

FOUR JAPANESE: THEIR PLANS FOR THE EXPANSION OF JAPAN TO THE PHILIPPINES

by JOSEFA M. SANIEL

BETWEEN 1886 AND 1891, FOUR JAPANESE NATIONALIST-ACTIVISTS¹—Yoko Tosaku, Sugiura Jugo, Suganuma Teifu and Fukumoto Makoto—described their plans for Japanese expansion to the Philippines. These men, writing during the time of ideological ferment in the early Meiji period, represented a significant trend of thought when Japan was greatly concerned with the problem of attaining an international position to assure her national security. This was also a period when the Japanese government, guided by the Meiji oligarchs, adopted a “policy of restraint” from territorial expansion which might involve Japan in foreign conflicts while they were undertaking the modernization as well as the industrialization of the country and working for the revision of the “unequal treaties.”

To the Japanese nationalist-activists, however, expansion was a means of building up Japan's national prestige and strength which, they believed, would enable the country to face the Western Powers and to settle with them for an extension of “equality” to Japan through the revision of the “unequal treaties.” In presenting their expansionist ideas, the Japanese nationalist-activists seem to have borrowed the current European neo-imperialistic² justifications for expansion to underdeveloped areas of the world. Thus, the Japanese nationalist-activists rested their case on four arguments: that Japan had a “surplus population” for which outlets had to be found; that Japan needed raw materials and food; that Japan had a right to preventive self-defense; and that Japan had a mission of civilizing and/or aiding backward areas of the world especially their neighbors.

JOSEFA M. SANIEL is an Assistant Professor in East Asian Studies of the Institute of Asian Studies. She holds a Ph.D. degree (Far Eastern Studies) from the University of Michigan, 1962, and is a member of several scholarly societies among which are the Philippine Historical Association, International House of Japan, the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences. Her book, “Japan and the Philippines, 1868-1898,” just came off the press in October this year.

¹ By the term nationalist-activists, I refer to the energetic, Japanese nationalists who vigorously opposed the Meiji oligarchs' “policy of restraint” from Japanese expansion in order to avoid foreign involvement while Japan was modernizing her feudal institutions.

² Neo-imperialism was not mainly a colonizing or a simple commercial imperialism. It can be described as an *investment imperialism in regions not as well adapted to European habitation*. See C. J. H. Hayes, *A Generation of Materialism, 1871-1900* (New York: Harper Bros., Pub., 1944), 217.

I

THE FIRST OF THOSE WHO PRESENTED A DEFINITE PLAN OF JAPANESE EXPANSION to the Philippines was Yoko Tosaku, who at the close of 1886³ proposed the establishment of the "Society of the South Seas"—the *Nanyo Kyokai*,⁴ as the Japanese put it. Yoko Tosaku⁵ seems to have been the first of those who had a definite plan for Japanese expansion to the Philippines.

Yoko Tosaku conceived of the *Nanyo Kyokai* as the organization to map-out a large-scale colonization of *Nanyo* (the South Seas)⁶ which glowed rich with promise of colonization. His scheme brought out in bold relief the South Seas partible into three districts which were to be colonized in succession. The first district included Palawan, Sulu, and Mindanao—lands in the Philippine archipelago; the second included the Caroline islands and the Marshal islands; while the third district was merely referred to as the islands south of Ogasawara, close to Java.

To implement Yoko Tosaku's scheme, the first step was for the *Nanyo Kyokai* to send two boatloads of Japanese to observe conditions in the first district—three islands⁷ of the Philippine archipelago—and become acquainted with the chiefs and people of these islands. After the latter's goodwill had been won, the Japanese observers could start negotiating for land grants.⁸ Poverty-ridden Japanese could thus immigrate from Japan and would be supplied by the *Nanyo Kyokai* with the seeds of different grains and enough food at the start to last them till a harvest was yielded. Besides cultivating land, the settlers were to engage in various crafts and industries that would make the colonies self-sufficient.

