

Destination, selection and turnover among Chinese migrants to Philippine cities in the nineteenth century

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An investigation of large numbers of individual Chinese immigrants in nineteenth-century Philippine cities reveals that the flow of migrants was strongly biased by river basin and rural marketing system of origin in China and by emergent regional economy (sugar versus non-sugar) in the Philippines. The revealed patterns tend to confirm Skinner's formulations on the nature of functional regions in pre-modern China. Most of the immigrants were males, and many were sojourners who planned to return to China both periodically and on retirement. This characteristic led to the maintenance of highly localized chains of migration over long periods of time and also to high rates of turnover within local Chinese communities in the Philippines. Turnover was highest among recent arrivals and lowest among business license holders and longer-term local residents in general.

An important body of scholarship has emerged since 1950 concerning the economic and cultural adaptation of various overseas Chinese communities in south-east Asia. This literature includes statistical studies of the fluctuating flows of migrants to various regions in south-east Asia and back to China.^[1] But despite the importance of the subject, for this was one of the great migrations of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, little has yet appeared that establishes the migration behavior of a body of representative individuals. At the same time, the study of migration from northern Europe to the United States has taken important strides through the use of disaggregated data and through careful attention to demographic, social and economic, and locality (as opposed to country or province of origin) characteristics as these may influence the decision to relocate. The present essay seeks to apply these new methods to the study of Chinese migration to the Philippines.

The database used here has been laboriously assembled from the *Padrones de Chinos*, the official annual registers of Chinese paying the head tax and receiving the required *cedula*, or certificate of registration. Though one could wish for greater occupational detail, the internal consistency of the registers from year to year indicates considerable care in their compilation. The Chinese head tax was, after all, a major source of revenue. This corpus is supplemented by a few surviving registers of arrivals and departures for the port of Manila and by collections of business licenses—all conserved in the Philippine National Archives. The use of the *padrones*, in aggregate, was pioneered in the valuable work of Edgar Wickberg, but this essay is the first to provide conclusions based

on a careful scrutiny of evidence on a large number of anonymous individuals. Despite considerable effort, the resultant database is not as comprehensive as that for some parts of Europe, because no source is known to me that could be used systematically to study a large sample of migrants from the perspective of their home communities.^[2]

The study finds that the flow of Chinese immigrants to particular Philippine destinations was strongly biased by county and by river valley and rural marketing system of origin in China and that this remained true over the whole course of the nineteenth century. Most of the immigrants were males, and many were sojourners who planned to return to China periodically, if they could, and certainly on retirement. This characteristic led to the maintenance of highly specific chains of migration over long periods of time and also to high rates of turnover within local Chinese communities in the Philippines. Not surprisingly, turnover was highest among recent arrivals and employees and lowest among business license holders and longer-term local residents in general.

Background

Although Chinese have visited the Philippines regularly for most of the present millennium, or longer, and have been residing in the archipelago since at least the sixteenth century, the present Philippine Chinese population dates mainly from the period since the middle nineteenth century. This is because most Chinese were expelled from the archipelago during the 1750s and 1760s as a result of their activities during the brief British-Sepoy occupation of the Manila region and of anti-Chinese attitudes long held by the Spanish colonialists. As late as 1840 there were only 6,000 Chinese in the Philippines, mostly restricted to the Manila area. Thereafter, as part of an explicit program to increase government revenues by fostering commercial development, the colonial government dropped many of its immigration restrictions. Chinese returned to the Philippines in mounting numbers, not to participate in the old trans-Pacific galleon trade of Chinese goods for Mexican silver, for that trade was now dead, but to seek livelihood and profit in the continuing transformation of Philippine regional economies as these were linked to the burgeoning paleotechnic industrial complex in north-western Europe and North America. As detailed in Wickberg's *The Chinese in Philippine Life, 1850–1898*, a growing number came to organize and staff a commercial network that collected agricultural commodities for export and foodstuffs for sale within the archipelago. The same network was used to distribute imported textiles, hardware, and other goods mass-produced in the industrializing countries, especially in Britain. Recently, geographically nuanced investigations of Philippine social and economic history have revealed major regions, for example southern Luzon, where the Chinese penetrated but did not dominate an import distribution and export trade already well developed by Spaniards and Americans (Fig. 1). In this region, the Chinese position in bulking and exporting commodities was achieved considerably after their thorough establishment in retail trade. In other regions and trades, such as in the development of the *abaca* (Manilla hemp) trade in Leyte and Samar, Chinese predominated from the first. In either situation, the growing integration of the Philippine provinces into archipelagic and world markets stimulated a modest process of urbanization and by the late nineteenth century had resulted in the establishment of permanent, though often diminutive, central

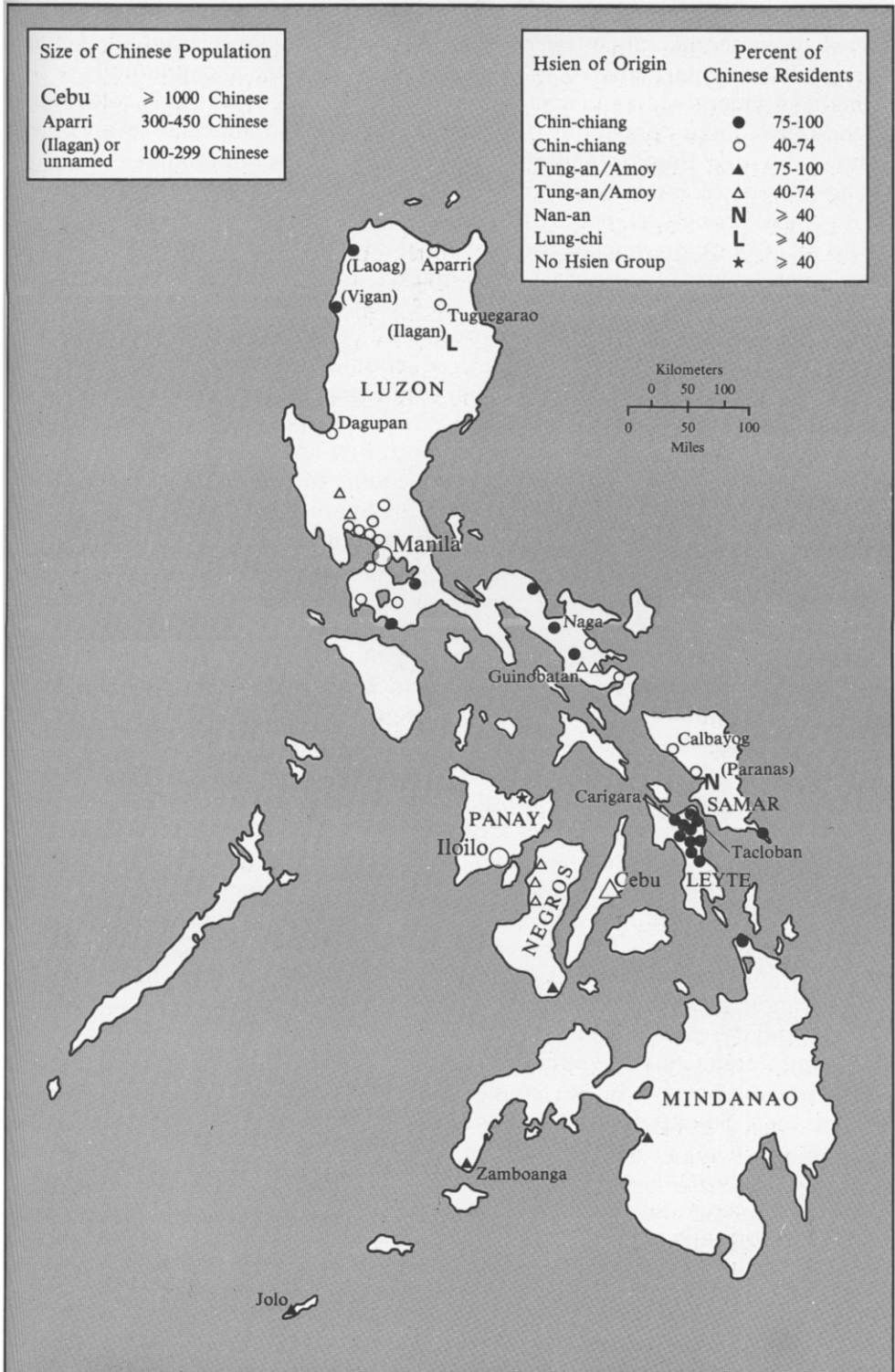


Figure 1. Chinese in Philippine cities and towns by principal hsien of origin.

commercial areas in virtually all urban centers. The principal residents of these central commercial areas were Chinese.^[3] From these centers Chinese immigrants also participated in periodic rural markets and gradually set up permanent general stores in small municipal seats and other likely settlements. By the 1890s, there were about 100,000 Chinese in the archipelago as a whole as compared with a Filipino and mestizo population of seven million.

