

The Augustinians in Seventeenth Century Japan

CHAPTER I

First Contacts.

On August 4, 1584 a Portuguese junk, on its way from Manila to Macao, was driven off its course in a severe storm and landed at the Japanese port of Hirado. The property of Bartolomeu Vaz Landeiro ¹⁾ it was commanded by his nephew Vicente Landeiro. On it traveled the first Spanish friars to set foot on Japan: two Augustinians, Francisco Manrique ²⁾ and Mateo de Mendoza ³⁾, and

¹⁾ On this Portuguese merchant-prince of Macao, nicknamed the «King of the Portuguese», and his relations with the Jesuits see C. BOXER, *The Great Ship from Amacon* (Lisbon 1959) 41 f. This work will be quoted henceforth: BOXER, *Great Ship*.

²⁾ Francisco Manrique made his religious profession at Valladolid. In 1575 he came to the Philippines, 1567 he was elected Definitor. In 1577 he was Rector of the Province. For four terms he was Prior of Manila. While doing mission work in Bisaya he baptized more than 6,700 pagans. In 1587 he was made the first Prior of Macao. The following year he was appointed Procurator and Commissary to Spain. He must have died on this trip, as there is no further mention of him. Cf. A. M. DE CASTRO, O. S. A., *Osario Venerable* (new ed. M. Merino, O. S. A., Madrid 1954) 464, 469 and 504; G. DE SANTIAGO VELA, O. S. A., *Ensayo de una Biblioteca Ibero-Americana de la Orden de San Agustin* (Madrid 1913 ff.) V 118 ff. (This work will be quoted EBIA); E. J. PEREZ, O. S. A., *Catalogo Bibliografico de los Religiosos de la Provincia del Santisimo Nombre de Jesus de las Islas Filipinas* (Manila 1901) 16. (Quoted PEREZ in subsequent references).

³⁾ Mateo de Mendoza, a soldier, was the first Augustinian who pronounced his vows at Manila in 1576. He was then sent to Mexico to be ordained. He worked in the Philippines from 1578 to 1596 when he was elected Definitor General. He resigned this office to work in Japan. After his return to the Philippines he was First Definitor (1599) and President of the Chapter of 1602. He died in 1605. Cf. DE CASTRO, *op. cit.* 228; PEREZ, *op. cit.* 66. That two

the Franciscan Brothers Juan Pobre and Diego Bernal ⁴). The four were on their way to China.

After the Augustinians had fulfilled their mission and opened a house at Macao ⁵), Manrique wrote a report to King Philip II of Spain ⁶). This letter reveals the church of Japan of his day with

Augustinians came to Japan in 1584 is confirmed by L. GUZMAN, S. J., *Historia del Japon* (Alcala 1601) II 663: Quiero referirlo que passo acerca de la yda destos religiosos (Manrique and companions) a Japon. El año de mil y quinientos y ochenta y quatro, un Portugues de Macao, que se dezia Bartolomé Vazlandero, avia ydo el año antes con su navio, de Macao a las Philipinas, llevando en el sus mercadurias, y quedandose el alla, embio con el dicho navio un sobrino suyo a la ciudad de Macao, donde era su morada, y habitacion ordinaria. En este navio se embarcaron dos Sacerdotes de la Orden de San Augustin, que el uno de ellos se dezia fray Manrique; y otros de San Francisco legos, que eran fray Juan Pobre y su compañero, que todos yban a Macao, y passandole el navio por el altura de Japon, dandole un recio temporal, los llevó a Japon, y arribarão al puerto de Firando, donde estavan dos Padres de la Compañia... DE CASTRO, *op. cit.* 464 expresses the belief that Mendoza was the second Augustinian in the group which came in 1584 to Japan. That two were sent is also evident from G. SAN AGUSTIN, O. S. A., *Conquistas de las Islas Philipinas* (Madrid 1698) I 422, 1.

⁴) Juan Pobre Diaz Pardo, O. F. M., had been once before in Japan on a return voyage to the Philippines in 1582. See T. UYTENBROECK, O. F. M., *Early Franciscans in Japan* (Himeji, Japan, 1959) 128. This does not contradict our statement that Manrique and his companion were the first Spanish friars, as Juan Pobre was at the time only one of the two « seglares que venian en habito de Donados ». M. DE RIBADENEIRA, O. F. M., *Historia de las Islas del Archipiélago Filipino y Reinos de la Gran China, Tartaria, Cochinchina, Malaca, Siam, Cambodge y Japon* (new ed. J. De Legísima, O. F. M., Madrid 1947) 106. Juan Pobre began his novitiate in Manila in 1592. UYTENBROECK, *op. cit.* 2. Diego de Bernal is verified in L. PEREZ, O. F. M., 'Origen de las Misiones Franciscanas en el Extremo Oriente, *Archivo Ibero-Americano* (henceforth AIA) (Madrid 1916) 417.

⁵) The foundation was accepted by the Provincial Chapter of the Philippine Province of April 25, 1587, and Francisco Manrique became the first Prior. (SAN AGUSTIN, *op. cit.* I 444; DE CASTRO, *op. cit.* 464; PEREZ, *op. cit.* 16; MANOEL DA AVE MARIA (Ferreira), O. S. A., *Manual Eremetico da Congregação da India Oriental dos Eremitas de N. P. S. Agostinho* (publ. by A. Da Silva Rego, *Documentação para a Historia das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente, India* 11 (Lisbon 1955) 159).

⁶) For bibliography of letter see EBLA V 120. The original is preserved in Archivo de Indias de Sevilla MS 68-1-37. The letter had been partly produced in F. COLIN and P. PASTELLS, S. J., *Labor evangelica de los obreros de la Compañia de Jesus en las Islas Filipinas* (Barcelona 1903-1904) I 406, note 1. Eduardo Navarro, O. S. A., published the whole letter in *España y America* (Jan.-March 1905). We used the text in B. MARTINEZ, O. S. A., *Apuntes Historicos de la*

a freshness and naturalness peculiar to impromptu letters. It shows both the strength and weakness of the Catholic position in Japan and enables us to trace with remarkable accuracy the development of events which led up to the conflict between the Jesuits and the friars. Although the letter contains some errors of fact, it served the purpose of immediate information and suggestions to the King.

Manrique explains the reason for his voyage :

« In the year '83 the Province of the Philippines of the Order of St. Augustine received a letter and I in its name, as I had at that time charge of it. It was dated Lisbon, October 27⁷⁾. In it Your Majesty ordered and asked us that, besides the work we had in the mentioned Isles, we undertake to visit the lands near these islands, find out how we could be of assistance to the natives, and send Your Majesty a detailed report, so that you could take the needed steps. I immediately sent religious to the Kingdom of Siam⁸⁾ and to Macao, a port of China. They were sent there but nothing came of it. So in July '84, when my term of office in the same Province had expired⁹⁾, I departed with a companion to carry out the task assigned to us¹⁰⁾. In the severe weather we were lost on the sea for more than twenty-five days. In the end we found ourselves in Japan, in the kingdom of Hirado, where we spent more than two months waiting for passage. Mean-

Provincia Agustiniiana del Santisimo Nombre de Jesus de Filipinas. Vol.: Filipinas (Madrid 1909) 90 ff.

⁷⁾ This is doubtlessly a reference to the letter which Mateo De Mendoza mentions in his letter to the King of Spain of March 30, 1590. Cf. *Archivo Historico Hispano-Agustiniano* (henceforth AHHA) (Madrid 1914) II 409: « ... por cartas de vuestra magestad su data in lisboa a tantos de Octubre del año pasado de ochenta y dos se mando a mi orden no se contentase con solo el ministerio de las yslas, sino que se procurase tambien la predicacion en las tierras comarcas, en cumplimiento de lo qual entro la dicha mi orden en la china... ».

⁸⁾ SAN AGUSTIN, *op. cit.* I 422,1 reports that on December 13, 1583 two religious came to Macao to make a foundation there. Their names are unknown. Then *ibid.* 422,2: After failure to make this foundation Father Juan Quiñones was sent by the Definitory in March 1584 to Siam to open a monastery there, and on the way back he was to call at Macao, « para poder desde aquella ciudad emprender la mission de la China, como principal motivo que se tuvo en el descubrimiento de estas Islas, e asi se explica en la dicha junta con las palabras siguientes: Se determino se ampliase nuestra orden, y como nuestro fin principal a que venimos a estas Islas, es el respecto de la tierra firma de China; en la qual siempre hemos deseado, y procurado fundar ».

⁹⁾ He had then been for the fourth time Prior of Manilla (PEREZ, *op. cit.* 16).

¹⁰⁾ Cf. *Supra* note 3.

while I took care to acquaint myself with the country and its condition » ¹¹⁾).

In 1564 the Augustinians had come to the Philippines, but they did not wish to confine themselves to these islands. To them and to the *conquistadores* the Philippines were only a stepping stone to the Asiatic continent ¹²⁾. After the founding of Manila, Legazpi wrote to the King that he was uncertain whether His Majesty « wishes us to proceed immediately to China » ¹³⁾. It shows the urgency with which both explorers and priests wished to get in touch with the innumerable peoples which almost overnight had come to their attention. They made contacts with China ¹⁴⁾, however, without lasting success. Their efforts to go to Japan came to naught with the arrival in the Philippines of the Papal bull ¹⁵⁾ forbidding anyone who did not represent the Portuguese Padroado to do missionary work in Japan.

The Japan into which Manrique came was still in the throes of the struggle which had been going on for two centuries between the Emperor called Tenno or also Dairi in European writings and the Shogun or commander-in-chief of the army. Although the Emperor was considered a descendant of divinity, he retained by the end of the sixteenth century only a semblance of authority. The actual functions of government were in the hands of the Shogun, whom we might consider a kind of military dictator.

Hideyoshi, the occupant of the shogunal authority at the time,

¹¹⁾ MARTINEZ, *op. cit.* 90. The date 1584 is also verified by Fray Juan de Placencia, the Custos of the Franciscans of Manila, in a letter of June 18, 1585: El año pasado, yendo un navio de portugueses a Macan, ynbíava allí dos frayles nuestros y ivan otros dos padres Agustinos y con tempo forçoso fueron a dar a Japon, adonde estuvieron con los Padres de la Compañía, en particular con el P. Vicario Provincial. Cf. L. PEREZ, O. F. M., 'Origen de las Misiones Franciscanas en el extremo Oriente', AIA VI (1916) 417.

¹²⁾ *Supra* note 9. The same view was shared by the Franciscans. Cf. UYTENBROECK, *op. cit.* I.

¹³⁾ F. X. MONTALBAN, S. J., *El Patronato Español y la Conquista de Filipinas con documentos del archivo general de Indias* (Burgos 1930) 105.

¹⁴⁾ Fathers Martin De Rada and Jeronimo Marin had gone to China in 1575. Cf. M. MERINO, O. S. A., 'Semblanzas misioneras. Fr. Martin de Rada, Agustino', *Missionalia Hispanica* I (1944) 167 ff. DE CASTRO, *op. cit.* 221.

¹⁵⁾ *Ex Pastoralis Officio* of Gregory XIII, January 23, 1585. Cf. PASTOR, *Geschichte der Päpste* IX (Freiburg 1928) 755.

was busy consolidating his power which had been wrested only a short while before from the Ashikaga family by Nobunaga who was later murdered ¹⁶). At the time of his death in 1582 Nobunaga was master of 32 of the 68 provinces of Japan. The country was unified as never before. During the last decades of the sixteenth century a new order had succeeded the anarchy of the Ashikaga regime. Nobunaga had made his age familiar with the idea that supreme authority under the Emperor was vested in one man. It was under his rule that mass conversions had begun. After Christianity, planted in Japan by St. Francis Xavier, had struggled through the first vicissitudes of local persecutions, hostility of the bonzes and the resistance in the hearts of a pagan nation, the new religion saw itself suddenly favored by Nobunaga. He protected it, as a matter of political expediency, against the bonzes ¹⁷) who tried to uphold the Emperor's authority. Hideyoshi, Nobunaga's best general, had seized power after his chief's assassination and continued to play the role of the political opportunist. As he needed revenue it was more the mercantile than the religious view which dictated his behavior towards Christianity. His tolerance was only in direct proportion to the profits he hoped to gain from the Iberian traders. The same opportunism was shared by the local rulers or Daimyo ¹⁸), whom Manrique calls kings, « four of whom », he writes, « are already Christians » ¹⁹).

In an introductory paragraph Manrique describes the country and its natural products. The homely manner of his exposition makes the letter also a document of human interest. It shows the frankness

¹⁶) Cf. W. DICKSON, *Japan* (New York s. d.) 123; J. LAURES, S. J., *The Catholic Church in Japan* (Tokyo 1954) 109 f.

¹⁷) G. SANSOM, *A History of Japan (1334-1615)* (Stanford, Calif. 1916) 295. See also Nobunaga's opinion as reported by J. GUBBINS, 'Review of the introduction of Christianity into China and Japan', *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* VI (Yokohama 1877) 11, quoted from the Saikoku Kirishitan Bateria Jitsu Roku (True Record of Christian Padres in Kyushu): Buddhism has been introduced from abroad and has done good in the country, he did not therefore see why Christianity should not be granted a trial. Also DICKSON, *op. cit.* 116 ff.

¹⁸) The Daimyo was a ruler appointed and paid by the Shogun as opposed to the imperial nobility appointed by the Emperor, who were called Kuge. C. BOXER, *The Christian Century in Japan 1549-1650* (Berkeley 1951) 176. (This work will be cited: BOXER, *Chr. Cent.*).

¹⁹) MARTINEZ, *op. cit.* 90.

and simplicity with which the missionaries spoke to their King as well as the ease with which the King could be approached. Just as Philipp II was sure that his power descended from God, so he believed that his subjects should have free and easy access to their ruler. We pass over Manrique's report on the produce of the land as it contains nothing new, but we should dwell upon the impression the people of Japan had made upon him.

« The people are very neat and clean ²⁰⁾ in their garb, very warlike and brave. They are armed with all kinds of arms ; with good harquebuses ²¹⁾, lances and swords, which cut through a man at one blow. They have bows and arrows, spears, helmets and back and breast plates. The Christian knights keep their houses very neat and their arms polished. Like the Spaniards they have many horses, although small ones. They would all be willing to become Christians if they had preachers of the Gospel. Those who are Christians are, to all appearance, good ones and without duplicity » ²²⁾.

With the last sentence Manrique comes to the main purpose of the letter, namely the opening of an Augustinian mission in Japan.

« I paid more attention to the King and his father in an effort to draw them to the faith. They were very fond of the sons of St. Augustine as also of those of St. Francis, who were with me. They were glad to have us in their country. They arranged to send an embassy to Manila on the matter to the President and to our Order. They went so far as to tell me that they would become Christians if I would stay with them, and they would build me a monastery and give us a village to support us. Furthermore they asked that I should send missionaries of the Order who would preach in their kingdom. They would be willing to be baptized. They did not like the Theatines ²³⁾, although they have them in their village, because they

²⁰⁾ Cf. Valignano's impressions on Japanese cleanliness, BOXER, *Chr. Cent.* 83 f.

²¹⁾ Harquebuses were one of the earliest European imports into Japan. The Japanese imitated and improved them quickly. BOXER, *Chr. Cent.* 28.

²²⁾ MARTINEZ, *op. cit.* 91. Perhaps we should mention here that at the time the Augustinians came to Japan Hideoyoshi was on best terms with the Church. He had given Father Organtino S. J., permission to build a church near the Osaka castle. He had even selected a site for him. SANSOM, *op. cit.* 346 ff.

²³⁾ Theatiness was a name given to the Jesuits of those days. It was an

do not go along with them. They say that their ship, which plies between here and Macao each year, does not call at their harbor, where the boat used to go, but have it rather call at Langasac, the port of the Fathers ²⁴). Your Majesty should be pleased to order that the boat should call at all ports to apportion the supplies and to silence all questions and murmuring. I did not stay to baptize there for two reasons : first, because they were at war and asked me to wait until it was over and, secondly, the ship in which I traveled belonged to Bartolomeu Vaez Landeiro, a citizen of Macao, a very old captain. In this ship sailed a nephew of his, Vicente Landeiro, who came to Macao from Manila where his uncle was expecting him in the hope that he would bring at the expense of the said Bartolomeu Vaez provisions, powder and soldiers against the Molucs. So I stayed there. When that ship sailed I had an opportunity to go to Macao which was my destination » ²⁶).

Manrique hints at the topics which he is now going to develop further. The whole text can be understood only if we bear in mind the close connection between the economic-political status and the religious expansion of those days. Commercial interest had played its part from the beginning of the mission of Japan. St. Francis Xavier was embarrassed when for more than a year no Portuguese ship had come to Kagoshima, while two had landed at Hirado. As a consequence Shimazu Takahisa, the Lord of

echo of an old protest against the name given the Society by their founder. See e. g. Francisco a Jesu DE ESCALONA, 'Relacion del viaje al Reino de la Gran China' in A. VAN DEN WYNGAERT, O. F. M., *Sinica Franciscana* (Florence 1933-1936) II 225 ff., where the Jesuits are always referred to as Theatine Fathers. *Ibid.* 212 and 257: Teatinos, ita Jesuitae saepius vocantur illo tempore.

²⁴) With good reason Manrique calls Nagasaki « the port of the Fathers ». Omura Sumitada had ceded the port town and nearby Mogi to the Jesuits who were very happy to have the harbor for the support of their missions in Nagasaki and Omura. BOXER, *Great Ship* 40 f.; *Chr. Cent.* 100 ff. The annual Portuguese carrack had begun to call at Nagasaki since 1570. Because of the coming of the Great Ship the fishing hamlet was on the way to become a large settlement and trade center.

²⁵) This is a reference to the civil war that followed on the death of Nobunaga and his eldest son. At the beginning of 1584 Nobuo, Nobunaga's only surviving son, seeing plainly that Hideyoshi meant to sweep the house of Nobunaga aside, took up arms and engaged Ieyasu in his cause. Hideyoshi's nephew Hidetsugu was thoroughly beaten. Hideyoshi had found his equal in Ieyasu and had to come to terms in November 1584.

²⁶) MARTINEZ, *op. cit.* 91.

Satsuma, who had received Xavier, forbade 1552 any new conversions under pain of death ²⁷). This bond between commerce and mission belonged to the very essence of the protectorate to which Rome had given its approval. Certainly merchants gave the missionaries valuable material assistance which deserves acknowledgment, and in later years some of them even became martyrs of the faith. But the system also had its drawbacks. No doubt the Jesuits had used their influence with the Portuguese traders of Macao to make them call at the ports of the feudal lords who were either Christians or favored the Church in their fiefs ²⁸). Bartolomeu Vaez boasted « that he did not enter with his merchandise into any port or region of Japan where the padres were not properly received and maintained » ²⁹). There was great competition among the Kyushu Daimyo to attract Portuguese traders to their ports. Valignano, the well-known Jesuit visitor of Japan, went so far as to ask for the excommunication of those who would go

²⁷) J. LAURES, *op. cit.* 3 and 4.