³ It was in the same year that the Japanese government sent Consul Minami to the Philippines in order to investigate existing conditions, and a year before Foreign Minister Inoue Kaoru negotiated with the powers unsatisfactory terms for the revision of the "unequal treaties" and which, according to Prof. Dalmar Brown, resulted in the birth of modern Japanese nationalism.

⁴ Irie Toraji, *Meiji nanshin shiko* (History of Japanese expansion to the Southern Seas), (Tokyo: Idashoten, 1943), 73.

⁵ Then Chief of the Record Section of the Metropolitan Police Office.

In 1876, Yoko Tosaku was a clerk at the Foreign Affairs section of the Metropolitan Police Office when the Japanese Minister to Russia Enomoto Buyo, requested the newly appointed Japanese Minister to Spain and Portugal, Ueno Kagenori, who was then Minister to England, to unofficially sound the Spanish government regarding its willingness to sell the Ladrones or the Marianas islands to Japan in case the latter would plan to purchase them. See *ibid.*, 24-35; 76-77.

⁶ *Nanyo* (the Southern Seas) was the term used by the Japanese to refer to the Spanish possessions in Oceania including the Philippines, the Marianas, the Palaus, the Carolinas, together with the Malay peninsula, Indochina and Indonesia.

⁷ Palawan, Sulu, Mindanao.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 74.

All these activities were to be directly supervised by branch offices of the *Nanyo Kyokai* to be established in each of the three islands.⁹

The next step was to colonize the second district in a manner similar to the settlement of the first area after that of the latter would have been set agoing. Then of course the colonization of the third district was to follow likewise. If things had gone according to plan, Ogasawara Island would have developed into a gateway of trade for the third and second districts, and the islands of Okinawa and Miyako would have served as gateways to the first district. Yoko Tosaku's plan would have simultaneously retrenched government expenses in that convicted criminals¹⁰ could have been sent as immigrants to the South Seas.

Yoko Tosaku's major concern was the movement of "surplus population" from Japan to the three districts of colonization. After the establishment of colonies, the development of a prosperous trade between these and Japan would have been an offshoot redounding to the credit of the *Nanyo Kyokai*, nay, of Yoko Tosaku himself. Unfortunately, the scheme remained just that, a scheme.

While Yoko Tosaku's first target was the colonization of the first district,¹¹ his plan did not consider the colonial status of the Philippines. However, attention was given to this fact by two other writers. Like Yoko Tosaku's ideas, theirs also influenced future writers on Japanese expansion to the Philippines. They were: (1) Sugiura Jugo who wrote *Hankai yume monogatari* (Story of Hankai's dream) sometimes referred to as *Shinheimin kaitendan* (The new common people who gave themselves to despair), and (2) Suganuma Teifu who wrote *Shin Nihon no tonan no yume* (New Japan's dream of aspiration to the South Seas) and the *Dai Nihon shogyoshi* (Comprehensive commercial history of Japan).¹²

II

SUGIURA JUGO¹³ IN 1887 PREFERRED TO USE THE NOVEL AS HIS MEDIUM, probably his safest means of expressing his ideas on Japanese expansion to the Philippines. Jugo's was a time when censorship of the press became

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Whom he presented as totalling 320,410 in Japan by 1885. *Ibid.*, 75.

¹¹ For instance, the three islands of Palawan, Sulu, Mindanao.

¹² *Ibid.*, 76-77.

¹³ Sugiura Jugo was educated in England from 1877 to 1880 and was, therefore, familiar with the situation in Europe and European expansion into the South Seas. He often wondered why Europeans who had great respect for individual freedom could not do the same in their colonies. He was especially concerned with the tyrannical policy of Spain in the Philippines. Together with Miyake Yujiro (pen name, Setsurei) and Shiga Jukyo, Sugiura published one of the nationalistic magazines, the *Nihonjin*.

more rigid because the Japanese government was facing an unfavorable nationalistic reaction to the unacceptable provisions for treaty revisions negotiated by the Foreign Minister Inoue. It was thus a time when the Japanese government kept from involving itself in expansionism as demanded by the nationalist-activists, lest treaty revisions be further complicated and delayed.