The system of commercial centers which emerged during the nineteenth century was strongly shaped by the pre-existing hierarchy of national, regional (Iloilo and Cebu), provincial, and municipal administrative towns.^[4] There were some exceptions: for example, the market town of Dagupan completely overshadowed Lingayen, the capital of Pangasinan, and another provincial capital, Albay, together with its new outport, Legaspi, lagged somewhat behind Ginobatan, a major center of *abaca* production and of elite residence. But for the most part the quickening network of commercial towns followed the existing administrative hierarchy. After all, most provincial capitals enjoyed advantageous sites, both for water transportation and for ease of access to the rest of the province. Also, for ninety years ending in 1844, provincial trade had been heavily concentrated in the hands of the Spanish provincial governors. As the new economy quickened, the growth in number and size of commercial centers tended to be greatest in areas of notable cash crop production and commercial opportunity.

Although two major regional port cities exported their products directly after 1855, Manila functioned as the capstone of the system and the principal headlink to commercial and administrative networks abroad. It handled the lion's share of goods imported to the archipelago and, consequently, much of the wholesale distribution of manufactured items. One measure of its relative economic importance is that it attracted the largest number of immigrants. In 1894, at least 20,750 Chinese registered in that city and paid the mandatory capitation tax. Wickberg believes that this may understate the number actually working in Manila. The total would have fluctuated from year to year depending on the state of the economy in the Philippines and in the south China source areas, on changes in the cost of passage, and on other variables such as government regulations and peace and order. Iloilo and Cebu, the two regional port-cities in the Western and Central Visayas, respectively, each had more than 1,000 Chinese residents. Another ten cities and towns had between 300 and 450 Chinese and at least 39 others registered between 100 and 299.^[5]

The registered Chinese community in each case was almost entirely composed of males, there being only one female per 122 males in Manila in 1894 (far more skewed than Singapore at the same time) and one per 1,060 males in an aggregation of 20 provincial centers. Barely 3% of the males were officially recognized as being married, which means that they were also Catholics married in a religious ceremony. Far more had left families in China, and probably more than 3% informally cohabited with a Filipina wife, though crowded shophouse conditions would have made such arrangements difficult for Chinese employees in the larger cities. In addition to being overwhelmingly composed of males, Chinese immigrant society in the Philippines was also comparatively young—even after a half century of considerable immigration. In fact many Philippine Chinese were sojourners who passed major segments of their occupational careers overseas, but expected to return to China at some point. Many did return. Thus, 60% of the registered Chinese male population of

Manila in 1894 was aged 20–35 inclusive compared with only 42% of the equivalent male population of Peking in 1917.^[6]

Patterns of origin and destination in the Chinese migrational system

Chinese immigrants to the Philippines were drawn consistently from a remarkably small region. More than 90% of the Philippine Chinese in the 1890s were from the Hokkien language area centered on the modern port of Amoy and the former Sung Dynasty port of Ch'uan-chou (Chin-chiang hsien) just to the north. Both cities are within the central coastal region of Fukien province known in G. W. Skinner's terminology as the Chang-Ch'uan (or Zhangquan in Pinyin) Regional Economic System (Fig. 2).^[7] The overwhelming majority were from the most accessible coastal hsien (counties, or municipalities), primarily those located in the administrative prefecture of Ch'uan-chou and in the immediate hinterland of the city of the same name. In Skinner's view, this hinterland was a "greater-city trading system"—an integrated hierarchy of periodic and permanent markets centered on the walled city of Ch'uan-chou and more or less effectively bounded by the peaks and ridges that mark off the drainage basin of the river entering the South China Sea near that city. Only a small number of immigrants to the Philippines came from hsien located in the mountainous interior of this system or from Fukien hsien located outside the larger Chang-Ch'uan region.

In 1894, Cantonese made up 9.5% of the Manila Chinese community, and seldom reached even that level in the 51 largest Chinese communities in the Philippine provinces.^[8] Because the Hokkien were everywhere predominant, the Philippines avoided some of the violent strife between Chinese cultural-linguistic groups that characterized the struggle for lucrative opium contracts in Bangkok and other major cities in south-east Asia. One reason the stream of migrants did not become more diverse is that the pre-existing stream did not warrant the establishment of regular steamer routes to Manila from Foochow and Swatow. Despite this Hokkien prominence, passengers bound for the Philippines in the late nineteenth century made up only about 13% of those embarking at Amoy, where regular steamship traffic then connected the Chang-Ch'uan region with Singapore, Hong Kong, and Taiwan in addition to Manila.^[9]

Migrations usually involve a feedback process of some historical continuity, and the movement of Hokkien Chinese to the Philippines conforms to this expectation. When disaggregated, the flow turns out to have been composed, in part at least, of numerous small highly localized streams of migrants from one set of local and family networks in China to particular localities and/or kinds of opportunities in the Philippines. This produced great continuity in the place of origin profile of the Chinese communities in various Philippine localities—a continuity that survived substantial change in the geography of port traffic in south China. In 1822, 93% of the registered Chinese in Manila came from just four hsien in central Fukien (Amoy and Quemoy then being subordinate parts of Tung-an hsien). More than seventy years later and with the Cantonese now taken into account, the same four hsien still accounted for 87.5% of Manila's Chinese community (Table 1). During this same period, the overseas trade activity of the Hokkien region, which had been handled by five ports, ended up highly concentrated in Amoy in a pattern of major port emergence and minor port decline that was widely replicated along the inhabited coasts of the world.

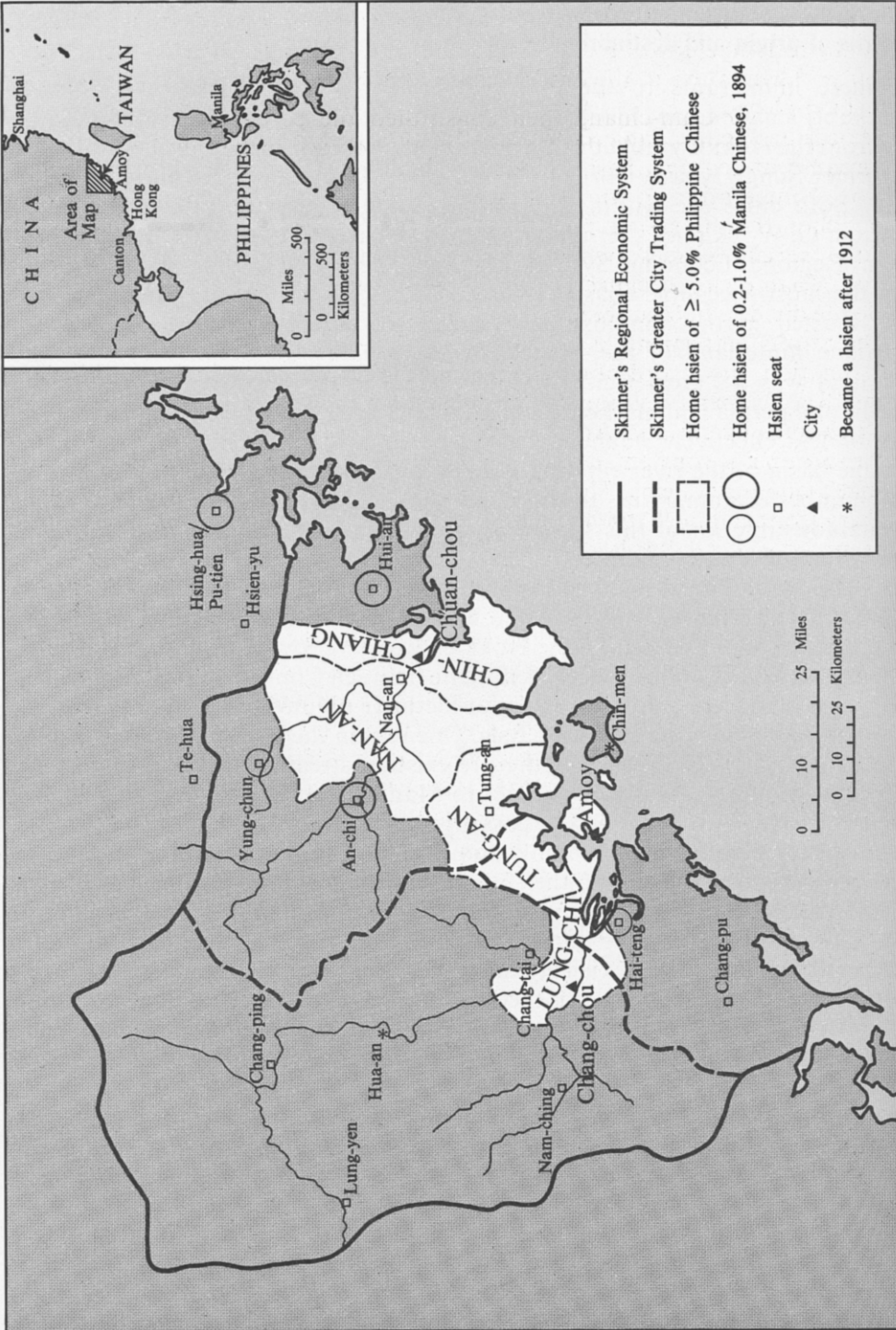


Figure 2. Source areas of Hokkien migration to the Philippines.

