

THE CHINESE IN THE PHILIPPINES AND THE CHINESE REVOLUTION OF 1911

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SINCE THE TURN OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY AS A RESULT OF THE development of modern Chinese nationalism which had a strong impact on the Chinese abroad, the Overseas Chinese had been linked with important political movements in China, and they had played an important role in many of them, particularly by helping to finance Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary activities.

Sun Yat-sen, recognizing the contributions of the Overseas Chinese to the revolution of 1911, referred to them as "Ko-ming chi-mu,"^o the mother of the Chinese Revolution.

No account of the early revolutionary activities of Sun Yat-sen can be considered complete without mentioning the part played by the Chinese in the Philippines. What, specifically, was their role? Let us put the question.

As a result of China's disastrous defeat in the Sino-Japanese war of 1894-1895, a movement for avenging the national humiliation and self-strengthening sprang up among the Chinese people. This culminated in the work of two great leaders, K'ang Yu-wei and Sun Yat-sen. K'ang led a group of young liberal-minded scholars who aimed to introduce modern constitutional reforms within the Manchu framework in order to save the tottering Ch'ing (the dynastic name of the Manchu), while Sun formed a revolutionary party, both in China and abroad, which sought to replace the decadent Manchu dynasty and the imperial system with a republican government.

The young Kuang Hsu emperor proved receptive to the ideas of K'ang Yu-wei, the reformer. In the summer of 1898 in what came to be known as the "Hundred Days of Reforms," the emperor issued edict after edict based on the program spelled out by K'ang Yu-wei: introduce changes in the then existing industrial institutional educational, agricultural, military, and political systems.¹ Reforms along this line which would have paved the way for the modernization of China aroused a storm of opposition from those who by conviction or interest were tied to the old order. The arch conservative, empress dowager

^o A Glossary of Chinese terms will be found at the end of the article.

¹ For details of the Reform Movement see Cameron E. Meredith, *The Reform Movement in China 1898-1912*. (London: Oxford University Press, 1931).

Tsu Hsi, with military support launched a counter attack, put the Kuang Hsu emperor under house arrest, declared herself regent, and abrogated all his edicts. Six of the reformers were executed in Peking. The leading figures of the reform movement, K'ang Yu-wei and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao fled overseas to carry out their reformist ideas.² In the meantime, Sun who had organized the Hsing Chung Hui (Revive China Society) executed an armed uprising in Canton in 1895 which proved abortive. With a price on his head, he too, was forced to go abroad. Thus began his long flight, sixteen years of wandering among the Overseas China which was to end with the successful revolution of 1911.³

The political developments which took place in China had their repercussions among the overseas Chinese who now possessed the wealth to take action. Both the reformers and the revolutionaries, and the Manchus, launched a vigorous competition for the allegiance and support of the Chinese abroad.

While taking refuge in Japan, K'ang and his followers organized the Pao Huang Hui (Protect the Emperor Society), the aim of which was ostensibly to save the liberal-minded emperor from the hands of the ultra-conservatives and reactionaries around the empress-dowager. Branches of the Protect the Emperor Society were quickly founded in the Chinese communities in Hawaii, the United States, the Philippines, Hong Kong, Australia, South America and other places.

Meanwhile Sun was equally active in cultivating friendship abroad and looking for a base upon which to stage armed uprising in China. In 1899 while Sun was in Tokyo he turned his attention to the Philippines after meeting with Mariano Ponce. In 1898 General Emilio Aguinaldo commissioned Ponce to buy arms in Japan. Sun was soon enthused over the prospect for action in the Philippines. In his view a friendly Philippine Republic would provide an ideal base from which to launch revolutionary uprising in China. Sun and Ponce agreed that the Chinese revolutionaries would help the Filipinos fight for independence for the Philippines, and the Philippine revolutionary government in turn would help the Chinese revolutionaries fight the Manchus. Shipment of the arms procured for Aguinaldo began the following year. The first shipment met an accident on its way to the Philippines and was sunk. Undaunted by the setback, Sun tried to procure another shipment of arms for his Filipino friends. But he met another reversal. This time the Japanese government placed a ban on the exportation of arms because of its reluctance to antagonize the Americans who had occupied the Philippines.⁴ The failure of Sun to establish initial contact with

² See *Ibid.*

³ See Cheng Yin-fen, *Kuo-fu tsai hai-wai* (Sun Yat-sen abroad). (Taipei, 1959).

⁴ For detailed information concerning the role of Sun Yat-sen in the procurement of arm supplies for the Filipino revolutionists see Feng Tzu-yu *Ko-ming i-shih*

the Philippines on an on-going basis plus the reluctance of the local Chinese at this time to give their support to the more extreme revolutionary party gave the Protect the Emperor Society initial advantage in local Chinese politics. Thus the close of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century saw the reformists enjoying considerable popularity owing to the great literary reputation of K'ang Yu-wei and of his disciple and successor, Liang Chi-ch'ao.

THE REFORMIST AND CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY MOVEMENT IN MANILA

While the Chinese in the Philippines were responding uncertainly to the revolutionary movement in China, K'ang and Liang's reformist and constitutional monarchy movement began to stir the local Chinese. A branch of the Protect the Emperor Society was organized in Cavite in 1899 and shortly moved its headquarters to Manila.⁵ In about the same year, Pan Shu-fan, a local Cantonese, started a paper called I-yu Hsin-pao, an organ to enlist support for the reformists and to awaken the Chinese community to the perilous plight of China. In 1900 the paper was renamed Min-i-pao, under the same management and for the same purpose.⁶

In the Chinese community in Manila, as in Overseas Chinese communities in America and Southeast Asia, the followers of K'ang and Sun battled with words and sometimes with their fists for the allegiance of Overseas Chinese. For a while, K'ang's party had more influence, threatening to drive Sun's supporters into oblivion. In 1905 Hsu Ch'in, a lieutenant of K'ang and Liang, arrived in Manila with the object of establishing a Hsien Cheng Hui, or Constitutional Society, and the reformers again became active. After the Russo-Japanese war of 1904, the Imperial Court was compelled to adopt the reform program of 1898, and the followers of K'ang began to agitate for a liberal constitution like that of England and the Protect the Emperor Society was later known as the Constitutional Society, in view of the fact that those reformists stood for the establishment of a limited or constitutional monarchy. The challenge of the reformists at times sparked the fire of revolution in the revolutionary ranks. When in 1905 Hsu Ch'in held

(Reminiscences of the Revolution: Taipei, 1955) Vol. IV, pp. 80-81; Marius B. Jansen, *The Japanese and Sun Yat-sen* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954) pp. 69-73; Mariano Ponce, *Sun Yat-sen, the Founder of the Republic of China* (Manila: Filipino-Chinese Cultural Foundation, Inc., 1965).

⁵ Ch'en Hsiao-yu, (ed.) *Fei-lu-pin yu hua-ch'iao shih-chi ta-kuan* (Philippine Chinese Chronicle 2 vols. (Manila, 1948). Vol. II, pp. she 5, 21.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. she 3; Yen Wen-ch'ü, *San-shih nien-lai fei-tao hua-ch'iao pao-chi shih yeh* (The Chinese Press in the Philippines in the past thirty years) in *Hsiao Lusung hua-ch'iao chung-hsi hsieh-hsiao san-shih chou-nien chi-nien K'an* (Thirtieth Anniversary, Commemorative Publication Anglo-Chinese school) (Manila, 1929). Chap. 39, p. 2; Liu Lang "Fei-hua hsin-wen ch'u-pan shih-yeh ti chin-che" (The present state of Philippine Chinese newspapers). *The Philippine Chinese year Book 1964-1965* (Manila, 1966), part IV, p. 055.

a meeting at the Manila Cantonese Association to organize a branch of the Constitutional Society the still few but active revolutionary followers tried to disrupt the proceedings.⁷ They yelled down Hsu Ch'in as he was extolling the virtue of a constitutional monarchy and accused him of deceiving the local Chinese. The verbal quarrel showed at least the extent of animosities between the two political groups. They stirred and divided the Chinese community into rival factions. The Chinese Consul General Su Jui-chu even tried to put pressure to bear on the Manila authorities to disband the revolutionary group. Lacking a newspaper organ to disseminate their own ideas, the revolutionary adherents made use of the Hong Kong papers such as the *Chung-kuo Jih-pao*, *China Daily*, a paper which was circulated in Manila, to mount their own attack against the constitutional monarchists.⁸ The time was not, however, ripe for the propagation of revolutionary activity. The local Chinese feelings for a radical movement was neither sufficiently strong nor sufficiently widespread, then. The revolutionists had to contend also with the Manchu propaganda activities abroad.