Camouflaging Sugiura's ideas was a dream of Hankai (*Hankai yume monogatari*).¹⁴ Briefly, the dream visualizes a speaker who is trying to convince his audience (consisting of the *shinheimin*, the new common people formerly legally outcasts from Japanese society) to start a just war of liberation of the Philippine Islands from Spanish oppression. This would, in turn, create "a free and refreshing world" for the *shinheimin* to settle in. Then the speaker describes how the *shinheimin* was to raise an army transportable to the Philippines where they could initially farm and wait for the right moment to rise up against Spain. Spain, the speaker continues, was a country too enervated to return any attack on the Philippines even if she sent her standing army from the home country. The speaker thus hopes that at this point of the struggle, the discontented Filipinos would help the Japanese fight Spain. The story ends. The dreamer awakes.

Sugiura Jugo's novel, considered¹⁵ the first book perhaps describing accurately the existing conditions among the natives in the South Seas,¹⁶ introduces the idea of Japan's civilizing mission in the Philippines and the responsibility of the Japanese to lead the backward Filipinos in the latter's fight for freedom from Spanish despotism. It also reflects Jugo's conviction that it was necessary to control a territory for part of the Japanese population to move into.

III

THE *Hankai yume monogatari* MUST HAVE IMPRESSED SUGANUMA TEIFU¹⁷

¹⁴ A summary of the story is found in Irie Toraji, *Meiji . . .*, *op. cit.*, 77-80.

¹⁵ By Irie Toraji, *ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 81.

¹⁷ Suganuma Teifu was born in 1865 at Ogaki in Hirado, an island off Nagasaki Prefecture. The author visited Suganuma's home at Ogaki during her stop over at Hirado on July 30, 1960. Upon viewing Suganuma's home which was nestled within rice fields, and considering the material remains which indicated that Hirado was once a thriving port of foreign trade, it was not difficult to imagine how a brilliant mind like Suganuma's which underwent the discipline of Chinese scholarship directed by Hirado's Chinese scholars and later by professors at the Tokyo University, would be led to search relentlessly for a solution to the poverty of the people of his town who had to turn to the cultivation of a limited area of land since the center of foreign trade had been transferred elsewhere. It must also be remembered that Hirado is in the neigh-

so that he reviewed it¹⁸ before members of one of Hirado's nationalistic study clubs, the *Yui Gakkai*. Suganuma Teifu's comments aroused the club member's interest. Some of them copied the novel and "always carried it around," consequently increasing their hopes for Japan's southward expansion.¹⁹ According to Hirado's local historian, Hanawa Kunzo, it was then that Suganuma Teifu promised the people of his town that he would investigate a place abroad which they could cultivate. When everything would be ready, they would organize themselves into different expeditionary groups and follow him.²⁰

In order to fulfill his promise and because he thought that "extending national power abroad was a more important preoccupation for Japan than reforming domestic conditions,"²¹ Suganuma Teifu sailed for the Philippines the following spring, after he had convinced another nationalist, Fukumoto Makoto, to follow him.²² But before presenting Suganuma Teifu's findings in the Philippines, it is well to consider briefly his major works dealing with Japanese expansion to the South Seas—to the Philippines in particular.

