don’t?

Estrella: I don’t, your Honor.

Gordon: Are you sure?

Estrella: Yes, your Honor.

Gordon: We’ll find out about that later.

Estrella: Yes, your Honor.

Gordon: You can understand Chinese.

Estrella: No, your Honor. Just some few words, and a few lines, your Honor.

Gordon: All right. What, Hokkien or Mandarin?

Estrella: I studied Mandarin level 1 & level 2, but I think I miserably forget everything, your Honor.

Gordon: Or conveniently forget everything. Not miserably, conveniently.

Estrella: No, your Honor. *Hindo po talaga ako nakikipag-usap ng Chinese kahit kanino* [I don’t really speak Chinese to anyone] your Honor, I just try to memorize some words.

What this interrogation demonstrates is that Gordon, knowing that Estrella is part Chinese, thinks that Estrella should be able to communicate with Richard Tan in Mandarin, when in fact most Tsinoyos like Estrella can hardly speak Mandarin, except for a few. As I mentioned above, being able to speak Chinese, whether Hokkien or Mandarin (or both), is something that some Chinese Filipinos could deploy to their advantage, which is not lost to non-Chinese like Gordon. To a Filipino like Gordon, language is only one of the many things that Estrella shares in common with Richard Tan. This whole smuggling incident may raise the suspicion among many Filipinos that Tsinoyos like Estrella connive with Chinese nationals like Tan in various illicit operations in the country since they, being all ‘Chinese’, or even ‘half-Chinese’, speak, think, and behave the same way; and, just like Collas-Monsod contended, are politically disloyal to the Philippines.¹²¹

This essay examined the way some non-Chinese subjects ‘Othered’ the ‘Chinese’ in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Philippines, to demonstrate some resonances with anti-Chinese xenophobia occurring in the country today. During times of socio-economic or political crises, these non-Chinese engaged in racial discourses that essentialized and reified their identities. The ‘sangleys’, ‘Chinos laboradores’, ‘intsik’, or ‘Chinamen’ were seen as part of a ‘la invasion amarillos’ (yellow invasion) or ‘la avalancha amarilla’ (yellow avalanche) going on in the Philippines and other parts of the world, and threatening the economic livelihood of the locals, as seen in Filipino labor unions demanding the exclusion of the intsik.¹²² Other reasons for increased anti-Sinitic sentiments in the Philippines include 1) perceived and felt threat to the status quo, that is, Spanish and American distrust and fear of the Chinese mestizos; 2) American racist ideology that regarded Chinese as part of an inferior and dangerous race; and 3) China’s potential menace to western hegemonic rule in the region. However, in their descriptions, depictions, and constructions of who the ‘Chinese’ was, non-Chinese inexorably misrepresent or mis-identify the Chinese. Moreover, as it was in the past and is also true in the present, the ‘Chinese’ themselves have participated in the construction and reconstruction of their own – and that of others’ – identities.

Notes

1. Collas-Monsod, “Why Filipinos Distrust China.”
2. Collas-Monsod is not the only contemporary popular Filipino writer who has written against the Chinese in the Philippines. F. Sionil Jose, a Philippine National Artist awardee, also has been largely criticized for his anti-Chinese writings. See Jose, “Can We Still Trust America,”; and “Chinese Connection.”
3. In this essay, I will be referring to ethnic Chinese in the Philippines as ‘Chinese Filipinos’ without the hyphen, as opposed to ‘Chinese-Filipino’ which I regard as an adjective (e.g. Chinese-Filipino newspaper). ‘Chinese Filipinos’ are Filipinos who still claim ‘Chinese’ lineage and heritage. Unofficial estimates place the number of Chinese Filipinos as consisting of 1.5% of the total Philippine population.
4. Brent Condura’s comment on Collas-Monsod, ‘Why Filipinos Distrust China.’ ‘Idioterte’ is a combination of ‘idiot’ and ‘Duterte’, a word used by critics of the president.
5. Hau, ‘Why I Distrust Solita Monsod’s “Why Filipinos Distrust China”.’ See also See, ‘Dear Mareng Winnie,’ Chu, ‘On Being Chinese Filipino,’ and Pimentel, ‘Solita Monsod’s Racist Rant.’