The flow of immigrants to the Philippines in the 1890s from Chin-chiang and Lung-chi, which contained the ports of Ch'uan-chou and Chang-chou, respectively, and from Tung-an and Hai-teng, which each contained minor ports of the same names, represents a continuation of emigration patterns established before the rechannelling of foreign trade and travel through the deep water port of Amoy.^[10] Migration to the Philippines continued to flow from the vicinity of all of these places.

The data arrayed in Table 1 also provide a test that confirms Skinner's belief that urban-centered river basins tended to form important units of commercial and social integration in nineteenth-century China.^[11] The representation of Ch'uan-chou trading system men in the Manila Chinese community increased over the seven decades, while those from the other river basin in the Chang-Ch'uan region declined sharply (Tung-an is problematical because it lies astride the divide). In fact, the Chang-chou men were increasingly going to Java and the Straits Settlements via Singapore. While confirming one sub-regional approximation, the record of changing migration behavior offers no particular support for Skinner's division of the other basin into two parts centered on Chang-chou/Lung-chi and Amoy, respectively. The emigration data strongly support Skinner's constant distinction between cores and peripheries within regional economic systems. The general lack of representation from the interior periphery (for example, An-chi and Yung-chun hsien) provides a case in point.

The process of feedback resulting in the sorting of emigrants bound for various destinations is also evident in the smaller Philippine communities. The aggregate profile for 50 provincial centers is similar to that for Manila with the exception of the flow from Tung-an/Amoy (Table 1). When examined individually, however, a great many localities are seen to have attracted a set of migrants whose origins were more localized than the aggregate or exhibited a quite different mix. In 19 centers, immigrants from Chin-chiang hsien comprised at least three-quarters, in many places more than 90%, of the entire Chinese community (Table 2 and Fig. 1). Surely it was not an accident that few persons from places other than Chin-chiang learned of, or at least were able to take advantage of, opportunities in Tacloban or the other towns in the then rich Leyte *abaca* (Manila hemp) region. Immigrants from Nan-an were often found as a secondary concentration in provincial centers where Chin-chiang migrants formed the largest group, for example, in Samar, southern Luzon, and near Manila. Paranas in Samar was a rare instance of the Nan-an men slightly outnumbering those from Chin-chiang.^[12] Immigrants from these two adjacent hsien are found concentrated in the same provincial towns with such regularity that there would appear little room for entertaining doubt about the social integration of the two hsien. Of the few migrants from the upriver hsien of this greater city trading system (An-chi and Yung-chun) two-thirds of those who ventured beyond Manila settled in Iloilo, which also had the largest numerical concentrations of Nan-an and Chin-chiang men outside Manila. There is abundant evidence, therefore, that immigrants from places within the Ch'uan-chou trading system tended to settle together, that is if the Chin-chiang men left room for the others.

In the late nineteenth century, immigrants from Tung-an/Amoy and a smaller number from Lung-chi, tended to go to other parts of the archipelago. The Tung-an/Amoy immigrants formed a highly distinctive set of regional concentrations. These included the principal centers in the Muslim South, which

TABLE I
The origin of the Chinese population of Manila and the Philippines 1822 and 1890s
 (as percentage by year)

Native place	Manila		51 provincial centers ^a
	1822	1894	1890s
<i>Ch'uan-chou greater-city trading system</i>			
Chin-chiang (Chincan) ^b	46.9	59.6	52.5
Nan-an (Lamua)	6.5	10.5	9.3
Hui-an (Juyua)	0	0.9	0
An-chi (Anque)	0.8	0.6	0.2
Yung-ch'un (Yengchun/Ingchun)	1.2	0.3	0.3
(Subtotal)	(55.4)	(71.9)	(62.3)
<i>Amoy and Chang-chou greater-city trading systems</i>			
Tung-an/Amoy (Tangua-Emuy) ^c	17.5	9.9	27.0
Hai-teng (Jaytin)	3.7	0.2	0.1
Lung-chi (Leonque)	22.1	7.5	7.1
Nam-ching & Chang-tai (Lamching & Tintiu)	0.9	0	0
(Subtotal)	(44.2)	(17.6)	(34.2)
<i>Hsing-hua/Pu-tien (Joingua)^d</i>	0	1.0	0.1
<i>Cantonese (Canton, Macao)</i>	n/g ^e	9.5	3.3
<i>Others and unlocated^f</i>	0.4	0	0.1
Total percentage	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	1,200 ^g	2,056 ^g	13,261

^a Not including Manila, for list, see Table 2.

^b Wade-Giles Mandarin romanization as provided by Edgar Wickberg and, in parentheses, the Spanish rendering of local Hokkien pronunciation. Chin-chiang here includes a small number of persons giving Ch'uan-chou (Chanchiu [76]/Chuanchiu [16] city/prefecture as their native place. The numbers in brackets refer to the 51 provincial cities. None of these entries are for Chang-chou (Chianchiu/Chiangchiu) city/prefecture, here represented by Lung-chi hsien.

^c The island and port of Amoy remained part of Tung-an hsien through the entire Ch'ing period, but the increased role of Amoy as a center of both commerce and population led to its outstripping the rest of the hsien in importance and, eventually, to being declared a special district. A number of Philippine Chinese came from the rural portion of Amoy, or Hsia-men Island, later known as the special district of Ho-shan. In the nineteenth century these persons tended to give Tung-an as their native place—at least this is what several immigrants from Ho-shan said when interviewed in Dumaguete and Cebu cities in 1969 and 1973. Likewise the few persons arriving from Chin-men Island (Quemoy, Ki-mng) may have listed either Tung-an or Amoy.

^d The name Hsing-hua is associated with the locality of Pu-tien hsien, but in its use by immigrants it may have been meant to refer to the prefecture of Hsing-hua which included Te-hua, Hsien-yu, and other hsien in addition to Pu-tien. Tombstone censuses in various cities reveal that all three of these places sent a few men to the Philippines in the twentieth century.

^e It is likely that a few hundred Cantonese lived in the city in 1822 and were enrolled in a separate and unlocated register of *Macanistas*. In the 1890s, a few immigrants gave Hong Kong as their native place. These have been included here.

^f Persons for whom no data were given are omitted.

^g The 1822 data are based on a 50% stratified random sample of the surviving half of the register. The 1894 data represent a 10% stratified random sample.

Source: Calculated from the listings of individuals in the *Padrones de Chinos* for Manila 1822 and 1894, and the provinces for various years between 1891 and 1896, all in the Philippine National Archives (PNA). The 1822 padron omits Christian Chinese. Locations confirmed with the aid of Rev. L. W. Kip's Vernacular Map of the Hokkien region (E-mng Si-ui E Te-to), London: Unwin Brothers, Lithographers, c. 1890 from a copy held by the American Geographical Society, and by the kind assistance of Edgar Wickberg and Chester Wang.