²⁸) Proof that the Jesuits directed the Great Ship to the ports of the Christian Daimyo is sufficient. E. g.: *Sumario de las cosas que pertenecen a la Provincia della Yndia Oriental y al Gobierno della, compuesto por el Padre Alexandro Valignano visitador della, y dirigido a nuestro Padre General Everardo Mercuriano en el año de 1579* (publ. by A. DA SILVA REGO, *Documentação para a Historia das Missoes do Padroado Portugues do Oriente, India* 12 (Lisbon 1958) 537: « Despues de la gracia y favor de Dios la principal ayuda que tuvimos y hasta agora tenemos para hazer los Cristianos es la nave ». Cf. also BOXER, *Great Ship* 40, where it is reported that Leonel de Brito was induced by the Jesuits to bring the carrack to Kuchinotsu in the fief of Arima Shigezumi who had been baptized that year. See also LAURES, *op. cit.* 99; BOXER, *Great Ship* 53: In this year (1589) the King wrote to the Viceroy in India, stating that the Jesuits had asked him to order that no Portuguese ship be allowed to visit the ports of heathen Daimyo who were hostile to the propagation of Christianity in their fiefs. The Crown asked the Viceroy whether this projected ban was necessary and practical. The order was implemented immediately. Cf. letter of Viceroy Manoel de Sousa Coutinho to King, Pangim, Dec. 12, 1589, MS Arch. de Simancas, Secretarias Provinciales, Cod. No. 1551 Fol. 746^r ff. It contains the order of the Viceroy to Portuguese ships to go only to the harbors under control of a Christian Lord. On the importance of trade for the missions see also L. PASTOR, *Geschichte der Päpste* IX (Freiburg 1928) 712. However, it would be a mistake to ascribe all success in the early Japanese mission to commerce. E. g. Villela's converts in Kyoto cannot have been attracted to the faith by commercial motives.

²⁹) BOXER, *Great Ship* 42.

to ports of persecutors or those who were reluctant to have their subjects converted³⁰). Manrique himself, although he does not mention it in his letter, had asked the ruler of Hirado for a foundation and promised him in turn trade from Manila³¹).

What now follows appears so fantastic that it needs a short introduction. Manrique had heard of attempts to invade China by force of arms. Hideyoshi, the Napoleon of Japan, himself toyed with the idea³²). The Jesuit Sanchez had advocated it rather vehemently³³). Salazar, the first bishop of Manila, had justified it theologically³⁴). In their defence we can but say that the blood of the

³⁰) It is strange that the eminent Visitor did not see that trade-favor did make just as many tenacious enemies as friends (e. g. Matsuura Takanobu of Hirado, J. LAURES, *op. cit.* 35). Further, its effect, as in our day, depended on complete cooperation and perfect organization.

³¹) GUZMAN, *op. cit.* II 663: En el tiempo que se detuvieron en el puerto el P. Fray Manrique con un compañero, pidieron para si, y para los religiosos de S. Francisco, al Señor de Firando que les diese lugar en sus tierras, apreciendole que acudirian alli los Españoles de las Philipinas y seria el comercio dellos en su puerto.

³²) In a letter of January 7, 1594, quoted in UYTENBROECK, *op. cit.* 8 f., Father Peter Bapist, O. F. M., writes to the Governor of the Philippines in connection with the Audience he had with Shogun Hideyoshi, that the Shogun had said: « I will also invade China, if the Chinese are not faithful to the promises made through their ambassador ». Cf. also DICKSON, *op. cit.* 146 f.; D. C. BOULGER, *China* (New York s. d.) 165 f.; L. DELPLACE, S. J., *Le Catholicisme au Japon* (Brussels 1909-1910) II 155 writes the Jesuit Melchior Nuñez Barreto expressed in a letter of November 1569 the wish that the princes of Europe would stop quarrelling among themselves and force « the Sovereign of China to grant to the missionaries the right to preach and to the natives to hear the truth ». See also Vice-Provincial Gaspar Coelho's first interview with Hideyoshi at Osaka Castle on May 4, 1586 where Hideyoshi invited him to make arrangements to assist him with two Portuguese carracks in the invasion of Korea and China (BOXER, *Chr. Cent.* 141).

³³) BOXER, *Chr. Cent.* 257 f. and sources quoted on page 484.

³⁴) See his letter of June 18, 1583 to Philip II, quoted in H. BERNARD, S. J., 'La théorie du protectorat civil des missions en pays infidèle', *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* (Tournai 1937) 264 f. The letter is published in its entirety in COLIN-PASTELLS, *op. cit.* I 312, note. Valignano wrote under date of April 28, 1580, from Japan that the Castillians had in mind to conquer China (H. BERNARD, S. J., *Aux portes de la Chine. Les Missionnaires du XVI^e siècle* (Tientsin 1933) 132. We should perhaps add here that in May 1592, having scarcely completed the task of breaking the power of the feudal daimyo and unifying Japan, Hideyoshi hurled an army of 300,000 men upon Korea. This he planned as a first step

conquerors in their veins and the spirit of the *conquista* was still very much alive with its confidence in the superhuman prowess of the Spanish man-at-arms. The missionaries saw in the conquest and Christianization of China an opening for the conversion of the whole Orient. To them all the pagan countries of this mysterious and little known region of Cathay were so many souls to be saved for eternity. Xavier had already sensed the problem. In his talks with the Japanese bonzes he had learned that the Japanese would be more impressed if Christianity came by way of China and so he set his face towards China, on the road of no return ³⁵). The project of conquering China had also been supported by the governor, the bishops and the nobles of Manila assembled in the *junta* of April 1586 ³⁶). Manrique expressed the naive delusions of his contemporaries as follows :

« To finish these items on Japan, I wish to say that if Your Majesty ever intends to enter China by way of war and take it, it must be by way of Japan. If you could arrange that these kings stand on the side of Your Majesty, albeit at present not more than four of them are Christians, more than hundred thousand warriors captained by our men could go. Thus it would be easy to conquer China, for they are very brave, fearless and cruel, and feared by the Chinese. Therefore it would help much, if it finds Your Majesty's pleasure, to show your favor to the above mentioned Bartolomeu Vaez. He first arrived from the Moluccas and was there three years in the service of Your Majesty with his ships and ware houses. He is well known to the Japanese and their kings as he has spent in the past years a great deal of wealth amounting to more than sixty thousand ducats ³⁷). This fact is also known to the Theatine Fathers who were present when he called with his boats at

towards realizing the grandiose dream of a Japanese empire embracing China, India, the Philippines, and the Southwestern Pacific.

³⁵) LAURES, *op. cit.* 12.

³⁶) BOXER, *Chr. Cent.* 257 ff.

³⁷) On the services of Landeiro see COLIN-PASTELLS, *op. cit.* I 286: Fue este hombre tan generoso, que llevando Padres a Japon en sus naos, cargadas de las riquezas suyas, y ajenas, no queria entrar en los puertos de señores, que no recibiesen a los Padres, o no los tratasen como era justo; y hubo vez que por dexar un puerto por otro, movido de este fin, perdio unos treinta mil ducados en las haziendas; por lo qual con santa jactancia se loava él de tener en Japon mas Cristianos que los Padres.

the ports of these kings, especially a Don Protasio ³⁸⁾, who is now great because he (Vaez) favored him. If Vaez could go there with the recommendation and at the command of Your Majesty, not only the Christians but also the pagan kings would give him assistance in the proposed undertaking. He is still here at Macao, old and poor. I understand that he sent Your Majesty a petition to obtain your favor. I, with permission of Your Majesty, say, without wishing to take sides, that considering the very great favors which Your Majesty has bestowed upon the Portuguese nation, and perhaps without merit on their part, you have owed it to him a long time as he has always occupied himself in the service of your Majesty » ³⁹⁾.

Now Manrique comes to the heart of the matter. With a certain resentment he writes to his sovereign about the sharp opposition which the members of his Order find from the Portuguese and, what is worse, from the very corporations which share with them in China as well as in Japan the same mission.

A very touchy problem of those early days was the opposition the friars from Manila encountered in founding a house and preaching the Gospel. The early missionaries of Japan had followed the Portuguese traders and both had succeeded in their aims which, as we saw, were often interwoven. In 1580 Portugal and all its possessions passed into Spanish hands. Portuguese hostility towards Spain was not lessened thereby but rather increased, and the relationship of the two countries in the Orient was often just short of actual war. On the one hand the Spanish authorities cast envious eyes on the wealth of Portugal and the wealth it was already amassing from China and the voyages of its Great Ship ⁴⁰⁾ from Macao. The Portuguese on the contrary felt that the interests of

³⁸⁾ Dom Protasio was the name given to Arima Shigezumi, later called Arima Harunobu, the Lord of Arima, when he was baptized in 1580. LAURES, *op. cit.* 100.

³⁹⁾ MARTINEZ, *op. cit.* 91 f.

⁴⁰⁾ The contemporary English used to call her the « Great ship from Amacon ». The Portuguese called her « Nao » (with capital N) or Nao to trato. The Japanese termed her Kurofune or « Black Ship ». Cf. C. BOXER, 'João Pereira Corte-Real and the construction of Portuguese East-Indiamen in the 17th century', *Mariner's Mirror* XXVI (1940) 388 ff. These Portuguese carracks were the largest vessels afloat at the time, averaging about 1,200-1,600 tons, some as many as two thousand tons. They were rivalled in size only by the Manila galleons, which sailed between Mexico and the Philippines.

their settlements, especially Goa and Macao, were threatened by Manila. It could hardly be expected that the Spaniards would forego the opportunities for a rich trade, and Spanish missionaries followed the merchants according to the pattern set by the Portuguese, although to a less extent. But whereas the Jesuits had been the only Portuguese missionaries in Japan, Spain sent Franciscans, Dominicans and Augustinians, much to the displeasure of the Jesuits who looked upon Japan as their own mission field. That the Hispano-Portuguese rivalry extended to the mission field, too, seems somewhat strange at first sight, but it was more than mere political and trade rivalry. It involved the very mission method which the two groups of missionaries employed. Generally speaking, the church in Europe was not too well prepared at the time to bring the faith to the newly discovered countries⁴¹). The crusades had left a legacy of intolerance. The long drawn-out struggle of Spain against the Moors had developed thought patterns which identified Spanish culture and Christianity, so much so that one was thought impossible without the other. Add to this the factor of nationalism roused to new heights on the Iberian peninsula by the discoveries under Philip II, and it becomes evident that there could be little understanding of other cultural forms, much less of the need of adaptation⁴²). The Spanish friars came from this environment. They had been working for more than a century in the newly discovered lands of the Americas, where they had not employed methods of

⁴¹) The following is further developed and better documented in the chapter: 'Méthodes missionnaires du Mexique au Japon' in H. BERNARD, S. J., *Les Iles Philippines du Grand Archipel de la Chine (1571-1641)* (Tientsin 1936) 111 ff.

⁴²) The Jesuit Visitor had already sensed this problem when he wrote to his General in Rome that the friars of the Philippines should not be allowed into Japan, «because they have to do with inferior races where they are». BOXER, *Chr. Cent.* 159. Interesting in this connection are the letters of Gregory XIV to Sanchez, BERNARD, loc. cit., *Nouv. Rev. Théol.* (1937) 275 ff. The second letter explains how the Church in her infancy had to follow Christ in poverty and humility, now it was up to the Christian princes to resist those who place obstacles in the way of evangelization. While the friars in the Philippines held the Jesuits responsible for the Papal Bull of 1585 and their exclusion from Japan, Valignano explained the Jesuit position in January 1598 in his *Apologia en la cual se responde a diversas calumnias que se escribieron contra los Padres de la Compañía del Japon y de la China* (COLIN-PASTELS, op. cit. II 682 ff.). He sets forth that he wanted to keep the Europeanizing missionaries out of Japan and avoid a head-on collision between Spanish and Portuguese nationalism.

adaptation used by St. Paul and the early missionaries of the Church, but rather those of the preachers of the Gospel in the Middle Ages : destruction of idols and proclamation of the Gospel. Eminently successful in their conquests, the Spaniards were inclined to reduce all non-Christian people to a common denominator and were little disposed to concede more to Japanese culture than they had to Philippine and Aztec or Inca culture. The Jesuits had learned ⁴³⁾ that in Japan they were face to face with a higher civilization which would not bend to the mission method of the clean sweep. Therefore, they had avoided any clash with the native culture as far as the latter was not directly opposed to Christianity. Thus the Jesuits avoided the display of crucifixes, the distribution of images, the erection of wayside shrines etc. The friars on the contrary gave rosaries, medals, pictures to all among the flock ⁴⁴⁾. This may be intimately connected with another difference in the approach to the Japanese missions. The Jesuits from the days of Francis Xavier had directed their main effort towards winning the nobility of Japan, the daimyo and samurai, in the belief that these would bring their people into the Church ⁴⁵⁾. The friars concentrated on what they called the « ignorant and forgotten classes ». Again the Jesuits accused the friars of being unduly lax and granting absolution too easily. « Sinners who could not make their peace with their Jesuit confessors thus gravitated into the Franciscan orbit, but the Jesuit Carvalho insinuated that this was an instance of good riddance of bad rubbish » ⁴⁶⁾. The Jesuits contrasted their own flock, the cream of feudal nobility, with the seedy ragamuffins who frequented the Franciscan convents ⁴⁷⁾. As

⁴³⁾ Compare e. g. St. Francis Xavier's severe preaching (J. BRODERICK, S. J., *St. Francis Xavier* (London 1952) 422 ff.; 437) with the approach of the later missionaries.

⁴⁴⁾ BOXER, *Chr. Cent.* 232. To these very superficial differences could be added others, e. g., the friars used the rubrical anointments with oil in Baptism. Their shorter route of supply with the Philippines made this possible, while the Jesuits had not done so. The admiration of the neophytes is documented in a letter of Father Jerome of Jesus, O. F. M., contained in J. MONSTERLEET, *L'Eglise du Japon* (Toulouse 1958) 84.

⁴⁵⁾ J. JENNES, *A History of the Catholic Church in Japan* (Tokyo 1959) 21; BOXER, *Chr. Cent.* 228.

⁴⁶⁾ BOXER, *Chr. Cent.* 234.

⁴⁷⁾ *Ibid.* A good compilation of the differences between Jesuits and Friars

we shall see in Manrique's letter, the friars gloried in their work among the poor and the lowly. From our vantage point we can see that the judgment of the friars was better. With the defection of the nobility whole fiefs were lost to the Church.

But let us listen to Manrique :

« The King of Hirado declared himself a vassal of Your Majesty, as I already wrote you ⁴⁸⁾. He waits for a letter of Your Majesty in his favor. I am waiting for anything Your Majesty may send him. He stands at the frontiers of China, not more than thirty leagues of passage away, which means good business for the people who wish to cross there.

There is no reason on our part to begin a lawsuit and much less to complain that it is the will of Your Majesty that we enter Japan and preach there, for the people entreat us to go there, which is the surest sign that we are of help to them. I hear that they are the subjects of but one Order and that they cannot even take a breath, for the Fathers have been so domineering toward them, that they believe they would be lost if they were to relinquish these Fathers ⁴⁹⁾. To such an extent have they dominated them and China. May God help them, for I could say much more. But this may suffice that Your Majesty might not be in ignorance of the situation, and might grant that my advice be carried out, for without additional help the Japanese will not have the Gospel preached to them in another hundred years. We have requests from many

in the ministry among the Japanese is contained in F. DE LEJARZA, O. F. M., *Bajo la Furia de Taihosama* (Madrid 1961) II 191 ff. Among other items the author mentions the following: The Franciscans use interpreters for hearing confessions; they use oil and chrism in the administration of Baptism to the wonderment of the neophytes; the friars are too simple for the highly cultured Japanese; they keep the Bl. Sacrament in their churches, e. g. that of Meako, even though there was danger of irreverence on the part of the pagans.

⁴⁸⁾ Manrique took the Daimyo's apparent friendliness at face value. It was naive to believe that the proud Japanese would submit to the Spanish King. Valignano saw much more clearly. In a letter he wrote to his Superiors in Rome, quoted in BOXER, *Chr. Cent.* 157, he writes: « Japan is not a place which can be controlled by foreigners... and the King of Spain neither has nor ever could have any power or jurisdiction here ». In excuse of Manrique's oversimplification we should perhaps mention that he was impressed by the friendship which then existed between the ruling powers and the Church. Cf. *supra*, note 22.

⁴⁹⁾ Cf. to this Ribadeneira's statement that the Jesuits had forbidden both the Portuguese and the Japanese Christians to assist at Mass, or receive the Sacraments of Confession and Communion in the church of the Franciscans. *Op. cit.* 423.

parts, and even to begin to fill them we would need immediately at least two dozen friars. Your Majesty will not fail to send help from overseas to assist us, for here I have not one who could do so. Therefore, if I do not hear that help will come, we shall remain here without producing any fruit in these lands.

On All Saints day it will be two years since I came to Macao. We were very badly received by many, although not by all, because we were Castilians. They tried with all the means at their disposal to expel us ⁵⁰). When I saw that there remained no other way open to me I bought secretly a small house, as I have written. We have lived in it until now with all the rights of a monastery. We hear confessions, preach and administer the Sacraments for the glory of God and with all the observances and piety which our Order commands. Despite all this the fury of some people lasts until now though they have no reason. It were better if they were not in these countries. They are not of pure ancestry and should be driven out, as Your Majesty always commands because they are at times the cause (of discord), and are always the ones who do not acknowledge Your Majesty as King nor the law nor anything » ⁵¹).

Manrique speaks next of the ever present problem in mission work : the much needed financial support. The lack of sufficient funds was one of the reasons which moved the Jesuit Visitor Valignano to ask for a special papal bull forbidding the friars to come to Japan and China ⁵²). In return for the privilege of the *padroado* the kings were required to further the spread of Christianity. They were to send missionaries into their sphere of influence, provide for their maintenance and aid them in establishing their various stations and establishments. It was only natural then for Manrique, born in the days of the unfortunate wedding between mission activity and colonial imperialism, to submit this request to the King :

« If your Majesty would be pleased that we remain here in Macao, two things are necessary : first, that Your Majesty com-

⁵⁰) To enforce the papal bull of Gregory XIII the Viceroy at Goa, Duarte de Menezes, had instructed the Captain-major of the Japan voyage of 1586, Domingos Monteiro, to ensure that no friars from the Philippines enter Japan. BOXER, *Great Ship* 49.