6. These islands are being claimed by five countries; namely, China, Philippines, Vietnam, Malaysia, and Brunei.
7. However, many of the projects have either been scrapped or delayed. See Venzon, 'Duterte Struggles.'
8. See Venzon, "Duterte Under the Gun."
9. See 'DTI Calls for Suspension.' Moreover, prior to the CoVid-19 pandemic and lockdown, the Chinese have become the largest group of foreign tourists visiting the country.
10. Robles, "Chinese Workers "Flood" the Philippines."
11. See Ang See and Ang See, "The Rise of China."
12. Chinese Filipinos, who grew up or live outside of Manila's Chinatown Binondo, have also been known to refer to anyone fluent in Hokkien, living in Binondo, and dressing and behaving like more 'traditional' Chinese and less 'westernized', as 'G. I.'
13. Hau, *The Chinese Question*, 13.
14. The 'n' and the 'l' in Hokkien are sometimes interchangeable, so that 咱人 among Hokkien speakers can sometimes be pronounced as 'Nan-nang', 'Lan-nang', or 'Lan-lang'.
15. The Chinese in the Philippines has been predominantly from the Minnan region of the southern Chinese province Fujian, hence, the predominance of Hokkien terms.
16. Chu, *Chinese and Chinese Mestizos*, 3.
17. An offshoot of Intsik called 'Chekwa' has been used to refer to the Chinese in a derogatory way, although this term seems to be slowly out of use. It has also been reclaimed by a Chinese Filipino named Kitty Go in her blog, referring to herself as 'Chekwa' and using the same term to apply to the Chinese community in the Philippines. See Hau, *Chinese Question*, 24, 49.
18. Hau, *Intsik: An Anthology of Chinese-Filipino Writing*. Charlson Ong writes, 'Chinese Filipinos should take to *Intsik* in the manner that Afro-Americans and other Negroes now call themselves Blacks and Rizal and his gang chose to name themselves Indios Bravos.' See Ong, "Introduction: A Bridge Too Far," xiv.
19. This was a year after the People Power movement, when many young Chinese Filipinos participated in the movement that ousted the dictator Ferdinand Marcos.
20. Hau, *Necessary Fictions*, 140.
21. Chu, *Chinese and Chinese Mestizos*. See also Wickberg, "The Chinese Mestizo in Philippine History."
22. In this triangular trade, Manila was the nexus in which Chinese, Japanese, and other Asian goods were traded for Mexican silver. See Tremml-Werner, *Spain, China, and Japan in Manila*. For more information regarding the history of the Chinese in the Philippines during the Spanish colonial era, see, for example, Wickberg, *Chinese in Philippine Life*; and Felix, *The Chinese in the Philippines* Vol. 1 and Vol. 2.
23. Boxer, *South China in the Sixteenth Century*, 261.
24. In Henning Klöter's work, the Hokkien used in the seventeenth century was a conglomeration of the different Southern Min dialects, as the Chinese who came to the Philippines could either be from Xiamen, Zhangzhou, Quanzhou, and Chaoshan. He calls this patois 'Early Manila Hokkien', or EMH. See Klöter, *The Language of the Sangleys*, 152–172.
25. Niping Yan in a paper demonstrated that the words 'Guangdong' are inscribed in the fan of the male Chinese found in the portrait. See Yan, 'Sangleys and the Boxer Codex.' In highlighting this, she argues that not enough studies have been made to show the connection between Guangdong and Manila. Email communication, 24 June 2020.
26. Wickberg, *Chinese in Philippine Life*, 157.
27. *Ibid.*, 155. Also, as I pointed out in my work, the Catholic Church continued to use it in their records till the turn of the twentieth century. Chu, *Chinese and Chinese Mestizos*, 73.
28. Comenge y Dalmau, *Cuestiones Filipinas*. It must be noted that in Comenge's work, the word 'Chino' was not written as 'Chino', with a capital 'c'. For this essay, I will be using the word as found in the records.
29. *Ibid.*, 258.