TABLE 2
Chinese in Philippine cities and towns by hsien of origin

Predominant hsien	Chin-chiang	Chin-chiang	Tung-an/Amoy	Nan-an (N) Lung-chi (L)
Percentage of Chinese ^a	75-100	40-74	75-100 — 40-74	40-50 Mixed (M) No group ≥ 40
	Daet	Balayan	*Jolo	
	Jaro, L	Cavite ^b	Cotabato	Paranas (N)
	Alongalong, L	Tambobong	*Zamboanga	
	Abuyog, L	Tabaco, A	Dumaguete	Ilagan (L)
	Palo, L	MANILA		
	Dagami, L	Lipa	—	Capiz/Roxas (M)
	Vigan	Malolos		
	Baruga, L	Catbalogan	Silay	
	Burauen, L	Baliuag	La Carlota	
	Dulag, L	San Isidro	CEBU ^b	
	*Carigara, L	*Aparri	Bacolod	
	Laoag	Navotas	*Guinobatan, A	
	*Naga	*Dagupan	San Fernando, P	
	*Tacloban, L	*Tuguegarao	Legaspi, A ^b	
	Surigao	*Calbayog	Angeles, P	
	Guivan	Guagua, P		
	Batangas	ILOILO ^b		
	Santa Cruz	Sorsogon		
	Ligao, A			

* Centers with 300-450 Chinese residents. L = Leyte, A = Albay, P = Pampagna.

^a Listed in descending order.

^b Cavite includes San Roque; Iloilo includes Jaro, Molo, and La Paz; Cebu includes San Nicolas, and Legaspi includes Albay.

Source: Calculated from the *Padrones de Chinos* for various years between 1891 and 1896.

were protected by the colonial military, and the sugar-producing regions of Negros, Cebu, and Pampanga in central Luzon.^[13] They were also overconcentrated in Guinobatan, in the heart of *abaca*-rich Albay. The existence of such regional clusters is to be expected—a logical result of a few migrants from one particular locale capitalizing on their early success. This was done typically through a feedback process, including return visits to China, that stimulated a further flow of migrants. This eventually led to the successful establishment of ethnic, locality, or hsien, and even patrilineal clan-defined commercial networks. Such regional concentrations may have been related to the perpetuation of an early advantage in access to the training and market information needed to deal successfully in the cash crop best suited to a particular area. They were certainly related to the habit of successful merchants (*cabecillas* or *towkays*) sponsoring promising employees in the establishment of branch stores and commodity collection operations. Still, the details behind the initial establishment of regional concentrations of migrants from various hsien remain obscure.^[14]

The pattern of immigrant distribution by surname sometimes reveals a highly specific characteristic of the migration flows to the Philippine provinces. In Naga (then Nueva Caceres), for example, not only were 91% of the Chinese residents

from Chin-chiang hsien, but almost four in ten were also surnamed Dy (96% of the Dys in Naga were from Chin-chiang). In Vigan, 97% of the Chinese were from Chin-chiang, including all of the 42% surnamed Chan. Baliuag, Lipa, and Legaspi also exhibited a high concentration of one surname (Table 3). In most communities, especially the larger ones, the sources of migration were more diverse. In both Iloilo and Cebu with a thousand or more Chinese residents, the largest surname group comprised only 14% of the total, while 15% was the median for the ten immigrant communities having 300–450 residents. Rich comparative data in the same table indicate considerable continuity in the surname composition of Chinese migrants to Manila during the course of the

TABLE 3
The distribution of surnames among the Chinese populations of Manila and selected provincial centers 1822 and 1890s

Name ^a (Hispanized form)	Manila		23 provincial centers 1890s (over 10% only)
	1822 %	1894 %	
Tan	9.5	8.0	<i>Baliuag</i> (43), Cavite (22), Jolo (16), Dagupan (15), Calbayog (15), Cebu (14), Iloilo (14), Aparri (13), Navotas (13), Malolos (12)
Chua, Choa (few)	5.4	7.7	Batangas (25), Laoag (18)
Lim	10.8	6.7	Jolo (16), Aparri (15), Calbayog (11), Dagupan (11)
Go ^a	3.2	5.9	Carigara (17), Tacloban (11)
Ong	5.1	5.6	Santa Cruz (24), Batangas (19), Tuguegarao (11)
Dy	2.9	5.5	<i>Naga</i> (38), Navotas (12)
Co	2.1	5.5	Malolos (27), Aparri (12), Dagupan (11)
Uy, Huy (few)	7.3	4.8	<i>Lipa</i> (30), Dumaguete (21), Zamboanga (19), Jolo (15), Batangas (11), Cebu (10)
Yu ^a	1.7	3.6	Carigara (15)
Ang	2.2	2.6	— ^b
Chan	2.8	2.4	<i>Vigan</i> (42)
Ly ^c	4.0	0.3	—
Sy ^c	3.0	1.9	— ^c
Siy ^c	0	4.6	— ^c
Yap	1.5	1.3	<i>Legaspi</i> (30), Capiz (17), Cavite (13), Dumaguete (13), Iloilo (11), Cebu (10)

^a In descending order of importance in Manila in 1894, except for the last four. Note that Go, Yu, and Sy may each stand for two different, but near homophone, surnames. The problem is minimal in the case of Go, since few in the Philippines have the form with the continuously rising tone.

^b Calbayog (8). In the twentieth century the Angs have become one of the largest surname groups, after the Tans, in Davao City.

^c The Spanish used Sy to represent two different surnames, one with and one without a glottal stop. In the 1890s (but apparently not in 1822), the latter was inconsistently Romanized as Siy or Sy. A confusion between Sy and Ly arises because handwritten, upper case S and L are sometimes indistinguishable. Thus we may guess that the apparent rise of Siy and decline of Sy and Ly are artifacts of the record rather than reality. Since a majority of "Lys" in 1822 were from Chin-chiang, we might have expected their position in Manila to have increased by the 1890s. The Ly surname is rarely encountered in Manila today. If Sy and Siy are combined, then persons with those surnames comprised 10% of the Chinese populations of Aparri and Tuguegarao and 8% of Cebu.

Source: Calculated from the *Padrones de Chinos* for Manila 1822 and 1894, and the provinces for various years between 1891 and 1896. Names interpreted with the kind assistance of Chin Ben See.

nineteenth century. This is hardly to be questioned given the stability of source locale.

Father Amyot's intensive study of the Manila Chinese has given an impression that surname groups came from particular, highly circumscribed areas such as townships (*hsiang*). In fact most of the surname groups in the Philippines claimed diverse native *hsien*. The Tans, Lims, Uys, and Dys may each have come from a small number of *hsiang*, but, if so, these were scattered widely among all of the principal migrant-producing *hsien* of the Amoy region. The Ongs, Cos, and Chuas were drawn more narrowly from the Ch'uan-chou city trading system, especially from Chin-chiang itself. By contrast, half or more of the Yaps came from Tung-an/Amoy. Not surprisingly, the Yaps tended to go where other Tung-an/Amoy migrants went (Table 3 and Fig. 1). In Cebu, where Tung-an/Amoy migrants formed the largest group, a majority of the Tans were from Tung-an. In Iloilo, where no *hsien* group formed a majority, a plurality of the Tans were likewise from Tung-an/Amoy, while in the Chin-chiang-dominated immigrant communities in Tacloban, Naga, and Cavite, 84–93% of the Tans were from Chin-chiang. In Iloilo and Aparri, a plurality of Lims were from Chin-chiang; in urban Cebu, a majority were from Tung-an/Amoy. In other words, broader social interactional systems based on commercial networks at various levels within China appear, on balance, to have been more powerful influences in shaping the profile of migrant destinations than any clan-defined contacts that cut across such functional regions. As Skinner has pointed out, the descent-groups themselves may well have been most effectively organized within regions defined on the basis of frequent participation in a particular marketplace.^[15]

On the basis of intensive anthropological field work, John Omohundro reports that alliances and animosities originating in Fukien still conditioned attitudes within the Chinese community of Iloilo City in the 1970s. The Yus and Yaps are said to have established an alliance in Chin-chiang *hsien* and to have welcomed intermarriage in twentieth-century Iloilo. But aside from Iloilo, where there were 181 Yaps and 44 Yus in 1894, the two were not found in significant numbers in the same provincial cities. Conversely, Omohundro says that "old country animosities" led to marriage proscriptions between Ong and Ang and between Ty and Sy. But except in three towns (Santa Cruz, Batangas, and Tuguegarao) where there were a total of 145 Ongs to 9 Angs, these feuds did not lead to sharply different distribution patterns by surname within the Philippines. The reason for this is that relatively few Tys came to begin with^[16] and possibly because a number of these alliances and feuds were specific to particular localities in China, while persons with any given surname in the Philippines were often drawn from several different *hsien*. On a more general level, Omohundro reports that "in the past, immigrants from [Chin-chiang] were very hesitant to ally themselves in marriage with natives of the Amoy City area, who are believed to be shrewd and a bit unstable."^[17] That this separateness operated strongly in the channeling of immigrants from these two areas is fully in evidence in Fig. 1.