THE MANCHU EMISSARIES

Close on the heels of the reformers came the Manchu emissaries. The Manchu government which had realized the potentialities of the Overseas Chinese communities as rich sources of political and economic support now initiated an active campaign to win the loyalty and tap the wealth of the Chinese in Southeast Asia.

In 1904 a Manchu emissary, a former magistrate of Fukien province, arrived in Manila. He was designated to investigate conditions of the Overseas Chinese community.⁹ He was followed in 1905 by a mission headed by the senior secretary and the second class secretary of the Chinese Imperial Board of Commerce. The mission was purely commercial, which had as its purpose the promotion of Philippine-Chinese trade.¹⁰

More dramatic, however, was the visit of a high Chinese official in 1907. He was Yang-Shih-ch'i, the Junior Vice President of the Ministry of Agriculture, industry and Trade. He arrived in November bearing

⁷ *Chung-hua min-kuo k'ai-kuo wu-shih-nien pien-tsu'an wei-yuan-hui* (Historical materials of the Republic of China for the past fifty years, Executive Committee) (Comp.) *Ko-ming chih chang-tao yu fa-chan* (the beginning and development of the Chinese Revolution) (Taipei, 1965), Vol. II, p. 752; Feng Tzu-yu, *Hua-ch'iao Ko-ming k'ai-kuo shih* (History of the Overseas Chinese in the Founding of the Chinese Republic) (Taipei, 1953), p. 118; *Ibid.*, *Ko-ming i-shih, op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 180-181, Ch'en Chung-shan "Nan-yang hua-ch'iao i ko-ming chih nu-li" (The effort of the Nanayang Overseas Chinese in the Chinese Revolution) *Nan-yang Yen-chiu* (Nan-yang Studies) Vol. III, no. 1, 1930), p. 19.

⁸ Feng Tzu-yu, *Ko-ming i-shih, op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 275-276.

⁹ *The Manila Times*, May 23, 1904.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, August 24, 1905.

the title of Imperial Commissioner. To add to the visitor's prestige the Chinese government provided him with an imposing suite and a cruiser.¹¹ His announced aim was to study the economic conditions of the Philippines, to give comfort to the Chinese communities overseas, and to gather information on the conditions of the Chinese subjects living abroad.¹² The vessel, a second class cruiser carrying 439 smartly uniformed Chinese was described as "modern" and "scrupulously" clean.¹³

At the turn of the century it was the custom of many states to send fleets on a world cruise in order "to show the flag."¹⁴ Such naval cruisers were calculated to impress foreign governments and in the case of empire, "to show colonists that the mother country had not forgotten them."¹⁴ The Manchu dynasty which had seen the showing of many foreign flags in its own ports adopted this technique in a further effort to strengthen the ties between the Overseas Chinese and the homeland. Thus, in 1907 the cruiser Hai-ch'i, then the pride of the Imperial Chinese Navy, was commissioned to accompany Yang Shi-ch'i. In anticipation of the arrival of the warship, Chinese in Manila who had been kept informed of the impending visit for weeks, had decorated their places of residence in honor of the commissioner and the complement of the ship. At that time, the local Chinese felt proud. The arrival of the mission fired the enthusiasm of the Chinese for closer political relation with the fatherland, even though power was still in the hands of the Manchus. Referring to this visit, a Manila Press caught the spirit of national feeling of the local Chinese magnified as they made a minute investigation of the pride of the Chinese navy:

Chinatown was out in force yesterday, paying homage to the dragon ensign flying from the stern of His Imperial Majesty's cruiser Hai-ch'i now anchored in the inner basin.

The deck of the Hai-ch'i, from early morn until dusk, yesterday, swarmed with Chinese visitors. Distinctions of caste were not in evidence, the humble coolie elbowing with the merchant prince in the best of fellowship and many were with the exclamation of wonderment and pride accompanying the minute examination of the modern armaments and appliances of the trim fighting craft. A patriotic calle Rosario dry goods merchant, lost in admiration of one of the big eight-inch guns, pulled a tape measure from his pocket and proceeded to ascertain the length of the barrel. "Seven yards and a half,"

¹¹ Ch'en Hsiao-yu, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. she 6, 22.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. she 22; *The Manila Times*, September 26, 1907, October 30, 1907, November 6, 7, 1907.

¹³ *The Cablenews-American*, November 12, 1907.

¹⁴ To remind the Japanese that the United States had the second largest fleet (theirs was fifth), and to convince them that it was prepared for any contingency, Roosevelt adopted the spectacular plan for sending the entire American battleship fleet around the world.

¹⁴ Ilea Williams, *Overseas Chinese Nationalism: The Genesis of the Pan-Chinese Movement in Indonesia, 1900-1916* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1960), p.162.

he announced with a bland smile and the crowd gasped in amazement at the big machine designed to deal death and destruction to the enemies of his Majesty Kuang Hsu and of the Empire.¹⁵

During its stay in Manila, the members of the mission were officially received by the Governor General of the islands,¹⁶ were wined and dined by a Chinese millionaire, Mariano Limjap, in a mammoth reception that included the cosmopolitan crowd,¹⁷ and entertained by the Chinese Chamber of Commerce.¹⁸ The humbler class of Chinese, not to be outdone in "patriotism by their more fortunate compatriots," presented the crew of the ship with many delicacies not included in the "ration of His Imperial Majesty's blue jackets."¹⁹

While the Chinese came far and wide to see the proud sight of a modern warship manned entirely by smartly uniformed Chinese, the visiting emissaries were busy creating closer political and commercial ties with the local Chinese leaders. After receiving the overwhelming enthusiastic greeting in Manila, the ship then steamed on to other ports of Southeast Asia. One of the first results of Yang Shi-ch'i's visit to Manila was the appointment of his brother Yang Shi-chun, as Consul General in Manila in 1908.²⁰ Another tangible result of his visit was the appearance of the Chinese daily, the *Ching-to Hsin-wen* in 1908.²¹ It was in the midst of their jubilation over the proud *Hai-ch'i* in November, 1907, when a local daily the *El Comercio* displayed antagonism to the Chinese expression and enthusiasm and pride in their naval power. For days the *El Comercio* in a series of articles ridiculed the Chinese Man-of-War as having been made of "western" steel and "Chinese" tin that would break apart at the first enemy salvo. Having come of age, the Chinese community leaders considered the "ridicule" as a national insult, thus putting their country's honor at stake. With ₱8,000 capital subscribed to by the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, they decided to put up an organ of public opinion; there had been no Chinese newspaper since the *Min-i pao* folded in 1903. The *Ching-to Times* founded in 1908 was considered exceedingly serious in tone. In consonance with the public opinion then prevailing in the homeland, the paper spared no effort in inspiring the Chinese in the Philippines with

¹⁵ *The Manila Times*, November 9, 1907.

¹⁶ *The Cablenews-American*, November 12, 1907.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, November 14, 1907.

¹⁸ Huang Hsiao-t'sang, *Fei-lu-pin min-li-la chung-hua shang hui san shih chou-nien chi-nien k'an* (Thirtieth Anniversary, Commemorative Publications, Manila Chinese Chamber of Commerce) (Manila, 1936), p. chia 56.