30. Historian Lucille Chia reveals in her study of Spanish records and family genealogies that prior to the seventeenth century, majority of the Hokkien Chinese who came to Manila originated from Zhangzhou, a county closer to Amoy (now Xiamen). After the seventeenth century, Zhangzhou Hokkiens started to emigrate more to Taiwan and Java, as conditions in the Philippines during the two decades after the 1690s discouraged emigration to this country while these two places, along with other parts of the region provided viable economic alternatives. See Chia, "The Butcher, the Baker."
31. See Go, "Guanyu quan Fei ge di Feiqiao yishan mubei."
32. It was estimated that the Cantonese made up 10% of the total Chinese population. Wickberg, *Chinese in Philippine Life*, 177.
33. Kuhn, *Chinese Among Others*, 107–152.
34. Wickberg, *Chinese in Philippine Life*, 22.
35. *Ibid.*, 111.
36. Comenge, *Cuestiones*, 172–3.
37. *Ibid.*, 48.
38. *Ibid.* Note that for terms referring to different ethnic groups are normally capitalized except when quoted directly from source material.
39. *Ibid.*, 48–49.
40. *Ibid.*, 49.
41. *Ibid.*
42. Galang, "Vagrants and Outcasts," 171. Galang also points out that 'it was unscrupulous Chinese from the merchant class' who usually were also engaged in 'illicit' or 'illegal' behavior such as the 'use of fake passports, and fraudulent *capitaciones personales*, and *contribuciones industriales*.' See Galang, "Vagrants and Outcasts," 199–200. Another scholar writes that those in the 'upper-class' or 'mercantilist' class also had 'bad eggs' within their class, as many of them were also involved in piracy or smuggling. See Wilson, *Ambition and Identity*, 34.
43. Andrew Wilson describes this behavior of the elites to switch loyalties or play with their 'Chinese' identities as 'liminal virtuosity'. See Wilson, *Ambition and Identity*, 9, 17. For more information on how Chinese merchant families engaged in flexible practices, see Chu, *Chinese and Chinese Mestizos*, 91–403.
44. The term *qiao* (橋) in 'huaqiao' is also a play on the similar sounding term *qiao* (橋) for 'bridge'. This homonym connotes that the *huaqiaos* play (that of a bridge-builder) and points to their connections to China.
45. For more information on how the Chinese government 'courted' the 'overseas Chinese' in the Philippines, see Tan, *The Chinese in the Philippines*, 109–137. The nationalistic rhetoric of China's leaders and thinkers was aided by the treatment that the 'overseas' Chinese themselves received in the countries where they migrated. Anti-Chinese policies in countries such as the United States, Canada, or Australia increased the sense of oneness among 'overseas' Chinese, including those in the Philippines, so that the 'mistreatment, humiliation, and oppression, real or imagined, of Chinese [outside of China] appeared as a provocative factor to draw Chinese at home and abroad to each other, and cause them to recognize and feel themselves one nationality.' See Tan, *Chinese in the Philippines*, 7.
46. Wickberg, *Chinese in Philippine Life*, 155.
47. Chu, *Chinese and Chinese Mestizos*, 5.
48. It should be noted that under the Maura Reform of 1893, an attempt was made to eliminate the Gremio de Mestizos and Gremio de Naturales and replaced by a single local government, and thus doing away with the distinctions between mestizos and Indios. See Chu, *Chinese and Chinese Mestizos*, 252. However, the reforms were not carried out successfully, despite the fact that certain Chinese mestizos were beginning to identify as 'Indios' in order to 'secure greater opportunities and be able legally to assume leadership roles in the civic institutions of the expanded majority population.' See Doeppers, "Tracing the Decline," 86.
49. He sought to publish his own 'expert' opinion on the Philippines. He felt impelled to publish his work because 'no [other] English book does justice to the natives of the Philippines.' His

