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The Image Of Japan in the Philippine Periodical *La Solidaridad* (1889-1895)

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This paper tries to inductively understand how some articles in the Philippine periodical *La Solidaridad* that directly talked about Japan convey an overall image of this Empire of the Rising Sun. This paper is significant in the sense that this can contribute towards the understanding of how the Filipino intellectuals during the Propaganda Movement thought about the Philippines in relation to its Asian neighbors as well as about the dynamics of power in the Asian region. This project is also significant in the sense that it retrieves a Filipino imagination of Japan prior to the modifications brought about by the Japanese Occupation in the Philippines and the altercations brought about by the Second World War. To achieve such goals, this paper contains four substantive sections that deal with the following: how the articles talked about the First Sino-Japanese War; how the same articles talked about Japan and the Philippines/Spain; how the same articles talked about Japanese culture and character; and how the same articles talked about some featured Japanese personalities. This paper establishes that the image of Japan in this said periodical is a composite picture consists of the threatened Spanish Empire, the disinterested Austro-Hungarian Empire, and the reformist and assimilationist Filipino intellectuals.

Keywords: *La Solidaridad*, Image of Japan, Japan and the Philippine Propaganda Movement, Japan and the Philippines at the End of the 19th Century, and Asia and the Philippines at the End of the 19th Century

INTRODUCTION

L*a Solidaridad* is a fortnightly newspaper established by Filipino nationalists in Spain. It was intended to expound and spread their campaign for political reforms in the Philippines and to promote assimilation of the

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colony as a province of the mother country. It was founded by the medical student turned journalist and orator Graciano López Jaena (1856-1896) in Barcelona in 1889. Although brilliant and gifted, Jaena had an eccentric and unreliable lifestyle. Thus, in less than a year of editorship he was replaced by the lawyer and journalist Marcelo del Pilar (1850-1896), just a few weeks before the newspaper's headquarters was transferred to Madrid. Del Pilar had served as the editor until La Solidaridad closed down in 1895 due to lack of financial support from the Filipinos. Throughout its existence, the newspaper published articles on a wide variety of topics concerning the Philippines, such as education, governance, needed reforms, politics, culture, art, history, anthropology, linguistics, and foreign relations. Among La Solidaridad's notable contributors were the ophthalmologist and polymath, Jose Rizal (1861-1896); the pharmacist, Antonio Luna (1866-1899); the physician, Mariano Ponce (1863-1918); the agriculturist and medical student, Jose Maria Panganiban (1863-1890); the writer, Pedro Paterno (1857-1911); and the lawyer, journalist and polymath, Isabelo delos Reyes (1864-1938) together with the Bohemian professor, Ferdinand Blumentritt (1853-1913) and the Spanish professor, Miguel Morayta (1834-1917). Although the paper was reformist in its overall timbre, it exerted considerable influence on the thinking of the Filipinos who pursued the pathway of revolution as well as on imagination of the Filipino nationalists. La Solidaridad had published seven volumes with a total of 163 issues.

Asia and Philippine/Hispanic international relations were regularly tackled in the issues of La Solidaridad. But towards the last years of its publication, a noticeable streak of articles about Japan occurred. These articles are shown in Table 1 in chronological order.

Table 1: La Solidaridad Articles that Deal with Japan

Title	Author	Volume, Number, and Year
"Prince Horihito"	Unspecified	VI, 129, 1894
"News"	Unspecified	VI, 129, 1894
"China and Japan"	Marcelo del Pilar	VI, 133, 1894
"Dangerous Alliances"	Marcelo del Pilar	VI, 136, 1894
"The Sino-Japanese Question: the Japanese Empire"	Ferdinand Blumentritt	VI, 137, 1894
"A Letter (from a Reader)"	Unspecified	VI, 137, 1894

“Declaration of War”	Correspondent from Tokyo for Le Figaro	VI, 137, 1894
“Hispano- Japanese Treaty”	Marcelo del Pilar	VI, 138, 1894
“Marshall Count Yamagata”	Mariano Ponce	VI, 138, 1894
“Spain and Japan in the Philippines I”	Marcelo del Pilar	VI, 139, 1894
“Memories of the Japanese Empire I”	Leopold von Jedina	VI, 139, 1894
“China and the Manchus”	Unspecified	VI, 139, 1894
“The Count of Ito”	Unspecified	VI, 139, 1894
“Spain and Japan in the Philippines II”	Marcelo del Pilar	VI, 140, 1894
“The Prestige of Race”	Marcelo del Pilar	VI, 140, 1894
“Spain and Japan in the Philippines III”	Marcelo del Pilar	VI, 141, 1894
“Memories of the Japanese Empire II”	Leopold von Jedina	VI, 141, 1894
“Otori Keiske: Minister of Japan in Korea”	Mariano Ponce	VI, 141, 1894
“Spain and Japan in the Philippines IV”	Marcelo del Pilar	VI, 142, 1894
“Human Interest and Patriotic Interest”	Marcelo del Pilar	VI, 142, 1894
“Mr. Moret’s Conference”	Marcelo del Pilar	VII, 143, 1895
“Memories of the Japanese Empire III”	Leopold von Jedina	VII, 143, 1895
“The Imperial Japanese House”	K	VII, 143, 1895
“Origins of the Japanese Navy”	Unspecified	VII, 143, 1895
“Spain and Japan in the Philippines V”	Marcelo del Pilar	VII, 144, 1895
“Memories of the Japanese Empire IV”	Leopold von Jedina	VII, 144, 1895
“Spain and Japan in the Philippines VI”	Marcelo del Pilar	VII, 145, 1895
“Yalu and The Conference of the German Emperor”	Marcelo del Pilar	VII, 145, 1895
“Chinese Squadron: Admiral Ting”	Marcelo del Pilar	VII, 145, 1895
“Japanese Squadron: Admiral Ito”	Marcelo del Pilar	VII, 145, 1895
“Prince Arisugawa”	Unspecified	VII, 145, 1895
“The Sino-Japanese War”	Unspecified	VII, 147, 1895
“A Japanese Colonel in Pandi, Landed Property of the Dominicans”	Unspecified	VII, 147, 1895
“Japan and China”	Unspecified	VII, 149, 1895
“Dangers and Fears”	Marcelo del Pilar	VII, 150, 1895
“Japan and China”	Unspecified	VII, 150, 1895
“Dangers and Fears”	Marcelo del Pilar	VII, 151, 1895
“Japan and Philippines”	Regulo	VII, 151, 1895
“In the Far East”	Regulo	VII, 152, 1895
“Japan”	Unspecified	VII, 154, 1895
“Japan”	Unspecified	VII, 155, 1895

“Japan and the Philippine Islands”	Segismundo Moret	VII, 156, 1895
“Considerations About the Sino-Japanese Conflict”	Ferdinand Blumentritt	VII, 156, 1895
“Japan and the Philippine Islands”	Segismundo Moret	VII, 157, 1895

If these articles were to be spread on the timeline of *La Solidaridad*'s existence in accordance with their dates of publications and next to the most significant Japanese event (i.e. the First Sino-Japanese War) that occurred around such dates, it would appear that the bulk of these articles came out contemporaneously with such dramatic event. These are shown in figure 1 below.