¹⁹ *The Manila Times*, November 15, 1907.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, June 16, 1908.

²¹ Ch'en Hsiao-yu, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. she 6; Liu Lang "Fei-hua hsin-wen ch'u-pan shih-yeh ti chin-che" *op. cit.*, Part IV, p. 56 Liu Chi-t'ien, "Fei-lu-pin hua-ch'iao pao-yeh shih" (A History of Philippine Chinese Press) in Kao Hsin, Chang Hsi-Che, (eds.), *Hua-ch'iao Shih-lun chi* (Collected essays on Overseas Chinese) (Taipei, 1963), pp. 111-112.

a more intense interest in the political reform and agitation then being carried on in China.

The year 1908 saw additional Manchu missions to the Philippines. In March a representative of the Viceroy of Liang-Kuang and an officer of the Imperial Army College in Canton visited Manila.²² In May the Imperial Government dispatched a special commissioner to inquire into the immigration and living conditions of the Chinese in the Philippines and Samoa.²³

The proclamation of the Chinese citizenship law of 1909 whereby all overseas Chinese were claimed as citizens of China, irrespective of their place of birth, was another move calculated to bind the Chinese abroad to the homeland, in a political sense.²⁴ It is interesting to note that in April, 1910, the Imperial Government in Peking sent the Chinese Chamber of Commerce in the Philippines 20 volumes of the newly approved law on Chinese citizenship.²⁵

The pre-war publications of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce indicated that up to the eve of the Chinese revolution of 1911 the Manchu Imperial Government maintained various ties with the local Chinese Chamber of Commerce through the medium of the Nung Kung Shang Pu or the ministry of agriculture, commerce and industry. The Manchu progress toward the constitutional reform were continuously communicated to the Chinese Chamber of Commerce. Likewise, the Chinese in the Philippines were kept informed by the same ministry of the commercial and educational undertaking of the Manchu government.²⁶

The attempt of the Manchu Government to win the allegiance of the Overseas Chinese by showing a solicitous concern over their condition was clearly revealed in a memorial Commissioner Yang Shih-ch'i submitted to the throne:

Your Minister in whatever place he visited by sea or land proclaimed your majesties' great grace to the Chinese colonists and inquired particularly regarding the circumstance of their sojourn, their occupation, their number, and whether they were well treated by the foreign governments under which they lived. The result of this investigation I now reverently submit to their majesties, the Empress Dowager and the Emperor...

Your Minister rode everywhere through packed streets, passed by homes where incense was burned and where doorways hung banner and coloured lantern all these being taken of the people's joy at your majesty's clemency. Whenever the memorialist visited a city he proposed to the schools, guild-halls and public buildings, and addressed the people extolling the virtues,

²² *The Manila Times*, March 6, 1908.

²³ *Ibid.*, May 26, 1908.

²⁴ Tsai Chutung, "The Chinese nationality law, 1909", *The American Journal of International Law*, Vol. III (1910), pp. 404-411.

²⁵ Huang Hsiao-t'sang, *op. cit.*, p. chia 57.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. chia, 56-58.

excellence of the Imperial Majesties the Empress Dowager and the Emperor, filling us with enthusiasm that the sound of their applause seemed like the rambling of thunder. Even foreigners on looking at these scenes showed by the altered expression of their faces, how deeply they were impressed.²⁷

It is important to ask at this juncture why during this period the reformists and the Manchu government appeared able to command the allegiance of the Overseas Chinese.

Before 1898 the reform movement under the leadership of K'ang Yu-wei directed its appeal to the gentry scholar officials in China but after the coup d'état of September 21, 1898, efforts were made to get the support of Overseas Chinese majority of whom were engaged in mercantile activities. Although the scholar class had traditionally deprecated the merchant as a class (merchants had been held in low esteem in a Confucian society based on agriculture and governed by scholars) political conditions and economic considerations dictated that they cultivate the allegiance of Overseas Chinese in the struggle for the control of the destiny of China. In a sense, the merchant was simultaneously devalued and needed. In turn the Overseas Chinese although most were illiterate had great respect for the scholar-official from home and were easily won by prominent reformers and Manchu officials.²⁸ In Imperial China, with its Confucian scale of values it was the successful scholar-official, not the successful businessman, who represented the highest ideal. The Overseas Chinese had tried to live by this tradition almost wherever they had settled. So strong, indeed, was the Confucian ethic that the merchant who were well-to-do often assimilated themselves to the gentry class by giving their sons the Confucian education which, via the examination, could lead to a government career. And sometimes the well-to-do Overseas Chinese "bought" from the the Imperial Government the "right to the status of Mandarin," and portraits of their suitably adorned persons hanging in the family homes "contradicted the other evidences of their humble origin and lack of education."²⁹ Indeed, the high value set on education and the respect accorded to members of the literati by Overseas Chinese was cited by Hu Han-min, Sun's revolutionary colleague, as a major obstacle

²⁷ The Memorial to the Throne is translated in "Memorial Report of Commissioner Yang Shih-chi in Visit to Investigate Condition of Chinese in the Philippines, Indo-China, Siam, etc., to the throne, March 18, 1908," in file 370/190. Records of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, National Archives and Records Service Washington, D.C.

²⁸ Huang Fu-luan, *Hua-ch'iao yu chung-kuo ko-ming* (The Overseas Chinese and the Chinese Revolution) (Taipei, 1963), pp. 63, 81; It is interesting to note that there were about 70,000 Pao Huang Hui members in Overseas Chinese Communities. See K'ang Yu-wei "The hostility of China," *The World's Work*, Vol. XII (May-October, 1906) p. 2489.

²⁹ Maurice Freedman, "Colonial law and Chinese society," *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*," Vol. LXXX Parts I and II (1950), p. 118.

in winning the allegiance of the overseas Chinese in the early years of the revolutionary movement. Many years later when he reminisced on his fund raising campaign in Southeast Asia he pointed out that Manchu visitors or scholar-officials from China distinguished by title, grade, degree or other official rank invariably became the focus of attention, respect and cordial welcome.³⁰ To the wealthy merchants abroad, K'ang Yu-wei was the emperor's tutor, a scholar of renowned reputation. K'ang and Liang went to Southeast Asia during their years of political exile, their reputation as scholars and reformers had preceded them. For this reason, a good many of Philippine Chinese thought that they were safer in supporting K'ang Yu-wei than they would be supporting Sun Yat-sen.

To the Overseas Chinese, K'ang Yu-wei and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and their followers were "only in temporary disgrace and only temporarily out of power." The scheming and vicious Dowager would not live forever; at her death the Kuang Hsu emperor would be liberated, he would recall K'ang, the reformists would rule the empire. This hope had been kept actively alive by the propaganda works of the Protect the Emperor Society. In a statement issued in 1900 urging the Chinese abroad to unite for cooperative enterprises, K'ang declared:

A society must be formed to save the Emperor. He who has loved and cared for us, must be assisted to regain his rightful authority and ancestral throne in order that the four hundred million of our people may be saved from an impending doom.³¹

Thus, the Manila Chinese community deeply mourned the death of Emperor Kuang Hsu when news of his demise reached Manila. On the ninth of November, 1908, the Emperor Kuang Hsu died and on the next day the Empress Dowager. In many circles the opinion was expressed that the old Empress so hated her nephew and so feared the possibility of his gaining the throne and overthrowing her policy that she had seen to it that he should die before she did. Under the suspicions of the Imperial Chinese Consul the Manila Chinese community gathered solemnly to pay necrological homage to the departed spirit of their "good emperor" Kuang Hsu in all the "formalities of a formal age."

The leading Chinese merchants expressed sorrow that the emperor had passed away at such an early age and said that they had hoped that if the august dowager must be gathered to her father in the fullness of age, that the emperor, who was but 36 years old, would be spared to reign and institute some of the reforms in favor of the masses which he had urged at the time he was deposed by the dowager.³²

³⁰ See "Hu Han-min," *chiang-shu nan-yang hua-ch'iao ko-ming chi ching-kuo*" (An exposition of the participation of the Nan-yang Overseas Chinese in the revolution) in Feng Tzu-yu, *Ko-ming -i-shih, op. cit.*, Vol. V p. 206-240, especially pp. 231-232.