- credibility lays in the fact that he had lived in Luzon for fourteen years, and was fluent in Spanish and, to some degree, in Tagalog, and had traveled widely around the archipelago. Sawyer, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines*, v.
50. Sawyer, *Inhabitants of the Philippines*, 292.
 51. *Ibid.*, 294.
 52. Foreman's publications were often cited or quoted when it came to the topic of the Philippines. Foreman, *The Philippine Islands*. Citations refer to the Filipiniana edition.
 53. Foreman, *The Philippine Islands*, 118.
 54. Cano, "LeRoy's *The Americans in the Philippines*," 4.
 55. Le Roy, "Review of *The Philippine Islands*," 388.
 56. Le Roy, *Philippine Life in Town and Country*, 18–20, 41, 53–55, and 62. Citations refer to the Filipiniana edition.
 57. Wickberg, "The Chinese Mestizo,"; and *Chinese in Philippine Life*.
 58. I will not go into detail here on the history as this can be found in Wickberg's and other scholars' work. Aside from Wickberg, see Chu, *Chinese and Chinese Mestizos*, 239–279, "The Chinese Mestizo," 25–27.
 59. Peninsular and insular Spaniards, including Spanish mestizos, were not required to pay taxes.
 60. By around 1810, there were approximately 120,000 Chinese mestizos, or five percent of the total Philippine population of about 2,500,000. In the last half of the nineteenth century, the Chinese mestizo population was around 150,000 to 300,000, out of a mean population of 5,500,000. Wickberg, "Chinese Mestizo," 63, 73–79. In 1898, a writer, estimating the population of Manila according to different ethnic groups, wrote that Spanish mestizos numbered around 12,000, out of a total of 300,000, with the 'natives', composed of chiefly Tagals at 200,000; Chinese mestizos 50,000; Chinese 40,000; Spaniards 5,000; and Europeans and Americans 400. See Hamm, *Manila and the Philippines*, 40. Sawyer, citing from an 'anonymous author of a pamphlet called "Filipinas" (Madrid, 1891),' mentioned that the number of Spanish Mestizos in the Archipelago, in 1890, was 75,000, while the number of Chinese mestizos was 'at no less than half a million.' Sawyer, *Inhabitants*, 292.
 61. Comenge, *Cuestiones*, 212–213.
 62. Comenge, *Cuestiones*, 212.
 63. Wickberg, "Chinese Mestizo," 96.
 64. *Ibid.*, 87.
 65. Chu, *Chinese and Chinese Mestizos*, 258–259.
 66. Wickberg, *Chinese in Philippines Life*, 148.
 67. Wickberg, "Chinese Mestizo," 95. Gremios, or guilds, were quasi-administrative units created by the Spaniards to govern different ethnic groups.
 68. Chu, *Chinese and Chinese Mestizos*, 244–279.
 69. *Ibid.*, 304–305.
 70. Up until 1967, in the United States sixteen states still prohibited the intermarriage of two individuals from different races. See Cott, *Public Vows*, 4.
 71. Other scholars have pointed out that though the 'Chinese' in the Philippines did not participate directly in the fighting against the Americans, some of them participated indirectly, such as donating money or items in kind. See Ang See and Juan, "The Ethnic Chinese in the Philippine Revolution, 143–147.
 72. Carlos Palanca Tan Quien-sien, for example, testified that 'As soon as everything is settled there will be more work and (Chinese businessmen) will be able to get more (coolies).' See Ginsberg, "The Chinese in the Philippine Revolution, 148–149.
 73. Quoted in Ginsberg, 149.
 74. *Ibid.*, 149.
 75. *Official Gazette*, 301–303.