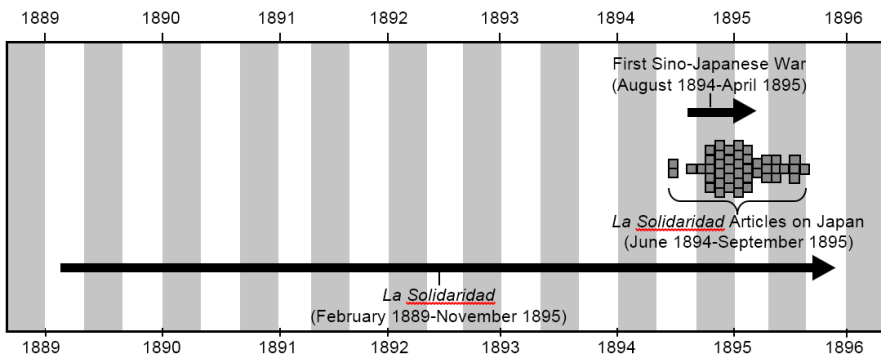


Figure 1: Timelines of *La Solidaridad* and the First Sino-Japanese War and the Publications of the Articles that Deal with Japan

It can be said, therefore, that *La Solidaridad* started to notice Japan because of the First Sino-Japanese War. Indeed, a good number of its articles talked about this conflict. But aside from tackling this War, these articles also talked about Japan and the Philippines/Spain, Japanese culture and character, and some Japanese personalities.

This paper tries to inductively understand how these *La Solidaridad* articles collectively imagined Japan. This project is significant in the sense that it contributes towards the understanding of how the Filipino intellectuals of this given period thought about the Philippines in relation to its Asian neighbors and about the dynamics of power in the Asian region. This project is also significant in the sense that it retrieves a Filipino imagination of Japan prior to the modifications brought about by the Japanese Occupation of the Philippines and the altercations brought about by the Second World War. Although some

of these articles were written by Spanish, Austrian, Japanese, and other non-Filipino writers, the fact that they were included in this periodical suggests that their contents were attuned to the overall thinking of the editorial board about the aforementioned themes. Having been published in this periodical, these articles with foreign authorship were consequently placed in a position of being able to shape the imagination of the Filipino readers about the same themes.

Thus, the following substantive sections cluster and analyze the enumerated articles under the aforementioned recurrent Japan-related topics: 1) the First Sino-Japanese War; 2) Japan and the Philippines/Spain; 3) Japanese culture and character; and 4) some Japanese personalities.

THE FIRST SINO-JAPANESE WAR

Fifteen articles specifically dealt with the First Sino-Japanese War, one of the most recurrent themes in the Japan-related articles of *La Solidaridad* (Table 2).

Table 2: *La Solidaridad* Articles that Specifically Deal with the First Sino-Japanese War

Title	Author	Volume, Number, and Year
"News"	Unspecified	VI, 129, 1894
"China and Japan"	Marcelo del Pilar	VI, 133, 1894
"Dangerous Alliances"	Marcelo del Pilar	VI, 136, 1894
"A Letter (from a Reader)"	Unspecified	VI, 137, 1894
"Declaration of War"	Correspondent from Tokyo for <i>Le Figaro</i>	VI, 137, 1894
"Yalu and The Conference of the German Emperor"	Marcelo del Pilar	VII, 145, 1895
"Chinese Squadron: Admiral Ting"	Marcelo del Pilar	VII, 145, 1895
"Japanese Squadron: Admiral Ito"	Marcelo del Pilar	VII, 145, 1895
"The Sino-Japanese War"	Unspecified	VII, 147, 1895
"Japan and China"	Unspecified	VII, 149, 1895
"Dangers and Fears"	Marcelo del Pilar	VII, 150, 1895
"Japan and China"	Unspecified	VII, 150, 1895
"Japan"	Unspecified	VII, 154, 1895
"Japan"	Unspecified	VII, 155, 1895

"Considerations About the Sino-Japanese Conflict"	Ferdinand Blumentritt	VII, 156, 1895
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These fifteen articles may be further clustered under two sub-themes: 1) journalistic sketches on the raging conflict, and 2) analyses of the power dynamics in the Asian region with Japan and China as the reference points.

Journalistic Sketches on the Sino-Japanese Conflict

On 15 June 1894, a month and a half before the beginning of the First Sino-Japanese War, a news article by an unspecified author from London talked about reports from Shanghai that Japan decided to send military forces to Korea to protect the interest of the Japanese nationals in the said country, and that the Korean King Gojong (1852-1919) had fled the country to Japan. However, the article also mentioned that a correspondent in London dismissed the reports as mere rumors. In reality, Japan sent an 8,000 strong contingent to Korea in this month of June and later on seized its throne and expelled the Chinese troops, on account of the Chinese intervention on Korea's Tonghak Rebellion.

On 15 October 1894, two and a half months after the beginning of the said War, a letter from an unnamed Japanese government worker tried to explain the same War. The letter recounted that Korea was a tributary of China and was attacked by Japan twice. Japan later acknowledged the independence of Korea through a treaty on friendship and commerce. But when the Tonghak rebellion occurred, China sent military forces to repress the rebellion and at the same time to annex Korea. Japan reacted to this intrusion by sending its own military forces. The letter mentioned how the Chinese forces committed atrocities and crimes in Korea, victimizing even the Japanese nationals who were residing in that country. The tension between the Chinese and Japanese presence and interest in Korea escalated into what would become known as the First Sino-Japanese War. On the same date, the article "Declaration of War" by the Tokyo correspondent of the paper *Le Figaro* was published. It tackled the declarations of war issued by both Japan and China on 01 August 1894. Japan on the one hand, insisted that China should accept Korea's sovereignty and independence. China, on the other hand, refused to recognize the treaty between Japan and Korea and insisted that China is only assisting Korea against the Japanese intrusion. China cited that King Gojong had in fact asked China to assist him in suppressing the Tonghak rebellion.