⁵¹) MARTINEZ, *op. cit.* 93.

⁵²) BOXER, *Chr. Cent.* 158.

mand so with your authority and decree, or that Your Majesty give another order, namely that we receive the usual alms for the Indies, which is 100 pesos and 100 *anegas* of rice and two *arrobas* ⁵³⁾ of oil for (lamps before) the Blessed Sacrament, furnishings for the house, ornaments, chalice, bell and all that is necessary for divine worship. To free Your Majesty from worry for a few years, it has been calculated that if Your Majesty give, or order to be given to us, 2000 pesos, — with which we can purchase 200 piculs ⁵⁴⁾ of copper which would be taken by us to the mint of Goa without payment of duty at the custom houses, — we could fairly maintain ten or twelve friars without asking more from Your Majesty. You could do us this favor for eight or ten years. We could send the 200 piculs to Goa under the above conditions. The Viceroys do this favor whenever it is proper and at present there are three here ⁵⁵⁾. In this manner your Majesty is free of worry and we are looked after and able to do our duty.

I was in doubt whether I should add this chapter. But with Your Majesty frank speech has more weight than reticence. I can no longer bear in patience that these Portuguese, who live here in this port town, say that this country belongs to the King of Portugal. They have no reason to speak thus as they have not a palm of land which they conquered. They do nothing else but come here and trade and go, as is the case in Barbary and wherever else commerce is carried on without ownership or good cause ⁵⁶⁾. Just as we, they also are

⁵³⁾ *Anega*, or *fanega*, was a grain measure of about 1,6 bushels. *Arroba* was the fourth part of a Portuguese hundredweight of 130 pounds.

⁵⁴⁾ The Far Eastern picul was the equivalent of $133\frac{1}{3}$ pounds avoirdupois. It varied greatly.

⁵⁵⁾ *Esta merced los virreyes las hazen a quien conviene y al presente estan aqui tres*. The relation of this phrase is not quite clear. It could refer to the fact that at the time there were serious disputes at Macao concerning the authority of the Captain-major, who usually acted as Governor of Macao during his stay in the port, and the Senado da Camara, or the City Council of Macao. In 1587 an *ouvidor* had been appointed by the Crown. Therefore the reference is perhaps to the three representatives of the royal power. Cf. BOXER, *Great Ship* 51. Manrique was acquainted with the problem. MARTINEZ, *op. cit.* 99: *En el entretanto que V. Mag.^d provea en esto esta cyudad de macao padece detrimento por falta de gobierno porque por la mayor parte la vienen a gobernar capitanes de la carrera del japon...*

⁵⁶⁾ The Spaniard finds fault with the Portuguese who establish only emporia as opposed to the Spanish way of subduing the whole country and using it as a colony. This contemporary Spanish view was also expressed by Diego Aduarte, O. P., who, advocating the conquest of Cambodia by the Spaniards in 1596,

subject to the mandarins of the King of China who can deprive us at their own pleasure of our establishments and necessities. No one is permitted to bring any arms into Canton, or the country. They treat us as they please. All kinds of nationalities live here, and yet they try to get rid of us, because we are Castilians, although we are religious. We are citizens as they are and under the same conditions. One could call it (Macao) city in the air, because it holds nothing ⁵⁷⁾.

The other matter is already of long standing and has been much discussed. In China there exists a favorable disposition towards the King of Spain and it has always been so. For this reason Your Majesty has kept our Order so long in the Philippine Islands so that we should be able to go to China, when God so orders it » ⁵⁸⁾.

Manrique now describes his experiences in China which do not serve our purpose. But then he returns once more to a grievance which is common to China and Japan :

« Had I wished to stay there (at Canton) I could have done so if I would not have been afraid of the Portuguese and the Theatines who had closed the road and forbidden entry to all Orders, usurping it as they have Japan. They give us to understand that they (the natives) will rise, if they (the Jesuits) do not take care of everything. They have put so much fear into the Portuguese that they did not even dare to take me into their ship to go to Canton, so that I had to force my way aboard. They kept me two days inside the door of my house, God alone knows why. They carry on their business so secretly, and with a secret code, from which God protect me and Your Majesty as well. I am given to understand that the Gospel which we preach is not like theirs. They make a great effort that nobody understand it and that they are apart. Your Majesty knows that before they were in the world, before they existed, the Franciscans, Dominicans and we have preached the Gospel in New Spain, Peru, the Philippines and the rest of the Indies. These stand today in the light of the day without all this fuss of embargoes on preaching... ⁵⁹⁾.

added « it is certain that neither the faith nor the Royal Crown will increase much through the Portuguese, since they are satisfied with merely the ports which they have, to ensure the use of the rest for their trade » (AIA XXXVIII 455 ff.), contained in BOXER, *Chr. Cent.* 471, note 12.

⁵⁷⁾ MARTINEZ, *op. cit.* 94. The last line is apparently a pun on Macao's Portuguese name: Cidade de Nome de Deus, City of the name of God.

⁵⁸⁾ MARTINEZ, *op. cit.* 94 f.

⁵⁹⁾ *Ibid.* 95 f.

It may be seemly to mention to Your Majesty that a brief which Paul III granted to the three mendicant orders of New Spain, applies to our Order : that we come here to preach in China and all the adjacent countries from east to west, from north to south, with the authority of commissaries and legates, with all the faculties and graces which such briefs usually grant. We are so distinguished because we do not contradict the wishes of your Majesty, which is what matters. The Fathers of India of our Order are so far away. At Your Majesty's command. Macao, March 1, 1588.

The last Chaplain of Your Majesty
Fray Francisco Manrique ⁶⁰⁾.

The Augustinians had spent better than two months in Japan. When they returned in Vaez Landeiro's boat to Macao and tried to establish a foothold on the Chinese continent, they found themselves in difficulties with the « Padroado ». Less than two months after the return of Columbus, Pope Alexander VI had issued his sweeping bull « Inter Caetera » fixing a line of demarcation along the meridian 100 leagues west of the Azores as boundary between Spanish and Portuguese fields of exploration ⁶¹⁾. This was corrected in the Treaty of Tordesillas ⁶²⁾. The cosmographers of the time could not tell the exact line of demarcation. They shifted Pope Alexander's line east or west as it best suited the national interest. The right of patronage had been granted by the Holy See to the Crown of Portugal in the region vaguely described as « India », extending from the Cape of Good Hope to Japan. It included the prohibition forbidding any missionary from sailing to « India » save by way of Lisbon and on board of a Portuguese ship. The *Padroado* thus gave the Portuguese a monopoly in the religious and ecclesiastical field as complete as the naval domination they sought to enforce in the Indian Ocean.

⁶⁰⁾ *Ibid.* 100.

⁶¹⁾ It was published May 4, 1493. For the text see F. DAVENPORT, *European Treaties bearing on the History of the United States to 1648* (Washington 1917) 36 ff.

⁶²⁾ It would not serve our purpose to go into the history of demarcation between Spain and Portugal. Cf. E. MCCARTHY, O. S. A., *Spanish Beginnings in the Philippines (1564-1572)* (Washington 1943) 5 ff. Also F. MATEOS, S. J., 'Bulas portuguesas y españolas sobre descubrimientos geograficos', *Missionalia Hispanica* XIX (Madrid 1962) 5 ff. and 129 ff. especially 141 ff.

The foundation of the Spanish rule in the Philippines was the first serious blow struck against this monopoly, for the Spaniards stubbornly refused to acknowledge the validity of the *Padroado* in the countries bordering on the Chinese sea ⁶³). Manila was soon a rival of Macao for the leadership of the far eastern mission field. The struggle was largely between the friars in the Philippines and the Jesuits in Macao.

Just at the time when Manrique was in Japan the news of the establishment of the first Jesuits, Ruggieri and Ricci, in China had spread to the Philippines. This news had stirred mercantile as well as missionary hopes.

On January 25, 1585 Pope Gregory XIII assigned to the Jesuits alone the mission field of Japan in the bull « *Ex pastoralis officio* ». Published at Manila, July 2, 1586 ⁶⁵), it ended attempts on the part of the Augustinians to begin missionary work in Japan. In a letter of June 1586, Santiago de Vera, Governor of Manila, writes to the King of Spain that he received a letter from the Daimyo of Hirado with the latter's request that Franciscan missionaries be sent into his fief ⁶⁶). Father Manrique wrote to Spain (July 6, 1587) in the same tone concerning the Augustinians ⁶⁷).

This same year saw the outbreak of the first large-scale persecution in Japan. Hideyoshi exiled the Jesuits and ordered the confiscation and destruction of their churches. There has been much speculation on the motive which caused the Shogun's sudden change of heart. He had known Christianity only in the persons of the missionaries, but when in 1586 the Shimazus, lords of Satsuma, had attacked the Kingdom of Bungo, the Christian Daimyo, Otomo Sorin, called Hideyoshi to his aide. The Shogun, happy to have a reason to intervene, saw Christianity as a potential political

⁶³) The conflict of conscience which the decision to go to the Philippines caused among the members of Legazpi's expedition is described in MCCARTHY, *op. cit.* 20 ff.

⁶⁴) A report of their first meeting with Spanish Augustinians is contained in Manrique's letter. MARTINEZ, *op. cit.* 96 f.

⁶⁵) MONSTERLEET, *op. cit.* 81.

⁶⁶) UYTENBROECK, *op. cit.* 2.

⁶⁷) MARTINEZ, *op. cit.* 54, note: Del Japon nos han pedido y piden cada dia, como ya V. Mag.^d tiene carta de ello, y con todo esto estamos coartados, y por otra parte esperando que V. Mag.^d manda lo que fuere servido se haga.

and divisive force. But Gubbins has pointed out that the apparently sudden outburst of Hideyoshi was long in coming. « Even before his coming to power he had remonstrated with Nobunaga for his policy towards Christianity. Once the country, and above all Kyushu, was secured, he threw off the mask » ⁶⁸).

Only three Jesuits actually left ; the rest had to go underground. Thus many of the faithful accustomed to their services felt abandoned and looked towards the Philippines for help, but this could not be granted because of the papal order. However, in 1590, when Hideyoshi planned his invasion of Korea, he sent an arrogant note to the Philippines, asking that they surrender to his sovereignty. As a consequence, the Governor of the Islands sent a Dominican, John Cobo, as his ambassador to Japan. The result of this embassy has never been clearly ascertained, as Father Cobo was lost at sea on his return voyage ⁶⁹). Hideyoshi, however, had sent a certain Harada Keimon with Cobo. Arriving in the Philippines later as he had waited for better weather ⁷⁰), he asked for Franciscans. Thus the Custos of the house of Manila, Peter Blasquez, was sent on another embassy to Hideyoshi. He was given four companions who were to stay and work for the conversion of the natives. The Jesuit Superior of Manila, Anthony Sedeño, did not hesitate to advise the Governor that the sending of the friars to Japan against the papal order was illegal ⁷¹). The Franciscans on the other hand insisted that Sixtus V, a Franciscan, had permitted them to go as missionaries into all parts of « India ». This, in their opinion, included also Japan ⁷²). The Governor then called the most prominent theologians of the Philippines together and asked for their opinion. A final meeting in this connection took place in the Augustinian monastery at Manila on May 28, 1593 ⁷³).

In 1597 we find Augustinians again in Japan. They were Fathers

⁶⁸) On the sudden turnabout of Hideyoshi see BOXER, *Chr. Cent.* 149 ff.; *Great Ship* 50 ff.; LAURES, *op. cit.* 117.

⁶⁹) BOXER, *Chr. Cent.* 161; MONSTERLEET, *op. cit.* 83; UYTENBROECK, *op. cit.* 5. The note of Hideyoshi is contained in SICARDO, *op. cit.* 32, 1.

⁷⁰) SICARDO, *op. cit.* 31, 1 ff.; BOXER, *Chr. Cent.* 160.

⁷¹) UYTENBROECK, *op. cit.* 6; Sedeño's letter in L. PEREZ, O. F. M., *Cartas y Relaciones del Japon* (Madrid 1920) II 33 f.

⁷²) RIBADENEIRA, *op. cit.* 331 ff. Yet the same author reports that because of Pope Gregory's bull the Franciscans went as ambassadors to Japan.

⁷³) DE CASTRO, *op. cit.* 501 f.; UYTENBROECK, *op. cit.* 6.

Diego de Guevara ⁷⁴), Juan Tamayo ⁷⁵), Mateo de Mendoza ⁷⁶), who had been Manrique's companion on the earlier stay in Japan, and Diego de Vivar ⁷⁷). Diego de Guevara and Juan Tamayo had come to Japan by accident. They had embarked for New Spain on the ill-fated galleon « San Felipe » which was carried by a storm to the Japanese port of Urado in the principality of Tosa where it was wrecked. Recent sources say that « four Augustinians, one Dominican, Father Martin de Leon, the galleon's chaplain, and two discalced Franciscans, Juan Pobre and Felipe de las Casas, traveled on the boat. The Definitory, or Provincial council, held at Manila June 24, 1596 had resolved to take advantage of the voyage of the « San Felipe » to New Spain and to send along Juan Tamayo, who was to go as Definitor to the General Chapter in Rome, with Guevara as Discrete ⁷⁸). As no other name is mentioned either in the Augustinian Philippine registers or in the usually very exact shipping lists, both Sicardo ⁷⁹) and the Augustinian Philippine chronicler De Castro ⁸⁰), arrived at the conclusion that these were the only Augustinians aboard the « San Felipe ». However, a letter of

⁷⁴) Diego de Guevara was born 1550 at Baeza and entered the Augustinian Order at Salamanca. In 1593 he came to the Philippines and already in 1596 he was elected Procurator in both Curias and Definitor to the General Chapter. P. DIAZ, O. S. A., 'Ilmo. y Rmo. Sr. D. Fr. Diego de Guevara, Obispo de Nueva Caceres', AHHA V (1916) 133 ff.; SAN AGUSTIN, *op. cit.* 125 ff.; DE CASTRO, *op. cit.* 70 ff.; T. HERRERA, O. S. A., *Alphabetum Augustinianum* (Madrid 1644) I 198; PEREZ, *op. cit.* 42.

⁷⁵) Juan Tamayo is mentioned only in connection with Guevara on his way to the Chapter. Perhaps he had entered the Order in the Philippines and is not mentioned in the ship registers.

⁷⁶) Mateo de Mendoza, *supra*, note 3.

⁷⁷) Of Diego de Vivar we know only that he was a son of the monastery of Manila. DE CASTRO, *op. cit.* 229. He mentions also that he worked as a missionary at Bulacan.

⁷⁸) SICARDO, *op. cit.* 33, 2.

⁷⁹) SICARDO, *op. cit.* 37, 1 f.

⁸⁰) DE CASTRO, *op. cit.* 502 ff. In order to explain the difficulty to reconcile his view with that of other writers (e. g. RIBADENEIRA, *op. cit.* 420; GUZMAN II 586, 1: Venian en el Galeon S. Phelipe quatro religiosos de San Agustin, etc.) he says: It cannot be denied that these two priests (Vivar and Mendoza) were already in Japan when the « San Felipe » arrived. It is of interest in this connection that PEREZ, *op. cit.* 34, reports that another Augustinian, Father Pedro Abuso de Orozco, worked in Japan until 1598. It was impossible to confirm this statement from any other source. De Castro's opinion on the same subject, *op. cit.* 487 f., is not to the point as he mistakes him for Juan de Orozco.

the Franciscan martyr Peter Baptist, dated Meaco, November 17, 1596, states plainly that four Augustinians arrived on the boat ⁸¹). We must assume then, that all four Augustinians mentioned above were passengers on the « San Felipe ».

According to Santiago Vela, Guevara and Tamayo returned to the Philippines in March 1597, Mendoza and Vivar in September ⁸²). Guzman has it that Vivar and Mendoza lived at Nagasaki in September and were witnesses in the interrogation on the Franciscan martyrs ⁸³). According to him they returned in October. We know little of the stay in Japan except that Guevara and Tamayo were sent by Landecho, the commander of the « San Felipe » to the Shogun's court.

On October 24 Motochika Chôsokabe, the Daimyo of Tosa, advised Landecho to send a delegation to Meaco to open negotiations with the Shogun on the return of the cargo of the stranded « San Felipe » to the rightful owners. The captain general chose Antonio Malaver and Cristobal Mercado and sent them with the two Augustinians Guevara and Tamayo to the court. They were to give Hideyoshi a present of the value of 20,000 ducats and remind him of his friendship pact with Manila, concluded in 1593, in which he had granted Spanish ships free access to all ports. The double-dealing Chosokabe had requested that the Shogun was to be approached through Masuda Nagamori, the Governor of Upper Kyoto, but at the same time he dispatched a messenger to inform him of the wreck and ask him to do all in his power to seize the cargo. Shortly before the time set for the reception of the delegation Masuda sent notice that the Shogun had declined to receive the present under the pretext that it was not properly wrapped and not presented by Landecho in person. Father Peter Blasquez introduced the delegates now to Mitsunari Ishida, the

⁸¹) « ... La Nao se dice San Felipe, de mil Tonelades: en ella iban quatro Frayles Agustinos, y un Padre Dominico, y el hermano Fray Juan Pobre, y Fray Felipe Corista ». Publ. in J. PICHARDO, *Vida y Martirio del Protomartir Mexicano San Felipe de Jesus de las Casas* (Quadalajara 1934) 479 f. (Appreciation is due to Dr. H. Magaret of Marymount College, Tarrytown, N. Y., who kindly pointed out this reference.) Pedro Baptista's letter refutes the opinion of DE CASTRO, *loc. cit.*, that four Augustinians were reported on the boat, because four were present at the martyrdom.

⁸²) EBIA III 378.

⁸³) Thus DE CASTRO, *op. cit.* 503.

Governor of Kyoto's downtown with the request to try another approach to the Shogun. Greedy for the valuable present which was to be handed to the Shogun he sent the delegates back to the Daimyo of Tosa. Only upon their arrival at Urado did they learn of the whole scheme of Masuda. Whereupon Guevara and the two Franciscans were sent back immediately to Meaco to inform the Shogun and ask him to protect Spanish interests according to the pact. Ishida, in order not to lose the valuable present or to compromise himself with the Shogun, urged the bonzes to accuse the religious of preaching a law opposed to the best interests of Japan and of instigating rebellion. With these charges they gained the ear of the Shogun who needed money to repair the damages of an earthquake and the heavy losses of the Korean war. Ishida had helped him to allay his qualms of conscience concerning the friendship pact of 1593. Guevara's mission remained without result ⁸⁴).