76. Circular No. 51, 52. 'Straits Chinese' was a term used for English-educated Chinese of British Malaya and Singapore, as opposed to *peranakan* used by the Malay-speaking population. See Clark and Pietsch, *Indonesia-Malaysia Relations*, 145.
77. Circular No. 51, 52.
78. Circular No. 51. The date of the publication of this circular is 31 July 1902.
79. Circular No. 94. The last sentence 'the child of two parents, neither of whom is of pure or unmixed blood, is not a person of Chinese descent' seems to adhere to Carlos Palanca Tan Quien-sien's definition of who was 'Chinese mestizo'. See U.S. Philippine Commission, *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 224.
80. One of my aunts, the wife of my paternal second uncle, was of Portuguese-Chinese lineage. Her father was 'Portuguese', but she kept this fact hidden from her own children until a few years before she died in 2015.
81. RG 0350 Bureau of Insular Affairs, File 370-194.
82. See Circular No. 198, 52-53.
83. See note 81 above.
84. RG 0350 Bureau of Insular Affairs, 1 August 1908, File 370-199.
85. *Ibid.*, 208.
86. In the metropole, the lack of 'clear-cut, consistent definitions about racial classifications' also led to contestations between local bureaucrats or officials on the one hand, and individuals of mixed race on the other. See, for example, the case of Rafael Lopez De Onate in Baldoz, *The Third Asiatic Invasion*, 1-10.
87. Wildman, *Aguinaldo: A Narrative of Filipino Ambitions*, 369.
88. Bryan, *Our Islands and Their People*, 563-4.
89. *Ibid.*, 570. As an empire, Spain was depicted by the U.S. as depraved, but its people in more favorable terms. How did Americans explain the dichotomy of an empire they criticized and the 'race' (white) they identified with? Was there a conflation between American and Spanish people as 'white'? For the racial discourse on American mestizos (and comparing it with the discourse on Spanish mestizos), see Molnar, *American Mestizos*.
90. Bryan, *Our Islands and Their People*, 551.
91. *Ibid.*, 572.
92. *Ibid.*, 604.
93. *Ibid.*, 604.
94. For other books contrasting the Spanish and Chinese mestizos, see Halstead, *The Story of the Philippines*, and Sawyer, *The Inhabitants*.
95. *Ibid.*, 652.
96. *Ibid.*, 700.
97. *Ibid.*, 700.
98. *Ibid.*, 726.
99. *Ibid.*, 714.
100. Chu, *Chinese and Chinese Mestizos*, 315-336.
101. This does not mean however that Chinese and Filipinos stopped having children together, but that these children were a product of consensual, instead of formal, unions. See Chu, *Chinese and Chinese Mestizos*, 335.
102. The earliest reference to this word can be found in Yang, *Feilubin huaqiao nianjian*.
103. Chu, *Chinese and Chinese Mestizos*, 395.
104. Chu, "Rethinking the Chinese Mestizo of the Philippines," 46; and Wickberg, "Anti-Sinicism and Chinese Identity," 177.
105. The term is also used in Indonesia, as 'encik' or 'cik' but does not have the same derogatory connotation as 'intsik' in the Philippines or the term 'orang cina' used in the former. See Hau, *Intsik*, 301-302.
106. Absent documentary evidence available to me, the term could have been created much earlier.

107. Moreno y Diez, *Manual del Cabeza de barangay*, 29. Depending on the sources, the word is spelled differently. Today's spelling which uses 'ts' in 'intsik' is meant to reflect the way the Filipino language transliterates or spells out the 'ch' sound as in 'Chinese', hence, 'China' is 'Tsina' and 'intsik' is spelled the way it is pronounced. Other spellings of the word will be used only when quoting from direct sources.
108. Comenge y Dalmau, *Cuestiones*. Which period this term assumed derogatory connotations is subject to further study. During the American period, the term was used in a ditty with the phrase '*intsik viejo, tulo laway*', to mean 'Old Chinese drooling'. See Hau, *Intsik*, 301.
109. It is not within the scope of this paper to examine the Tagalog newspapers that came out during the Spanish colonial period, including *Diariong Tagalog*, which was the first bilingual newspaper and established in 1882 in Manila. For a history of local newspapers published in the Philippines during the Spanish colonial period, see Cano, 'Filipino Press between Two Empires,' 401.
110. 'Insik' or 'insic' was also used to refer to people of China, as seen in 'Ang Pagparito ng Insik.'
111. The Union Obrera Democratica was the umbrella organization formed in February 1902 by Isabelo delos Reyes, print union leader Herminigildo Cruz, Dominador Gomez, and Lope K. Santos. The federation 'brought together more than 85 unions' in the country. See 'A history of trade unionism in the Philippines.'
112. "'Ang Meeting" sa Teatro "Nacional".'
113. The meeting also pointed out the opposition of the federation versus *immigracion negro* ('Negro' immigration), which led to the sudden black-out of the convention site. It was revealed that one of the attendees was a 'negro' married to a Filipino woman, who got upset by the opposition to 'negro' immigration. The leaders had to explain to him that they were not against 'negroes', but only their immigration, pointing out that they appreciated the solidarity expressed by black Americans to their cause.
114. I want to thank Joi Barrios in assisting me in the translation.
115. Bagamaspad, *Baguio Chinese*.
116. Ibid.
117. Ibid.
118. The same could be said about Mindanao and other parts of the Philippines outside of Manila, such as Iloilo and Cebu which had significant Chinese populations.
119. Limahong was a Chinese pirate who threatened to take over the Philippines from Spain in 1574, but was thwarted by the Spanish and native forces.
120. "Senate Resumes Hearing."
121. How contemporary legal regimes misuse or misappropriate 'Chinese' can be the subject of further research.
122. This 'yellow peril' also included the Japanese.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