On 15 February 1895, six and a half months after the beginning of the same War, an article “Yalu and the Conference of the German Emperor” by del Pilar was published. This article featured the speech given by Emperor William II (1859-1941) to an audience composed of some deputies and military officers at his White Salon. The German Emperor expressed his admiration for the Japanese victory in the naval Battle of Yalu that happened in 17 September 1894. The Battle of Yalu was the largest naval engagement in the First Sino-Japanese War, and the Emperor called it one of the greatest naval battles in history. This article was immediately followed by two other articles entitled “Japanese Squadron: Admiral Ito” and “Chinese Squadron: Admiral Ting” that were also written by del Pilar. These two articles respectively itemized the vessels from the Japanese and Chinese fleets that were involved in this Battle.

On 15 March 1895, seven and half months after the beginning and a month before the end of the same War, the article “The Sino-Japanese War” by an unspecified author was published. The article gave an update about the Japanese victory over the Chinese forces that earlier retreated from Pyongyang to Manchuria. Based on recent telegrams, the Japanese forces had already occupied that part of Manchuria bounded by the River Liao and the Liao Gulf on the west, by Port Arthur on the south, and by Niu Tchuang and Ying-Ku Ports in the north. The article hinted on the desire of the Chinese Emperor Guangxu (1871-1908) to seek peace with Japan.

On 15 June 1895, two months after the end of the same War, the article “Japan and China” by an unspecified author was published. This article featured the Treaty of Simoneseki of 17 April 1895 that concluded the peace conference between Japan and China that started on 20 March 1895, as well as the First Sino-Japanese War. It enumerated the articles of the said Treaty: China should recognize the independence of Korea; Japan should retain the control of Taiwan, the Pescadores Islands, and the Liaodong Peninsula; China should pay Japan an indemnity of 200,000,000 taels; China should open the ports of Shashi, Congqing, Suzhou and Hangzhou to Japanese commerce; and China and Japan should establish a defensive and offensive alliance. On the same date, another article entitled, “Japan” by still an unspecified author was also published. This covered the resistance of some Taiwanese forces against the Japanese control as specified by the Treaty of Simoneseki. The article made a forecast that even though Japan had successfully taken over the coastal areas of Taiwan, it would encounter some difficulties with the central areas as these Taiwanese forces would resort to guerrilla tactics.

On 15 July 1895, three months after the end of the same War, an article entitled “Japan” by an unspecified author was published. This article contained two important extended quotations. The first one was from a friend of the periodical’s editorial board who was based in Tokyo and who apparently commented on the paper’s inaccurate mention that one of the articles of the Treaty of Simoneseki specified a defensive and offensive alliance between Japan and China. The letter sender reasoned out that such alliance would be unnecessary and disadvantageous for Japan because on one hand China was definitely harboring desires to avenge its recent defeat, and on the other hand an alliance with a country that cannot defend itself was not worth much. The second extended quotation was from the Spanish republican politician, Emilio Castelar (1832-1899) who praised the Japanese victory over China which for him was due to Japan’s superiority in terms of science, liberty, and hard work. Castelar also mentioned the German Emperor Wilhelm II’s amazement on the same victory.

Political Analyses of the Asian Region with Japan and China as the Points of Reference

On 15 August 1894, half a month after the start of the same War, the article “China and Japan” that was written by del Pilar expressed the concern of Spain over the threat of a Sino-Japanese alliance. Such alliance would drive out the European presence in the region and would favor the political and economic interests of the United States of America in the same region. Japan and China’s dispute over Korea would momentarily prevent such alliance. Del Pilar felt that Filipinos would prefer Spanish despotism rather than an Asian or American sponsored liberalism. On 30 September 1894, one and a half month after the start of the same War, del Pilar wrote another article entitled, “Dangerous Alliances” in which he again mentioned the threat of the possible Sino-Japanese alliance to Spain. He leveraged that if only Spain would give justice and fraternity to the Filipinos, this people would remain loyal to the mother country and fight for the integrity of its Asian territory. Del Pilar noted that the Philippines had become attractive to both the United Kingdom and the United States of America because of its strategic location in as far as Asian trade was concerned. Whereas a Sino-Japanese alliance was not probable momentarily, China might ally with the United Kingdom based on the fact that the British had supplied China with arms for its War against Japan. It appeared that the

United Kingdom was already eyeing on Taiwan which is located very close to the Philippines. If the United Kingdom got Taiwan, with its existing control of Borneo, the Philippines would be surrounded with British presence and would soon be engulfed by this Western power.

On 15 April 1895, just a couple of days before the end of the same War, the article “Japan and China” by an unspecified author was published. The article was based on some excerpts from the 07 April 1895 issue of the French periodical, *The Social Democrat*. This article tackled the rumors about an ongoing peace negotiation between Japan and China. In reality, such negotiation started about half a month before the publication of the French paper. The article highlighted again the possibility of a Sino-Japanese defensive and offensive alliance coming out from such negotiation, and the threat that this would bring to Spain. The article also fanned the rumors that there were Japanese officers who stealthily visited some islands in the Visayas and Jolo, and that the Spanish language was already being studied in the Japanese universities.

On 30 April 1895, half a month after the end of the same War, del Pilar wrote the article “Dangers and Fears” that reflects on the possible implications of the Japanese victory over China. The Treaty of Simoneseki had allowed Japan to occupy Taiwan, which, as already mentioned, is very close to the Philippines. There was also a possibility that Japan would share its dominance in the region with other Western powers, just as it had allowed the United States of America commercial access to its territory decades before. On 31 July 1895, three and a half months after the end of the same War, Blumentritt wrote the article, “Considerations about the Sino-Japanese Conflict” arguing that Europeans should not underestimate Japan and China. Their Asian culture and otherness might make them appear coward and comical from the perspective of Westerners, but in reality they are powerful and are not afraid of the Europeans. The historical victories of the Westerners over these two countries were not due to the presumed inferiority of the yellow race, but these were due to some shortcomings on the governmental and organizational institutions of the said Asian countries.