³¹ Quoted in the "political parties in China: the political reformists," *The People's Tribune* (November 1, 1933), p. 350.

³² *The Cablenews-American*, November 17, 1908.

Therefore, to give money to K'ang would seem to these calculating businessmen a good investment in future influence. The attitude of the wealthy Chinese abroad toward the revolutionary group was entirely different. Sun Yat-sen was poor, unknown, proscribed, not a scholar in the traditional sense (Sun was western educated) certainly not a "gentleman with a good name." The revolutionaries appeared to them as "desperados," "robbers," and "bandits" out to cheat the people, as the Protect the Emperor Society and the Manchus made them appear. Given this attitude, the Overseas Chinese who were very proud and zealous of their good name felt honored to associate with the constitutional monarchists who came mostly from the scholar class than with Sun and his followers who were described as "robbers."

Again, the overseas Chinese did not think that the revolutionary movement had gone far enough to warrant their support.³³ It is said that when Sun's partisans in Southeast Asia went about collecting money for the revolution, the rich merchants said, "If you can guarantee that the Revolution would be successful, then we shall give money but not otherwise."³⁴ Sun's influence was among the shopkeepers, the laborers, the coolies, and the younger merchants.

Another reason why the most opulent Chinese in the Philippines did not support Sun Yet-sen is because of their belief that he would plunge China into a long war, such as the Taiping rebellion (1850-1864) which would cause their families in China to suffer, break up their business abroad, and bring them bankruptcy and ruin.³⁵ As it is, the well-to-do class, as a whole, looked with mistrust on the avowed aim of the revolutionists.³⁶

Many Overseas Chinese asserted that they should not support Sun for though they were safe overseas, their families in China were not. One of the greatest drawbacks in Sun's revolutionary movement overseas appears to be the Overseas Chinese fear of reprisals that hang like a Damocles sword on their relatives in China. They feared that the Manchu agents and constitutional monarchists in their midst would send reports to authorities in Peking.³⁷ Thus overseas revolutionaries asked themselves constantly, "If I help Dr. Sun, will my family in China be

³³ See Paul Linebarger, *The Gospel of Chung Shan* (Paris: Brentano, 1932), pp. 29-30. Linebarger's interest in the Chinese revolution was aroused when as judge in the Philippines in the early 1900's he learned that his cook was an ardent Sun follower.

³⁴ Han Suyin, *The Crippled Tree* (London: Jonathan Cape 1965), p. 171; Hu Han-min, *op. cit.*, p. 236-237. Ch'en Chung-shan, "Nan-yang hua-chi'iao i koming chih nu-li", *op. cit.*

³⁵ Linebarger, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

³⁶ E.J. Dillon, "The Chinese revolutionist-in-chief," *Contemporary Review*, Vol. 101 (1912), p. 277.

³⁷ Linebarger, *op. cit.*, pp. 18,30; see also Alexander Macleod, *Pigtails and Gold Dust* (Idaho, The Caxton Press, 1947), p. 147.

put in jeopardy by the Manchus?"³⁸ This apprehension over threat of reprisals was vividly reaffirmed in late 1911 by a proclamation issued by the Chinese Minister at Washington (who had jurisdiction over the Manila Chinese Consulate General) prohibiting the Chinese in the Philippines,

From having to do with the patriotic society under severe penalty that their families and distant relatives in China would be arrested and beheaded.³⁹

It is belived by 1908 that Yang Shi-ch'i, th Imperial Commissioner who visited Manila late in 1907 was here actually to "discover and deal with anti-Manchu rebels."⁴⁰

Finally, in addition to the missions sent abroad by the Manchu government in its waning days calculated to strengthen the political and economic ties with the homeland, K'ang was admired by those who combined loyalty to the dynasty with a patriotic longing to see their country honored among the nations of the world. Among the Chinese in the Philippines there were many who were still loyal to the imperial institution. The emperor — a son of Heaven — was accepted, taken for granted, and he was regarded from afar with something like religious awe. Again the Monarchy not the nation was the traditional focus of loyalty. Loyalty was to the throne whether occupied by a Son of Heaven of Chinese origin or by a barbarian of foreign origin. As Chinese they cannot but look upon the Monarchy as the national symbol of China. In the thousands of years which it spanned, the Monarchy as a symbol had been deeply rooted in the consciousness and emotions of the people. "The peasant needed his son of heaven who — even if he was of foreign race — was the mediator between heaven and mankind and thus responsible for the weather." The Emperor being the son of heaven, and by implication, the Father of the Empire, had a right to the respect, veneration and worship of his children.

Until the eve of the Manchu dynasty, therefore, the Philippine Chinese still observed the emperor's day in great style. On his birthday, commercial houses in Manila's China-town displayed "flags and light on the outside and joss inside."⁴¹ Merchants fired off firecrackers by "special permission of the municipal board."⁴² In particular, the emperor's birthday in November 1907 was an event to be remembered by local Chinese. His day in that year coincided with the visit in Manila of the Chinese Imperial Commissioner on board the cruiser, Hai-Ch'i.

³⁸ Linebarger, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

³⁹ *The Manila Times*, November 2, 1911.

⁴⁰ *The Cablenews-American*, March 12, 1908; Yang Chen-hsien "Chung-kuo, hou-ch'iao cheng-tse chi ti-shan" in *Hsiao Lu-sung Hua-ch'iao chung-hsi hsueh-hsiao wu-shih chou-nien k'an* (Anglo-Chinese School, 1899-1949 Golden Jubilee) (Manila, 1949), p. 334; *Chung-hsing jih-pao* September 5, 1907.

⁴¹ *The Cablenews-American*, August 6, 1907.

⁴² *Ibid.*

On November 15, the Commodore and his crew received their countrymen aboard the ship.

All the unchartered launches in the bay were used to carry patriotic Chinese back and forth. The Consulate itself was brightly decorated with yellow banners and dragon ensign, and a large number of Manila Chinese, rich and poor, performed the rites prescribed for proper observance of their emperor's birthday.⁴³

Ritual and pageantry uplifted the people on such great occasion with the remembrance of their past and the timeliness of their institutions and gave them a sense of stability and pride.

As late as 1910 the Chinese community was still celebrating and toasting their emperor's natal day with solemnity. The expression of loyalty to their imperial symbol militated against, if not hindered, the works of the revolutionists in the Philippines.

THE REVOLUTIONISTS IN THE PHILIPPINES

It is ironical to note that the Philippines which loomed large in the plan of Sun Yat-sen as a possible staging area for revolutionary uprising in China was the last area in Southeast Asia to see the inauguration of the T'ung Meng Hui or Common Alliance Society. This Society Sun founded in Tokyo in 1905 was not formally organized in Manila until early 1911.⁴⁴ As early as 1903 certain revolutionary tracts such as Tsou Jung's "Revolutionary Army" may have filtered into the Philippines,⁴⁵ for it had been spread among Chinese elsewhere, especially in Singapore. During the 1904-1905 period certain revolutionary organs published in Hongkong had also reached the Chinese in the Philippines.⁴⁶ In 1906 Go Ki Kiu a local Chinese supporter of the revolutionary movement had circulated issues of the *Min Pao* published by the T'ung Meng Hui in Tokyo.⁴⁷ The comparatively late establishment of the revolutionary organization in Manila is usually explained by the obstacles presented by the application of the Chinese exclusion law to the Philippines. The strict enforcement of the exclusion law, it was alleged, hampered and caused inconvenience to the travel of revolutionary conspirators to and fro, between China and the Philippines.⁴⁸

⁴³ *Ibid.*, November 16, 1907.