Notes on contributor

Richard T. Chu is Five College Associate Professor of History Department at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst. His main research focuses on the history of the Chinese diaspora in the Philippines and centering on themes of ethnicity, race, gender, empire, and nationalism. He is author of *Chinese and Chinese Mestizos of Manila: Family, Identity, and Culture 1860s to 1930s* (Brill, 2010) and *Chinese Merchants of Binondo in the Nineteenth Century* (University of Santo Tomas, 2010); and editor and co-editor of *More Tsinoy Than We Admit: Chinese-Filipino Interactions Over the Centuries* (Vibal Foundation, 2015) and *More Tomboy, More Bakla Than We Admit: Insights into Sexual and Gender Diversity in Philippine Culture, History, and Politics* (Vibal Foundation, 2021),

respectively.

Bibliography

- “‘Ang Meeting’ Sa Teatro ‘Nacional’: Mga Talumpati: Ayaw Kami Sa Insik!!! – Isang Telegrama – Kapaslangan Nang Isang Negro [The “Meeting” at the “National” Theater. The Speeches: We Do Not Want the Chinese! – A Telegram – The Insolence of A Negro].” *El Renacimiento*, February 3, 1903.
- “Ang Pagparito Ng Insik. Bagong Kautusan Ng Aduana [The Coming of the Chinese. New Customs Policy].” *El Renacimiento*, August 20, 1903.
- Ang See, T., and G. B. Juan. “The Ethnic Chinese in the Philippine Revolution.” In *More Tsinoy than We Admit: Chinese-Filipino Interactions over the Centuries*, edited by R. T. Chu, 133–171. Quezon City: Vibal Foundation, Inc., 2015.
- Ang See, T. “Dear Mareng Winnie: Tsinoy are Deeply Rooted in Philippine Soil.” *Esquire Philippines*, December 2, 2018. <https://www.esquiremag.ph/politics/opinion/tsinoys-deeply-rooted-in-philippine-soil-a2268-20181202-lfrm>.
- Ang See, T., and C. Ang See. “The Rise of China, New Immigrants and Changing Policies on Chinese Overseas.” *Southeast Asian Affairs* (2019): 275–294.
- Bagamaspad, A. *Baguio Chinese*. Baguio City: University the Philippine Cordillera Studies Center, forthcoming.
- Baldoz, R. *The Third Asiatic Invasion: Empire and Migration in Filipino America, 1898–1946*. New York: New York University Press, 2011.
- Boxer, C. R., ed. *South China in the Sixteenth Century: Being the Narratives of Galeote Pereira, Gaspar Da Cruz, Martín De Rada, 1550–1575: Works/issued by the Hakluyt Society, Ser. 2*, 106. London: The Hakluyt Society, 1953.
- Bryan, W. S., ed. *Our Islands and Their People as Seen with Camera and Pencil. 2 Vols*. New York: N.D. Thompson Pub. Co., 1899.
- Cano, G. “Filipino Press between Two Empires: *El Renacimiento*, a Newspaper with Too Much Alma Filipina.” *Southeast Asian Studies* 49, no. 3 (December, 2011): 395–430.
- Cano, G. “LeRoy’s the Americans in the Philippines and the History of Spanish Rule in the Philippines.” *Philippine Studies: Historical & Ethnographic Viewpoints* 61, no. 1 (2013): 3–44. doi:10.1353/phs.2013.0004.
- Chia, L. “The Butcher, the Baker, and the Carpenter: Chinese Sojourners in the Spanish Philippines and Their Impact on Southern Fujian (Sixteenth-eighteenth Centuries.” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 49, no. 4 (2006): 509–534. doi:10.1163/156852006779048435.
- Chu, R. T. “Rethinking the Chinese Mestizos of the Philippines.” In *Beyond China: Migrating Identities*, edited by Y. Shen and P. Edwards, 44–74. Canberra: Centre for the Study of the Chinese Southern Diaspora, The Australian National University, 2002.
- Chu, R. T. *Chinese and Chinese Mestizos: Family, Identity, and Culture 1860s–1930s*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010.
- Chu, R. T. “The Chinese Mestizo.” In *Figures of Modernity in Southeast Asia*, edited by J. Barker, E. Harms, and J. Lingquist, 25–27. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2014.
- Chu, R. T. “On Being Chinese Filipino (With ‘Filipino’ First).” *Esquire Philippines*, November 27, 2018. <https://www.esquiremag.ph/politics/opinion/chinese-filipino-opinion-a2260-20181127>.
- Clark, M., and J. Pietsch. *Indonesia-Malaysia Relations: Cultural Heritage, Politics and Labour Migration*. London and New York: Routledge, 2014.
- Collas-Monsod, S. “Why Filipinos Distrust China.” *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, November 24, 2018. <https://opinion.inquirer.net/117681/why-filipinos-distrust-china>.
- Comenge y Dalmau, R. *Cuestiones Filipinas (estudio social y político). 1a. parte. Los Chinos*. Manila: Tipolitografía de Chofré y compa, 1894.