JAPAN AND THE PHILIPPINES/SPAIN

Several articles specifically dealt with Japan and the Philippines/Spain (Table 3), the other of the most recurrent themes in the Japan-related articles of *La Solidaridad*.

Table 3: La Solidaridad Articles that Specifically Deal with Japan and the Philippines/Spain

Title	Author	Volume, Number, and Year
“Hispano- Japanese Treaty”	Marcelo del Pilar	VI, 138, 1894
“Spain and Japan in the Philippines I”	Marcelo del Pilar	VI, 139, 1894
“Spain and Japan in the Philippines II”	Marcelo del Pilar	VI, 140, 1894
“The Prestige of Race”	Marcelo del Pilar	VI, 140, 1894
“Spain and Japan in the Philippines III”	Marcelo del Pilar	VI, 141, 1894
“Spain and Japan in the Philippines IV”	Marcelo del Pilar	VI, 142, 1894
“Mr. Moret’s Conference”	Marcelo del Pilar	VII, 143, 1895
“Spain and Japan in the Philippines V”	Marcelo del Pilar	VII, 144, 1895
“Spain and Japan in the Philippines VI”	Marcelo del Pilar	VII, 145, 1895
“A Japanese Colonel in Pandi, Landed Property of the Dominicans”	Unspecified	VII, 147, 1895
“Dangers and Fears”	Marcelo del Pilar	VII, 151, 1895
“Japan and Philippines”	Regulo	VII, 151, 1895
“In the Far East”	Regulo	VII, 152, 1895
“Japan and the Philippine Islands”	Segismundo Moret	VII, 156, 1895
“Japan and the Philippine Islands”	Segismundo Moret	VII, 157, 1895

These fifteen articles may be further clustered under three sub-themes that follow: 1) the Spanish unease with Japan; 2) some reasons for Spain’s refusal to cultivate Japanese-Philippine relations; and 3) arguments for a trade relationship between Japan and the Philippines.

The Spanish Unease with Japan

On 31 October 1894, three months after the beginning of the same War and about a month after writing about the possibilities and implications of a Sino-Japanese alliance, del Pilar published the article “Hispano-Japanese Treaty.” The second half of this article dispelled the fears on the side of Spain that Japan would invade the Philippines. Del Pilar argued that although the Japanese navy was superior to the Spanish navy, the other Western powers that were present in the region would foil any Japanese attempt to control the Philippines. The deeper fear on the part of Spain was that it knew how inferior and oppressive its colonial policies were from those of Japan in relation to Korea, or from those

of the United Kingdom in relation to its Asian territories. On 15 November 1894, half a month after the publication of his article “Hispano-Japanese Treaty” del Pilar published the first article of his series entitled, “Spain and Japan in the Philippines.” In this article, del Pilar criticized Spain’s worries about the immigration of some Japanese nationals into the Philippines while simultaneously being lax about the Chinese immigration. He again dispelled the Spanish fear of a Japanese invasion of the Philippines. He pointed out that Spain’s rejection of Japan’s offer for an international treaty with Spain would negatively affect the former’s relationship with the latter, as Japan is the most powerful nation in the Asian region. He explained further that Japan’s power was in fact beneficial to Spain in the sense that it can, in some way, neutralize the presence of the other Western powers in the region.

On 31 December 1894, five months after the start of the same war, del Pilar published the fourth installment of his series “Spain and Japan in the Philippines.” Here, del Pilar leveraged again, in the context of the imminent Japanese victory over China, that in order for the Filipinos not to be attracted to the more liberal and emancipatory international policies of Japan and not to break away from the tyrannical and oppressive governance of Spain, Spain should know the situation and the conditions in its Asian colony more closely and institute the necessary reforms. This line of thinking was reinforced in the sixth installment of the same series, published on 15 February 1895, where del Pilar expressed his view that whereas Spain had been indifferent to the liberties of the Filipinos, Japan could easily give them free press and free exercise of individual rights; whereas Spain had neglected the education of Filipinos, Japan had a wider and liberal educational horizon; and whereas Spain looked down on the Filipinos, Japan would treat Filipinos with respect as fellow Asians.

On 15 January 1895, five and a half months after the start and three months before the end of the same War, del Pilar made a detailed report about a conference given by Segismundo Moret (1833-1913) at the Ateneo de Madrid. Moret was a Spanish politician who previously held a number of ministerial posts including the Ministry of the Overseas Colonies. Moret noted that the rising power of Japan is a threat to the Spanish presence in Asia. Although Japan would not exclude the Western powers in the region, it had a very low esteem for Spain brought about by the failure of this European country to establish an impressive diplomatic and cultural presence in Japan. Moret was aware of the danger that Filipinos might be attracted to create a Malayan league with the Japanese due to the failure of Spain to look at the plight, concerns, and welfare of

its Asian colonies. Moret believed that the Spanish control over the Philippines is doomed and the only thing that Spain could do was to establish some friendly relationships with Japan and at least momentarily benefit from the commercial export of Spanish wine and Philippine sugar.

On 15 March 1895, a month before the end of the same War, the article “A Japanese Colonel in Pandi, Landed Property of the Dominicans” by an unspecified author was published. This essay commented on a letter that was published in the periodical *Correo Español* concerning some alleged sightings of a Japanese Colonel in Sta. Maria de Pandi, Bulacan, who was extensively and intensively reconnoitering the area. The *La Solidaridad* article dismissed the reported sightings as baseless and inconsistent rumor as the Japanese had already accumulated enough information about the Philippines.

On 15 May 1895, a month after the end of the same War, del Pilar published the article “Dangers and Fears” that critiqued the Spanish support for Triple Intervention. The Triple Intervention was a diplomatic action by Russia, France, and Germany on 23 April 1895 concerning the Japanese control over the Liaodong Peninsula as stipulated by the Treaty of Simoneseki. Del Pilar insisted that it would have been better for Spain to maintain a friendly relationship with Japan, or at least neutrally broker a more peaceful transaction between Japan and the triple alliance. Spain had nothing to gain from this support but only undermined its control over the Philippines for doing so.