Guevara also played the part of the peacemaker when certain quarters tried to blame the Jesuits for the loss of the « San Felipe's » merchandise. Colin reports « Father Guevara, a learned religious and good preacher of the Order of St. Augustine, who was afterwards bishop of Camerinas, said a thousand good things about the Company in Japan and maintained that any statement against the Jesuits was a great falsehood » ⁸⁵).

Japanese and the Spanish reports disagree on the disaster. Was the wreck caused by the incompetence of the Spanish pilot or by the treachery of Chôsokabe, the daimyo of Tosa ? ⁸⁶). At any rate, the setbacks Hideyoshi had suffered made him greedy for the goods carried aboard the ship to fill his empty coffers. Rumors had been spread that the Spaniards had come with soldiers and amunition to conquer Japan for their king. Besides, the pilot of the « San Felipe » is reported to have uttered imprudent words. When all this came to the ears of Hideyoshi he flew into a rage

⁸⁴) For this incident see LAURES, *op. cit.* 126 ff.; SICARDO, *op. cit.* 34, 2 ff. That Guevara was with the delegation is shown in RIBADENEIRA, *op. cit.* 478; De Castro vouches also for Tamayo's presence, *op. cit.* 71

A. DE MORGA, *History of the Philippine Islands* (transl. by E. H. Blair and J. A. Robertson, Cleveland 1917) I 118: « They sent on this mission Christoval de Mercado, three other Spaniards, Fray Juan Pobre, of the Franciscan Order, and Fray Juan Tamayo, of the Augustinian Order, who were aboard the vessel ».

⁸⁵) COLIN-PASTELLS, *op. cit.* II 84.

⁸⁶) See the documens in Appendix III of BOXER, *Chr. Cent.* 415 and 420 f.

and ordered the death by crucifixion of the Franciscans and several of their converts.

The four Augustinians witnessed the martyrdom⁸⁷⁾. Father Guevara was almost deprived of this privilege. For he had been arrested at Osaka together with the other Spaniards who had made the second trip to the Shogun's court. This gave him opportunity to celebrate the last Christmas with the Franciscan martyrs and to hear the last confession of Felipe de las Casas. They were allowed to follow the martyrs at a day's distance, but because the latter were displayed to the ridicule of the people in the towns through which they traveled, they arrived only three hours before the martyrdom at Nagasaki. According to a statement of a witness in the process of the twenty-six holy Japanese martyrs, quoted by Bartolomeo de Medina in his *Vida de San Felipe de Jesus*⁸⁸⁾, Fathers Vivar and Mendoza had contrived with some Japanese Christians to take some of the martyrs off their Crosses. They are said to have taken the relics to their monastery at Manila. De Castro refutes this claim. His province, he says, never had such relics. Besides he refers to Guzman and Bernardino de Avila who report how the two Augustinians arrived at Macao after they had lost all their belongings in a savage storm during their passage⁸⁹⁾.

One other Augustinian went to Japan before the formal opening of the Augustinian missions in the country, Father Mateo de Souza, a Portuguese *Fidalgo*⁹⁰⁾. He had entered the Order at Goa, exercised the office of Lector for several years, and obtained the degree of Master in Sacred Theology. In 1591 he joined the Province of the Philippines. In 1597 the Governor of Manila, Don Francisco Tello de Guzman, sent an embassy to Hideyoshi to recover the cargo of the « San Felipe » and to obtain the relics of the martyrs. It was headed by Don Luis Navarrete and Diego de Souza, Father Mateo's brother, who had obtained the latter's services as assistant and chaplain of the embassy. In March 1598 they returned having obtained the relics, or rather what was left of them, but not the cargo.

⁸⁷⁾ SICARDO, *op. cit.* 37, 1 f.

⁸⁸⁾ SICARDO, *op. cit.* 37, 2; DE CASTRO, *op. cit.* 502 f.

⁸⁹⁾ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰⁾ SICARDO, *op. cit.* 40, 1 f.; SAN AGUSTIN, *op. cit.* I 631; DE CASTRO, *op. cit.* 230 and 503; PEREZ, *op. cit.* 60.

These first contacts of the Augustinians with Japan had acquainted the Order with the needs of the new mission field, and the Augustinians did not forget Japan.

CHAPTER II

The Period of Organization.

Sources for the following history.

Only one Augustinian author has written a complete history of the Augustinian missions in Japan, José Sicardo, later Archbishop of Sacer ¹⁾. He spent the years 1668-1684 in Mexico. During these sixteen years he investigated and verified many of the sources on the Augustinian martyrs of Japan. When his brother Juan became Assistant General for Spain, and was in Rome, he promoted the martyrs' cause. José Sicardo thought of introducing the cause of beatification of these martyrs by publishing the many sources he had found in Mexico in the form of a complete history. His work has remained the standard work.

Sicardo is so much the more eminent as he also had a guiding hand in the editing of the other source which could be called a compendium of the Order's history in Japan: the chapters in Gaspar San Agustín's *Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas*, dealing with the history of the same period ²⁾. Gregorio de Santiago Vela,

¹⁾ José Sicardo was born at Madrid and entered the Order at Salamanca. He was chosen as one of the Lectors who were sent every ten years to Mexico. He received his Doctorate in Theology at the University of Mexico and spent a good part of his time in literary work. He did much research in the sources to the Augustinian missions in Japan. In the Order he was promoted to the degree of Master in Sacred Theology. In 1685 he attended the General Chapter. Afterwards he held the office of Theologian and Examiner at the Papal Nunciature of Spain and Court Preacher. He died as Archbishop of Sacer on the Island of Sardinia. DE CASTRO, *op. cit.* 209 f.; J. OSSINGER, O. S. A., *Bibliotheca Augustiniana* (Ingolstadt 1768) 853; J. EGUIARA Y EGUREN, *Biblioteca Mexicana* (Mexico 1755) 387; EBIA VII 498 ff.

²⁾ Gaspar San Agustín was born 1650 at Madrid. In 1667 he made his profession in the monastery of San Felipe el Real. 1668 he came to the Philippines. In spite of his many missionary assignments and various offices in the Order (among them the very burdensome office of Mission Procurator 1677-1686) he

the great Spanish bibliographer of the Augustinians, checked San Agustin's manuscripts and saw the extensive corrections and additions from Sicardo's hand ³⁾. He also listed Sicardo's additions to the first volume. From these listings it appears that Sicardo's additions were above all biographical sketches, letters, etc. This explains why so many of them seem to interrupt Gaspar's narrative and are almost identical in wording with the sketches in Sicardo's publication.

Next in importance are biographical dictionaries, which contain the lives of those who worked in Japan. Worthy of mention here are above all Herrera ⁴⁾, de Castro ⁵⁾ and Perez ⁶⁾. The *Martyrographia* of Maigretius is of importance for Ayala and Pedro de Zuñiga ⁷⁾. There are also many individual biographies which will be mentioned below.

Generally speaking we can say that all the early Augustinian authors were too close to the events they describe to see the overall picture, so close in fact that some of them were part of the history they were writing. Thus they at times give secondary reasons primary importance because they could not gain the perspective to discern the real sequence of cause and effect.

Establishment of the Augustinian missions in Japan.

Several of the martyrs of 1597 had begged the Franciscan Provincial at Manila not to abandon the missions in Japan ⁸⁾. Their wish was carried out in 1598, when Father Jerome of Jesus, just returned home from Japan, and Father Luis Gomez were sent to

wrote a number of books. The most important is *Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas*. The second part, which concerns us more, was published by Casimiro Diaz (Valladolid 1890). He died at Manila 1724. DE CASTRO, *op. cit.* 124, gives his death date as 1721. However, he says that he died at 75. Therefore, we chose to follow PEREZ, *op. cit.* 133 ff.; EBIA VII 94 ff.

³⁾ EBIA VII 100 f., and G. DE SANTIAGO VELA, 'Fragmentos de Correspondencia de los primeros misioneros Agustinos de Filipinas', AHHA 18 (1922) 135 f.

⁴⁾ *Op. cit.*

⁵⁾ *Op. cit.*

⁶⁾ *Op. cit.*

⁷⁾ G. MAIGRETIUS, O. S. A., *Martyrographia Augustiniana* (Antwerp 1625).

⁸⁾ UYTENBROECK, *op. cit.* 35 ff.

the land of the rising sun ⁹⁾). On September 16 of the same year Hideyoshi died. Ieyasu Tokugawa, one of the late Shogun's generals, tried to usurp the shogunal power from Hideyoshi's five-year-old son, Hideyori. He sent for Father Jerome, asked him to communicate to the Governor at Manila his desire to maintain friendly relations with the Islands, and gave him permission to preach the Gospel on condition that the Spaniards send ships to his domain and do business with his vassals. Thus the shrewd Lord of Kanto repeated Hideyoshi's policy of expediency. Although he was a devout Buddhist and detested the foreign religion, he hid his true feelings while he consolidated his power. Once he held the reins of government securely in his hands, he gave proof of the policy he had meant to follow from the beginning. The missionaries could not easily refuse the extended hand if they wished to preserve and expand the Church in Japan. Father Jerome's interview ¹⁰⁾ with Ieyasu was the starting point not only of the second Franciscan mission in Japan, but of the Dominican and Augustinian mission as well.

The Franciscan suggested to Ieyasu that an ambassador be sent to Manila with a letter of the Shogun expressing the desire to re-establish the Friendship Pact which Hideyoshi had concluded in 1593 ¹¹⁾). In 1602 the Shogun sent Shikuro to the governor, Pedro de Acuña, offering his friendship and asking, among other things, for ship builders who would teach his people to build ships after the pattern of Europe. This request was refused, but in compliance with a request of Ieyasu the governor sent to the port of Uraga a small vessel, which failed to reach that port. However, a few years later Spanish ships began to call at Uraga regularly. Happy that good relations had been restored and anticipating commercial gains Acuña called a meeting. The result of the meeting was that missionaries of all Orders were to go to Japan. The Augustinians were assigned Bungo as their mission territory ¹²⁾). The Dominicans sent four priests, the Franciscans one priest and a Brother, who had already seen service in Japan. The Augustinians named as the

⁹⁾ UYTENBROECK, *op. cit.* 36. RIBADENEIRA, *op. cit.* 526 ff., letter of Jeronimo de Jesus, O. F. M., to Father Garrovillas, Dec. 20, 1598.

¹⁰⁾ SICARDO, *op. cit.* 42, 1. How this interview came about is reported in UYTENBROECK, *op. cit.* 36 f.

¹¹⁾ UYTENBROECK, *op. cit.* 38.

¹²⁾ SAN AGUSTIN, *op. cit.* II 75, 2.

first band Father Mateo de Mendoza, Antonio de Porras, Francisco Lopez, and a Brother to be appointed by the Provincial¹³⁾. For reasons unknown to us these appointments were changed in a session of the Definitory on May 4, 1602¹⁴⁾, and Father de Guevara, the Prior of Manila, and Eustaquio Ortiz, the Prior of Bolinao, were sent with the order to open a house in Bungo. Diego de Guevara was appointed the first Prior of the new foundation. He was also named Vicar Provincial.

The new missionaries were ordered to go barefoot in order by their poverty to move the hearts of those to whom they were to preach the Gospel as the first missionaries in Mexico had done. This was an indication of how completely the Augustinians were unaware of the entirely new environment into which they moved¹⁵⁾. Already a year later, in the Definitory held May 22, 1603, the injunction had to be revoked as impractical. However, the missionaries were forbidden to have objects made of gold or silver, to carry money or ride on horseback. They were to spend four hours each day in meditation and to fast two days a week.

Diego de Guevara and Eustaquio Ortiz¹⁶⁾ embarked on Mon-

¹³⁾ SICARDO, *op. cit.* 43, 1; SAN AGUSTIN, *op. cit.* 75, 2; MARTINEZ, *op. cit.* 102. Francisco Lopez was the great grammarian in the language of Iloco (cf. PEREZ, *op. cit.* 57 ff.; DE CASTRO, *op. cit.* 102). On Antonio de Porras see: PEREZ, *op. cit.* 52; DE CASTRO, *op. cit.* 32 f.

¹⁴⁾ SICARDO, *op. cit.* 43, 1.

¹⁵⁾ SICARDO, *ibid.*; SAN AGUSTIN, *op. cit.* II 75, 2.

¹⁶⁾ We are not quite sure of the place of birth of Eustaquio Ortiz. DE CASTRO, *op. cit.* 87, and PEREZ, *op. cit.* 45 say that he was born at Alpechin in Mexico. G. De Santiago Vela in a note to E. GARCIA, O. S. A., *Cronica de la Provincia Agustiniana del Santisimo Nombre de Jesus de México* (Madrid 1919) 323, states that Ortiz was born a Sancluar la Mayor (Province of Sevilla) as son of Estacio Ortiz and Elvira Vergara. He made his profession in Mexico September 15, 1595. This agrees with Garcia, who says he received the habit in 1594. Garcia further affirms (*ibid.*) that he worked a few years in Mexico. Therefore the insertion of his name among the missionaries who came to the Philippines in 1593 by PEREZ, *loc. cit.* and SAN AGUSTIN, *op. cit.* I 466, must be considered an error. After his arrival in the Islands he worked among the Zambales and was Prior of Bolinao when he was appointed to go as companion of Guevara to Japan. He mastered the Japanese language well enough to write a Life of S. Augustin as well as a booklet on Plenary Indulgences. After his return to Manila he served as secretary of the Province, Prior of Cebu and Manila. He died May 4, 1636. His and Guevara's arrival is also reported in L. PAGÉS, *Histoire de la religion chrétienne au Japon depuis 1598 jusqu'à 1651* (Paris 1869-1870) I 55.

day, June 25, 1602 in a sampan which had come from Bungo with a load of herring. As the wind was favorable they arrived on August 12 at Hirado. They lived in the home of a wealthy Japanese Christian until Guevara could go to Meaco to meet Father Jerome, who received him with proverbial Franciscan hospitality. Diego Guevara lived in the Franciscan house and, introduced to Ieyasu by Father Jerome, had two meetings with the Shogun at which he discussed the embassy of Shikuro to Manila. Through the Franciscan, Guevara obtained permission from Ieyasu to settle in Bungo. Father Guevara set out immediately to collect alms among the local Christians for the undertaking. He built a church and monastery at Usuki and placed it under the protection of the Holy Ghost ¹⁷⁾. The monastery had room for four religious. Usuki was not virgin mission territory. It had been worked for many years by the Jesuits who had to abandon it, however, in the days of the persecution.

Before Guevara had been in his new quarters long, he found himself called upon to intervene in favor of some of his countrymen. The Mexico-bound galleon « Santo Espiritu » was forced by stress of weather into the port of Urado in Tosa. Diego Guevara, noticing that the Japanese wished to seize the cargo as they had done in the case of the « San Felipe » sent word to Lope de Ulloa, the captain. While the latter got ready to defend the ship, he sent his brother and Don Maldonado in the company of Juan of Orozco ¹⁸⁾, the Augustinian chaplain of the ship, to Ieyasu with a rich present. The Japanese still continued to molest the Spaniards. They surrounded the ship with guards and did not allow

¹⁷⁾ SICARDO, *op. cit.* 44, 1; SAN AGUSTIN, *op. cit.* 76, 2. With a good deal of assurance we may assume that this first foundation of the Order in Japan was made at Usuki. Bungo is the name of a principality, not of a town. PAGÉS, *op. cit.* I 56 reports that this monastery was built in 1603.

T. UYTENBROECK, *Duo Generosi Apostolatus Saecula in Japonia* (Tokyo 1961) 97 affirms without reference to his sources that the name was chosen by Guevara in gratitude for the happy exit of the 'Espiritu Santo' affair.

¹⁸⁾ Only PAGÉS, *op. cit.* I 55, says explicitly that Juan of Orozco traveled aboard the « Espiritu Santo ». SICARDO, *op. cit.* 44, 2 mentions him only as companion of Maldonado. DE CASTRO, *op. cit.* 487 ff. tries to prove that he was identical with Pedro Abuso de Orozco (*Supra* note 80). As Sicardo as well as San Agustin (*op. cit.* I 507, 1) distinguish between the two, it may be wise to follow their lead. The reason that Juan's name does not appear in any of the lists of the missionaries who came to the Philippines before 1602 can be explained by presuming that he entered at Manila.

the Spaniards who had gone ashore to return. Father Guevara seeing that the Japanese were not satisfied with manhandling him and taking from him the supplies the ship had brought for his new church, advised the captain to set sail. The captain readied his boat, began to throw off some Japanese and killed a few others. When the Japanese became aware of his intention to sail, they came out in the morning in many junks and stretched across the harbor entrance a heavy cable made of vines. The captain countered this move by placing a negro on a raft attached to the prow of the ship, who cut the rope with a knife and the « Santo Espiritu » sailed through. In the meantime the delegation had come to the capital where Ieyasu received them graciously and furnished them with letters patent. He showed his displeasure at the treatment the Spaniards had suffered by sending, through the delegation, a sword « so that justice could be done » ¹⁹⁾.

Diego Guevara, the founder and first superior of the Augustinian missions in Japan, stayed in Bungo for about three months. When the new mission was well under way he returned to Manila in search of more helpers. In May 1603 he arrived at Manila in a junk laden with herring. Thus ended his short, but important, ministry in Japan.

For a while the Augustinians enjoyed tranquillity in their work. But soon the after effects of the decisive battle of Sekigahara ²⁰⁾ became evident. In this all important conflict for the future of Japan, many Christian princes had sided with the legal heir of Hideyoshi. When they were defeated, and the Shogun insisted that none of the samurai class be allowed to become Christians, several of the lords, in order to curry favor with the new man in power, apostatized and some even turned persecutors. In Bungo a change in government came about and the churches in that principality were ordered closed. The Christians were forbidden to wear rosaries and medals. In protest the Christians came in white garments to the house of the Tono. However, the potentate's secretary turned them away. Finally, in 1604 Father Ortiz had to yield to the pressure and leave, yet he was able to return the same year with two new missionaries, Father Pedro de Orozco ²¹⁾ and Brother Diego Pe-

¹⁹⁾ SICARDO, *op. cit.* 45, 1.

²⁰⁾ BOXER, *Chr. Cent.* 180; LAURES, *op. cit.* 134 ff.

²¹⁾ PEREZ, *op. cit.* 34 contains the few biographical notes we have.

rena ²²⁾. Ortiz then opened a new monastery and church in honor of the Immaculate Conception ²³⁾. About the same time another Augustinian missionary arrived, Father Martin of St. Nicholas ²⁴⁾, who worked in Japan until he was transferred to the Moluccas a few years later.