The informal communications networks and commercial specializations that operated to allocate persons from particular localities within the Philippine system of settlements did not produce an identical pattern of residence *within* the city of Manila. Here, the intense crowding brought on by the pattern of housing availability in a city that had no motorized mass transit system and, as a result, little neighborhood abandonment because of suburbanization, and by the desire

to live near or in one's place of usual employment produced a tripartite pattern as discerned by principal components analysis. Migrants from Chin-chiang formed a distinctive factor in the distribution—their dominance on particular streets and in smaller districts was so great that migrants from the other major points of origin (including those from Nan-an) were often excluded. But instead of fragmenting into separate turfs, the migrants from Tung-an, Nan-an, and Lung-chi together with some Chin-chiang men constituted the core of the principal factor in the distribution. A third component included primarily Cantonese (Table 4). In short, there were three sorts of Chinese neighborhoods in late nineteenth-century Manila: those dominated by some combination of migrants from Lung-chi, Tung-an, Nan-an, and Chin-chiang; those primarily inhabited by persons from Chin-chiang alone, and, finally, a smaller number of streets where Cantonese were concentrated.

So far as one can tell from residential location data given in terms of lines (streets) rather than points, the patterns of minority hsien group and Cantonese residence can be described as being dispersed in clumps rather than in highly segregated arrangements (Fig. 3). In this respect the pattern of minority Chinese residence more closely resembles that of Irish and Germans in American cities in the 1840s and 1850s before mass transit and suburbanization opened up exclusive inner city residential quarters for recent immigrants. Despite this lack of minority (within a minority) residential exclusiveness, a striking continuity seems to have characterized hsien predominance by street. In three out of five streets for which comparative data on Hokkien residence are available, the leading hsien group in 1822 was still the leading hsien group in 1894 and in two other streets it was the second leading group.^[18] This continuity is all the more remarkable when the high rate of population turnover within the Chinese migrational system is taken into account.

TABLE 4
Dimensions of Chinese residential patterns in Manila, 1894 (138 streets and small districts)

Hsien group	Factor loadings*		
	1	2	3
Lung-chi	0.933	0.195	0.107
Tung-an	0.887	0.245	0.290
An-chi	0.876	0.227	0.097
Nan-an	0.711	0.390	0.484
Chin-chiang	0.567	0.706	0.313
Hsing-hua	0.377	0.791	0.063
Hui-an	0.189	0.888	0.057
"Canton"	0.096	0.168	0.922
"Macao"	0.514	0.151	0.767
Percentage of total variance accounted for	37.1	27.7	20.7

* The groupings or "factors" were made initially by principal components analysis. This procedure gives statistically calibrated answers to the question, "which groups are most/least closely associated in space?" To bring the components or factors into clearer focus, to maximize the differences between them, a varimax rotation procedure was then employed.

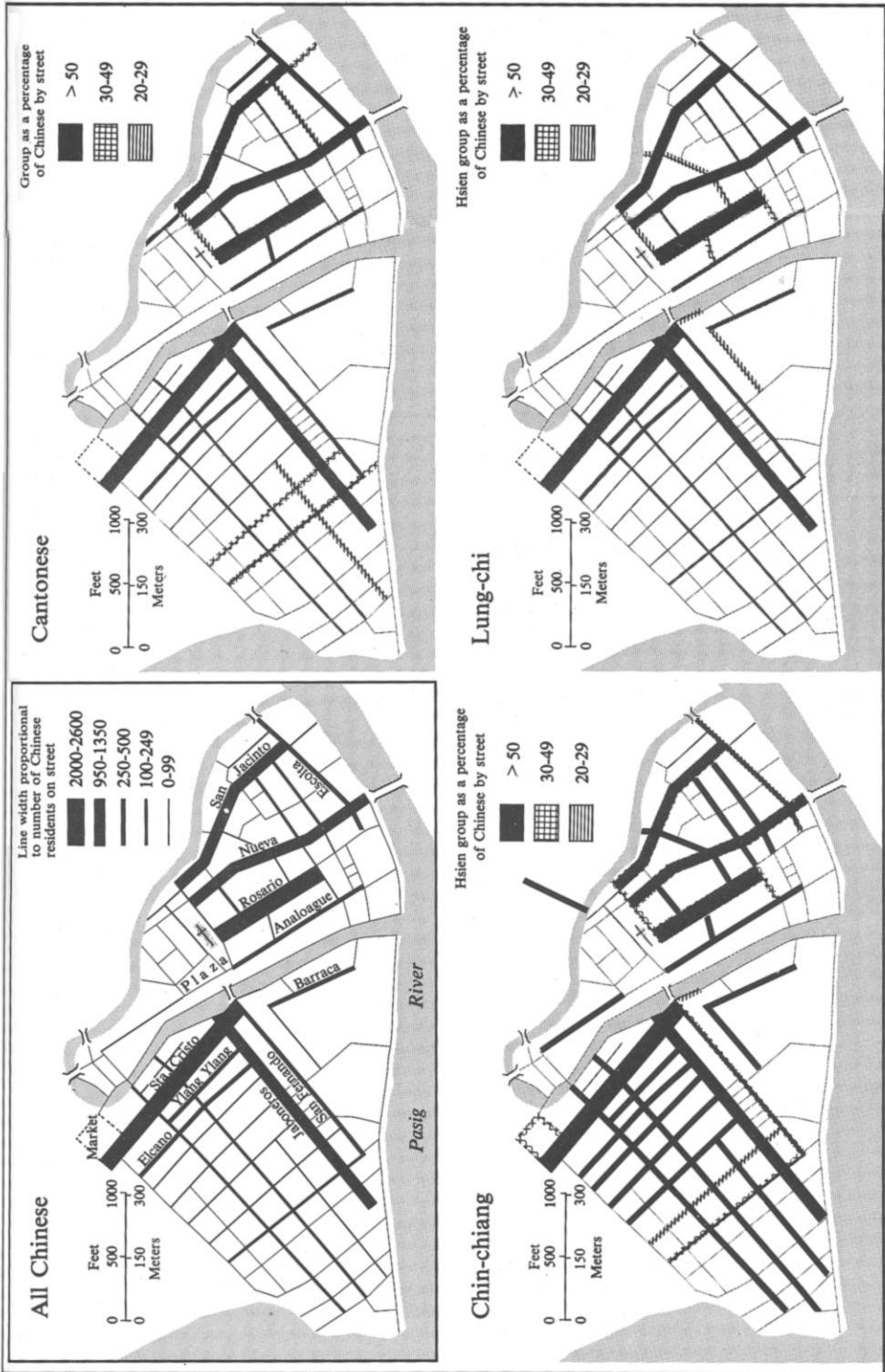


Figure 3. Distribution of selected Chinese groups in Binondo, Manila, 1894.

Movement and turnover within the Chinese migrational system

By law, immigrants to the Philippines landed first in Manila (though a few entered the southern Philippines illegally via Singapore). Many stayed in Manila for a time. During the first quarter of 1894, for example, only 11.5% of 1,405 Chinese landing in Manila listed an intended residence outside the city. Many did not leave the city, except to become part of a return migration back to the point of origin—such a counterflow develops in the course of most migrations. Of 1,243 Chinese immigrants settling in Manila during the first quarter of 1894, for example, 11.3% returned to China within twelve months of landing. By the end of two years, 23.2% had returned. These rates may be expected to vary over time with economic conditions and the demand for labor at both ends of the stream, with wars and riots, and with changes in the cost of passage.^[19]

As the chief commercial and mercantile center in the archipelago, the Binondo district of the capital city (now Binondo and San Nicolas) was also the most important center of Chinese work and residence. It thus absorbed an outsized percentage of new arrivals. In 1894, 64% of all Chinese in Greater Manila resided in this district at the mouth of the Pasig River across from the walled Spanish city. By contrast, 73% of the Chinese immigrants settling in Manila during the previous year took up residence in Binondo. In this sense, Binondo was a sort of receiving zone where many new arrivals began their sojourn in the country, learned new skills, and later went on to make their careers in other parts of the city or country.^[20]

There was a continual flow of immigrants moving from Manila to the major regional ports and provincial capitals. In the late nineteenth century, many of the larger centers enjoyed regular steamer connections with Manila (though these might be disrupted during the monsoon season). After 1894, some of those in central Luzon were connected to the capital by railroad. These towns were also the source of counterflows returning to the capital or to China. Direct transfers between provinces seem to have been slight by comparison. For example, of 42 Chinese moving into the Luzon province of Pampanga during February–December 1891, 40 were registered in Manila just prior to the move, while only two were from an adjacent province. And of 48 Chinese taking up residence in Cebu City during the period from March 1896 to the following February, 34 came from Manila, six from other provinces, and eight were relocating from other municipalities within the province. More than half of those coming to Cebu from Manila (18) had already lived in the Philippines for two years or more; only one-third (11) had arrived in the archipelago during 1896. Judging from their consecutive Manila registration numbers, several of this latter group had made the voyage from Amoy on the same ship.^[21]