On 31 July 1895, three and a half months after the end of the same War, Moret published the first half of his article “Japan and the Philippine Islands” that was followed by its second half on 15 August of the same year. Comparing the commentary of del Pilar on Moret’s Ateneo conference with this extended essay, it would appear that this essay was an altogether different piece or at least an updated version of that conference paper that took into consideration the Japanese victory over China. Moret argued that there were only two European nations that were extremely important for Japan at that moment: Russia, because of its proximity to Korea and its naval control over the Northern Pacific; and Spain, because of its dominion over the Philippines. Moret tried to convince the Spanish government to leverage on this status and deal with Japan on one hand and strengthen its governance and mission in the Philippines on the other hand. Moret felt that the Spanish people underestimated the value of the Philippines as a colony and consequently the Spanish status in the Asian region.

Reasons for Spain's Refusal to Cultivate Japanese-Philippine Relations

On 30 November 1894, del Pilar published his article "Prestige of Race" that tackled the superiority complex of the Spanish officials and inhabitants of the Philippines who even looked down on pure blooded Spanish individuals who happened to be born in the islands (*insulares*), as well as on those who were born in the Iberian peninsula (*peninsulares*) but happened to belong to the working class. Del Pilar alluded that this superiority complex was the reason why Spain resisted the Japanese initiative to establish an agreement on Japanese-Spanish immigration as the presence of Japanese nationals in the Philippines might threaten the Spanish image of superiority over the Asians in general. Del Pilar, however, wondered why Spain did not feel threatened by the presence of Chinese nationals in the Philippines. On 31 January 1895, del Pilar published the fifth installment of his extended article "Spain and Japan in the Philippines" where he elaborated again on the reason for Spain's refusal to economically and culturally engage with Japan. Building on Moret's allusion to Japan as the rising sun that was capable of awakening the vitality of the whole Malayan race, del Pilar argued that Spain was aware of how it failed to establish a viable exchange of material and intellectual goods with the Philippines, and therefore it is against the Spanish pride and interest that such exchanges would be undertaken by Japan and the Philippines.

On 15 May 1895, a writer with the pen name "Regulo" published the article "Japan and the Philippines," which presented an extended quotation from the 1803 book of the Augustinian friar Zuniga (1760-1818) entitled *Historia de Filipinas*. "Regulo" in Spanish means "ruler," and given his eccentric claim for a Tagalog aristocratic lineage, this could be the pseudonym of Paterno. The quotation recounted how after the death of Governor General Pedro de Acuña (?-1606) some Japanese nationals were driven out of Intramuros by the Spanish residents based on suspicion that they might stage an uprising; how a Japanese uprising almost happened from that action; and how these Japanese nationals were forced to settle in the area of Dilao which was within the firing range of the guns from the walled city. Although the quotation did not mention that the first Japanese uprising in Manila happened during the administration of the said deceased governor general, it did mention the second Japanese uprising in Manila that resulted in heavy casualties on both the Japanese and the Spanish/Filipino sides. The essay appeared to remind everyone of the centuries-old

Spanish mistrust against the Japanese. On 31 May 1895, the same writer published another historical essay “In the Far East.” The essay again appeared to remind everyone of a conflict between Spain and Japan brought about by Spain’s action of sending missionaries to Japan. It talked about how the Daimyo Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-1598), referred to as King Taikosama in the essay, reacted to the spread of Spanish mission in his territory. The essay in particular recalled the death of the Franciscan friar Pedro Bautista (1542-1597) who was sent to Japan by Governor General Gomez Perez Dasmariñas (1519-1593) as both a Catholic missionary and Spanish ambassador. Bautista became part of a group of 26 Christians who were crucified in Nagasaki in 1597 and were canonized in 1862.

Moret, however, in the first installment of his aforementioned essay “Japan and the Philippine Islands” asserted on the contrary that his contemporary Spanish colonial officials in the Philippines indeed saw the value of establishing Japanese-Philippines relations. In fact, Governor General Ramon Blanco (1833-1906) created a commission to study the possibility of establishing a commercial treaty between Japan and the Philippines. However, Moret was exasperated with the reality that these colonial officials planned and moved very slowly to the point that they were always overtaken by the other European powers in the Asian region.

Arguments for a Trade Relationship between Japan and the Philippines

In the aforementioned essay “Hispano-Japanese Treaty,” del Pilar argued that the exchange of labor and goods between Japan and the Philippines would be beneficial to both countries. He even highlighted the difference between the Chinese, whom Spain allowed to stay in the Philippines, and the Japanese workers. Whereas the Chinese workers toiled very hard to accumulate income that they would eventually send or bring back home to China, the Japanese workers also toiled hard to accumulate income, but they brought their families along and eventually integrate into the local population and therefore enrich that local population with their culture and race.

On 30 November 1894, a month after publishing the article “Hispano-Japanese Treaty,” del Pilar published the second installment of his series “Spain and Japan in the Philippines.” He assumed in this article that the importation of abaca, sugar, coffee, and other Philippine products to Japan would be good

for the Philippine economy and would not harm Spanish trade, as Spain was not interested in Philippine products to begin with. On 15 December 1894, he published the third installment of the same series in which he pointed out that Japanese products would not compete with the Spanish products in the Philippine market. On one hand, Spain was not so much interested with the Philippine market as the Philippine demand for Spanish products was too small. On the other hand, Japan's products were entirely different from the Spanish products. He elaborated that Hakodate exported fish oils, edible algae, sulfur, and saltpeter; Yedo exported bronze artifacts, lacquered furniture, porcelain, ivory objects, conches and steel; Yokohama exported tea, silk, and cotton; and Osaka exported silk, brocade, damask, lacquered furniture, porcelain, hats, umbrellas, and ivory objects.

Regulo, in his aforementioned essay "In the Far East," decried the Spanish priority of Christianizing Japan over establishing commercial and labor relations with this Asian country. Instead of reaping deaths for the Spanish missionaries and the feelings of resentment on both sides, Spain and the Philippines could have benefited from the skills and dedication of Japanese workers as well as from a Japanese market for Philippine abaca, wood and Spanish wine. Moret, in the first installment of his aforementioned essay "Japan and the Philippine Islands" corroborated del Pilar and Regulo's observation about the superiority of the Japanese workers when compared to the Chinese workers in the Philippines.

JAPANESE CULTURE AND CHARACTER

Several articles specifically dealt with the Japanese culture and character (Table 4), the third most recurrent theme in the Japan-related articles of *La Solidaridad*.