During this period the organizer and protomartyr of the Augustinian missions in Japan, Hernando Ayala, was called by God to his great vocation. Even a passing glance at Ayala reveals him to be a leader. He was endowed with the insight of a mystic and the resolution of a man of action. He was wont to translate the fruit of his contemplation into deeds. His whole bearing was that of a man who would be faithful unto the end, even though he knew that the path before him led to death.

Hernando Ayala's early years.

Hernando Ayala was born in 1575 in the village of Vallesteros ²⁵⁾ situated between Ciudad-Real and Almasteros in the diocese of Toledo. His parents were Hernando de Ayala and Maria Fernandez. Although we do not know the date on which he was born to the world, we know that he was baptized November 1, 1575 in the church of our Mother of Consolation at Vallesteros ²⁶⁾.

²²⁾ SICARDO, *op. cit.* 46, 1. The developments which had led to the abandonment of the first mission station and the departure of Ortiz are described on p. 45, 1.

²³⁾ SICARDO, *op. cit.* 45, 2; M. JIMENEZ, O. S. A., *Martires Agustinos del Japon* (Valladolid 1867) 6.

²⁴⁾ SICARDO, *op. cit.* 47, 1. Martin of St. Nicholas, born at Ossuna, made his profession at Pueblas de los Angeles and came in 1604 to the Philippines. 1630 he died at Manila. PEREZ, *op. cit.* 75.

²⁵⁾ HERRERA, *op. cit.* I 234 gives Almagro as Hernando's birth place; J. GONZALEZ DE LA PUENTE, O. S. A., *Chronica Augustiniana de Mechoacan, en que se tratan, y escriven las Vidas de nueve Varones Apostolicos, Augustinianos* (Mexico 1624), new ed. in F. PLANCARTE Y NAVARRETE, *Coleccion de Documentos Inéditos y Raros para la Historia Mexicana* Tomo-I (Cuernavaca s. d.) 288, has: natural de la Villa de S. Cruz de Mudela, en la Mancha. There can be no further controversy as Vallesteros is mentioned in Hernando's Baptismal Certificate which SICARDO, *op. cit.* 131, 1 obtained. Yet S. DE PORTILLO Y AGUILAR, O. S. A., *Chronica Espiritual Augustiniana* (Madrid 1732) II 34, retains Almagro. He is followed in our day by A. RODRIGUEZ DE PRADA, O. S. A., *La Orden Augustiniana durante quince siglos* (Pamplona 1927) 205.

²⁶⁾ Certificate of Baptism, SICARDO, *ibid.*

This date is verified by his baptismal certificate which José Sicardo obtained on December 14, 1689 for the purpose of introducing his cause.

Hernando was a scion of the illustrious family of the Ayalas of Castile. He was reared by an uncle, a priest serving as chaplain in the house of the Duke of Acos at Marchena. His classical studies were taken in the home of the noble family, where he had the same scholastic and courtly education as the Duke's children ²⁷).

When he was eighteen years old he paid a visit to relatives of his in the town of Montilla. There he became acquainted with the Augustinians and asked for their habit. He received it on May 18, 1593 from the Prior, Father Ramirez and a year later, on Ascension Day, May 19, 1594, he made his religious profession. The young Augustinian was so outstanding in scholastic achievement that he was chosen as one of the two students whom the Province of Andalusia was allowed to send every three years to the College of the Order at the University of Alcala de Henares. There he excelled in Philosophy, Theology and the study of the Scriptures. Hence the Castilian Province asked the Provincial of Andalusia to permit Father Hernando to teach a course in Arts at Alcala ²⁸). Here he met Father Lorenzo de Leon ²⁹) who had come as Mission Procurator from the distant Philippines. In a vocational appeal to the young members of the Order, besides the usual personal experiences as a missionary, he told about a new country, Japan, where the Augustinians were just about to open new missions. Hernando Ayala was the first one to step forward and sign a document, in which the cap and gown were exchanged for the royal robe of martyrdom.

When Lorenzo had a sufficient number of volunteers for the foreign missions he had to negotiate with the Crown about the usual subsidies for the religious he would take to the Philippines. The Archives of the Indies at Sevilla have preserved for us the

²⁷) SICARDO, *op. cit.* 131, 2.

²⁸) *Ibid.*

²⁹) Born at Granada, Lorenzo de Leon was a son of the monastery of Mexico where he made his profession in 1578. In 1582 he came to the Philippines, 1594 he was Prior of Manila and Provincial in 1596. In the following Intermedium deposed by the Definitors, he returned (1606) to Mexico and died there 1623. GARCIA, *op. cit.* 218; DE CASTRO, *op. cit.* 213; PEREZ, *op. cit.* 29. For the difficulties which led to his removal from office consult SAN AGUSTIN, *op. cit.* I 513 ff.

documents on the negotiations for the grants which the « Casa da Contratacion » (the Chamber of Commerce for the Colonies) made for each individual mission. There is also the record of the royal order of June 1, 1603 which directed that Lorenzo de Leon be paid 27,877 *Reales* for his own expenses and those of the missionaries he was taking to the Philippines ³⁰). In the same archives is the record of the Royal Officials at Veracruz stating that after the arrival of the Augustinians in New Spain, Francisco Perez, the master of the ship « San Juan Bautista » was paid 1,203 pesos, 4 tomins and 7 grains for the fare of the missionaries to New Spain ³¹). This interesting sidelight on financing the missions in the days of the « Padroado » shows the importance of royal subsidy for the missionary activity of the seventeenth century.

While Father Leon was engaged in these negotiations Hernando paid a visit to his home village. He called at the home of his uncle Martin and impressed the villagers with his virtuous life ³²). In 1603 he came to Mexico.

There he revealed the features which would remain his characteristic until death. Juan Gonzalez de la Puente reports in his History of Mexico ³³) that he was well loved by all who met him. They considered him a saint even then. Friar Juan who spent much time with him attests that he never heard him say an idle or provocative word. He was reticent and spoke only when necessary. Yet he was not forbidding. The Dominican Alonso Mena assures us that Hernando was « beloved by God and men » ³⁴) and just seeing him was sufficient to banish all melancholy. He was a great admirer of St. Theresa of Avila, and when he left for the missions he added to his own name that of St. Joseph, St. Theresa's favorite Saint ³⁵). In a degree remarkable for a missionary he imitated

³⁰) MS 2-4-74/29, Archivo de Indias at Seville.

³¹) MS 5-2-7/21 fol. 101 of the *Data Espiritual*, Archivo de Indias at Seville.

³²) SICARDO, *op. cit.* 133, 2; SAN AGUSTIN, *op. cit.* 78, 2.

³³) GONZALEZ DE LA PUENTE, *op. cit.* 287.

³⁴) In a passage quoted by SAN AGUSTIN, *op. cit.* 88, 2, from Mena's report on the martyrdom of Alphonsus Navarette.

³⁵) SAN AGUSTIN, *op. cit.* 78, 1 states that he changed his name on the day of his profession. However, SICARDO, *op. cit.* 132, 1 refutes this opinion and asserts with emphasis that Hernando changed his name only when he set out for the missions. To prove his assertion Sicardo obtained in 1689 a notarized transcript of Ayala's formula of profession.

her love of mental prayer and spent several hours each day in its practice. As his missionary assignments grew he increased his mortifications and mental prayer ³⁶). By the time he came to Mexico his idea on preaching had taken definite form. On All Saints Day 1603 he and Juan Gonzalez had gone to listen to the sermon of Archbishop Diego de Contreras. On the way home from the Cathedral Juan asked Hernando what he thought of the sermon. The future missionary answered : « The sermon was what the Holy Spirit expects of a preacher ; for the Archbishop has preached for the benefit of his listeners, and each preacher should do that » ³⁷).

He always prepared for his Mass with great care and was very fond of assisting at the Holy Sacrifice. He had a great devotion for the souls in Purgatory and for some time before his death he said all the Masses he was free to say for the Poor Souls. Often, even while he was in great need, he gave Mass stipends offered to him to other priests, while he said Masses for the Poor Souls. Although he was a great lover of books he readily gave them away to a priest who promised to offer Masses for the souls in Purgatory ³⁸).

Hernando was a man without bitterness. He never allowed his general attitude towards others to be warped by isolated conflicts with a few individuals. He loved all religious communities and regretted whatever affronts and injuries they might offer one another. He could not bear hearing any of them criticized ³⁹). He was extremely patient and did not know how to requite evil with evil. He fulfilled every detail of his work for the Lord with great joy and was known as a lover of peace.

On the voyage from Mexico to the Philippines Hernando de San José preached with apostolic zeal. He arrived at Manila on August 4, 1604 and was received joyfully by Father Pedro de Arce, the Provincial. He was well remembered later on for the punctuality with which he attended the community exercises and above all the Divine Office during his short stay in the Islands.

Because of his robust health and his ardent desire to work in

³⁶) SAN AGUSTIN, *op. cit.* 80, 1.

³⁷) GONZALEZ DE LA PUENTE, *op. cit.* 287.

³⁸) D. ADUARTE, O. P., *Historia de la Provincia del Sancto Rosario de la Orden de Predicadores en Filipinas* (Manila 1640) fol. 64.

³⁹) SICARDO, *op. cit.* 64, 2; ADUARTE, *op. cit.* fol. 64.

Japan he received his assignment to go there in 1605. He was sent to Usuki to work with Eustaquio Ortiz. His first duty was to learn the difficult Japanese language. In a comparatively short time he succeeded in preaching the word of God in that tongue. His ministry extended from the recently founded monastery at Usuki as far as Hirado. Without referring to his sources Pagés says that he made vain efforts to establish a church and monastery in the important harbor city of Japan ⁴⁰).

Finding the Christians of Bungo spiritually well provided for he left them in charge of Father Ortiz and went to the principality of Saeki in Bungo ⁴¹). Having won the good will of the people in the capital he founded a small monastery under the protection of St. Joseph. The local ruler, Mori Takamasa, who had apostatized to please Ieyasu, was so moved by the humility, kindness and virtue of Hernando that he built him a new house at his own expense ⁴²). In appreciation of these rare opportunities which Divine Providence placed at his disposal, Hernando redoubled his zeal for the souls entrusted to his care. The ease with which he learned foreign languages gave him an advantage only a few missionaries enjoyed, namely to preach without an interpreter ⁴³). Thus his sermons were imbued with the fervor and love of his great soul for the glory of God and the salvation of souls. At Saeki he won many souls for Christ through the great patience with which he listened to their difficulties and trials and also by his personal interest in helping them materially.

As soon as the Gospel of Christ had taken root at Saeki he looked for new fields of endeavor. Surer of himself and armed with past experience, he ventured forth into virgin territory. He went to Hyuga, a principality bordering on Bungo. No missionary

⁴⁰) *Op. cit.* I 212.

⁴¹) The Augustinian writers give the name of the town as Taiqui, e. g. SICARDO, *op. cit.* 46, 2. As this town is situated « very near Bungo » (*ibid.*), there can be no doubt that it is the modern Saeki on the west coast of Kyushu. This opinion is confirmed by J. JENNES, C. I. C. M., *op. cit.* 123.

⁴²) Mori Takamasa, the Ixicondono of the Augustinian sources, was a Christian Lord who just then had retracted his former apostasy. Afterwards he apostatized again. JENNES, *op. cit.* 123. SAN AGUSTIN, *op. cit.* 80, 2 calls this house « a most curious house ».

⁴³) SAN AGUSTIN, *op. cit.* 80, 1. On the language problem of the Japanese missionaries see e. g. Valignano's arguments in BOXER, *Chr. Cent.* 88.

had preached the Gospel there and the people were more attached to their pagan customs. Hernando's grace and affability opened the way also to the heart of the ruler, who immediately gave him permission to build a church at Agata, the capital. He dedicated it to St. Nicholas of Tolentine ⁴⁴⁾. In this new mission field he met with many difficulties. He worked unbroken ground, had to overcome deeply rooted pagan practices and the repugnance on the part of the people to Christian virtue and morality. The missionary's patience won here, too; by the time the persecution broke out Agata numbered two thousand Christians, and many children had been baptized.

In January 1607 Hernando had to return to Manila on business. The Provincial wished him to rest there until 1608. However, his missionary zeal, and the knowledge that Ortiz was alone in Japan urged him to return immediately. Father Pedro de Orozco had died in 1606 ^{44a)}. In his stead Hernando arranged the transfer to Japan of Father Pedro de Montejo, who had held the office of Master of Novices at Manila since 1605 ⁴⁵⁾. He came to Japan in 1607, perhaps in the company of Hernando. We do not know what was discussed at Manila, but it must have been the coordination of the Augustinian missionary effort in Japan. Hernando returned as Vicar Provincial and set his sight on Nagasaki.

During his years of negotiation and planning the new Superior of the Augustinian missions had to face some unexpected and tragic disappointments. In 1609 Eustaquio Ortiz, Hernando's companion since his earliest days in Japan, was recalled to Manila to take the office of Provincial Secretary. In his place a new missionary was transferred to Japan: Juan Damorin ⁴⁶⁾. He traveled to Nagasaki

⁴⁴⁾ SICARDO, *op. cit.* 136, 1.

^{44a)} PEREZ, *op. cit.* 34.

⁴⁵⁾ Pedro de Montejo, born at Estremadura, made his profession in the monastery of Toledo. In 1601 he went to the Philippines and in 1607 he was transferred to Japan. SICARDO, *op. cit.* 46; SAN AGUSTIN, *op. cit.* I 529; DE CASTRO, *op. cit.* 257; N. CRUSENIUS, O. S. A., *Monasticon Augustinianum*, Pars III (Valladolid 1890) 685; P. ELSSIUS, O. S. A., *Encomiasticon Augustinianum* (Brussels 1654) 40; PEREZ, *op. cit.* 71.

⁴⁶⁾ Juan Damorin was born in Old Castile and made his profession in 1559 at Valladolid. In 1590 he arrived in the Philippines and filled various posts in the missions. In 1599 he was nominated Definitor to the General Chapter. He returned to the Philippines in 1604. SAN AGUSTIN, *op. cit.* I 494 f.; PEREZ, *op. cit.* 39. PEREZ, *op. cit.* 34 says that Francisco Osorio was a companion of

via Macao on the ill-starred « Nossa Senhora da Graça ». The captain, Pessoa, as captain-major and therefore acting Governor of Macao, had intervened with armed force in a brawl provoked by some Japanese sailors of the crew of a Red-seal ship belonging to the Christian Daimyo of Arima, Harunobu. In this clash several Japanese had been killed. When Pessoa's ship had come to Nagasaki, the bugyo, or shogunal commissioner, of the port town, Hasegawa Sahioye, prevailed upon Ieyasu to order the ship and cargo seized, and Pessoa brought before him dead or alive. Arima Harunobu attacked the ship in the harbor with thirty boats manned by his samurai. On January 6, 1610, after three nights of fighting, fire broke out and Pessoa put the torch to the powder magazine and blew up the ship and its precious cargo. A good number of Portuguese were killed in the explosion, but there were also survivors. Pessoa had charged his boatswain to save the passengers, among them the missionary, but to no avail. They were killed by the spears of the samurai while swimming in the water. Some Augustinian writers consider Damorin a martyr, as he died on his way to the missions.

Just as tragic was the death of Father Pedro de Montejo ⁴⁷⁾. In 1610, perhaps as a consequence of the loss of Damorin, he was sent to Manila to get more helpers for Japan. While going there the Dutch seized the ship in which he was sailing. The famous Don Juan de Silva, Governor of the Philippines, set out in person

Damorin on the fateful voyage and shared his fate in Nagasaki harbor. However, we are not able to verify this statement in any other Augustinian source (e. g. SAN AGUSTIN, *op. cit.* II 84, 2 mentions only Damorin; Sicardo as well, *op. cit.* 47, 1 and 50, 2). Prof. Boxer, who published the affair of the « Madre de Deus » repeatedly, affirms in *Chr. Cent.* 282: « Juan Damorin, the only priest aboard » and 487 note 18: « The Augustinian friar, Juan Damorin, was the only Catholic religious aboard ». Thus it seems that Perez lacks confirmation and should be treated with reserve. We could also add that Osorio, according to Perez, had made his profession already in 1554 and would have been rather old to go to the Japanese missions. Also J. ALVAREZ, 'Don Rodrigo de Vivero et la Destruction de la Nao « Madre de Deos » (1609-1610)', *Monumenta Nipponica* II (Tokyo 1939) 174, note 67, has it that only one priest, « the Spanish Augustinian Juan Damorin, was killed while trying to swim ashore ».

⁴⁷⁾ As DE CASTRO, *op. cit.* 493 f., has already pointed out there can be no doubt that Pedro de Montejo is the Alonso or Ildephonsus Hispanus who is mentioned by various authors. The date and circumstances of his death are so identical that there cannot be a question of two persons. Cf. sources in note 45, *supra*.

to lead the counter attack. The Dutch were overtaken and in order to prevent the Spaniards from firing upon them, placed the priest with all their other prisoners, in the midst of the ship. After Francis Ubiter, the Dutch captain, had been killed the Spaniards boarded his ship and found among the dead, killed by their own gunfire, the Augustinian missionary. This happened on April 24, 1610 ⁴⁸). The loss of these much needed men in the Augustinian missions of Japan was made up to some extent by Alonso Carmona Jimenez ⁴⁹). He had worked as a secular priest in the Philippines and had been the first missionary at Catanduanes. In 1576 he had brought the first news of the murder of Father Herrera and his nine companions to Manila. In 1606 he came to Japan and received the Augustinian habit at Nagasaki, where he worked until his death. In 1610 came Father Silvestre Torres ⁵⁰). In 1612 finally arrived Bartolomé Gutiérrez, the man who was to work longest in the Augustinian missions of Japan. He was appointed Prior of Usuki.

The Chapter of April 23, 1611 had elected Hernando Ayala Prior of Usuki ⁵²), but he went to Nagasaki to make the arrangements for a new house and church. Nagasaki, which had been a small fishing village when Christianity came to Japan, had by this time become the country's principal port, and its emporium for the trade with Portugal, Spain and China. It was also the Catholic centre of Japan with a population of more than forty thousand of which more than half were Catholics. Japan's bishop, Luis de Cerqueira, resided there. The city was divided into four parishes, staffed by native clergy; it had three houses of the Society of Jesus, one monastery of the Dominicans and one of the Franciscans. Hernando thought this Catholic centre would be a suitable place as headquarters of the new Augustinian Vicariate of Japan.