The provincial capitals and/or chief commercial centers, in turn, were the usual sources of Chinese who moved out to the *poblaciones* (county seats) of the province to operate general stores—selling, often on credit, as well as buying and forwarding agricultural products. Following the *cabecilla* system, these stores were often subsidiary concerns of a Chinese establishment in the provincial capital. For example, in 1891 Dy Yangco (Domingo Burgos), a young merchant-businessman from Amoy, was operating two stores in the commercial district of Cebu City, two in the municipality of Samboan, and one each in Ginatilan and Malabuyoc, all on the south-western coast of the same island-province. Most of these stores were licensed to sell European textiles,

hardware, hats, toys, and native footwear. Dy was also licensed to speculate in “products of the country” including sugar, coffee, and maize, as well as in petroleum products. Three years later, 40 Chinese listed Dy Yangco as their employer when they registered for the annual head tax—30 in the city and ten in Malabuyoc and Samboan. Altogether, more than a dozen Chinese businessmen living in Cebu City in 1894 were listed as employers of Chinese in 15 separate municipalities around the province.^[22]

This steady process of immigration, relocation, and return resulted in a constant turnover of personnel within each Chinese community. The rates of turnover—the loss and replacement of individuals as a percentage of the base population—undoubtedly fluctuated by time and place with economic conditions and comparative information available to specific groups of individuals. Turnover also presumably varied with the incidence of mortality. Within various urban Chinese communities, however, the differential rates of turnover conform closely to two generalizations derived from the study of Western urban populations in the twentieth century—namely, that members of the more affluent strata are less likely than others to move, presumably because they have made more satisfying business and housing arrangements; and also because of an inertia principle: the longer one persists in an activity or location, the less likely one is to change that activity or location during the next increment of time.^[23]

Turnover was generally high within the Chinese communities of various Philippine cities during the late 1880s and 1890s. In Cavite, as an example, two-thirds of the 1886 base population remained a year later; 49.4% were still registered after five years, and 33.9% at the end of ten years. When placed on a semi-logarithmic graph (Fig. 4), these data for Cavite come remarkably close to predicting the rate of decline in the corps of persisters in several other cities

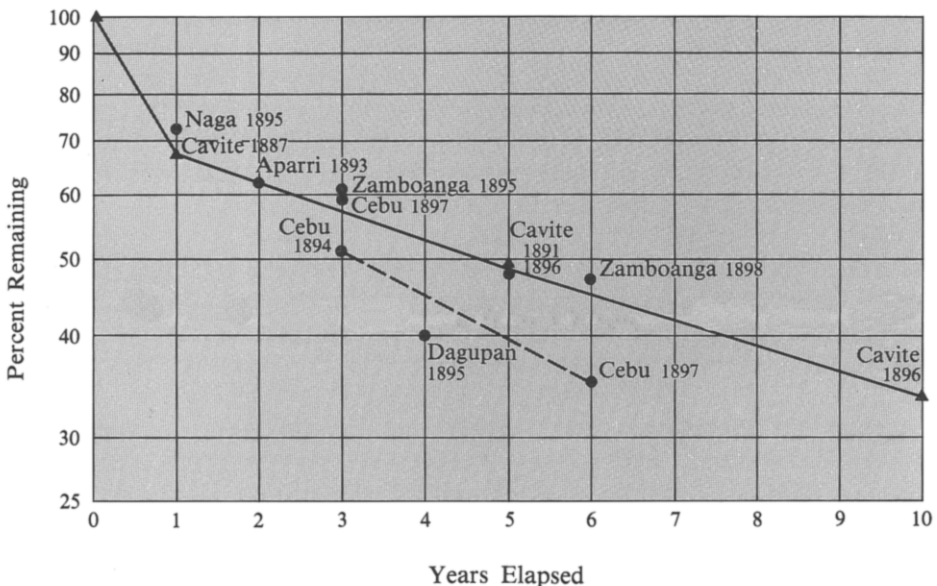


Figure 4. Chinese persistence in selected provincial cities, 1886–1898 (various periods). End date of persistence period shown.

during different, but overlapping, segments of the same decade. Naga (1894–1895), Aparri (1891–1893), Cebu (1894–1897), Zamboanga (1892–1895–1898), and Cavite (1891–1896) all replicate the Cavite experience for 1886–1896 with astonishing precision. When a base year of 1891 is used for Cebu, however, a much higher rate of turnover is revealed, such that it took only three years instead of five to replace half the base population ($N=997$), and only 35.3 persisted at the end of six years. This higher rate of turnover may well have been an outgrowth of the slump in overseas demand for sugar, then Cebu's prime commodity, during the late 1880s and early 1890s. But even this rate is modest in comparison with that implied for Manila, where only 16% of the Chinese registered in 1894 had been in the Philippines for more than five years.

One suspects that a more complete documentary record for the 52 cities and towns would reveal that, relatively speaking, turnover tended to be highest in Manila and its immediate satellite towns (i.e. Tambobong/Malabon and Navotas), high in Cebu and Iloilo, and lowest in communities with 100–199 Chinese. One reason for this is Manila's role as a staging area and training ground for Chinese going on, eventually, to other destinations. Medium-sized urban communities also performed this sort of role, but to a lesser degree. A second reason for this is that Chinese coolie-laborers were most in demand in the largest and most active commercial ports of Manila, Iloilo, and Cebu. Such laborers presumably had the poorest prospects for upward occupational and status mobility over time and thus were the least likely to sink roots. They were also the least free as actors within the migration system because they had arrived in an indentured status.^[24] The vague occupational terms employed in the *padrones* unfortunately do not allow us to distinguish coolies from other “by-the-day workers” (*jornaleros*). Again, the turnover experience of a particular city or town would also have been strongly conditioned by the recent history of demand for the principal commodity or commodities grown in its effective hinterland.^[25]

In the case of Cebu city, it is possible to disaggregate the churning of population in the context of the migrational system (Fig. 5). Of 486 Chinese registered in the city in 1891 but missing three years later, 12 are known to have died in the city; 111 were located living in various less-urbanized municipalities of the same island-province, and four were traced either to the neighboring province of Negros Oriental or to the then tiny port town of Cagayan de Oro on the north coast of Mindanao. Almost two-thirds of the non-persisters remain unlocated, many having returned to China or Manila. The leavers were replaced by 38 individuals who moved back into the city from the small communities of Cebu province and by 473 who came from elsewhere, primarily Manila and China.

These longitudinal data yield a clear picture of a rapidly declining body of persisters over time. We may identify the common experience of the smaller Chinese communities as revealed in Fig. 4 as a “high” rate of turnover—that is, one which approximates the range of experience for younger adult males in American and British industrial cities in the middle to late nineteenth century. The rate for Cebu and, by implication, for Manila was extremely high, apparently much higher than that for Filipinos (*naturales*) in Manila during the same years. All this is in keeping with the sojourning characteristics of the overseas Chinese population during the nineteenth century. A great many Chinese came to the Philippines (including some who were virtually forced to

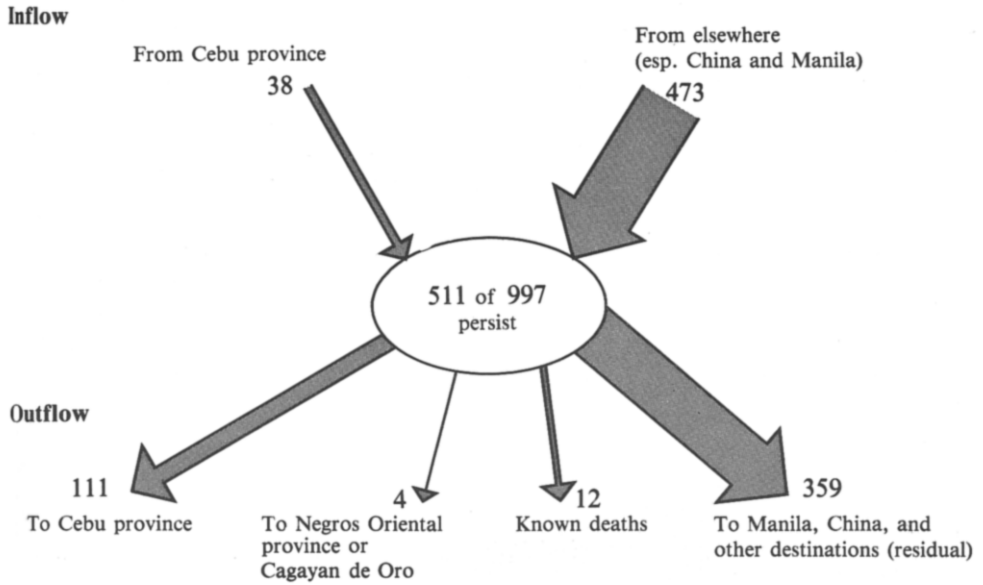


Figure 5. Migrational dimensions of turnover in the Chinese community of Cebu City, 1891–1894. Known deaths of persons who remained in the city or province of Cebu.