Table 4: *La Solidaridad* Articles that Specifically Deal with the Japanese Character and Culture

Title	Author	Volume, Number, and Year
"The Sino-Japanese Question: the Japanese Empire"	Ferdinand Blumentritt	VI, 137, 1894
"Memories of the Japanese Empire I"	Leopold von Jedina	VI, 139, 1894
"China and the Manchus"	Unspecified	VI, 139, 1894
"Memories of the Japanese Empire II"	Leopold von Jedina	VI, 141, 1894
"Otori Keiske: Minister of Japan in Korea"	Mariano Ponce	VI, 141, 1894

“Human Interest and Patriotic Interest”	Marcelo del Pilar	VI, 142, 1894
“Memories of the Japanese Empire III”	Leopold von Jedina	VII, 143, 1895
“Origins of the Japanese Navy”	Unspecified	VII, 143, 1895
“Memories of the Japanese Empire IV”	Leopold von Jedina	VII, 144, 1895
“Japan and Philippines”	Regulo	VII, 151, 1895
“Japan and the Philippine Islands”	Segismundo Moret	VII, 156, 1895
“Japan and Philippines”	Regulo	VII, 151, 1895
“In the Far East”	Regulo	VII, 152, 1895
“Japan and the Philippine Islands”	Segismundo Moret	VII, 156, 1895
“Japan and the Philippine Islands”	Segismundo Moret	VII, 157, 1895

These eleven articles may be further clustered under three sub-themes: 1) geographic and ethnographic sketch of Japan; 2) some glimpses on contemporary Japanese Society; and 3) the Japanese character.

Geographic and Ethnographic Sketch of Japan

On 15 October 1894, Blumentritt published the essay “The Sino-Japanese Question: the Japanese Empire” that discussed, among other things, Japanese geography, demography, and language. He explained that the Japanese Empire is comprised of three archipelagos with a total land mass of 382,416 square kilometers: 1) Japan, composed of Hondo or Nipon, Sikok, Kiusiu and Yeso; 2) Kuril Islands; and 3) Ryukyu Islands. He described the inhabitants of Hondo, Sikok and Kiusiu as the civilized ones; those of Yeso as the hairiest people in the world belonging to the Mongol race and living in a savage state; those of Kuril Islands as semi-savage firshermen; and those of Ryukyu as having a culture that appeared to be a mixture of Chinese and Japanese. He placed the total number of Japanese at 40,718,677 individuals which he characterized as intelligent people belonging to the Mongol race with an admixture of Malay, and who were clustered into three social classes: the Sizokou, or the nobility; the Daimos and Kwazokou, or the aristocracy; and the plebeians. He claimed that the Japanese spoke in two dialects: the pure one, called Yamato, was spoken in the Imperial court, in the salons of aristocracy and in first class brothels; while the other one was the general dialect which consisted of Yamato with Chinese vowels and modisms. He added that there were about 8,000 foreigners residing in Japan, half of whom were Chinese. Among the Westerners there, the biggest groups were composed of the English, the North Americans, Germans, French,

Portuguese, Dutch, and Swiss, while the smallest groups were composed of the Spanish and Russians. He noted that discounting the diplomats, the Spanish residents of Japan were all coming from the Philippines.

Glimpses on Contemporary Japanese Society

The same essay of Blumentritt mentioned how Japan appropriated European civilization and blended it with its traditional culture. This can be seen in their universities where the professors are Japanese but were trained in Paris, Oxford, Philadelphia, and Berlin; in the bilingual (Japanese and another Western language) newspaper establishments that were run by Japanese boards and editors; and in the military, where officers were schooled in France, Prussia, Italy, England, and Russia. He noted that with the opening of Japan to Western commerce, specifically through the ports of Hakodate, Hiogo, Nara, Nagasaki, Nagata, Osaka, Tohio and Yokohama, came the liberalization of ideas and religion, at least in the areas surrounding these ports. He also noted the vigilance of the Japanese government in ensuring that there was a healthy balance between Japanese and foreign industries, as manifested in its pressure to increase the production of Japanese cotton in order to minimize textile importation from England and Germany, as well as in its efforts to put up Japanese controlled dockyards, factories, and railways.

From 15 November 1894 to 31 January 1895, a series of four extracts from the 1891 work of Leopold von Jedina (1849-1924) was published under the heading "Memories of the Japanese Empire." Von Jedina at that time was a lieutenant colonel of the Austrian Navy and his book of over 700 pages was entitled *An Asiens Küsten und Fürstehöfen: Tagebuchblätter von der Reise Sr. Maj. Schiffes "Fasana" und über den Aufenthalt an asiatischen Höfen in den Jahren 1887, 1888, und 1889*. The four extracts published by *La Solidaridad* were all about the visit of the Austrian Archduke Leopold Ferdinand (1868-1935) to Japan. The first extract commented on the cleanliness and orderliness of the Japanese ports, residences, schools, streets, and public places. It also noticed how the government officials, the educated and the upper classes of Japan wore European attire, while the middle classes wore a blend of European and Japanese attire. The lower classes wore purely Japanese attire. As the party of the Archduke travelled by train from Yokohama to Tokyo, von Jedina was impressed by the smokestacks of factories even in small towns, as well as the railway that was constructed by Japanese workers with the assistance

of European engineers. Von Jedina made a side remark that although most Europeans came to Japan with the intention of exploiting the country and its people, some of them ended up being exploited by the Japanese. The second extract featured three cultural and scientific institutions visited by the Archduke and his Austrian party. The first was the Temple of Shokonsha, built by Emperor Meiji (1852-1912) in 1869, to commemorate all those who died for the service of the Empire. The temple also served as a military museum. The second institution was the Imperial Museum of Hakubutsukan which was founded in 1871 and 1882. This had a collection of industrial artifacts, models, and data that can surpass those of the four and only existing industrial museums in Europe at that time, specifically those of France, Germany, Belgium, and Austria. The third institution was the Meteorological Institute and Astronomical Observatory which was one of the bases of Japan's superiority in meteorology over many European countries. The third installment examined more closely the historical and ethnographic collections of the Imperial Museum of Hakubutsukan, particularly its kakemono, or silk scroll painting, collection. Von Jedina made a short aesthetic lecture on the superiority of Japanese kakemono over that of its Chinese counterpart. This installment also made reference to the Japanese War Arsenal where innovations and inventions on modern weaponry were done. The fourth extract was more preoccupied with the Japanese character and therefore will be discussed in the following sub-section of this paper.