He found means to establish a house and parish under the title

⁴⁸) SICARDO, *op. cit.* 47, 1; DE CASTRO, *op. cit.* 257; PEREZ, *op. cit.* has April 10 as the date of Montejo's death.

⁴⁹) PEREZ, *op. cit.* 66; SICARDO, *op. cit.* 47, 2.

⁵⁰) Silvestro Torres, born at Cordoba, came to the Philippines in 1610. The information of PEREZ, *op. cit.* 86, that he worked in Japan as late as 1616 is incorrect. He was exiled and left Japan in 1614. 1617 we find him as Subprior in Manila, in 1620 he became Prior of Ternate. He died at Manila in 1626.

⁵¹) SICARDO, *op. cit.* 243, 1.

⁵²) About this time Hernando opened a mission church at Tsukumi which was attached to the monastery of Usuki. SICARDO, *op. cit.* 46, 2.

of St. Augustine. The monastery was opened in 1612. In the intermediate Chapter, held at Guadalupe in May 1613, Hernando was nominated the first Prior ⁵³). He was never satisfied with mere convert making ; he also provided spiritual nourishment with which the new converts could deepen and preserve their faith. For this purpose he established in all the mission centers from which he worked the Confraternity of the Cincture and the Third Order Secular of St. Augustine. Thus he enabled his converts to share in the Augustinian treasures of spiritual graces and to practice more intense prayer. In a short time the Confraternity of the Cincture at Nagasaki had a large membership ⁵⁴).

The new St. Augustine's parish embraced the territory from the monastery eastward as far as the river, the modern Furukawa ward of the city, with more than 4,000 families and 10,000 Christians ⁵⁵). Hernando began his pastorate immediately and with great zeal. He not only preached, but also began to publish much needed literature in Japanese ; some printed at Nagasaki. Among them are a Summary of the Indulgences of the Confraternity, a Life of St. Augustine, several works of piety, and a Japanese-Portuguese dictionary ⁵⁶).

In a fine spirit of cooperation with missionaries of other Orders he established with Alonso Navarrete, the Vicar Provincial of the Dominicans, and Apollinaro Franco, a Franciscan, the Confraternity of Charity for the relief of the poor of their parishes ⁵⁷). The seed of faith, planted with so much love, began to bear fruit and to show signs of a promising harvest so that the writers of the day do not hesitate to call Nagasaki « the most flourishing Christian community which could be found anywhere and which could compete with any in the whole wide world » ⁵⁸).

⁵³) *Ibid.*

⁵⁴) SICARDO, *op. cit.* 137, 2.

⁵⁵) *Tagastan* 17 (Washington 1954) No. 3, 29. SICARDO, *op. cit.* 51, 2 calls the church Bl. Hernando built « sumptuoso templo ». Today a utility store stands on the original site of the parish church.

⁵⁶) EBIA VII 199 ff.

⁵⁷) SICARDO, *op. cit.* 321, 2 and 329, 2; UYTENBROECK, *op. cit.* 104 and the Franciscan sources quoted there. His reference to Sicardo should read: p. 139. Sicardo outlines, *op. cit.* 139, the purpose of this society: 1) to take care of the poor sick; 2) to prepare the sick and the sick room for the administration of the last Sacraments; 3) to recover and educate babies whom their pagan parents had thrown into the streets.

⁵⁸) SAN AGUSTIN, *op. cit.* II 83, 1.

The Edict of Banishment.

While these developments so full of promise for the Church and our Order were taking place, the political scene of the Far East began to shift. The effects of the defeat of the « Invincible Armada » (1588) began to reach the far shores of Japan ⁵⁹). Spain and Portugal had eager competitors in Holland and England. The early historiographers, Gaspar San Agustin and José Sicardo, unable to grasp the importance of these events, attributed the outbreak of the persecutions to incidents which rank only as contributory causes ⁶⁰). When, however, a modern writer like James Broderick affirms that the coming of the Spaniards, which, of course, in the context must mean the friars, was the real cause of the demise of Christianity in Japan ⁶¹), we must look a little more closely at the developments which led to the edict of 1614.

From the outset trade had been of paramount importance in the Christianization of Japan. Charles Boxer has proved beyond

⁵⁹) The destruction of the Spanish Armada had inspired the leading English merchants with hope of being able to trade in the East. Already in 1589 they stated in a memorial to Elizabeth I that « many ports in the countries bordering on the India and Ocean seas, and in the peninsula of India, might be visited with advantage by English ships, where sales may be made of English clothes, and other staple and manufactured articles, and the produce of those countries purchased ». *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, East Indies, China and Japan* (ed. W. Noel Saintsbury [London 1870] I 239).

⁶⁰) Cf. e. g., the whole ninth chapter of the first book of SICARDO (*op. cit.* 49 ff.), « De los motivos que alteraron la paz de la Christiandad del Japon », where he describes the Pessoa affair (BOXER, *Chr. Cent.* 272 ff.) and the court intrigue of the Arima family, both of which lead to the apostasy of Naozumi and made him a persecutor (BOXER, *Chr. Cent.* 314 ff.). In chapter ten Sicardo refers to the English and Dutch attacking the Catholic Church at Ieyasu's court.

⁶¹) J. BRODERICK, S. J., *Saint Francis Xavier* (New York 1952) 490: « Within half a century of the death of Francis his forebodings were realized. Spain conquered Portugal, forced her way into Japan from the Philippines and brought irretrievable ruin to the marvellously flourishing Christian missions ». Just as well it is too simple to believe with Legísima (RIBADENEIRA, *op. cit.* XXX) that had the Spaniards had this mission field to themselves, Japan would have been converted: « Cual hubiera sido la suerte del cristianismo en el Japon si España se hubiera encontrado allí sola, sin choques con otros intereses y países y hubiera desplegado también allí todo su celo misional sin interferencias extrañas? La respuesta no es fácil; pero no sería aventurado el suponer que también en el Imperio del Sol Naciente habría triunfado el catolicismo, como triunfo en los demás países evangelizados por España ».

doubt that Christianity and « the Great Ship » were bound together⁶²). The Regent Hideyoshi who first encouraged the Christian religion and then became its first persecutor in Japan, was a political opportunist. Ieyasu, his successor, used the Christian religion as a pawn in his trade with Spain and Portugal. As his prohibition of the conversion of daimyo showed, he was from the beginning opposed to the preaching of Christianity, for the « Great Ship » was no longer of great importance to the Japanese economy. It was still the most important single factor in Japan's foreign trade, but the Red-seal ships⁶³), traveling under letters patent of the Shogun, figured with increasing vigor. More important still was the coming of the Dutch and English merchants⁶⁴). It is true that they hated the Spaniards both as national enemies and competitors and as Catholics as well. We know from their letters and diaries that they did not hesitate to slander the Church⁶⁵) and circulate rumors

⁶²) BOXER, *Chr. Cent.* 91 ff. Yoshi KUNO, *Japanese Expansion on the Asiatic Continent* (Berkeley 1937) II 40 f. However, PASTOR, *op. cit.* IX (1928) 712, *supra* Chap. I note 28.

⁶³) The go-shuin-sen, or Red-seal ships, carried letters patent of the Shogun. Hideyoshi issued the first one in 1592. They became the rule for all Japanese or even foreigners residing in Japan under Ieyasu. Skippers whose voyages were not authorized by the red seal were considered pirates. BOXER, *Chr. Cent.* 261 f.

⁶⁴) The Dutch had come in July 1609 and Tokugawa Ieyasu gave them permission to establish a trading agency at Hirado. BOXER, *Chr. Cent.* 275; *Great Ship* 71 ff. A few years later the English ship « Clove » arrived and her captain founded an English trading post at Hirado. Cf. J. SARIS, *The voyage of Captain John Saris to Japan, 1613* (ed. by E. Satow), Hakluyt Society, 2nd ser., V (London 1900); T. OTSUKA, *The First Voyage of the English to Japan by John Saris* (Tokyo 1941).

⁶⁵) Cf. e. g., the entry in Cocks' Diary under date of Spt. 7, 1616: Towards night the secretary of Oyen dono came and vizeted me at my lodging, and brought me a present of hense; and amongst other speeches he began to talke of the padres, and that it were good we had no conversation with them. Where-upon I tooke occasion to answer hym that he needed not to dowbt of us, for that they were enemies to us and to the state of England, and would destroy us all yf they could. But that it were good he advised the Emperour to take heed of them, lest they did not go about to serve hym as they had donne the Kings of England, in going about to kill and poizon them or to blow them up with gunpowder, and sturing up the subjectes to rebell against their natural prince, for which they were all banished out of England. *Diary of Richard Cocks, Cape-Merchant of the English Factory in Japan (1615-1622)* ed. by E. M. Thompson (London 1883) I 173. Other examples of the same diary in BOXER, *Chr. Cent.* 310 f.

about a Christian « fifth column » being established in Japan ⁶⁶⁾ which could hand the country over to the King of Spain. How much they increased the deep rooted suspicion of foreigners ever present in the minds of the Japanese we do not know. Yet they did the greatest harm by their very presence. They showed the Shogun that he could get commerce without having to admit the hated missionaries into the country. By their arrival entirely new avenues of trade had been opened. Furthermore, the Buddhist priests were far from powerless. They had their own reasons for disliking Christianity which was then on the increase. They watched with smoldering resentment each new establishment of the Church. During the reigns of Nobunaga ⁶⁷⁾ and Hideyoshi they had been forced to be inactive or at least silent. But they were only biding their time. Now, with the pillars of the Church of former days, the « Christian Daimyo » dead or in exile and their sons renegades and the fiercest persecutors of the religion they had once embraced, the Buddhist priests raised their head. The Shogun lent them a willing ear. He issued a first proclamation against the Christians as early as 1606 at the request of Hideyori's mother, incensed at some of her ladies having declared themselves Christians ⁶⁸⁾. Yet the years 1609 and 1610 were a period of profound peace. This was attributable rather to Ieyasu's fear of the Christians joining Hideyori than to his love for their religion. However, there were already men in power, or rather men who were the power behind the throne, who were enemies of the religion of Christ. It was certainly not by accident that the Confucian scholar Hayashi Razan and the Zen priest Soden drew up the decree of banishment ⁶⁹⁾. Also the intense nationalism of the Japanese under Ieyasu was a hard fact. In the newly united country Christianity was considered a divisive

⁶⁶⁾ BOXER, *Chr. Cent.* 309.

⁶⁷⁾ *Supra*, Chap. I, note 17.

⁶⁸⁾ DICKSON, *op. cit.* 181 ff.

⁶⁹⁾ BOXER, *Chr. Cent.* 318. Anesaki MASA HARU, 'Japanese Criticisms and Refutations of Christianity in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, 2nd ser. VII (Tokyo 1930) 1 and H. CIESLIK, S. J., 'Das Christen-Verbot in Japan unter dem Tokugawa-Regime', *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft* (Schöneck 1950) 177 ascribe the decree to Soden; J. MURDOCH, *A History of Japan* (Kobe 1903) 501 f., and LAURES, *op. cit.* 160 attribute it to Razan. Perhaps Boxer is correct in saying that probably both had a hand in it. The text in English translation is contained in JENNES, *op. cit.* 126 ff.

force. Each of these causes was quite sufficient in itself for persecution. They would have been present and would have been powerful factors, even if the friars had never come to Japan. To reduce the cause of the persecution to a quarrel between the missionary Orders differing among themselves in custom, mission method and temperament, is to misinterpret the situation. We could also mention that the Jesuit João Rodriguez, the famous Tçuzzu of Hideyoshi, had by that time been replaced by the Englishman Will Adams as official translator and business agent, so that the Jesuits were no longer the only intermediaries in the business transactions of the Japanese ⁷⁰⁾.

In 1614 the decree of persecution was published throughout the empire ⁷¹⁾. It was published under the name of Hidetada, Ieyasu's son, who had succeeded to the shogunate in 1605, although Ieyasu still held his former influence with the title Bakubu. The decree commanded that the churches be torn down and that the Christians apostatize. The local rulers outdid each other to gain the Shogun's favor. Some reading his thoughts, like the daimyo of Hirado, began as early as 1611 to persecute the followers of Christ. Hernando Ayala had his first personal experience with persecution. While trying to open a mission at Hirado he saw three of his Christians die for the faith ⁷²⁾.

On February 14 the decree was made known in Nagasaki. It commanded the tonos, or governors, to arrest all missionaries in their territories and send them to Nagasaki. In Bungo the decree was made public only at the end of February.

Bartolomé Gutiérrez, who had been appointed Prior of Usuki in 1613, and his assistant, Silvestro Torres, were informed by the head of the city that in three days they would have to leave for Nagasaki. The priests resolved to make good use of this period of grace for the benefit of the souls entrusted to them. Bartolomé called the faithful together and exhorted them to trust always in God and remain loyal to their faith. Then he instructed his cate-

⁷⁰⁾ BOXER, *Chr. Cent.* 290.

⁷¹⁾ SICARDO, *op. cit.* 54, 1.

⁷²⁾ *Ibid.*, 53, 2. PEREZ, *op. cit.* 74, note 1, reports the martyrdom of another companion of Bl. Hernando, Brother Luis Michoa. He says that Hernando Ayala himself sent a signed report on his martyrdom to Manila adding that « Michoa » means « fine » in Japanese.

chists on their duties while they were without priests. He packed his supplies and sent them ahead by some of his dojuku ⁷³).

When the three days granted them were over, a bugyo ⁷⁴), or deputy shogunal commissioner, arranged to bring them to their destination. He had decided that the departure should take place during the night and by way of one of the less frequented gates of the town in order to prevent a demonstration on the part of the Christians. However much the bugyo tried, he could not prevent the Christians who lined the streets, from taking leave of their spiritual Fathers, and asking their last blessing ⁷⁵).

The first night was to be spent at Tamaray. The arresting officers thought they could keep the Christians of the district from calling on the priests if they put them up for the night in a pagan temple. Yet a large number came to go to confession, so that the missionaries spent almost the whole night in this ministry. Even on the road to exile the two Augustinians carried on their priestly office. For the very bugyo, who was charged to bring them to Nagasaki, became their convert. Bartolomé spent his time on the road explaining the faith to him. Before they came to Nagasaki the bugyo asked for, and received baptism ⁷⁶). Sahioye ⁷⁷), the Bugyo of Nagasaki, allowed them free movement in the city until they would be called to appear before him.

⁷³) Dojuku is a term taken over from the Buddhist monks. Among them the aspirants were so called who performed the household duties. The term has become so technical that the missionaries took it over into their various languages. Our writers usually call them Doxico. Their important functions are described in Chapter XV of Valignano's Sumario of 1583 'De los Dogicos, y sus qualidades, y como no se pueden excusar en Japon'. VALIGNANO, *Sumario de las cosas de Japon* ed. José Luis Alvarez Taladriz in *Monumenta Nipponica* Monographs No. 9 (Tokyo 1954).

⁷⁴) In 1587 Hideyoshi removed Nagasaki from the control of the Jesuits (*supra*, Chapter I, note 24) and placed it under the direct control of the central government. Bugyo was the title given to the official appointed by the Shogun to govern Nagasaki. At times, as in our case, the term was applied also to deputies of the Bugyo, and could perhaps be translated by «deputy shogunal commissioner», or simply bugyo, not capitalized.

⁷⁵) SICARDO, *op. cit.* 54, 2; SAN AGUSTIN, *op. cit.* 87, 1 and 274, 2.

⁷⁶) SICARDO, *op. cit.* 55, 1; SAN AGUSTIN, *ibid.*

⁷⁷) Hasegawa Sahioye Fujihiro, Bugyo of Nagasaki 1606-1615, one of the fiercest persecutors, had instigated Ieyasu to publish the decree of 1614. BOXER, *Chr. Cent.* 317.

The month of March saw a steady influx of missionaries of the various religious orders into Nagasaki from all parts of Japan. They had to remain there until October 1614. The Shogun not wishing to lose the Portuguese trade still kept an eye open for the coming of the « Great Ship » ⁷⁸⁾. Just as Hideyoshi had done on the occasion of his edict of expulsion in 1587, so did Ieyasu make it perfectly clear in 1614, that his edict was aimed only at the missionaries, and that the Macao traders would still be as welcome as ever, provided they confined their activities to matters of commerce. He even ordered his subjects to show courtesy to the Captain-major and the merchants. His wavering for a time raised false hopes among the missionaries ⁷⁹⁾. The Augustinians and Franciscans celebrated the customary Holy Week services. The Jesuits thought it wiser not to provoke the Governor. However, in May 1614 the four religious communities of Nagasaki resolved to hold penitential processions in order to implore divine help. The Dominicans had theirs on May 9th; the day after, on Pentecost Tuesday, the Augustinians followed. The Jesuits held a procession on the feast of Corpus Christi. The Franciscans arranged frequent processions in order to encourage the faithful to fortitude in time of trial ⁸⁰⁾.

As soon as the « Great Ship » was in and the Shogun saw that his measures against the missionaries did not curtail the trade, he gave orders that his decree be carried out. The Bugyo, Hasegawa Sahioye, who had consulted the Shogun, returned on June 23 to Nagasaki with the orders just received. The Superiors of the various religious communities called on him immediately. He received them most courteously, but hardly had they returned home, when he notified them in the Shogun's name to get ready to go into exile either to Macao or to Manila. A little later, at the beginning of August, a minister of the Shogun arrived, named Yamaguchi Suru-

⁷⁸⁾ JENNES, *op. cit.* 129; MONSTERLEET, *L'Eglise du Japon* (Toulouse 1958) 91 f.

⁷⁹⁾ Cf. 'Annuae litterae Provinciae Philippinarum Societatis Jesu Anni MDCXIV, datae 16. Julii'. COLIN-PASTELLS, *op. cit.* III, 397, note: « Porque Safioye, que es el Governador de Nagasaki, havia mostrado extraordinario gusto con su venida y hazia al Capitan y Portugueses muy diferente acogida de lo que hasta alli havia hecho, y procedia con tan nuevas Cortesias y cumplimientos que a todos dava esperanças de grande bonança ». Also LAURES, *op. cit.* 165.

⁸⁰⁾ SICARDO, *op. cit.* 56, 1 ff.; BOXER, *Chr. Cent.* 323 ff. calls them « ill-timed displays of religious zeal ».

gano-kami Masatomo, to see if the Shogun's orders were carried out. On August 15 and 23, Sahioye sent new instructions to the Augustinians, Franciscans and Dominicans to acquire a boat in which to leave. He was told that it had already been provided. Shortly afterwards Surugano-kami's son came from the court with the order to speed up the departure of the religious. Realizing that the end was now surely approaching, the Fathers took down the crosses, collected their relics, and consumed the Blessed Sacrament. Serrao da Cunha, the Captain-major, persuaded by some missionaries, sent four Portuguese to the Shogun's court asking for permission that at least one church be kept open at Nagasaki for the use of the Portuguese merchants. Not even that much was granted ⁸¹).