⁴⁴ Tsai Kuei-sheng, "Kuo-fu yu fei-lu pin hua-ch'iao." (Sun Yat-sen and the Chinese in the Philippines) *Kuang Li Pao Chuang-k'an wu-shih-hsi chou-nien* (The Kong Li Po fifty fourth anniversary issue, 1965), p. 85; Huang Chen-wu, *op. cit.*, p. 42; Feng Tzu-yu, *Hua-ch'iao ko-ming k'ai-kuo shih*, *op. cit.*, p. 118; *Chung-hua min-kuo wu-shih nien wen-hsien*, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 751.

⁴⁵ Tasi Kuei-sheng, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

⁴⁶ Feng Tzu-yu, *Ko-ming i-shih*, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 180; Ch'en Hsiao-yu, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. ch'iao 13.

⁴⁷ Ch'en Hsiao-yu, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. ch'iao 13.

⁴⁸ See Huang Chen-wu, *hua-ch'iao yu chung-kuo ko-ming* (The Overseas Chinese and the Chinese Revolution) (Hong Kong, 1955).

Up to about 1907-1908 for reasons already indicated elsewhere above, the revolutionaries had been unable to gain large followings. Most Chinese were then not willing to join any revolutionary or radical group. The word revolution was equated with rebellion (Chao-fan) by the overseas Chinese. And the word rebellion struck terror in their hearts. It was only after the revolutionaries had carried out a protracted revolutionary propaganda in the Philippines for several years that the T'ung Meng Hui began to gain followers.

The acknowledged leader of the revolutionary followers in Manila was Dr. Tee Han Kee whose background singularly fitted him for this role. A native of Amoy, Fukien, when he attended the Hongkong Medical College in the late 1880's and early 1890's he became associated with Sun Yat-Sen. In the early 1900's he came to the Philippines to practice medicine and to carry out revolutionary work with the local Chinese. Because he was one of the few who had undergone training in modern medicine he was readily appointed by the American authorities as medical inspector of the Bureau of Health for the Chinese, a position he held for some twenty years.⁴⁹ Regarded as one of the vanguards in "leading the march of western civilization" among the Chinese in the Philippines, Dr. Tee Han Kee, together with Huang Hai Shan was the first to cut off the queue and discard the traditional Chinese garb in May, 1906.⁵⁰ Though they were congratulated by their American and European friends for this bold act they were scorned and teased by their fellow countrymen. Another active revolutionary in Manila was Yang Hao-lu, son of the founder of the Chinese pioneer press in the Philippines, the *Hua Pao* founded in 1888. At the age of twenty he went to Japan to study at Waseda University. There he was infected with revolutionary fervor. In 1903 he joined the anti-Russian Volunteer Corps. This volunteer Corps was organized in Japan by Chinese students to fight against the Russian occupation of Manchuria. He returned to the Philippines shortly after the Japanese Government clamped down on the revolutionary activities of Overseas Chinese students in Japan. It was he who in 1905 led some revolutionary adherents in disrupting the effort of Hsu Ch'in to organize a Constitutional Monarchical Society at the Manila Cantonese Association.⁵¹ Just as Hsu Ch'in was delivering a speech before an audience at the Cantonese Club, pointing to the urgency and logic of a constitutional monarchy, Yang Hao-lu with some followers, barged in, took over the rostrum, and accused the K'ang Yu-wei group of deceiving the Chinese.

⁴⁹ Fei-lu-pin hua-ch'iao ming-jen shih-luch pien chi-she (ed.), *Fei-lu-pin hua-ch'iao ming-jen shih-luch* (Who's who in the Chinese Community in the Philippines) (Shanghai, 1931), p. 13; Huang Hsiao-t'sang, *op. cit.*, p. chia 169!

⁵⁰ *The Manila Times*, May 14, 1906.

⁵¹ Feng Tzu-yu, *Ko-ming i-shih*, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 275 Vol. IV, p. 180; *Chung-hua min-kuo k'ai-kuo wu-shih nien wen-shien*, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 751.

By 1908 the Manila press was taking special note of the "rebellious mood" now pervading the local Chinese against the constituted authorities in China.⁵² While the Chinese community owed allegiance to the Kuang Hsu emperor whom they regarded as modern and progressive they paid no loyalty to the Empress Dowager. The paper hinted of the local Chinese financial contribution to the movement against the dynasty.

In 1908 the arrival of Yang Shih Chun as new Chinese Consul-General in Manila gave the revolutionaries the opportunity to launch an attack against the Manchu through the person of the consular official who lacked the customary polish of a mandarin. Though a Chinese, he was an official in the service of the Manchu government. His ignorance of diplomatic etiquette and social amenities caused the local revolutionary propagandists to bitterly attack him through the medium of Chinese revolutionary organs in Hong Kong. Like the Manchu dynasty which he represented, he was described as old-fashioned, corrupt and a disgrace to the Chinese.⁵³

By 1908 it was generally believed that the Imperial Commissioner, Yang Shih-ch'i who visited in the Philippines and other parts of South-east Asia in the previous year ostensibly to study the economic conditions of countries visited, was actually on a spying trip: to observe the activities of the revolutionists in the overseas Chinese communities. What he achieved is not known. But the following from a Canton dispatch explained the matter further:

The attention of the Peking Government has been drawn to the fact that the laboring class of Chinese in Hong Kong, Macao, Straits settlements, Netherland Indies and other places are influenced by certain rebel leaders and are moving against the Peking government. The condition of affairs, it is stated, has been confirmed by Yang Shi-ch'i, the imperial Chinese commissioner, who was recently on a trip down south and as a consequence of this confirmation the Peking authorities here dispatched instructions to the Chinese Consul General in Singapore and Manila, requesting them to endeavor to dispel the rebellious feeling now prevailing. Similar incidents here also reached Canton and the Viceroy of Canton has been instructed to communicate with the various magistrates under his jurisdiction to deal with the laboring classes accordingly. It is also stated that this unrest is responsible for the desire of the Chinese government to establish consulates in the Netherland Indies.⁵⁴

The revolutionary activities in the Philippines took a step forward in 1909 with the formation of the Shu Pao She or reading club, in Cavite. The club was shortly transferred to Manila. This type of reading club was founded by young agitators who through pamphlets, newspapers,

⁵² *The Cablenews-American* March 12, 1908.

⁵³ Feng Tzu-yu, *Ko-ming i-shih*, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 276.

⁵⁴ *The Cablenews-American*, March 12, 1908.

and public lectures sought to awaken the Philippine Chinese to the need of revolution. Other branches followed suit in various parts of the islands.⁵⁵ Books, magazines, and newspapers were made available to members who are mostly young men, and in this way revolutionary thoughts were disseminated. These study clubs were later reorganized as branches of the Kuomintang party.

In the spring-summer of 1911, the arrival of Li Ch'i of the Hong kong T'ung Meng Hui paved the way for the organization of a similar branch in Manila. Under his guidance and supervision the revolutionaries in Manila set up the party structure. Dr Tee Han Kee who had been energetically leading the revolutionary movement was elected chairman of the local T'ung Meng Hui.⁵⁶

THE PHILIPPINE CHINESE AND THE REVOLUTION OF 1911

On October 9, 1911, a follower of Sun Yat-sen, one of the heroic and desperate "Dare-to-Die" who had harrassed the imperial government for years, was working over a bomb in Wuchang. The bomb exploded accidentally, the secret storage of munitions was discovered; the next day, in the ensuing turmoil, the Republic of China was born. Double Ten Day, (October 10, 1911) has since been celebrated as the Chinese National Day.