On the Japanese Character

The first extract from von Jedina, dated 15 November 1894, mentioned the value of cleanliness and orderliness as a salient feature of the Japanese character. Although he observed that some Japanese natives were physically untidy and lazy, von Jedina was positive that with the rigorous Japanese education that was being implemented in the Empire, these undesirable traits would soon disappear. He also mentioned the commercial and industrial skills of the Japanese that frustrated most Europeans' intention of exploiting them and their country. This extract was immediately followed by the essay "China and the Manchus" written by an unspecified author that recalled the feat of the British General Charles George Gordon (1833-1885) who assisted the Chinese Qing Emperor in crushing the Taiping Rebellion in 1864. Gordon expressed that in the multi-national army that he formed in Shanghai earlier that year, the best

officers and fighters were the Japanese, together with the Tagalogs, due to their valor, endurance, frugality, discipline, magnanimity, fortitude, and sobriety. He referred to these two ethnic groups as “the best soldiers of the Far East.”

On 15 December 1894, Ponce published the essay “Otori Keiske: Minister of Japan in Korea” where he tackled among other things the rather common derision about the Japanese people’s lack of originality. Ponce quoted Blumentritt’s assertion, that all civilizations, including the European nations, copy from one another and therefore copying is not a defining trait of the Japanese people. He further pointed out that Japan was fast moving from the stage of simply copying Western ideas and inventions. In the field of military technology, Japan had already realized that it needed to innovate and manufacture its own equipment and machineries; otherwise, the other countries would know the specific strengths and flaws of such martial gears.

On 31 December 1894, del Pilar published the essay “Human Interest and Patriotic Interest” that reflected on an earlier conference that Moret delivered at the Ateneo de Madrid together with the Spanish army officer and writer Julian Suarez Inclan (1848-1909), the lawyer and politician Rafael Comenge (1865-1934), the Spanish navy officer and politician Ramon Auñon (1844-1925), and the Spanish diplomat Eduardo Toda (1855-1941). On one hand, Moret described the Japanese people as virile, energetic, patriotic, and disciplined; and on the other hand, he also defended the same people from the already mentioned derision of being Europe’s copycat. Moret argued that even if Japan copied elements from the European civilization, it copied these with astonishing speed and thorough assimilation, and it did not only dwell on European externalities but more so on internalities as well as spiritual life, science, politics, economics, legislation, and other cultural and political strategies. The fourth extract from von Jedina, dated 15 January 1895, affirmed Japanese patriotism and downplayed the same derision. Von Jedina also highlighted the progressiveness of the Japanese spirit. On the same date, the essay “Origins of the Japanese Navy” by an unspecified author was published. This told of the humble beginning of the currently awesome Japanese Imperial Navy and alludes to the same Japanese skill of copying and assimilating European technology. The essay elaborated about how the British sailor William Adams (1564-1620) journeyed from Rotterdam in 1598 and ended up on the Japanese island of Kyushu in 1600. Instead of having him and his companions crucified for piracy, the future Shogun, Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543-1616), asked them to build European style ships.

In the aforementioned essay “Japan and Philippines” that was published

by Regulo on 15 May 1895, the negative side of the Japanese temperament was mentioned. The author referred to the Japanese people as hot-headed and as the “Spaniards of Asia.” Moret’s aforementioned paper “Japan and the Philippine Islands,” dated 31 July 1895, admired the Japanese sobriety, dedication to work, sharp observance, intelligence, and artistic instinct. However, it also hinted that because of the enormous creative and productive power of the Japanese psyche, prostitution had to be legalized in the Empire and the Japanese people appeared to be driven to stretch their dominion on other nearby territories.

SOME JAPANESE PERSONALITIES

A few articles specifically dealt with some Japanese personalities, the least recurrent theme in the Japan-related articles of La Solidaridad.

Table 5: La Solidaridad Articles that Specifically Deal with some Japanese Personalities

Title	Author	Volume, Number and Year
“Prince Horihito”	Unspecified	VI, 129, 1894
“Marshall Count Yamagata”	Mariano Ponce	VI, 138, 1894
“The Count of Ito”	Unspecified	VI, 139, 1894
“Otori Keiske: Minister of Japan in Korea”	Mariano Ponce	VI, 141, 1894
“The Imperial Japanese House”	K	VII, 143, 1895
“Prince Arisugawa”	Unspecified	VII, 145, 1895

The actual personalities that were substantially featured in these six articles were the following: the military officer and diplomat Otori Keisuke (1833-1911); the military officer Prince Arisugawa Taruhito (1835-1895); the military officer Count Yamagata Aritomo (1838-1922); the Emperor Meiji; and the politician Count Ito Hirobumi (1841-1909). The essay “Prince Horihito” dated 15 June 1894, by an unspecified author merely talked about the splendid reception for this Japanese Prince at the Spanish royal court.

Otori Keisuke

In the aforementioned essay “Otori Keiske: Minister of Japan in Korea” dated 15 December 1894, Ponce featured the commoner Otori who, through his

intelligence, exposure to Western knowledge, and hard work, became a high ranking military officer and diplomat. At age 30, Otori was one of the leaders of the Shogun's resistance against the Meiji Restoration. With the triumph of the Meiji Restoration, Otori was imprisoned. After regaining his freedom, he worked for the modernization of the Japanese Empire. He served as the Japanese ambassador to China and then to Korea. He was the Japanese ambassador to Korea when the tension between China and Japan over Korea escalated into the First Sino-Japanese War. Ponce presented Otori as a proof against the dominant idea that only Westerners were capable of attaining greatness.

Arisugawa Taruhito

On 15 February 1895 the article "Prince Arisugawa" by an unspecified author, was published as an obituary for this aristocratic military leader who died a month earlier. Arisugawa was of royal birth who was adopted by Emperor Ninko (1800-1846) and grew up to become an important adviser to both Emperor Komei (1831-1867) and Emperor Meiji. He became General of the Japanese Imperial Army during the Meiji Restoration and fought against the supporters of the Shogun. During the First Sino-Japanese War, Arisugawa fatally contracted typhoid at the battlefields of Manchuria. At his funeral, Emperor Meiji posthumously endowed him with the Order of the Chrysanthemum.