On October 25 Sahioye advised the missionaries that on the following Monday they would have to sail without further delay. They proceeded consequently to the port of Fukuda, three leagues from Nagasaki, where the boats were made ready. Besides the Great Ship « Nossa Senhora da Vida » two small ships were at Nagasaki at that time. On October 28 the exiles went aboard, among them Fathers Bartolomé Gutiérrez and Silvestro Torres. They were unable to hide, as their names appeared on the list of those brought into Nagasaki from out of town. The missionaries who had been living and working in Nagasaki had not been registered and could hide. Among them was Hernando Ayala who on October 21 had disappeared from the city ⁸²). The ships carrying the exiles left on November 7 and 8, the Great Ship and a junk with one hundred and ten religious aboard. The vessel bound for Manila carried forty-five ⁸³).

After the deportation of the religious had been carried out Sahioye proceeded from November 3 to 15 to have the churches torn down and assigned the religious houses to the tonos as living

⁸¹) BOXER, *Great Ship* 84 f. PAGÉS, *op. cit.* 31 f., reports that Lope de Sarmiento, the Captain Major of 1617, appeared that year at Court and asked to be allowed to build a warehouse in the hope to have priests as officials there. (See also BOXER, *Great Ship* 93 f.) Hendrik Brouwer, the chief of the Dutch factory, opposed it. PAGÉS, *op. cit.* 619, note 15.

⁸²) For the details of the preceding paragraph see SICARDO, *op. cit.* 58 ff. In 59, 2, quoting Becerra's work — not available — he mentions that Father Ayala fled from Nagasaki with some friends in a large boat which he had used for his missionary trips.

⁸³) BOXER, *Great Ship* 85.

quarters. He also ordered that all who sheltered missionaries should be punished with death. His mission accomplished he could now return to Arima, for which the renegade Arima Naozumi had bartered his religion ⁸⁴). Before his departure on December 1, 1614 he consigned to a bonfire the rosaries, pictures and crucifixes his deputies had seized from the Christians. His cousin, Hasegawa Gonroku, became his successor as Bugyo of Nagasaki ⁸⁵).

Hernando was now the only Augustinian remaining in Japan. He began to live with the Dominicans, especially with Father Alonso Navarrete ⁸⁶). The Chapter held in the Philippines in May 1614 had given him authority to name Priors for all the Augustinian houses in Japan. This had now become useless.

Underground.

While Father Hernando remained in hiding together with the few Dominicans who had also stayed behind, the Christians of Usuki, without a priest since the departure of the Augustinians, came one day together in their church and pledged loyalty to their faith even under torture and death. They signed this protestation with their own blood. Then they resolved to send a messenger to Nagasaki asking that one of the priests in hiding would come to them. They promised to conceal him so securely that he would not be found. They would guard him even at the cost of their lives ⁸⁷). Moved by these demonstrations of loyalty, Hernando and Alonso Navarrete went to Usuki on the day of St. Nicholas of Tolentine (September 10) in the very junk which had brought them the messenger with the letter. Between Usuki and Saeki they administered the Sacraments to more than fourteen thousand people. Hernando returned then to Nagasaki, where he remained until the first war broke out between Shogun Ieyasu and Hideyori. This war lasted

⁸⁴) SICARDO, *op. cit.* 60, 1; SAN AGUSTIN, *op. cit.* 89, 1. On Sahioye's maneuvers to stir up persecution in Arima by blackmailing Naozumi see BOXER, *Chr. Cent.* 329 ff.

⁸⁵) SICARDO, *op. cit.* 61, 2.

⁸⁶) Alonso Navarrete had come to the Philippines in 1598, to Japan only in 1611. This explains why Hernando had to do all the preaching while the two worked together. Cf. *Année Dominicaine* (Lyons 1893) vol. Juin, 4; Fr. ANDRÉ-MARIE, O. P., *Missions Dominicaines dans l'Extrême-Orient* (Lyons 1865) 265 ff.

⁸⁷) SAN AGUSTIN, *op. cit.* 90, 1; DE PORTILLO, *op. cit.* 378.

until August, 1615. As Hideyori had promised the Christians freedom to practice their religion⁸⁸), if he won the war, not a few Christian Samurai fought on his side. When Ieyasu approached the city of Osaka with a mighty army Hernando went there and remained with the Christian troupes⁸⁹). After Hideyori was killed and the city taken, the Christian soldiers were put to the sword. In order to save his life, Hernando, shamming death, hid among the corpses. Taken for a corpse he was stripped of his clothes. Naked he made his way out of Osaka and hid in a river by covering himself with leaves and reeds. He next disguised himself as the servant of a blind Japanese, but was discovered. The soldiers came upon him while he was passing the night in a small house. They were sure he was there, but as they could not find him they set the house afire. Father Ferdinand took the blind man upon his shoulders and carried him out of the burning house. While trying to make his get-away he came across a squadron of soldiers. To escape them he hid in a pond filled with very dirty water. The soldiers, however, found him and robbed him of the clothes he wore⁹⁰).

After the death of Hideyori and the loss of Osaka, Hernando worked for a short time again at Usuki. On returning there he had the consolation to learn that a Dominican Father had faithfully attended the Augustinian missions in Bungo and Hyuga⁹¹). Then he continued his ministry at Nagasaki. In July of the following year Ieyasu died and Hidetada (the Xogunsama of the Augustinian writers) took full control of the reins of government. He renewed and increased the persecution, centering his attack above all on the few remaining religious⁹²). Nagasaki had a short respite as

⁸⁸) SICARDO, *op. cit.* 62, 2.

⁸⁹) Hernando traveled 400 miles in a fishing boat with Father Peter Baptist Porres, the Superior of the Franciscans, who had succeeded in escaping the deportation of 1614, to aid the sick in Hideyori's camp. PACÉS, *op. cit.* I 311; UYTENBROECK, *p. cit.* 79, who says Fr. Porres left after April 1615.

⁹⁰) SICARDO, *op. cit.* 139 ff. and 62, 2. Besides Hernando, two Jesuits, two Franciscans and two of the Japanese clergy worked at Osaka during the war. The other Franciscan was Hernando's friend, Apolinario Franco. See letter of B. Torres, S. J., in PACÉS, *op. cit.* II 123 ff.

⁹¹) SICARDO, *op. cit.* 64, 1.

⁹²) He was angry that so many, seven, had been discovered at Osaka. BOXER, *Chr. Cent.* 331.

the shogun directed his first efforts towards Yedo and Meaco. The Bugyo of Nagasaki, Hasegawa Gonroku, did not wish to disturb the Christians as they were too numerous ⁹³). But in December 1616 the shogun sent two special inquisitors to Nagasaki to seek for two Christians who had been captains in Hideyori's army. The feudal lord of Nagasaki at that time was an apostate, Omura Sumiyori. The two inquisitors reprimanded him severely for having allowed so many missionaries to remain in concealment at Nagasaki. Afraid to lose his fief, he sent an uncle to the city of Omura with the order to arrest all priests he could lay his hands on. The Christians, however, had been alerted in time and had hidden their priests so successfully that none were arrested. Another inquisitor could do no better. Chagrined at his failure and still smarting from the reprimand, Omura Sumiyori redoubled his efforts and unleashed the most furious persecution Omura had ever seen. On May 22, 1617, Father Pedro of the Assumption, a Franciscan, and Juan Bautista Machado ⁹⁴), a Jesuit, were put to death ⁹⁵). Father Hernando was hiding in the mountains and forests. Only at night could he venture forth to administer the sacraments. At last he made the acquaintance of a Christian ruler, who found ways to spirit him away and send him to Nagasaki ⁹⁶), where he lived in the house of Jeronimo de Barreda, a merchant of Sevilla ⁹⁷), and continued to work for a time underground. However, he did not feel at ease there. His heart drew him to the place of the greatest danger, Omura, as it had previously drawn him to Osaka. A letter, written May 25, 1617, gives us an insight into the forces which were then tugging at his heart strings :

Jesus, Mary, Joseph. After Father Pedro of the Assumption, of the Order of St. Francis, and Father Juan Bautista of the Society of Jesus, had been martyred on May 22, 1617, I discussed with Father Alonso Navarrete, of the Order of St. Do-

⁹³) This is the reason advanced by SICARDO, *op. cit.* 67, 1, but it is also known that Gonroku was not a cruel man and tried to avoid bloodshed. See BOXER, *Chr. Cent.* 345 ff. and *infra* Gonroku's dealings with Pedro Zuñiga.

⁹⁴) The Augustinian sources report his name as Tavora. Perhaps some report a first, others a second name of a Spanish double name. Cf. JENNES, *op. cit.* 142; UYTENBROECK, *op. cit.* 100.

⁹⁵) SICARDO, *op. cit.* 68, 2.

⁹⁶) SAN AGUSTIN, *op. cit.* II 92, 1.

⁹⁷) SICARDO, *op. cit.* 160, 2.

minic, the feasibility of going at this time to Omura to aid the local Christians who were upset by the recent outbreak of martyrdom. Having given thought to the matter for two days Father Alonso Navarrete told me that he had recommended the matter to the Lord and considered some reasons which had come to his mind and was of the opinion that we should go to Omura.

The main reason why I make this trip is that yesterday, when we talked about it, I said to the Father : since I do not have a prelate here, by whom I could govern myself, I would obey him in this matter in the name of the Lord, as he was my confessor. Also : that I would obey him as my Superior to go or stay here. As he is sending me in virtue of holy obedience I go with the blessing of the Lord, towards whatever His divine Majesty may vouchsafe for me. In case they arrest or kill me, I leave this memorial and ask the Fathers into whose hands it may come to see to its execution. The first thing, and what disturbs my soul most, is the bad example which I have given to your Reverence and Christendom. I, therefore, ask humbly, and with tears in my eyes, while I write this, that your Reverence may pardon me, and that you ask pardon on my behalf in the manner which you can and from whom you can. The ornaments and books, which are found in the house of my host, and a silver chalice, which is in the house of Manuel Gonzalez, is to be sent to the Province of Manila, as also this letter, in which I ask the pardon of our Father Provincial, and of all the Fathers of the Order of St. Augustine, because I have not treated my holy habit with due respect and example in this country and have not listened to what the Order commanded me. I beg humbly that they send into this mission field priests of such character and example, that they may turn it to the glory of God and build up what poor miserable men have torn down. May God bless your Reverence as this lowly son of yours desires. Feast of the Most Blessed Sacrament, May 25, 1617.

Although I had resolved not to give any reason which moved me to go (for the main reason was the obedience I had promised) yet I wish to give one. It is this : Some Christians have complained that the Fathers persuade them to become martyrs, while they themselves shun the opportunities. To remove this misconception and to make them see that we do not fear dangers for their welfare, we go into the midst of them. Fr. Hernando de San Joseph.

This letter was addressed : « To Father Francisco de Morales, and to Father Apolinario Franco, and to the other priests who are

in Japan, and to the Fathers of St. Augustine at Manila. May God bless them » ⁹⁸).

With this holy resolve the Fathers made ready. They traveled dressed as Spanish gentlemen on horseback. The day the letter was written they arrived in the outskirts of Nagasaki where they spent the night in the house of a Christian named Paul, who was to accompany them the next day ⁹⁹). Although they had not made known their arrival to the local Christians and had no mind to do so, lest they be detained, Father Morales, a Dominican, had heard of their presence and came to see them. In conversing with them he placed before them the following considerations : they should be more careful in venturing out into the open. It was possible that the persecutors might banish them, or incarcerate them for a long time. Thus the very purpose of their venturing forth would be spoiled and two more missionaries would be lost. To this they replied that what mattered right now was that they suffer for Christ and give a good example of fortitude to the Christians. They were going to do God's will and leave to Him, whatever He might dispose. They were not going to seek the great honor of becoming martyrs, a crown only God could give, and had only one intention, namely to serve the Christians as well as possible. But Morales countered that there was fear that persecution would break out at Nagasaki and that many sheep would be found without a shepherd. But for them the persecution of Nagasaki had not yet become a reality ; it was raging at Omura. There was no sense in leaving the certain for the uncertain, to leave the fruit unharvested which could be reaped at Omura. There the need was now pressing. This conversation convinced Father Morales that their determination to go to Omura was inspired by God ¹⁰⁰). Perhaps Father Morales is the religious mentioned in the letter of Father Orfanel, O. P., to the Augustinian Provincial at Manila. The religious asked Hernando when about to leave for Omura, — « What are you going to leave me, if you become a martyr ? » With a

⁹⁸) This letter is from the text of SAN AGUSTIN, *op. cit.* 92, 2 f. SICARDO's text, *op. cit.* 141, 2 is slightly different. He quotes as his source the *Sumario* drawn up for the introduction of the martyrs' cause.

⁹⁹) J. FERRANDO, O. P., *Historia de los Padres Dominicos en las Islas Filipinas* (Madrid 1870) I 681.

¹⁰⁰) SICARDO, *op. cit.* 142, 2 f.

smile Hernando answered — « Keep quiet, in case I die a martyr, I shall send you a tooth » ¹⁰¹⁾.

Before they continued on their way, Fathers Hernando and Alonso made a pact : the first one to learn of the death of the other would have to offer twelve Masses for the repose of his soul. « But », Alonso asked Hernando, « does this also hold in case you are killed at Omura » ? Full of humble trust in God's mercy, Hernando answered that he would not insist on the Masses in that case, for he hoped that whoever gave his life for Christ, was not in need of suffrage ¹⁰²⁾.

The next morning, Friday, they wished to go on their way, but it rained so heavily that they could not put a foot outside the house until noon. Although they traveled dressed as laymen, the Christians who had heard of their intention, and guessed rightly what awaited them at Omura, went out to meet them and receive their blessing, which they felt would be their last one. That night they came to a hamlet called Ocoyo ¹⁰³⁾, which is about three leagues from Nagasaki. There they said Mass, heard confessions all night and day. As they could not finish, they resolved to spend two days there. The same renegade who had informed on Pedro of the Assumption betrayed their presence to the governor, but when he saw the fervor of the Christians and the courage of the missionaries he repented and returned to the faith. On Sunday such a crowd gathered that it was necessary to erect an altar in an open field. Father Alonso said Mass, while Father Hernando preached. They spent the greater part of the night hearing confessions and in the morning they celebrated Mass and distributed Holy Communion. In addition, they baptized many new converts

¹⁰¹⁾ SICARDO, *op. cit.* 155, 1. A report on Ayala's meeting with Morales is contained in a letter of Jacinto Orfanel, O. P., published in SICARDO, *op. cit.* 154 ff.

¹⁰²⁾ SICARDO, *op. cit.* 143, 1; SAN AGUSTIN, *op. cit.* 94, 1.

¹⁰³⁾ The name Ocoyo has been retained, although neither its existence nor its site could be verified. Following the *Sumario* all the Augustinian sources transmit it. The events which happened there are described with so much detail that it will be difficult to delete it. Perhaps it forms today a part of Nagayo. Fr. Thomas Purcell had the kindness to consult Prof. Kataoka San in the matter and was told that Bl. Hernando left Nagasaki, went to Nagayo and then to Okusa, where he was arrested. PAGÉS, *op. cit.* I 360 says that on May 26, « ils etaient a Ikiriki » three miles from Nagasaki.

and reconciled lapsed Catholics ¹⁰⁴). When night approached they recited the *Salve Regina* and the litanies in public ; then they gave their blessing.

Arrest.

From Ocoye the missionaries went to a place called Nagaya ¹⁰⁵), where they wished take a boat for Omura. There they put on their habits and tonsured themselves, after having spent three years in secular garb. The faithful were overjoyed when the ministers of the Gospel arrived. The throng and rush of Ocoye was repeated. On the second evening they had just sung the evening *Salve Regina* and prepared a place for next morning's Mass when they saw three boats approaching on the ocean with many lights and great noise. In them arrived five bugyos accompanied by many soldiers armed with lances. They were sent by the Daimyo of Omura to arrest the priests. The two missionaries sang the *Te Deum* and went to meet them with the customary signs of Japanese courtesy. The soldiery, most of whom were fallen away Catholics, bowed down to the earth. Right there the faithful began to tear pieces from the habits of the two priests, which they wanted to keep as relics.

The leading bugyo said « We are very sorry to come here to perform the task assigned to us. But we cannot refuse to carry out the orders of our superiors under pain of death. Our master, the lord of Omura, orders that we arrest you and take you with us ». The priests received this news with great joy and told the men how much they appreciated this favor. In reward they would have to give them a present. Father Hernando gave to one of them the hat he had worn while in disguise, and Father Alonso gave them six candles of white wax ¹⁰⁶). When the Christians began to weep, they consoled them with the words : « Do not cry, sons, rather be happy. Our desire is fulfilled in the good news we heard. There could be no better news in the whole world ». Then, missionaries

¹⁰⁴) Bl. Hernando helped in bringing about three hundred apostates back to the faith. This number he gave himself to a Christian a few days before his death. SICARDO, *op. cit.* 161, 1, says this happened at Ikiriki.

¹⁰⁵) The place where Hernando Ayala was arrested was near the bank of a river. Letter of Jacinto Orfanel of November 26, 1617 to Provincial Alonso de Baraona at Manila. SICARDO, *op. cit.* 156.

¹⁰⁶) SICARDO, *op. cit.* 145, 2.

to the last, the two priests handed the bugyo a letter for the renegade daimyo :

« We, the Superior of the Order of St. Augustine and the Superior of the Order of St. Dominic, worked underground aiding these Christians and learned that you martyred two Fathers. We were very much surprised, as such a sin is very grave among pagans and extremely so in those who were baptized. For this reason, Sir, we were very sorry for you and your subjects, and came here to admonish you to repent of this very serious sin and to confess it. We also urge you to arrange and see to it that your vassals arise and convert themselves ; for, if not, you will go to hell without a remedy. We wanted to send you this letter beforehand, that it serve you as a warning » ¹⁰⁷⁾.

The bugyo accepted this letter and said that he would pass it on to Omura Sumiyori with all possible care. The Fathers who had heard many confessions would have liked to say Mass the following morning. They asked, therefore, the bugyo to permit them to stay ashore until the morning. This request was not granted. The guards said the Daimyo orders that they embark immediately. Gaspar and Paul stepped forth and announced they had housed the priests and thus deserved the same penalty. They wished to be with them. The Christians, realizing that this was the last farewell from their beloved missionaries, surrounded them. The soldiers trampled on them, beat them, held their torches to their faces, but even that could not keep them from coming to the priests in order to get some relics. Some followed into the water and went with them as far as their boat. A few went even into the boat with them, so that it began to submerge. The priests and the two servants who were allowed to accompany them had to be transferred to another boat. As long as it sailed along the coast large crowds of Christians accompanied it on the shore. Their shouts of encouragement were mingled with their curses of the impious apostate, the *tono* of Omura ¹⁰⁸⁾.