come by labor contractors in Amoy) with the intention of returning to China, periodically if possible, and permanently at the end of their active working careers.^[26]

Although turnover rates were high in general, they were not uniform for the entire Chinese population. They tended to be lower for the more affluent. Most Chinese employees and so-called daily workers were assigned by the Spanish authorities to the lowest capitation tax category, but storeowners, *gallera* (cockpit) licensees, speculators in commodities, and some other employers were routinely assigned to one of five higher categories. In Cebu, then the third largest Philippine city with 1,000 Chinese and perhaps 20,000 residents in all, the persistence rates were sharply differentiated (Table 5). The spread was also significant in Cavite, where 88% of the small group of high tax individuals persisted for five years after 1891 compared with 47% of the low tax majority. The rates varied between cities and over time, but clearly the general pattern remains the same. Chinese who were successful enough to own stores and pay

TABLE 5
Chinese persistence in Cebu City by initial tax category

Time elapsed (1891 base year)	Percentage of individuals persisting	
	Low tax	Higher tax
3 years (to 1894)	49.8	75.4
6 years (to 1897)	31.2	54.1
(N)	(936)	(61)

TABLE 6
Chinese persistence in Cebu City by initial tax category and length of prior residence

Length of prior residence as of 1894	Three-year persistence rate (1894–1897)			
	Low tax		Higher tax	
	%	(N)	%	(N)
0–2 years	55.5	(252/456)	n. sig.	(6/9)
≥ 3 years	62.3	(281/451)	72.6	(37/51)

high taxes were far more likely to stay on than their less affluent countrymen, the ethno-class of Chinese *jornaleros* and low-ranking employees (*dependientes*).

Further interpretive nuance is gained when length of residence in the city is taken into account. We can divide the 1891 Chinese population of Cavite into two categories—the “old residents” who had already lived in the city for at least five years and those who were more recent arrivals. In 1896, as many as 71% of the “old settlers” were still living in urban Cavite, while only 37% of the cohort of more recent arrivals persisted through the same period. The evidence for the much larger Chinese population of Cebu is also striking. Controlling for initial tax category, persons who had already lived in Cebu City for at least three years when the tax enrolment was made for 1894 were significantly more likely than newcomers to continue in residence during the next three years (Table 6).

Conclusion

Chinese sojourners, mainly male, came to south-east Asia and the Philippines in growing numbers during the second half of the nineteenth century. They came for profit or subsistence, depending on their initial condition and terms of arrival. Within the Philippines, they were directed via Manila to particular destinations where the information networks and processes that brought them tended to produce concentrations by hsien or city-centered trading system of origin. Despite high rates of population turnover within the destination communities, many of these concentrations tended to persist even to the present.

Linkage analysis reveals that turnover was disproportionately concentrated among the least affluent and the most recently arrived. In other words, economic success and/or medium-term residence in the community tended to promote stability. Both findings fit with studies of Western urban societies. The higher turnover among the less affluent and the recently arrived suggests, in the absence of data on individuals identified as coolies, that these persons did not cling in desperation to a particular initial destination, but remained willing to try alternative locations or return to China.

Although the Chinese tended to achieve a dominant position in Philippine regional commerce as the nineteenth century wore on, they did not come to dominate a middle strata of society in the Philippines as they did in Java.^[27] Some Filipinos, whether identified as mestizos or natives, were enriching themselves by asserting control over land and labor in the production of cash crops, were entering the medical and legal professions in small numbers and a

few even gained positions in the Spanish colonial government.^[28] The nineteenth-century Chinese migration system to and within the Philippines was a part of the process of integrating that land into the world commercial system. Its legacy today, following the balancing of the Chinese sex ratio and the cessation of immigration, is a residual ethnic community overconcentrated in commercial pursuits.

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Acknowledgements

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Notes

- [1] As beginning guides to this literature, see J. Nevadovsky and A. Li, *The Chinese in Southeast Asia. A selected and annotated bibliography of publications in western languages 1960-1970* (Berkeley 1970) containing 662 entries; Chin Ben See, *A bibliography of the Chinese in the Philippines* (Manila 1970) and the bibliographical sections of works by Omohundro, Skinner, and Wickberg cited below
- [2] E. Wickberg, *The Chinese in Philippine life, 1850-1898* (New Haven 1965). The padrones were compiled by province, and many are now preserved in the Philippine National Archives (PNA). A new gazetteer of An-hai port in Chin-chiang hsien includes information on the destinations of some 300 emigrants over five centuries. See Wang Gungwu, Two new sources of Hokkien local history *Asian Studies Association of Australia, Review* 8 (1985) 54-9
- [3] N. G. Owen, *Prosperity without progress: Manila hemp and material life in the colonial Philippines* (Berkeley and Manila 1984), and A. W. McCoy and E. C. de Jesus (Eds), *Philippine social history: global trade and local transformations* (Honolulu, Manila, and North Sydney 1982). According to aged informants interviewed in 1969, the central commercial district of the provincial town of Dumaguete in 1900 was a cluster of Chinese stores next to a Spanish pharmacy along a single, centrally located block. Dumaguete then had an urban population of about 5,500
- [4] On this, see D. F. Doepfers, The development of Philippine cities before 1900 *Journal of Asian Studies* 31 (1972) 769-92
- [5] Wickberg, p. 61 and Edgar Wickberg, personal communication, August 30, 1971. In 1894 Iloilo had more than 1,700 registered Chinese. On the role of various factors in influencing the rate of emigration from south China, see G. W. Skinner, *Chinese society in Thailand: an analytical history* (Ithaca 1957) 62-6. On the flow of Chinese immigration in relation to Philippine export cycles, see the author's *Manila, 1900-1941: social change in a late colonial metropolis* (New Haven and Quezon City 1984) 40-3
- [6] According to official sources, the sex ratio of Singapore's Chinese population was never more skewed than 15 males per female, but initially the females were from the mestizo community of Malacca *Baba* Chinese rather than from China directly. During the 1890s the sex ratio among Chinese in that city dropped from 4.7 to 3.9:1. Saw Swee Hock, The changing population structure in Singapore during 1824-1962 *Malayan Economic Review* 9 (1964) 95-6. On the marriage patterns of twentieth-century immigrants, see J. T. Omohundro, *Chinese merchant families in Iloilo* (Athens, Ohio 1981) 123. On the comparative youthfulness of Manila's Chinese population as compared with that of Peking, see D. F. Doepfers, Geographical dimensions of Philippine social history, in J. A. Larkin (Ed.), *Perspectives on Philippine historiography: a symposium* (New Haven 1979) 21. In both cases the percentages are of the male population aged 16 or more. On the Chinese method of calculating (and

overstating) age, see Saw Swee Hock, A note on errors in Chinese age statistics *Kajian Ekonomi Malaysia* 1 (1964) 37–58