Yamagata Aritomo

On 31 October 1894, Ponce published the essay "Marshall Count Yamagata" that recounted the greatness of this aristocratic military and political leader. At age 28, Yamagata became the Sub-Secretary of War. Two years after, he fought against feudalism despite his Imperial lineage. After the Meiji Restoration, he was sent to Europe to study and observe the military science and organization of various Western countries. At age 34, he became the Minister of War and started to modernize the Japanese Imperial Army by benchmarking on the Prussian Army. At age 51, he became the Prime Minister of Japan. Four years later he served as President of the Privy Council of the Emperor. During the First Sino-Japanese War, Yamagata was the Commanding General of the Japanese Imperial Army. He was greatly admired by Western nations and was often called the "Japanese Moltke" after the famous Prussian military leader Helmuth Karl Bernhard Graf von Moltke (1800-1891).

Emperor Meiji

On 15 January 1895, an author with a pseudonym “K” published the essay “The Japanese Imperial House.” If the letter K stood for “Kalipulako,” then this author would be Ponce. The essay referred to Emperor Meiji using his given adult name of Mutsuhito as the name Meiji is a posthumous name. The essay mentioned how Emperor Meiji succeeded his father Emperor Komei in 1867, in a time when the Shogun was about to lose his ruling power through the earlier mentioned Meiji Restoration. Emperor Meiji is described as an educated and cultured person who was interested with military affairs. He was also a knight of the Spanish Order of the Golden Fleece and was described as a figure that would be remembered forever as the leader who brought Japan to astonishing victory and transformation in a single generation. The essay also mentioned the Emperor’s marriage to the beautiful and talented Princess Haruko, and the paper erroneously assumed that this marriage produced four surviving children: Crown Prince Yoshihito (1879-1926), Princess Masako (1888-1940), Princess Fusako (1890-1974), and Prince Terhito (born: 1893). In reality Princess Haruko did not have children, but Emperor Meiji had a total of fifteen children from five official ladies-in-waiting. Of these fifteen children only five survived to adulthood. Apparently, Prince Terhito died early, and the article failed to mention another surviving daughter, Princess Nobuko (1891-1933). A year after the publication of this essay, Emperor Meiji still had another surviving daughter, Princess Toshiko (1896-1978). The essay also mentioned nine cadet and collateral branches of the Imperial Family: Arisugawa-no-miya, Yamashina-no-miya, Komatsu-no-miya, Fushimi-no-miya, Kuni-no-miya, Kitashirakawa-no-miya, Kan’in-no-miya, Kwacho-no-miya, and Nashimoto-no-miya.

Ito Hirobumi

On 15 November 1894, the essay “The Count of Ito” by an unspecified author was published. Based on the statements of the Spanish geographer and journalist Gonzalo Reparaz (1860-1939), the essay asserted that Ito was one of the renowned contemporary figures of Japan who rose from humble origins through his talent and extraordinary merits. As Prime Minister, Ito led the political, administrative, juridical, and financial transformation of Japan into a modern state. Reparaz had the opinion that Ito was even greater than the Prussian statesman Prince Otto von Bismarck (1815-1898), the Italian statesman

Count Camilo di Cavour (1810-1861), and the British liberal politician William Gladstone (1809-1898).

CONCLUSION

The Filipino intellectuals behind the periodical *La Solidaridad* appeared to begin paying closer attention to Japan at the time when this country courageously stood its ground against the old and enormous Chinese Empire. Nonetheless, the image of Japan documented in the said periodical is a composite picture of this country as seen from the point of view of the threatened Spanish Empire, of the disinterested Austro-Hungarian Empire, and of the reformist and assimilationist Filipino intellectuals.

To understand this composite image of Japan, it would be helpful to first look back at the authorship of the 43 articles from the said periodical that were analyzed by this paper. Of these articles, 40% was written by del Pilar, 9% by von Jedina, 7% by Ponce on the assumption that he was also the person behind the pen name “K,” 5% by Blumentritt, 5% by Moret, 5% by Regulo who this paper earlier surmised to be Paterno, 2% by an unspecified Japanese letter sender, and 28% by some unspecified writers. The threatened Spanish view can be partially found in the writings of Moret and consistently found in the writings of Regulo. Even if Regulo was indeed Paterno, such Spanish point of view would not be a surprise given his reputation of being a turncoat. The disinterested Austro-Hungarian view can be partially found in the writings of Blumentritt and fully found in the extracts from von Jedina’s. The reformist and assimilationist Filipino view can be found partially in the writings of Moret and Blumentritt and are fully found in the writings of del Pilar and Ponce.

The image of Japan from the perspective of the threatened Spanish Empire was characterized by the following: the fear that as Japan became the most powerful nation in the Asian Region, it would drive away all the Western powers and occupy the Philippines; Spain had regrets for failing to cultivate a more cordial relationship with Japan at the time when it was still a fledgling country; Spain proposed to make friendly representations with Japan no matter how belated this would be; and a beneficial economic interaction was established. The image of Japan from the perspective of the disinterested Austro-Hungarian Empire was characterized by admiration for the Japanese culture, values and character, as well as by astonishment on the speed of the country’s modernization.

The image of Japan from the perspective of the reformist and assimilationist

Filipino intellectuals actually built on the threatened and paranoid Spanish image as well as the admiring Austro-Hungarian image. Based on the Spanish fear and the Austro-Hungarian tales of power, the Filipino intellectuals behind *La Solidaridad* made Japan a leverage. These Filipino intellectuals subtly presented their case that if Spain would not initiate reforms in the colony, the Filipinos might get more and more attracted to the dazzling Japanese developments and system. Based on the Austro-Hungarian tales of Japanese modernization, these Filipino intellectuals also represented Japan as a model for development from backward feudalism to modern industrialization and capitalism. Based on the Austro-Hungarian tales of the virtuous Japanese character, these Filipino intellectuals also represented Japan as a counter-proof against the still predominant Euro-centric bias that only Westerners were capable of attaining greatness. Based on the same Austro-Hungarian tales, these Filipino intellectuals used such image of Japan to instill among their fellow Filipinos the sense of pride of being Asians. Based on the belated Spanish desire to establish economic relations with Japan, these Filipino intellectuals also saw Japan as an opportunity for improving the rather neglected Philippine economy. Lastly, based on the Spanish fear of a Japanese take-over of the Philippines, these Filipino intellectuals banked on the remote hope that if such scenario would indeed happen, Japan would grant to the Philippines the independence that it guaranteed to Korea even at the expense of going into the First Sino-Japanese War.

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