- Cott, N. F. *Public Vows: A History of Marriage and the Nation*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000.
- Doeppers, D. "Tracing the Decline of the Mestizo Categories in Philippine Life in the Late 19th Century." *Philippine Quarterly of Culture & Society* 22 (1994): 80–89.
- "DTI Calls for Suspension of Alleged Chinese-only Food Park in Las Piñas." *CNN Philippines*, May 9, 2019. <https://cnnphilippines.com/news/2019/5/9/DTI-calls-suspension-Chinese-only-food-park.html>.
- Felix, A., Jr., ed. *The Chinese in the Philippines: 1570–1770. Vol. 1*. Manila: Solidaridad Publishing House, 1966.
- Felix, A., Jr., ed. *The Chinese in the Philippines: 1770–1898. Vol. 2*. Manila: Solidaridad Publishing House, 1969.
- Foreman, J. *The Philippine Islands: A Political, Geographical, Ethnographical, Social and Commercial History of the Philippine Archipelago Embracing the Whole Period of Spanish Rule, with an Account of the Succeeding American Insular Government*. New York: C. Scribner's sons, 1906. Reprinted. Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1980.
- Galang, J. A. "Vagrants and Outcasts: Chinese Labouring Classes, Criminality, and the State in the Philippines." PhD diss., Murdoch University, 2019.
- Ginsberg, P. "The Chinese in the Philippine Revolution." *Asian Studies* 8, no. 1 (1970): 143–150.
- Go, B. J. "Guanyu Quan Fei Ge Di Feiqiao Yishan Mubei: Jiguan Ji Xingshi De Tongji Baogao 關於全菲各地華僑義山墓碑：籍貫及姓氏的統計報告 [About the Tombstones in the Chinese Cemeteries in the Whole of the Philippines: Report on Statistics and Names]." *World News*, January 29, 1995.
- Halstead, M. *The Story of the Philippines, the El Dorado of the Orient*. New York: Western W. Wilson, 1898.
- Hamm, M. A. *Manila and the Philippines*. London and New York: F. Tennyson Neely, 1898.
- Hau, C. S. *Intsik: An Anthology of Chinese-Filipino Writing*. Pasig City: Anvil Publishing, Inc., 2000.
- Hau, C. S. *Necessary Fictions: Philippine Literature and the Nation, 1946–1980*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2000.
- Hau, C. S. *The Chinese Question: Ethnicity, Nation, and Region in and beyond the Philippines*. Singapore: National University of Singapore Press, 2014.
- Hau, C. S. "Why I Distrust Solita Monsod's 'Why Filipinos Distrust China'." *Esquire Philippines*, November 27, 2018. <https://www.esquiremag.ph/politics/opinion/caroline-hau-winnie-monsod-a2262-20181128-lfrm>.
- "A History of Trade Unionism in the Philippines." *International Communist Current*, March 10, 2014. <https://en.internationalism.org/internationalreview/201403/9534/history-trade-unionism-philippines>.
- Jose, F. S. "Can We Still Trust America." *Philippine Star*, January 19, 2019. <https://www.philstar.com/opinion/2019/01/19/1886335/can-we-still-trust-america>.
- Jose, F. S. "Chinese Connection." *Philippine Star*, August 26, 2019. <https://www.philstar.com/opinion/2019/08/26/1946367/chinese-connection>.
- Klöter, H. *The Language of the Sangleys: A Chinese Vernacular in Missionary Sources of the Seventeenth Century*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2011.
- Kuhn, P. A. *Chinese among Others: Emigration in Modern Times*. Plymouth, UK: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2008.
- Le Roy, J. A. *Philippine Life in Town and Country*. New York, London: G.P. Putnam's sons, 1905. Reprinted with a foreword by E. D. Hester. Manila: Filipiniana Guild, 1968.
- Le Roy, J. A. "Review of *The Philippine Islands: A Political, Geographical, Ethnographical, Social and Commercial History of the Philippine Archipelago Embracing the Whole Period of Spanish Rule, with an Account of the Succeeding American Insular Government*." *The American Historical Review* 12, no. 2 (January, 1907): 388–391.
- Molnar, N. T. *American Mestizos, the Philippines, and the Malleability of Race: 1898–1961*. Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 2017.