Following Sugiura's use of a dream to bemark his ideas on Japanese expansion, Suganuma Teifu wrote on the dream of Japan. His work, entitled *Shin Nihon no tonan no yume* (New Japan's dream of aspirations to the South Seas), is divided into two parts: Volume I entitled "Tatsu no maki" (Volume of the dragon) and Volume II, "Tora no maki" (Volume of the tiger). Each volume had three chapters and nine sections.²³

borhood of Fukuoka where economic discontent among the *samurai* reached a peak during the post-restoration period. Suganuma Teifu's solution was Japanese expansion through trade with, and emigration to the Philippines. The people of Hirado count Suganuma Teifu as one of their town's famous men. So he occupies a special place at the Matsuura Museum of Hirado. For a short biography of Suganuma Teifu, see (1) Kuzuu Yoshihisa, *op. cit.*, 750-752; (2) Mikami Keisho, *Firipin jijo* (The present condition in the Philippines), (Tokyo: Takushoku Shimposha, 1952), 273-279, where a reproduction of "The Life of Sadakaze Suganuma" which was published in the *Philippine Review* of January, 1917, is included in its original English version; (3) Akanuma Saburo, *Suganuma Teifu*. Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1941.

¹⁸ This was when he returned for a short sojourn at his hometown, after his graduation at Tokyo University in the summer of 1888.

¹⁹ Irie Toraji, *Meiji . . .*, 81-82.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ "Suganuma Teifu-shi no shosho" (The detailed report on the cause of Mr. Suganuma Teifu's death), *Nippon*, August 2, 1889, 1.

²² Suganuma Teifu left for the Philippines on April 1, 1889 when he was an employee of *Nippon*. Before his departure, he had convinced Fukumoto Makoto, another nationalist, to follow him. The latter sailed for Manila a month later. See "Suganuma Teifushi no fun" (The sad news of Suganuma Teifu's death), *Nippon*, August 2, 1889, 1. In the last report, Fukumoto describes how Suganuma Teifu convinced him to go to Manila because both of them were interested in the South Sea area for the good of their country.

²³ Irie Toraji, *Meiji . . .*, *op. cit.*, 82.

Among other things the book proposes: (1) that Japan should take steps to protect herself from the expansive moves of the European Powers in the East and in the South Seas by either helping neighboring countries, such as Siam, in warding off Western encroachments, or by aiding or achieving control of neighboring European colonies such as French Annam, Dutch Java, and Sumatra: (2) that Japan should not fear China or Korea but "The white people who have limited our right to tax and have stepped upon our right to pass our own law and who despise us;"²⁴ (3) that Japan should search for new territories among the group of islands called the Philippine Islands which have been under Spain for quite a long while; this was so, according to Suganuma Teifu, because "The gods have wanted to give this new territory to Japan. Therefore, the gods left them in another's hands for a while because they had feared that the Philippine Islands would be occupied by others. Then the gods are waiting for our occupation . . . ;"²⁵ (4) that considering the strength of the Spanish Army in the Philippines and Spain's navy, one hundred battle-ships costing ¥100,000,000—an amount which could be raised from the customs revenue once the "unequal treaties" would be modified—would be enough to defeat Spain in the Philippines; (5) that in this way, Japan could expand abroad, by herself and without any help from anyone, for according to Suganuma, "In order to achieve a great purpose, one must not depend on others. If a man would devote himself to his nation at the risk of his life, he would surely succeed . . . ;"²⁶ (6) that as Hideyoshi once gave it a try, Japan should decide on a policy towards the Philippine Islands and once decided, Japan should send to the Philippines agricultural emigrants to be supervised and assisted by an emigration company; (7) that encouraging agricultural emigrants would not only be profitable to the emigration company but would also be important because "everywhere many emigrants would go, various industries would prosper. Friendship with the natives would deepen. At the same time, the trade of Japan would be prosperous . . . the company would build commercial ships that could cross oceans and make provisions against pirates, then the ships could take the place of warships when a chance comes . . ." ²⁷

In *Dainihon shogyoshi*,²⁸ Suganuma Teifu presents similar ideas expressed in his first work. However, in this second book, he stresses the possibilities of expanding Japan's trade and the need of interesting the country's trade to augment the nation's wealth. He equally emphasizes the importance of diplomacy to a country's national prestige; and counsels

²⁴ Quoted in *ibid.*, 84.

²⁵ Quoted in *ibid.*, 85.