The soldiers lit their lamps and continued on their way with all haste. The Daimyo did not wish a great display and demonstration of sentiment on the part of the Christians. He was afraid they

¹⁰⁷⁾ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸⁾ SICARDO, *op. cit.* 147, 1.

might eventually rise against him, or perhaps he suffered qualms of conscience. He had given orders that the martyrs be put to death on an uninhabited island, and had the harbors guarded so that no boat could leave.

On May 30 the little party came to an island called Usushima¹⁰⁹). It was four leagues from the harbor where they had embarked. On it was a high and beautiful mountain. The two martyrs believed that it would become their Calvary. However, they had hardly arrived when the Christians, who had heard of their presence, came in great numbers to confess in spite of the prohibition of the soldiers. This lasted until the priests were completely exhausted. Among the faithful were the daimyo's grandmother, Magdalena, and his aunt, Marina. The bugyo fearing a public demonstration, moved to another island, named Amegora, which was more distant from the town of Kushima. Here Father Alonso asked for permission to take a walk and went up a mountain singing hymns to God. Father Hernando remained in the boat. After a while the leader of the boat sent one of his men to call Father Alonso back. The man found him in deep meditation before a cross he had made out of two sticks. He regretted that he could not suffer martyrdom there. They rowed to an inlet of the same island. Again believing that this was not a good place for their task, the bugyos moved on to the island Kogûchi. When night came the priests sang the *Salve* and the Litanies as usual. Meanwhile a large number of bugyos and soldiers were arriving on the island. They brought along two coffins which contained the bodies of Pedro of the Assumption and Juan Bautista Machado. These two martyrs had been disinterred as too many Christians had come to venerate their grave. They also brought along Leon, the Japanese servant and Catechist of Father Machado. At this point a renegade bugyo approached the priests and after having shown the customary courtesies he told them he had orders to cut off their heads. Father Hernando said to him : « Why, my friend, did you hesitate to give us the good news ? This you hesitated to tell us ? Is there a happier bit of news in the world ? » He gave him a Japanese blanket. Father Alonso also thanked the bugyo and asked his name. « Yoyemon », came the reply. « What a beautiful name ! » Rightly it signifies in your language 'good', for you have

¹⁰⁹) *Ibid.*

brought us good news ». Following the example of his companion he gave him as a present a piece of his habit ¹¹⁰).

This done they prepared themselves for martyrdom. While being taken to a more solitary island they recited Matins and Lauds. Then they asked their captors : « Tell us, who is assigned to take the life of each of us ? » At first the soldiers refused an answer. The two martyrs insisted : « Do you think that because you have to execute the sentence, as your master commands, we think evil of you or bear you a grudge ? ». With this they received the information. Each priest embraced his own executioner. Then they asked for some of the wine which they carried for the Holy Sacrifice. Performing the Japanese ceremony of the *Sakazuki*, or parting wine cup, they poured some into two cups, raised them high, as the rules of courtesy demanded, and handed them to their executioners ¹¹¹). After this they sat down to write a few letters. They had but one pen and very little paper. Father Hernando wrote one to his friends, the Dominicans in Japan, as there were no Augustinians left in that country.

« To the Dominican Fathers in Japan. Jesus, My Fathers, Adieu ! We have been notified of the death sentence. We shall not forget your Reverences. Serve truly a God who is so good to us and shows us so much mercy. Today, June 1, 1617. Fray Hernando de San Joseph ».

Then he wrote a longer letter to all the priests in Japan. We reproduce it here, as it can be considered his spiritual testament.

« To all the Fathers who serve the Christians of Japan. Jesus, Mary, Joseph. I say farewell to you all and ask your pardon for the bad example I have given you, in spite of the outstanding grace God has shown a man who has committed such grave offenses against His Divine Majesty. If I look for any reason of His divine favor I do not find one, except the one Christ has given in the name of the householder, against whom the laborers murmured because of the high wages he gave to those who have worked but little : *An non licet mihi facere de meo quod volo ?* Everythings belongs to Him, and He gives to him who seeks, and in the proportion he seeks.

¹¹⁰) SICARDO, *op. cit.* 149, 1 ff.

¹¹¹) SICARDO, *op. cit.* 149, 2. It should be noted that our martyrs were beheaded not by the common executioner, but by deputies of the Bugyo.

Accepting this as the whole and main reason, it may be that two things have helped me which I shall set down for the glory of God, and with the intention that perhaps someone may learn from them. The first one is, that I have had a special love for all the religious communities that work in Japan. I felt very much any harm they met with, or which someone tried to put in their way, as also when I heard somebody criticize them or treat them with little affection and good will. The second thing which helped me, is the great devotion I had to the souls in purgatory, for whom with the help of God, I said myself, or have had said, after I was a priest, more than three thousand Masses. And for some time, I do not know whether it is two or three years, I have applied for them almost all my Masses, without taking anything for myself. Of some Masses which I said for a stipend, I have applied to them at least my share of satisfaction, for I reasoned thus : Although my sins are infinite, and the purgatory I deserve for them is very great, and its pain terrible, I do not seek the part of satisfaction which belongs to me from each Mass, but rather give it to the poor souls myself content to suffer longer in purgatory, for, however long it lasts, it will come to an end, but the reward I receive for this act of mercy will have no end. I now see that the Lord has arranged matters thus, that no satisfaction is demanded for my sins, and I find myself with all this alms on hand. He will pay me very well, Who has done so much although He owed me nothing. I know well that if God had looked on my sins, neither these nor much greater reasons would have been sufficient, I shall not say to do me any good, but not even to keep me from very great punishment. But this is the immense goodness and the great love He has for us, that He turns His eyes from the offenses we commit against Him and rewards us for some trifle we do for Him, so that it belongs so much more to Him ¹¹²). What I ask from your Reverence in the name of so much grace and love, is a great spirit of brotherhood, great harmony of wills, and much love among yourselves. For this is what our Lord and Master asks and demands of us. Through it I trust that this church (of Japan) will make great progress, and those who work in it will serve our Lord well. May He bless your Reverences and give you His grace, as this, your son, desires. In this junk, today, Thursday, after midnight, and after we have been told that we shall be put to death, June 1, 1617. Fray Hernando de San Joseph » ¹¹³).

¹¹²) Siendo como es, todo lo mas suyo.

¹¹³) SICARDO, *op. cit.* 150, 1 ff.; SAN AGUSTIN, *op. cit.* II 98, 1 ff.

Martyrdom.

After these letters had been written the two missionaries began to divide their poor belongings. They entrusted this last request as well as their letters to the bugyos who honored their last wills and carried them out. Then the martyrs were taken to an island called Takashima, which was full of thorns. To keep the Christians away the bugyos lit many lights in the place where they had martyred the first two missionaries and spread the rumor that the execution would take place in the same spot. After their two servants had taken leave of the priests Father Alphonsus asked a Christian, who was present in the disguise of a sailor, to make him a cross out of wood that he might die looking at it. Father Hernando holding in one hand a rosary and in the other a candle turned towards his executioners and asked to be shown the sword with which he was to be beheaded. He kissed it and put it upon his head. Then he turned and addressed those present :

« As you know, we come from very distant lands. We left behind our parents and relatives. We do not seek kingdoms, nor earthly possessions. We wish only to teach you the true road to heaven. Do you not see that we are fools and do not make much of our lives ? Although we esteem them above all things in the world we lose them now by our own free will, because we believe that in this way we gain everlasting goods. Turn, therefore, to God, brothers and friends, and know that everything but his love and service is madness and blindness. Understand also that the death we suffer is a living letter signed with our blood, which will go to Spain and Rome and ask for other missionaries of the Gospel in this kingdom. For each one of us you kill a hundred others will come » ¹¹⁴).

After this address Father Hernando asked his executioner to allow him a few moments of meditation, at the end of which he would raise his hand. This was to be the sign for the executioner to do his job. Father Alonso held the cross in one hand, the rosary and a candle in the other. When Hernando Ayala raised his hand after a good while, the executioners raised their arms together and cut off their heads. However, Father Alonso needed two more

¹¹⁴) SICARDO, *op. cit.* 152, 1 ff.

blows as the first one had gone awry and split his head from the nape of the neck as far as the ears. Then they cut off the head of Leon. It was the octave day of Corpus Christi, June 1, 1617, seven days after they had come out from hiding ¹¹⁵).

They had proved what they had set out to do : the shepherds would not leave their flocks and the missionary would not demand of others what he himself was not willing to do. Even the soldiers were so taken with admiration that they dipped clothes into the martyr's blood to keep as relics. They placed the two martyrs in the coffins they had brought along. Father Hernando was placed into the one containing the body of Pedro of the Assumption, Father Alonso into that containing Juan Bautista Machado. Thus, at least in death, the great desire of Father Alonso was realized : All the four religious Orders in Japan, were united in death for Christ. The body of Leon was packed into straw bags. The coffins were then weighted with rocks and thrown into the sea.

As there were no relics, the Japanese Christians venerated the place where the martyrs gave their lives. They came often, prayed at the place and took along some of the soil which had been moistened with their blood ; and as often as their boats passed the island, which had been the altar of sacrifice, they said a prayer in memory of the martyrs. However, they were not to be deprived of the martyrs' remains. They spent many days trying to raise the bodies. Their efforts remained in vain. But after two months they had their wish partially fulfilled. The coffin containing the bodies of Hernando and Pedro was found floating on the sea. It was recovered and the bodies were taken to a place in the outskirts of Nagasaki. There the body of Hernando was hidden in the home of the head of the Confraternity of the Cincture and placed under an altar ¹¹⁶). The Japanese made much of the body of Father Ayala.

¹¹⁵) Under the date of June 6 Cocks (*op. cit.* I 258) made the following entry into his diary: « It is said two more padres or papist pristes ar put to death in Umbra; and because the people carid away the blood in handkerchefes and clowtes of the other two executed before, he caused these two to be cast into the sea, with stones tied about their necks ».

¹¹⁶) It is possible, but not necessary, that the body was taken to the house of Andrew Yoshida. We know from SICARDO, *op. cit.* 162, 1 ff., that Yoshida was *Mayordomo* of the confraternity at the time of his martyrdom. Still there was more than one *Mayordomo* as appears from the letter the confraternity sent to the Provincial of Manila, SICARDO, *op. cit.* 156 1 ff., which is signed: « Vocamur, y Chibioye Mayordomos, con todos los hermanos de la Confradia ».

Later the Portuguese, in order to have a relic of the great martyr, took it to Macao, where Dona Catarina de Noroña placed it in a rich oratory. As she was a great friend of the Jesuits, she bequeathed it to them in her will. One leg of the martyr was sent to Marchena in Andalusia, the other one to the monastery of the Dominicans at Almagro. These are the only relics of the martyr left today. Pope Innocent XII had issued a brief that the remains of the martyr be restored to his own religious family. However, the ship on which they were carried was seized by a French privateer and in the resulting turmoil they were lost ¹¹⁷).

An aftermath of Father Hernando's death was the martyrdom of his faithful host and catechist, Andrew Yoshida, who had accompanied his spiritual father on the trip to Omura. When the judges inquired as to where the missionary had succeeded in hiding for such a length of time, suspicion fell upon him. He was arrested with a fellow catechist named Gaspar. Their property was confiscated. In prison they practiced austere penances in preparation for their death for Christ. They were beheaded October 1, 1617.

¹¹⁷) JIMENEZ, *op. cit.* 52 ff. There is a discrepancy in the Augustinian and the Franciscan reports on the finding of the remains of Hernando and Pedro of the Assumption. SICARDO, *op. cit.* 154, 1, followed by JIMENEZ, *op. cit.* 50, reports that the coffin with the two bodies was found by Christian fishermen, who gave the bodies to the Confraternities of the Cincture and of the Cord respectively. UYTENBROECK, *op. cit.* 100, on the contrary affirms that a pagan found them and for a substantial sum handed them over to the members of the Confraternity of the cord.

In the monastery of Montilla, where Hernando has received the Augustinian habit, two breviaries of the martyr are kept as relics. On the flyleaf of the smaller one, printed at Venice in 1609, he had written his farewell message to his brethren (SICARDO, *op. cit.* 157, 1): To my Fathers and Brothers in religion of the Order of St. Augustine. As a token of love I send you this after having heard the sentence of death, today, Thursday, June 1, 1617. The men who conveyed the sentence said that tomorrow we shall be killed. If that is true and they wait until then, it will be the day on which two years ago the Lord made me move in great haste from the death of fire, water, and a thousand swords in the turmoil of Osaka so that I can die by the edge of one sword, or else be thrown to the fish in the ocean, as it may seem best to those who kill us for Christ. May God protect your Reverences. Father Ferdinand of St. Joseph.

The larger breviary, inscribed in Portuguese, contains the information that Pedro Dias de Silva, a citizen of Macao, purchased it at Nagasaki for 20 *taeis* and gave it to Fr. Francisco do Populo.

At the time of his martyrdom Andrew Yoshida was the head of the Confraternity of the Cincture ¹¹⁸).

After presenting in detail the life and death of the Augustinian pioneer missionary of Japan we are able to deal with a charge made in Cretineau-Joly, *Histoire des Jésuites*. The authors affirm that Alonso Navarrete and Hernando Ayala were fanatics who are to be considered guilty of indiscreet zeal ¹¹⁹). Charles Boxer repeated this imputation in our day ¹²⁰). In answer we shall first give two contemporary reports on the fruits of the martyrdom of the four Protomartyrs of the great Japanese persecution. An early Franciscan writer, Fray Diego de San Francisco, reporting from the scene sums up the impression he gained in the words :

« These martyrdoms awakened the faith of the Christians. They say : Before these martyrdoms we were Christians in name only. Sincere faith and devotion were lacking. But now that we have seen how these martyrs shed their blood and sacrificed their lives for the Faith we understand the value of the Faith and we are eager to receive the sacraments and ready to abandon our earthly belongings and to accept death with courage ¹²¹).

More explicit is the Dominican martyr, Yacinth Orfanel, who also could observe the reaction of the Japanese faithful in person. In his letter on the death of Father Hernando to the Augustinian provincial at Manila he writes :

¹¹⁸) SICARDO, *op. cit.* 162, 1 ff.; SAN AGUSTIN, *op. cit.* II 103, 2 ff.

¹¹⁹) J. CRÉTINEAU-JOLY, *Histoire Religieuse, Politique et Littéraire de la Compagnie de Jésus* (Paris 1844) III 184: « Cette provocation devenait inquiétante pour lui ». F. X. CHARLEVOIX, S. J., *Histoire du Christianisme au Japon* (Paris 1828) II 255 had said earlier: « Le P. Alphonse Navarette, dominicain, et le P. Ferdinand de S. Joseph, augustin, ne pouvant retenir l'ardeur qu'ils se sentaient pour le martyre se montrèrent en public ».

¹²⁰) BOXER, *Chr. Cent.* 332, quoting the Jesuit Visitor, Francisco Vieira. However, on page 333 he tempers his remark by saying: « It may be doubted whether the friars' alleged rashness was the main reason for the subsequent increase in the tempo of the persecution ».

¹²¹) Diego DE SAN FRANCISCO, O. F. M., *Relacion verdadera y breve de la persecucion y martirio que padecieron por la confesion de nuestra sancta fee catholica en Japon quinze religiosos de la Provincia de San Gregoria de los descalços del Orden de N. Seraphico P. S. Francisco en las Islas Filipinas* (Manila 1625) 53 ff.

« Without any difficulty we can say that the Japanese Christians have understood better and perceived more deeply the teachings of our Faith with the death of these glorious martyrs than in the seventy years in which the Faith has been preached to them » ¹²²).

Apart from these witnesses we gained a good insight into the character, talents, and whole personal make-up of Blessed Hernando Ayala. He had many of the qualities that make for greatness. He was a man of outstanding mental gifts, purposeful and bold. While he possessed the daring spirit of every great missionary, he was not inconsiderate and not enthusiastic beyond reason. He had the grace to keep his heart in heaven and his feet firmly planted on the ground. He saw his goal clearly and did not hesitate to spend himself to reach it. On the mission field he showed the spirit of the true pioneer, traveling as we have seen, for the purpose of organizing churches, then moving on when the spadework was done. Afterwards, while looking for new fields ready for the harvest, he kept in touch with his original foundations by frequent visits and had their interests always uppermost on his mind. Personal bravery was one of his great missionary assets. It enabled him to enter singlehandedly the virgin territory of Hyuga and later to come out openly and face the persecutors. Again and again, as successive waves of opposition made his missionary efforts difficult or impossible — the resistance at Hyuga, the decree of expulsion, the collapse of Osaka — he found ways and means to continue his work. Even when he set out for Omura, on his last missionary venture, he weighed the risks very carefully, as his conversation with Father Morales shows ¹²³). Hernando Ayala stands before us

¹²²) SICARDO, *op. cit.* 154, 2.

¹²³) In this connection it is interesting that one of the earlier martyrs of Japan, the Franciscan St. Peter Baptist, had followed the same line of reasoning as Hernando, or it may be that Hernando had become acquainted with the advice he gave. On January 10, 1597, while already a prisoner on the road to crucifixion, St. Peter Baptist wrote from the village of Hyogo to Father Jeronimo de Jesus who was still free: « If you appear in the habit they will seize you... Therefore it would seem best to take off the habit. If, however, there is a severe persecution and it seems to you best to be persecuted first, to give example and courage to those who must shed their blood, then put on the habit, even though you have not been wearing it before ». This passage is quoted from H. MAGARET, *Felipe* (Milwaukee 1962) 81. St. Peter Baptist expressed the same thought in

like another Paul having only one desire, to spend himself and to be spent for Christ ¹²⁴). His apostolate and martyrdom were not the consequence of indiscreet zeal, they were the fruit of a saintly life.

Arnulf HARTMANN, O. S. A.

(To be continued)

another letter to Jeronimo de Jesus (s. d.), RIBADENEIRA, *op. cit.* 523 f. To the question of Ayala's coming out in the open see also: D. PACHECO, S. J., 'Misioneros ocultos', *Missionalia Hispanica* XX (Madrid 1963) 89 ff., especially the *advertencias* of P. Antonio Colaco, S. J., the Jesuit Visitor of Japan, of October 30, 1616, 96 ff.

¹²⁴) II Cor. 12, 15.