- Moreno y Diez, R. *Manual del Cabeza de barangay, en castellano y en tagalog*. Manila: Imprenta “Amigos del Pais”, 1874.
- Ong, C. “Introduction: A Bridge Too Far, Thoughts on Chinese Filipino Writing.” In *Intsik; an Anthology of Chinese Filipino Writing*, edited by C. S. Hau, ix–xv. Pasig: Anvil Publishing, Inc., 2000.
- Pimentel, B. “Solita Monsod’s Racist Rant.” *Inquirer.net*, November 29, 2018. <https://usa.inquirer.net/17072/solita-monsods-racist-rant>.
- Robles, R. “Chinese Workers ‘Flood’ the Philippines, yet Duterte’s Officials ‘Don’t Know How Many There Are.’” *South China Morning Post*, December 22, 2018. <https://www.scmp.com/week-asia/economics/article/2178749/chinese-workers-flood-philippines-yet-dutertes-officials-dont>.
- Sanciano y Goson, G. *El Progreso de Filipinas. Estudios Economicos, Administrativos y Politicos. Parte Economico*. Madrid: Vda. De J. M. Perez, 1881.
- Sawyer, F. H. *The Inhabitants of the Philippines*. New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1900.
- “Senate Resumes Hearing on P6.4-B Shabu Shipment from China.” *ABS-CBN News*, August 9, 2017. <https://www.facebook.com/absbnNEWS/videos/10155402316130168>.
- Tan, A. *The Chinese in the Philippines, 1898–1935: A Study of Their National Awakening*. Quezon City, Philippines: Garcia Publishing Co, 1972.
- Tremml-Werner, B. *Spain, China, and Japan in Manila, 1571–1644*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2015.
- U.S. Philippine Commission. *Report of the Philippine Commission to the President*. Vol. 4. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1899–1901.
- Venzon, C. “Duterte Struggles to Sell His China Pivot at Home.” *Nikkei Asian Review*, October 9, 2019. <https://asia.nikkei.com/Spotlight/Cover-Story/Duterte-struggles-to-sell-his-China-pivot-at-home>.
- Venzon, C. “Duterte under the Gun over Chinese Influx into Philippines.” *Nikkei Asian Review*, March 5, 2019. <https://asia.nikkei.com/Spotlight/Asia-Insight/Duterte-under-the-gun-over-Chinese-influx-into-Philippines>.
- Wickberg, E. B. “The Chinese Mestizo in Philippine History.” *Journal of Southeast Asian History* 5, no. 1, March (1964): 62–100. doi:10.1017/S0217781100002222.
- Wickberg, E. B. *The Chinese in Philippine Life*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2000).
- Wickberg, E. B. “Anti-Sinicism and Chinese Identity Option in the Philippines.” In *Essential Outsiders: Chinese and Jews in the Modern Transformation of Southeast Asia and Central Europe*, edited by D. Chirot and A. Reid, 153–183. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1997.
- Wildman, E. *Aguinaldo: A Narrative of Filipino Ambitions*. Boston: Lothrop Publishing Company, 1901.
- Wilson, A. *Ambition and Identity: Chinese Merchant Elites in Colonial Manila, 1880–1916*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2004.
- Yan, N. “Sangleys and the Boxer Codex: Unequal Presence and the Making of a Spanish Manuscript in the 1590s.” Paper presented at the International Conference on “The State of Scholarship on the Chinese in the Philippines: Problems, Perspectives, and Possibilities”, Miriam College, Quezon City, Philippines, January 11, 2020.
- Yang, J. *Feilubin Huaqiao Nianjian* 菲律賓華僑年鑒 [Philippine Overseas Chinese Yearbook]. Manila: Huaqiao Nianjian She, 1935.