²⁶ Quoted in *ibid.*

²⁷ Quoted in *ibid.*, 87.

²⁸ It was his graduation thesis in Tokyo University.

the avoidance of repetition of his forbear's isolation policy.²⁹ It is thus easy for us to discern why Suganuma Teifu decided to proceed to Manila. While in Manila, it is said that he carried out his investigations of the geography, history, culture, and government of the Islands during the daytime and wrote about them in the evening.³⁰ One of the points, echoed by later writer's he made in a serialized article³¹ was that Mindanao and Paragua (now known as Palawan) of the Philippine archipelago which he describes as rich in natural resources were hardly developed, and that Spanish control over these islands was weak, if not dubious. He pointed out that these islands would be good for Japanese settlements.³²

Besides presenting data he had gathered in the Philippines, Suganuma Teifu indicated the advisability of developing Japanese interests in the Philippines, her closest neighbor, and that this should be part of Japan's plan of expansion into the islands around the equator.³³ He found the brisk trade in Manila very encouraging and noted the bright possibilities for Japanese immigration into the island of Luzon, especially in the provinces of Cagayan and Isabela which were thinly populated.³⁴

In order to encourage Japanese to immigrate into the Philippines, Suganuma Teifu made note of Filipino similarities with the Japanese: (1) of the 'Tagalogs' in physical features (except that the Japanese were not indolent);³⁵ (2) of the Visayans' who with their vivacity and mercantile proclivity competed with the Tagalogs in Manila (the Visayans, Suganuma conjectures, must have come from the same stock as the Japanese);³⁶ and (3) of the bravery and skillful hands of the *Moros* although there is no similarity at all between the Japanese and the *Moro* languages and customs.³⁷ The attempt at establishing similarities and kinship between the Japanese and the Filipinos, not only bespoke ease of assimilation and adjustment of the Japanese settlers in the Philippines but also justified Japan's mission of helping fellow Asians (especially kin) referred

²⁹ Suganuma Teifu, *Dai Nihon shogyoshi* (Comprehensive commercial history of Japan), (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1943). See also Irie Toraji's comments on *Dai Nihon shogyoshi* in Irie Toraji, Meiji . . ., *op. cit.* 89.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 91.

³¹ Only part of the results of his investigation had been posthumously serialized in nine installments of the *Nippon* from June 23 to August 27, 1889, under the title of "Manira tsushin" (Communications from Manila).

³² Suganuma Teifu, "Manira tsushin" (Communications from Manila), *Nippon*, August 22, 1889, 1.

³³ *Nippon*, June 23, 1889, 3.

³⁴ *Nippon*, July 28, 1889, 3.

³⁵ *Nippon*, August 3, 1889, 1.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Ibid.*

to by some scholars as Pan-Asianism a cherished project of Asian unity under Japanese leadership and inspiration.³⁸

Filipino discontent warranted by a flaccid Spanish colonial government is unfolding in Suganuma's second book. The archipelago's rich natural resources still untapped seem designed to rouse the lethargic Japanese. How undeceiving are Suganuma's proddings: "Japanese young men who are still confused by the bad dream of a 'close country,' wake up! The place to bury your bones is not only in the grave . . ." ³⁹

Without doubt Suganuma Teifu advocated an emigration plan similar to that earlier proposed by Yoko Tosaku. Like Sugiura Jugo, he opined that Japanese settlers—with the help of the natives (and Suganuma realistically adds) with the help of a hundred battleships—would eventually overthrow Spanish control over the Islands. Of the first three writers on Japanese expansion to the Philippines, it was Suganuma who brought into the picture Japan's need for expanding into the neighboring territories in order to defend herself from the "white people" who were either entrenched in, or were expanding into, these areas. The last argument for Japanese expansion into the Philippines was ably presented to Japanese nationalists and to the reading public, by one who, in a death-bed promise to Suganuma Teifu was to carry out the latter's unfinished work. (Suganuma died of cholera in Manila on July 6, 1889.)⁴⁰ Fukumoto Makoto it was who made this promise.