- [7] G. W. Skinner, Presidential address: the structure of Chinese history *Journal of Asian Studies* 44 (1985) 277
- [8] Cantonese comprised 10–15% of the Chinese communities of Bacolod and La Carlota in Negros and Tabaco in Albay. One indirect indication of the ratio between Hokkien and Cantonese in the eighteenth century is that of 246 sampans known to have arrived in Manila from these two areas during various years between 1670 and 1779, 84% were from the vicinity of Amoy and 16% were from Canton. P. Chaunu, *Les Philippines et le Pacifique des Iberiques (XVIe, XVIIIe siècles)* (Paris 1960) 170–95
- [9] According to Ta Chen, 45–63% of the late nineteenth-century emigrants departing Amoy were bound for or via Singapore. Migration from Amoy to Taiwan equalled or exceeded that to the Philippines during the 1880s through 1892, and this increased to three times as many in 1894. Japanese seizure of Taiwan in 1895 ended that flow for a time. Ta Chen, *Chinese migration with special reference to labor conditions* (Taipei, reprinted edition 1967) 15 and Ping-ti Ho, *Studies on the population of China, 1368–1953* (Cambridge, Mass. 1959) 136–68, esp. 165. See also J. Ee, Chinese migration to Singapore, 1896–1941 *Journal of Southeast Asia History* 2 (1961) 33–51
- [10] On the increasing concentration of foreign trade activity in a few ports at the expense of the many during the course of the nineteenth century, see E. J. Taaffe, R. L. Morrill, and P. R. Gould, Transport expansion in underdeveloped countries: a comparative analysis *Geographical Review* 53 (1963) 503–5. Skinner relates the initial decline of Chang-chou, Hai-teng, Tung-an, and finally Ch'uan-chou to the replacement of shallow draft junks by Western-style square-rigged sailing vessels. The opening of the port of Amoy to Western commerce by treaty and the subsequent concentration there of regular steamship traffic sealed the fate of the other ports. Skinner, *op. cit.*, *Chinese society in Thailand* 41–3. During the Sung Dynasty, the then flourishing port of Ch'uan-chou was the principal base of junks engaged in trade with the inhabitants of the Philippine Archipelago. Chao Ju-kua, Chu Fan Shih, in W. H. Scott, *Prehispanic source materials for the study of Philippine history* (Manila 1984, revised edition). On the strength of local gazetteers, Ng believes that Hai-teng was the place of origin of most of the Chinese slaughtered in Manila in 1603 and had by then replaced Ch'uan-chou as the principal port for trade between China and Spanish Manila; however, the new An-hai gazetteer and contemporary Spanish reports disclose that some Chin-chiang men (“Anhays”) also lost their lives in Manila at this time. Ng Chin-keong, Socio-economic aspects of the South Fukienese and their seafaring orientation in the second half of the Ming Dynasty (unpubl. M.A. thesis, Univ. of Wisconsin-Madison 1970) 122; *idem*, *Trade and society, the Amoy network on the China coast 1683–1735* (Singapore 1983); Wang Gungwu, *op. cit.*, 55, and E. H. Blair and J. A. Robertson (Eds), *The Philippine Islands* (Cleveland 1903–9) 12, 157 and 16, 298. Ch'uan-chou and Chang'chou are the principal ports mentioned in early Spanish and Portuguese accounts. C. R. Boxer (Ed.), *South China in the sixteenth century* (London 1953) Appendix I
- [11] G. W. Skinner, Regional urbanization in nineteenth century China, pp. 211–49 of G. W. Skinner (Ed.), *The city in late imperial China* (Stanford 1977) and Skinner, *op. cit.*, The structure of Chinese history
- [12] During the twentieth century, the Nan-an men achieved a majority position in Davao City as it rose from village size to become the third or fourth ranking Philippine urban place. Likewise, the Cantonese became predominant in the new mountain city of Baguio
- [13] It is possible that in the *padrones* for Jolo, Zamboanga, and Cotabato, the term *Emuy* was used to mean Hokkien in general, in the same way that *Macao* and *Cantong* were used as general terms for Cantonese, most of whom were actually natives of either Kai-ping or T'ai-shan hsien. In almost every other *padron*, *Tangua* was listed far more frequently than *Emuy*. I have combined the two here for the reasons given in Table I, note c
- [14] During the 1890s Chinese from Tung-an/Amoy were proportionately over-represented in the sugar producing areas. No evidence that explains this is known to me, but a potential line of research on the subject is suggested by the fact that, in 1822, persons from Tung-an made up 43% of the Chinese overseers and laborers in various diminutive sugar works in Manila—two and one-half times the expected concentration given the Tung-an representation in the local Chinese community (Table 1). Expertise in premodern methods of processing and long connection with the marketing of sugar and related products may be linked to the mid-nineteenth-century establishment of migrants from Tung-an in the growing sugar producing

- regions. On the in-group method of monopolizing price information among Chinese rice merchants, see [no author given] Rice distribution in the Philippines and the Tutuban Rice Exchange *Philippine Journal of Commerce* 12 (April 1936) 13 and 36. On the *cabecilla* system, see Wickberg
- [15] J. Amyot S. J., *The Manila Chinese* (Quezon City 1973) and G. W. Skinner, Marketing and social structure in rural China *Journal of Asian Studies* 14 (Nov. 1964, Feb. 1965, and May 1965). See also Ng, *op. cit.*, *Trade and society* 22–37
- [16] Again, the Hispanicized Ty may conflate two different, but near-homophone surnames
- [17] Omohundro, *op. cit.*, 127–8
- [18] The term “leading group” here means the one which was most over-represented as compared with its percentage within the Manila Chinese population as a whole. The five streets and associated *hsien* groups were Santo Cristo (Chin-chiang), Rosario (Lung-chi), San Fernando (Nan-an), Escolta (Nan-an), and Barraca (Tung-an). On the residential patterns of early nineteenth-century American cities, see D. Ward, *Cities and immigrants* (Oxford 1971)
- [19] Calculated from individual listings in the *Registro Centro de Chinos* (Manila) 1894–5 (PNA). Of Chinese landed during March 17–April 12, 1895, 8.0% initially settled in the provinces. Of those who stayed in Manila ($N=1,035$), 15.8% returned to China during the next 12 months. See also Skinner, *op. cit.*, *Chinese society in Thailand* 62–5 and Doeppers, *op. cit.*, *Manila, 1900–1941* Fig. 6
- [20] Data for a later period provide illustrations. In 1969, I interviewed seven Cantonese and ten Hokkien living in Dumaguete City who had migrated to the Philippines between 1901 and 1938. Of the Cantonese, four had lived first in Manila on entering the country (for 20, 15, 0.3 and 0.3 years, respectively). Three of the Hokkien had also lived first in Manila, but for shorter periods (1.5, 1.0, and 0.3 years, respectively). One of the Cantonese and five of the Hokkien had proceeded directly to Dumaguete on the basis of contacts established prior to leaving China. See also the brief biography of Go Chan in G. F. Nellist, *Men of the Philippines* (Manila 1931) 118
- [21] *Padrones de Chinos*: Pampanga, 1891 and Cebu, 1896 (PNA). In both cases the figures were calculated from detailed listings of persons who arrived after the normal closing date for the annual *padron*
- [22] *Contribucion Industrial* Cebu, 1891 and *Padron de Chinos* Cebu, 1894 (PNA). Not all Chinese employers lived in the provincial capital; some resided in the *poblaciones*
- [23] On the axiom of cumulative inertia, see P. A. Morrison, Duration of residence and prospective migration: the evaluation of a stochastic model *Demography* 4 (1967) 533–61
- [24] In the 1895 *Padrones de Chinos*, 63–68% of the Chinese in Vigan and Batangas and 74–85% of those in Capiz and Lipa had been residents of the Philippines for more than five years. In the larger towns of Calbayog and Tacloban in 1894, the corresponding figures are 38.5 and 52%, respectively. Unfortunately, year of arrival was not reported systematically for most of the other communities. See Doeppers, *op. cit.*, Geographical dimensions. On coolies, see the testimonies collected in U.S. War Dept *Report of the Philippine Commission* for 1900, pp. 17–19, 163–8, 218–19, 223–4, 309–10, and 417, and Wickberg, *op. cit.*, 111–13
- [25] Turnover rates should be affected by the general process of growth in the regional economy and that, in turn, was related to the profile of commodity demand. In 1886, 848 and 611 Chinese were registered in Cebu and Samar provinces, respectively. While the number of Chinese in Cebu grew to 1,274 during the sugar slump, the number in *abaca* producing Samar was soaring to 1,735 in 1892. R. B. Cruikshank, A history of Samar Island, the Philippines, 1768–1898 (unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, Univ. of Wisconsin 1975) 289. Turnover was also affected by larger events, such as the Philippine Revolution. In Aparri, for example, between 49 and 56% of the local Chinese population had arrived during the previous five years according to the *padrones* of 1891, 1893, and 1895. In 1897 the percentage of recent arrivals had declined to 36 and, no doubt, continued to decline until the end of the Philippine-American War
- [26] For Chinese who could afford periodic travel, returning for the celebration of the Chinese New Year was a major consideration in the timing of trips. See the *Manila Critic* (Jan. 17, 1903) 1
- [27] G. W. Skinner, Change and persistence in Chinese culture overseas, *Journal of the South Seas Society* 16 (1960) 86–100 and the author’s *Manila, 1900–1941* Chapt. 3
- [28] See the essays in de Jesus and McCoy (Eds), *op. cit.*