Revolution always causes reverberation far beyond borders, and the shock waves of the Chinese republican revolution were felt wherever there were Chinese communities. The outbreak of the Revolution was the signal for an extraordinary demonstration of enthusiasm by the Philippine Chinese. The news of victory gave impetus to the collection of funds. The cutting of the queue, the badge of Manchu domination, was the occasion for a general holiday. It is reported that barbers of the city were kept busy shearing the locks of the rebel sympathizers.⁵⁷

In different Chinese stores and restaurants, placards giving accounts of the battle were posted and they became the center of animated groups discussing the course of the war. As political events in China were growing more and more exciting and unconfirmed reports of revolutionary activities at home reached the islands in rapid succession, the Chinese in Manila then began to look at the newspapers as an indispensable means of informing themselves reliably of what was happening at home. Lacking a paper of their own (the *Ching-to Times* folded for financial reasons in 1909) the local Chinese depended on the Manila papers for news. Every afternoon as the *Manila Times* papers went to press, a score of Chinese gathered about the news room eager

⁵⁵ Ch'en Hsiao-yu, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. she 23.

⁵⁶ Tsai Kuei-sheng, *op. cit.*, p. 85; Feng Tzu-yu, *Ko-ming i-shih*, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 154.

⁵⁷ *The Manila Times*, October 20, 1911.

to purchase the first copy of the press.⁵⁸ To meet the urgent need of the day the *Kong Li Po*, hastily published as a news bulletin in late 1911, came to light in 1912, the first year of the Chinese republic. This paper now considered the doyen of Chinese dailies in the Philippines was founded with the special object of propagating the revolutionary cause. The organ was put up with a capital of ₱10,000 subscribed to by the Chinese merchants, at the instance of Dr. Tee Han Kee.⁵⁹

As the news of armed uprisings reached Manila, special performances were given by the reading club at the Manila Grand Opera House for the purpose of raising funds for the revolutionary coffers. Dr. Tee Han Kee, the leading revolutionary supporter in Manila, was easily the star of the play, appearing in the role of Sun Yat-sen.⁶⁰ One of the scenes staged told of the killing of the Tartar general by Wen Sheng-t'sai an Overseas Chinese in Malaya. Impressed by the speeches that Sun Yat-Sen made while traveling in the South Seas Wen then went back to Canton in 1910 intending to assassinate Li Chun, then provincial commander-in-chief of the Kwangtung Navy, and who had been singled out as an executioner of many revolutionaries. Wen failed to kill Li Chun but he was arrested and executed for having killed General Fu Ch'i another important official in Kwangtung.⁶¹ Another scene showed the attempt of Chinese girls to carry bombs into the city of Canton and the entry of the revolutionaries into the city. The scene was the cause of great enthusiasm and when "the flag of young China was raised over the bodies of fallen Tartars, it was moments before the house subsided."⁶² The play was preceded by patriotic addresses by a number of speakers among whom were three women who "wrought" the house into a high pitch of patriotic fervor. The general tone of the speeches were descriptive of the alleged abuses committed by the Manchus against the Chinese. The speakers portrayed the way in which Chinese were handicapped in their own country by corrupt officials. The American and the French governments were cited as examples of what can be brought about by revolt. They stressed that the only way to keep China from being divided among the powers was to overthrow the Manchu role. At the close of the speeches, Dr. Tee Han Kee came to the front of the stage accompanied by two assistants, and unfurling the flag of the revolution called for three cheers. For several moments the house was in an uproar, the mass of people who had

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, November 6, 1911.

⁵⁹ Yen Wen-ch'u, "Shan-shih-nien-lai fei-tao hua-ch'iao pao-chi shih-yeh", *op. cit.*, Chapter 39, p. 3, Ch'en Hsiao-yu, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. she 3, Liu Lang, *op. cit.*, p. 056.

⁶⁰ *The Manila Times*, October 14, 1911.

⁶¹ Huang Chen-wu, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-18.

⁶² *The Manila Times*, October 14, 1911.

gathered to witness the staging of the great tragedy surged backward and forward and shouted themselves hoarse.⁶³

On October 15, the second production of the play was re-enacted.⁶⁴ This was followed by a third performance on November 7.⁶⁵ During both performances, several thousand Chinese crowded the Opera House to the doors. The dramatic scenes infected thousands of Chinese with the revolutionary germ.

Every reference to the revolutionary movement was greeted with the wildest enthusiasm and when the flag of the revolution was waved as a climax to a patriotic outburst, the very rafters of the Opera House shook with cheering.⁶⁶

The anti-Manchu slogan, fan-Ch'ing fu-Ming oppose the Ch'ing, restore the Ming, invented by anti-Manchu secret societies throughout the Ch'ing dynasty was appropriated by the revolutionaries and was soon taken up by a vast number of Chinese. Although the Manchu emperors were as Chinese * as the Hanoverian Kings became English, with the development of a new revolutionary movement in China, spreading the concept of democratic responsible government to replace the Manchu absolutism, and the old imperial-bureaucratic system this "national" appeal became of special significance. (For though the Manchu emperors had become entirely sinified, all over China the privileged position of the Manchu people and the existence of Manchu garrisons were a perpetual reminder that the empire had been usurped by foreigners.) Both the Taipings and the Triads aiming at respectively a Christian dynasty and the restoration of the Ming (the last Chinese dynasty succeeded by the Manchu) had emphasized the "alien" nature of the Manchu dynasty in relation to the Han people, i.e., Chinese, and this line of propaganda was carried on by the later revolutionists. Their propaganda left only two deep impressions. One was that they were against the Manchus and the other is that they took pride in the glorious heritage left by their Han ancestors.

By harping on the theme that the Chinese were being oppressed by a racial minority against their own interest, and that the Manchu readily acquiesced to foreign aggression as a means of maintaining their power and special privileges, they became discredited in the eyes of the Chinese people. They were such obvious targets, and on two counts, as usurper of the Chinese powers and as ruler of China in a bleak

⁶³ *The Cablenews-American* October 14, 1911.

⁶⁴ *The Manila Times*, October 16, 1911.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, November 8, 1911.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, October 16, 1911.

* The Manchus who ruled China from 1644 to 1911 were a non-Chinese people of different habit, language, and culture. Yet, they succeeded in maintaining their power by traditional Confucian means for as long a period as any Chinese dynasty.

age of national degradation. This kind of propaganda produced tremendous affect and it was mainly this which raised the storm of revolution in China.

The Chinese revolutionary followers in the Philippines also harped on the theme of the struggle, broadly speaking, of the Chinese people against the Manchu, alien in race. Dr. Tee Han Kee thundered:

The Manchu is doomed! This is the voice of China. It has been growing in volume for years, and at least it has made itself heard over the civilized world. We have failed ten times already—we will do it all over. The Chinese of today, for the Manchu are not Chinese, will not be satisfied until the Manchu is overthrown and an intelligent government has been established. . . .the breaking point is past, China had endured all that she can, and now is the time for a government of the people, for the people, and by the people. They have kept us down, have trained us in ignorance with the iron hand, so that their rotten dynasty might stand on their loot, for ten thousand years.

. . . We have been kept down by the people who called themselves Chinese, the Manchus. Their history is written in blood. . . . The time has come to wipe out the stain.

We don't want an empire, but a republic. We owe it to the world and to ourselves. When China has become better this world will benefit, and around the little nucleus that will be formed at the realization of our object, will spread out a great land, filled with happy Chinese who for the first time in centuries will have tasted sweet liberty, the right of every man. . . .⁶⁷

The Chinese were now in sympathy with the revolutionary movement, and contributed their financial bit to its support. For one thing the tension between wanting to be modern and fear of reprisals on relatives back home if they supported the revolutionaries had come to an end. Every Chinese resident in the Philippines was asked to contribute his quota to the cause of the revolution.⁶⁸ As the preponderance of the Chinese in the Philippines were Fukienese and Cantonese, i.e., of the southern stock, the response had been generous. The reason is not far to seek. The Fukienese, together with their southern neighbor, the Cantonese had been called the Anglo-Saxon of China, and there can be no doubt that they are more active, more independent, more self-reliant, than those living in the north, and west of China.⁶⁹ The Cantonese, in particular, have historically been the most bellicose people in China.⁷⁰ While slighter physically than their compatriots farther north, they were more fiery in temperament. It was therefore no accident that the Cantonese though defeated, put up the only effective

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, October 21, 1911.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, November, 6, 1911.