IV

A PROMINENT WRITER OF THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY, FUKUMOTO MAKOTO, was known to his readers by a number of pen names, like Nichinan Koji and Fukumoto Nichinan.⁴¹ Born in 1857 at Fukuoka, a center of discontent among post-restoration landless or propertyless *samurai*, he came from approximately the same area as Suganuma Teifu which might indicate that both were exposed to similar miserable realities. And reasonable it was for both talented minds to conceive of alleviating wretched conditions through Japanese expansion to the Philippines, expansion through immigration. Immigration also meant increasing Japan's trade and certainly strengthening Japan's provisions for preventive self-defense.

³⁸ M. B. Jansen, *Sun Yat-sen and Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954), 3.

³⁹ *Nippon*, July 28, 1889, 3.

⁴⁰ "Suganuma Teifu-shi byobotsu . . .," *loc. cit.*

⁴¹ For a short biography of Fukumoto Nichinan, see (1) *Taishi kaikoroku* (Tokyo: Taishi Korosha Denki Hensankai, 1936), II, 875-880; (2) Kuzuu Yoshihisa, *op. cit.*, 542-546.

Fukomoto made his first trip to the Philippines in 1889. After that trip, he was certain that Eastern Asia as an objective of Japan's expansion would insure his country's security from outside threat. Was it a wonder that he with other nationalists organized the *Toho Kyokai* whose journal enabled Fukomoto to publish one of his major contributions to Japanese knowledge of the Philippine military organization and defense: the "Nanyo heibei teiyo" or "The Summing-up of Spanish Defense in the South Seas"—⁴² published in 1891 after Fukomoto's second and last visit to the Philippines? As in the other reports of Fukomoto on the Philippines, weak Spanish colonial control over the Philippines was indicated. Fukomoto especially pointed out that the natives ⁴³ lacked discipline but were not cowardly.⁴⁴ This state of affairs in the Islands was dangerous to Japan because it would invite intervention or eventual control of the Philippines by some strong power.

Fukomoto particularly feared German watchful interest ⁴⁵ in the Philippines, because if Germany would control the archipelago, then Japan would have to face a "mighty country" at its southern boundary (constituted by the southernmost island of the Ryukyus) and "our people would not be able to sleep safely."⁴⁶ This is Fukomoto's contention for Japan's southern expansion in his article entitled "Nihon to nanyo" (Japan and the South Seas) which was serialized in four installments of the *Nihonjin*.⁴⁷ It reflects Fukomoto's belief that ". . . if a country desires to keep its independence, preserve its security and promote its welfare, it has to try to avoid facing a mighty country . . ."⁴⁸ He attempted to prove the

⁴² *Toho kyokai hokoku*, No. 1 (March, 1891), 1-46. This work consists of Fukomoto's translation (he was fluent in reading and speaking French) of a report on the Spanish military organization and defense in the Philippines written by one of Fukomoto's friends at the French Consulate in Manila. To this report, Fukomoto added information he had gathered during his two visits to the Islands as well as his own observations and comments.

⁴³ Who constituted the greater number of the men in the army and who were never promoted to the rank of officer (which was reserved only for Spaniards).

⁴⁴ "Nanyo heibei teiyo" (The Summing-up of Spanish defense in the South Seas), *Toho Kyokai hokoku*, No. 1 (March, 1891), 11-12.

⁴⁵ Fukomoto's great concern about German interest in the Philippines is gathered in the first installment of his first series of articles on the Philippines, entitled "Korairoku" (Incoming communications), *Nippon*, June 19, 1889.

⁴⁶ Fukomoto Nichinan, "Nihon to nanyo" (Japan and the South Seas), *Nihonjin*, May 3, 1890, 12.

⁴⁷ No. 44 (April 3, 1890), 19-21; (2) No. 45 (April 18, 1890), 21-23; (3) No. 46 (May 3, 1890), 9-13; (4) No. 47 (May 18, 1890), 6-10.

A French translation of the third installment (May 3, 1890) done by K. O. Oshimaru, interpreter of the Spanish Legation in Japan, together with its Spanish translation, was forwarded by the said Legation to the Governor General of the Philippines in the former's despatch dated May 27, 1890, "Consules," (Mss; Philippine archives deposited in the U.P. Main Library).

⁴⁸ "Nihon to nanyo" (Japan and the South Seas), *Nihonjin*, No. 44 (April 3, 1890), 20.

validity of his conclusion by citing cases in Chinese and European history.⁴⁹

Fukumoto next poses the question “. . . what policy should [we follow] in order to keep the southern border [of Japan] secure?” And his answer was, “Here is one way, if Spain could continue holding the [Philippine] Islands, we should help her; if she cannot keep the Islands, we should take them from her and govern them.”⁵⁰ But after proving that Spanish control over the Islands was too weak to withstand any future attempt of Germany to acquire the Philippines,⁵¹ and pointing out that there was a disadvantage of sending Japanese immigrants⁵² to the Philippines because from his experience the Spaniards discriminated against the Japanese,⁵³ Fukomoto concludes his article by remarking that “. . . if the Japanese [however] would move into the Islands and even after they had set a good example for the Spaniards, the latter would continue their planless and cruel policies, and would not be able to control the Philippine Islands, then . . . the Japanese should govern the Islands instead of the Spaniards. Consequently, the anxiety regarding the security of the southern border, would cease—the prosperity and prestige of Japan would be greatly increased.”⁵⁴

Fukomoto's concluding statement epitomizes the prevailing Japanese nationalistic-activists' aspirations which simultaneously expressed neo-imperialistic goals. It was for the same nationalistic hopes that Fukomoto made not one but two trips to the Philippines where he gathered enough information on the Islands—information which would be of interest to those who supported Japanese expansion into the Spanish colony. He reported his observations on his first visit to the Philippines in twelve installments of the *Nippon*⁵⁵ in 1889. The title of this series of articles was “Korairoku” (Incoming reports). During his second visit to the Islands early in 1891, Fukomoto again wrote a serialized article for the

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 19-21.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* No. 45 (April 18, 1890), 21.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* No. 46 (May 3, 1890), 10-12.

⁵² Fukumoto might have had in mind ideas of earlier writers on Japanese expansion to the Philippines who proposed the plan of moving Japanese immigrants to the Philippines and that these immigrants were to engage in cultivation and to wait for an opportune time to rise up with the Filipinos against the Spanish colonial rule.

⁵³ “Nihon to nanyo,” *Nihonjin*, No. 47 (May 18, 1890), 9.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 9-10.

⁵⁵ The series started on June 19, 1889, and ended on November 23, 1889. It must be added, however, that there was a lapse of time between the eighth installment published on July 27, 1889, and the ninth installment published on November 7, 1889.

Nippon entitled "Nanpenkibiroku"⁵⁶ (The Report on small yet important symptoms [of unrest] in the Southern Provinces).

The "Korairoku" dealt with data similar to those touched by Suganuma Teifu, except that Fukumoto Nichinan pointed out in more details the similarities and kinship relations between the Japanese and Filipinos in terms of physical characteristics and material objects the Filipinos used, as, for instance, one kind of sword which the *Moros* used.⁵⁷ Furthermore, Fukumoto concentrated on the weakness of Spanish military organization and defense in the Philippines,⁵⁸ the cases of inefficiency and corruption of the Spanish officials in the Islands, their neglect of the rich natural resources of the country and their apathy to the miserable conditions in the Spanish colony.⁵⁹ In the eleventh installment of the article, Fukumoto's conclusion boosted nationalistic sentiments for Japanese expansion. He remarks, ". . . how many people are there outside of Japan who are doing their best for Japan? How about . . . looking around. There are Luzon, Formosa, Miyakojima, and Oshima. Such islands form a chain even though these islands are scattered in the neighborhood of Japan. Why do the people [i.e., the Japanese] not work in these islands?"⁶⁰