⁶⁹ Marshall Broomhall, *The Chinese Empire: "A General Summary Survey."* (London: Morgan and Scott, 1907), p. 54.

⁷⁰ Frederic Wakeman Jr., *Stranger at the Gate: Social Disorder in South China, 1839-1861.* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1966), pp. 57-58.

defense of Canton during the Opium War. Nor was it an accident that the Taiping Rebellion, the first internal disturbance in China inspired by the West has its inception in the Canton Area, and the City was likewise the cradle of the Republican Revolution of 1911 that was led by Sun Yat-sen, himself a Cantonese.

Within China proper there was throughout the period of the Manchu dynasty a deep cleavage between North and South in relation to the central government at Peking.⁷¹ This was particularly true for the Canton region. The anti-Manchu feeling in the South had its roots in history:

Who could forget the eleven-month siege of Canton in 1650, when the Tartar troops finally battered down the walls with cannon and killed over one hundred thousand in a brutal blood bath of revenge and fury? These popular memories did not die early. In fact, anti-Manchu revolutionaries like Sun Yat-sen felt that hatred of the Ch'ing formed the essence of the Triads' ideology.⁷²

Thus, though the Manchus may have occupied Northern China without meeting the least resistance they conquered the south by force and only after a long hard bitter struggle. This fact determined the later history of the dynasty and explained the differing attitude of the northern and southern Chinese towards the Manchu dynasty. After the 1911 Revolution, Canton remained the base of Sun Yat-sen and his republican faction later known as the Nationalists, during a long series of civil wars that were, roughly between New China and Old China.

Let us then return to the fund raising campaign. By October 18, 1911, ₱77,000 had been remitted to the revolutionaries of China.⁷³ Between October 11 and early November, 1911, ₱300,000 had been contributed for the cause of the republican revolution;⁷⁴ of these amounts ₱52,000 had been raised at the three performances in the Grand Opera House.⁷⁵ Those who had hitherto looked upon the revolution as treason and avoided it like a plague were now somewhat reconciled as to the inevitable. We now find wealthy merchants as zealous contributors. Guillermo Cu-Unjieng, President of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce for 1904-1906, personally donated ₱5,000 to the Revolutionary Army coffer when news of the Wuchang uprising reached Manila in mid-October, 1911.⁷⁶ Another wealthy merchant, Jose Velasco Chua gave ₱1,000 for the same cause.⁷⁷ A donation in the amount of ₱18,000 was raised in a 2-day Chinese charity bazaar sale

⁷¹ C.P. Fitzgerald, *China: A Short Cultural History* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1954), p. 535.

⁷² Wakeman, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

⁷³ *The Cablenews-American*, October 18, 1911.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, November 9, 1911; *The Manila Times*, November 4, 1911.

⁷⁵ *The Manila Times*, October 16, 1911; *The Cablenews-American*, November 9, 1911.

⁷⁶ Huang Hsiao-t'sang, *op. cit.*, p. chia 159.

⁷⁷ *Fei-lu-pin hua-ch'iao ming-jen shih-lueh*, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

under the auspices of the Manila Chinese young men and women patriotic groups for the relief of those Chinese rendered destitute by the floods and drought during the 1911 revolution.⁷⁸

On October 22, the Manila Reading Club, the organization responsible for the revolutionary propaganda in the city, held a meeting attended by a thousand Chinese. The meeting was called by Dr. Tee Han Kee to introduce a number of fellow revolutionists who all made speeches calling for the destruction of the Manchu dynasty. The speakers were listened to eagerly, and it is said, the magic word "revolution," set the house mad with enthusiasm. In particular, Dr. Tee Han Kee took the opportunity to denounce Yuan Shih-k'ai. (In 1898 Yuan Shih-k'ai had been the instrument which the Empress Dowager had used to overthrow the reformers and the Kuang Hsu Emperor. The betrayal won the eternal hatred of Kuang Hsu's brother, Prince Chun, who in 1909 became regent. In January 1909 the Prince dismissed Yuan from all his posts. To meet the emergency created by the revolt of October 1911, the Prince swallowed his pride. He recalled Yuan from forced retirement to take command of the punitive expedition against the rebels because Yuan, the strong man of the last years of the Empress Dowager rule, had organized the nearest thing to a modern Army.) In a fiery speech that carried the audience to its feet, Dr. Tee Han Kee said:

Yuan Shi-k'ai, the man without shame, the Chinese who came like a dog, when he was called, and who has sold his soul of what was once Chinese, to the rotting dynasty of Manchus.⁷⁹

Not only did the Overseas Chinese in the Philippines contribute their wealth to the revolution but they also shed their blood for it. Paul Linebarger, an American judge in the Philippines in the early years of the 1900's, in one of his works on Sun Yat-sen told the story of the revolutionary exploits of his cook whom he affectionately called Ah Po. One day Ah Po had come to him and asked for a month's leave. He confided that he had been sent for to help Sun Yat-sen. The judge gave the leave but the cook did not return for many months. When he did come back he was emaciated and scarred as from battle. But he was more enthusiastic than ever about the revolution, although his efforts had failed, and he had been caught by the government police, imprisoned, beaten and robbed of his possessions. It was this incident, which led Judge Linebarger to Sun Yat-sen and the Chinese revolutionary movement.⁸⁰

Ah Po was not the only Chinese who participated in the revolutionary uprising. Ty Kong Tin, son of a local Chinese merchant, joined the

⁷⁸ *The Manila Times*, August 12, 1912.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, October 23, 1911.

⁸⁰ Lineberger, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-10.

revolutionary soldiers in the capture of Ch'uan-chou from the Imperial troops in the 1911 revolution.⁸¹ It is said that as many as 900 Chinese left for China to assist in the government in October 1911.⁸² Meanwhile, a drill team was organized from among Manila Chinese businessmen for training under the manual of arms. Instruction was given the men by a Chinese, formerly an officer of the Japanese Army. Beginning with a handful of enthusiasts the number swelled to over a hundred by the end of October.⁸³ It was reported many of Manila's prominent Chinese were the most enthusiastic members of the drill team and were taking more interest in the present proceedings than at any previous stage of the revolution.

The early days of 1912 saw the Chinese in Manila in a state of jubilation over the information that Peking had capitulated and that a provisional republic had been proclaimed by edict of the imperial regent of China. One local paper reported the gala day in festive mood:

Bright colored five barrel flags* of the new Chinese republic floated from all the buildings of the Chinese quarter of the city, yesterday, and were hung in front of the shops of Chinese merchants on the Escolta and Rosario, while the happy celestials celebrated... riding, cheering through the city in automobile and special street cars, decorated with the colors of the new born nation.⁸⁴

In May 1912, the Chinese Chamber of Commerce put its final seal of approval on the Chinese Republic and the Consul General of the New government at Peking acted as the presiding officer at the annual meeting of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce in the city.⁸⁵

In August, the Chinese Chamber of Commerce upon instruction from the Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Agriculture sent a delegate in the person of Benito Siy Cong Bieng a prominent local Chinese merchant to Peking to confer on matters coming within the scope of the ministry.⁸⁶ In November-December, the same chamber of commerce, on instructions of the President of the new Republic, unanimously elected Shih-Chi-hua as observer to the National Assembly.⁸⁷ He was described as being a merchant of large means, polished to a high degree, and possessing a perfect knowledge of the Mandarin language.

⁸¹ *The Cablenews-American*, May 30, 1912.

⁸² *Ibid.*, October 18, 1911.

⁸³ *The Manila Times*, November 2, 1911.

* Five stripes—a color for each of the five people who swore allegiance to it: red for the Chinese, yellow for the Manchus, blue for the Mongolian, white for the Moslems, black for the Tibetan.

⁸⁴ *The Cablenews-American*, February 16, 1912.

⁸⁵ *The Manila Times*, May 9, 1912.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, August 21, 1912; Huang Hsiao-t'sang, *op. cit.*, p. chia 59.