The "Nanpenkibiroku" mainly dealt with the various uprisings the Spanish colonial government in the Philippines had to suppress (the major ones being those of the Carolinas and those of Mindanao) Fukumoto especially took note of the inadequacy of the Spanish army in the Philippines to quell these various disturbances. For instance, it was reported by the Spaniards that over two thousand soldiers were stationed in Manila. But after the second expedition was dispatched to the Carolinas,⁶¹ for a while, according to Fukumoto, there was no soldier left in Manila.⁶² Obviously Fukumoto Nichinan's was an argument for Japanese expansion to the Philippines as a means of preventive self-defense for Japan.⁶³

⁵⁶ It was serialized in five installments, from February 11, 1891 to February 21, 1891.

⁵⁷ See "Korairoku," *Nippon*, November 7, 1889, 3; November 9, 1889, 3. Fukumoto mentions his attempt to trace descendants of Japanese in Manila.

⁵⁸ *Nippon*, July 5, 1889, 1.

⁵⁹ *Nippon*, July 14, 1889, 3; July 17, 1889, 3; July 19, 1889, 1; July 20, 1889, 1; July 21, 1889, 1.

⁶⁰ "Korairoku," *Nippon*, November 9, 1889.

⁶¹ To reinforce the first expedition sent to suppress the rebellion in those islands in 1890.

⁶² "Nanpenkibiroku" (The report on small yet unimportant symptoms [of unrest] in the Southern Provinces), *Nippon*, February 14, 1891, 1. See also Fukumoto Nichinan, "Nanyo heibei teiyō," *op. cit.*, 13.

⁶³ Because Spain weakly controlled the Islands and that his condition could lead to the acquisition of this colony by another strong European power, for instance, Germany.

To conclude this paper, we can say that Fukumoto Makoto like the other three Japanese—Yoko Tosaku, Sugiura Jogo and Suganuma Teifu—viewed Japan's expansion to the Philippines as part of their country's expansion to *Nanyo* (the Southern Seas). The underlying justification of all their plans, especially that of Yoko Tosaku, was Japan's need of the Philippines as an outlet for her "surplus population." This justification implied or was followed by expressions of hopes for the consequent development of trade with the Philippines, a country engaged in agricultural production of food and agricultural cash crops then thought of by the Japanese nationalist-activists as two of Japan's needs *vis a vis* their claim of a growing population and increasing industrialization. Sugiura Jogo underscored Japan's mission of civilizing and/or aiding backward areas of the world especially a neighbor—that is, the Philippines—as the main argument for Japanese expansion to the Islands. Suganuma Teifu and Fukumoto Nichinan realized the need of such help but justified it in terms of Japan's right to preventive self-defense. Of the four Japanese, only Suganuma Teifu and Fukumoto Makoto took steps towards the realization of their plans.

To make the plans of these four Japanese-activists for Japan's expansion to the Philippines significant and relevant to the development of Japanese activities in the Philippines before the last Pacific war, I would like to pose two questions: (1) Could there be a possibility of viewing twentieth century Japanese activities in the Philippines as inspired by any of the four plans for Japan's expansion to the Islands? (2) Could a link be established between the techniques used by the Japanese in founding an agricultural settlement in Davao with those suggested by Yoko Tosaku? To answer these questions, there is a need of undertaking further basic research of sources written not only in Japanese but also in other languages such as those written in English by the American Philippine administrators and perhaps those written by foreign consuls assigned to the Philippines. But even if these questions would remain unanswered, the plans of these four Japanese nationalist-activists—Yoko Tosaku, Sugiura Jogo, Suganuma Teifu and Fukumoto Makoto—have indicated that during the last two decades of the nineteenth century, there were Japanese who thought of the possibility of Japan's expansion to the Philippines then under the moribund Spanish colonial administrative control.