⁸⁷ *The Manila Times*, November 27, December 13, 1912; Huang Hsiao-t'sang, *op. cit.*, p. chia 59.

The fact that the Chinese abroad had before and after the fall of the Manchu regime contributed generously financially or otherwise, toward the successful establishment of the Republic of China automatically raised their status in the opinion of the Chinese Republic. The young republic recognizing the significance of the role which the overseas Chinese had played in the revolution, stipulated in the provisional constitution of August 10, 1912 that six senators out of a total 214 be selected from among the Chinese overseas.⁸⁸

Recognition of services performed in connection with the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty, and the establishment of the Chinese Republic came in 1913 to three of Manila's leading Chinese citizens, two residents of Cebu, and one of Iloilo. They were Dr. Tee Han Kee, Jose Velasco Chua, and Ty Chuaco, the latter two prominent Chinese merchants of Manila; Uy Ma Guan honorary consular representative of Cebu, Uy Suy Cum also of Cebu; and Yap Seng honorary consular representative of Iloilo. All were awarded with the order of "Chia ho" for meritorious services to the Republic of China.⁸⁹

Perhaps it is relevant to this point to analyze the reasons which led to the Philippine Chinese to support the revolutionaries. There were many factors which help to explain the trend toward support of the revolutionary and republican movement. Among the Overseas Chinese who became acquainted with modern political institutions abroad and who best understood the strength of the West, many were anxious to have China modernized. Those subjected to modern education were provided with a new yardstick for measuring the inadequacies of Chinese institutions. This was brought home by Dr. Tee Han Kee when he said:

This is the twentieth century, the Chinese no longer believe that the emperor is the son of Heaven. We have been patient and tried all means to no end, until at last, with our trained men who have been sent abroad to learn modern ideas, and who through their light of intelligence have seen the horror of the uncivilized Manchu rule, our great struggle has come.⁹⁰

Sun Yat-sen's influence on the overseas Chinese developed from the fact that he knew how to utilize the existing revolutionary potential of Overseas Chinese as well as to give a newer and greater meaning to the anti-dynastic conception. The decadent Manchu regime had become unpopular. Instead of being the object of loyalty, it had now become the target of racial hatred. They "flocked to the standard" of the Republic because they had been stirred up by skillfully conducted propaganda to take part in the noble work of "sweeping away the hated

⁸⁸ Chu Hsiu-hsieh et. al. (eds.) *Hua-ch'iao Chi* (The Chinese Abroad) (Taipei, 1964), p. 524, Feng Tzu-yu, *Hua-ch'iao ko-ming k'ai-kuo shih*, op. cit., pp. 121-122.

⁸⁹ *The Manila Times*, May 24, 1913.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, October 21, 1911.

foreign domination." A Manila Chinese resident explained why the Chinese were eager to help the revolutionists:

Chinese people were fighting to a finish. They will not give up until the corrupt government which is a blot upon and disgrace to the empire is torn from its hold, and a new and a cleaner administration takes its place.⁹¹

With the decline of the Manchu government, the influence of K'ang Yu-wei and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao also declined. As the years rolled on, the program of a constitutional monarchy proved too conservative for the time and it lost to Sun Yat-sen the leadership of the movement to create a modern China. The death of the Kuang Hsu emperor in 1908 was a final blow to constitutional monarchy movement of Kang and Liang. When the progressive emperor died, "the main hope of the monarchical reformers was destroyed."⁹² The Overseas Chinese, already split over the issue of reform and revolution, now gave their support to the more radical course. The future rode with Sun Yat-sen. His movement losing impetus, K'ang devoted himself more and more to the exposition of the "Confucian religion" and became increasingly conservative, out of touch with modern currents.

When the revolution seemed capable of winning the political and military battle, the Philippine Chinese support of the revolutionists was fairly generous. By October of 1911, the revolutionists had enough success to attract those who wanted to be on the winning side. No longer seeing in the Manchus or reformers as likely candidates for power in China, their logical deduction led them to cast their lot with the revolutionists.

Finally, the Overseas Chinese realized that their fate as alien residents abroad was somehow linked to the future of their homeland. They felt that the causes of their low status were numerous and varied, and often highly complex in nature, yet they realized at the same time that the greatest of all these was the weak home government. They realized that foreigners felt no awe for a weak nation and soon came to the conclusion that they could win respect only through a resurgence of the Chinese nation itself. It was this vision that impelled them to cast their lot with Sun Yat-sen in his struggle "to bring China into the modern World" and "to gain for her an equal and honored place in the family of nations."⁹³ According to Dr. Tee Han Kee in fighting the Manchus, the Chinese revolutionists had but one object: "to free China from the oppression and give her a place in the world as a

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, October 16, 1911.

⁹² C.P. Fitzgerald, *The Third China: The Chinese Communities in Southeast Asia* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 1965) p. 21.

⁹³ Shao Chuan Leng and Norman D. Palmer, *Sun Yat-sen and Communism* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1960), p. 9.

power.”⁹⁴ The vision of a Chinese nation, “united, wealthy, powerful, and internationally respected,” came to be that of all Chinese immigrants, as some one aptly puts it:

Chinese in exile wove a dream against the toil and outrages of their daily lives. The smiling laundryman, the sweating coolie or the railroad work gang, and the silk-robed magnate each comforted himself in adversity and rejoiced with greater zest in his seasons of joy because he was a Chinese, born of a race far above the rest of mankind. The determination that their superiority must be universally acknowledged led the overseas Chinese into a radical political movement.⁹⁵

In effect, without the financial support, the ardor, the undying faith and the sacrificing spirit of the Overseas Chinese, including those in the Philippines, the Republic of China might not have been established so soon. In calling the attention of his fellow countrymen at home to the important role played by the Chinese abroad, Sun Yat-sen coined the expression: “Hua-ch’iao wei ko-ming chi-mu,” the Overseas Chinese are the mother of the Chinese Revolution!

⁹⁴ *The Manila Times*, October 21, 1911.

⁹⁵ Robert S. Elegant, *The Center of the World* (New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1964), p. 96.

A GLOSSARY OF CHINESE NAMES AND TERMS

Chao-fan	(造 反)
Chia-ho	(嘉 禾)
Ching-to Hsin-wen	(警 鐸 新 文)
Chua Han-huan	(蔡 咸 煥)
Chung-kuo jih-pao	(中 國 日 報)
Cu Unjieng	(邱 允 衡)
F'an-Ch'ing fu-Ming	(反 清 復 明)
Fu Ch'i	(孚 琦)
Go Ki Kiu	(吳 記 球)
Hai-ch'i	(海 圻)
Hsien Cheng Hui	(憲 政 會)
Hsing Chung Hui	(興 中 會)
Hsu Ch'in	(徐 勤)
Hua Pao	(華 報)
Huang Hai Shan	(黃 海 山)
I-yu Hsin-pao	(益 友 新 報)
Ko-ming	(革 命)
Ko-ming chun	(革 命 軍)
Ko-ming chi-mu	(革 命 之 母)

Kong Li Po	(公 理 報)
Li Ch'i	(李 箕 報)
Li Chun	(李 準 報)
Min-i pao	(民 益 報)
Min Pao	(民 報)
Nung Shang Pu	(農 商 報)
Pan Shu-fan	(潘 庶 蕃)
Pao Huang Hui	(保 皇 會)
Shih Chi-hua	(施 皇 華)
Shu Pao She	(書 報 社)
Siy Cong Bieng	(施 光 銘)
Su Jui-chu	(蘇 鏡 釗)
Tee Han Kee	(鄭 漢 淇)
Tsou Jung	(鄒 容)
Tung Meng Hui	(同盟 會)
Ty Kong Tin	(鄭 孔 珍)
Wen Sheng-t'sai	(溫 生 才)
Yang Hao-lu	(楊 豪 侶)
Yang Shih-ch'i	(楊 士 琦)
Yang Shih-chun	(楊 士 鈞)