

The Augustinians in Seventeenth Century Japan

(continuation) *)

CHAPTER III

The interlude of Pedro Zuñiga

After the martyrdom of Hernando Ayala there was no Augustinian missionary left in Japan. The Christians of Usuki, once again orphans, sent a letter to Manila with a request for a replacement and, if possible, for new laborers. The members of the Confraternity of the Cincture asked for the return of Fathers Bartolomé Gutiérrez and Eustaquio Ortiz ¹⁾. When the news of the martyrdom of 1617 and the request for new missionaries for Japan made the rounds of the Philippines the Prior of Sesmoan in the Province of Pampanga approached the Provincial and volunteered his services. He told his Superior that his one desire in coming to the Philippines had been to work in Japan and, if necessary, to die there. He was Pedro Zuñiga whom a recent writer calls « the mysterious Father Zuñiga » ²⁾. Yet, apart from his early years, there is little mystery about him.

Pedro Zuñiga was born in the city of Sevilla ³⁾. His father was Don Alvaro Manrique de Zuñiga, who in 1585 went as Viceroy and Captain General to New Spain which he governed for four

*) *Augustiniana*, XIV (1964), 315-377.

¹⁾ This letter is contained in SICARDO, *op. cit.* 156, 1 ff.; SAN AGUSTIN, *op. cit.* II 102, 2 ff.; GARCIA, *op. cit.* 326.

²⁾ W. SCHURZ, *The Manila Galleon* (New York 1939) 111.

³⁾ SICARDO, *op. cit.* 164, 2.

years. During his absence from Spain he entrusted the education of Pedro to his relative, the Duke of Medina Sidonia ⁴⁾).

We are poorly informed on the first years of Pedro. Reckoning from the date of his religious profession we may assume that he was born about the year 1580 ⁵⁾. He entered the Augustinian monastery of his home town and made his profession to the Prior Jeronimo de Añasco on October 2, 1604 ⁶⁾. In 1609 Diego de Guevara arrived in Sevilla to recruit missionaries for the new Japanese mission field. Young Father Pedro was then engaged in preaching and hearing confessions. When the missionary spoke of the new harvest to be won, above all when he spoke of the martyrdom of the Franciscans in 1597, which he had witnessed, Pedro Zuñiga resolved to go with him. He met with obstacles from two sides : his relatives wanted him to stay at home and the Augustinian Province of Andalusia, in which he had made his profession, did not wish him to transfer to the Philippine Province ⁷⁾. The resolve of the future martyr finally triumphed and he left for the Philippines in the mission of 1609 led by Father Guevara. He joined the community of St. Paul at Manila on June 6, 1610 ⁸⁾. Within a few days after his arrival he was sent to Pampanga to prepare for the ministry by studying the language of the natives. The opening of the house of the Order in Nagasaki, just around the time of his arrival, had given new hopes that the work in Japan would gain new impetus. Pedro, whose earlier missionary inclinations had been directed by Guevara towards Japan, applied to his Superiors to be sent into the mission field of his choice. He also began immediately to prepare for an eventual assignment by studying the difficult language of the country. His poor memory did not allow quick progress ; but his iron determination made him persevere. Nevertheless he had to remain in the Philippines for several more years. His great charity for the needs of the neighbor endeared him to all and finally he was made Prior in Sesmoan.

⁴⁾ SICARDO, *op. cit.* 165, 2.

⁵⁾ JIMENEZ, *op. cit.* 69. His father went as Viceroy to Mexico in 1585 and it is most probable that the boy was a few years old before he was left with his relatives.

⁶⁾ Thus SICARDO, *op. cit.* 165, 2; DE CASTRO, *op. cit.* 262. EBIA I 173 and VIII 384, as well as JIMENEZ, *op. cit.* 70 have Oct. 24.

⁷⁾ SICARDO, *op. cit.* 166, 1 f.; JIMENEZ, *op. cit.* 71; PEREZ, *op. cit.* 82.

⁸⁾ SICARDO, *op. cit.* 166, 2; DE CASTRO, *op. cit.* 262; PEREZ, *ibid.*

Acceding to the request of the Christians of Usuki the Provincial decided that Bartolomé Gutiérrez should return to Japan and gave him as companion Pedro Zuñiga ⁹⁾. It was arranged that they should leave in the ship of Manuel Gonzalez. With them sailed several Franciscans ¹⁰⁾ and two Dominicans ¹¹⁾. In preparation for the trip they walked in secular dress about town, especially the harbor site, pretending to be Spanish merchants, in order to avoid the attention of the many spies who were stationed in all the harbors from which boats left for Japan, to report on the movement of missionaries ¹²⁾. The priests left Manila in June 1618 and ran into such terrible storms that many passengers asked to be prepared for death. On August 12 they came in sight of Japan and were taken to the shore in several junks which had been held ready for the purpose by Japanese Christians. In spite of these precautions the rumor of the arrival of the missionaries spread, perhaps because of the rejoicing of the Christians, or because some of the Japanese fellow passengers of the priests had become suspicious. Hasegawa Gonroku, the new Governor of Nagasaki ¹³⁾, made great efforts to apprehend them. Apparently he had warned them already beforehand of the impending search, as was his custom. However, when the Shogun heard of the arrival of the missionaries, he sent a messenger to Nagasaki to exhort Gonroku to imitate his uncle and predecessor in office, the fierce Sahioye. In order to show deference Gonroku had the shogunal decrees of expulsion republished and added that, under penalty of death, nobody dare to shelter or help the missionaries in any way ¹⁴⁾. He also promised great rewards to all who could furnish information which would lead to the arrest of the priests. At the same time the Christians were forbidden to attend Confraternity meetings, or to assemble in cemeteries, or on the site of their former churches. Likewise it became a crime to have religious pictures, statues or rosaries in one's home. These measures forced the missionaries to

⁹⁾ SICARDO, *op. cit.* 168, 1.

¹⁰⁾ They were Diego de San Francisco, Antonio de San Bonaventura, and Brother Martin de Pineda. SICARDO, *op. cit.* 168, 1; UYTENBROECK, *op. cit.* 82.

¹¹⁾ Juan de San Domingo and Angel Ferrer. SICARDO, *ibid.*

¹²⁾ SICARDO, *op. cit.* 168, 1.

¹³⁾ He was Bugyo from 1615-1625. Cf. BOXER, *Chr. Cent.* 444.

¹⁴⁾ SICARDO, *op. cit.* 169, 1.

continue their work under ground. Father Pedro hid for a long time in the home of a respected Spaniard. From this refuge he ventured forth in various disguises to minister to the faithful. It was necessary to leave the house as soon as it became dark before the ever vigilant nightwatchmen made their rounds. At times he disguised himself as a servant carrying supplies on his head, then again as a woman, then as an old man hobbling along with the help of a cane or leaning heavily upon a companion. Then there were times when he used a litter. Thus he succeeded in avoiding arrest during the first year.

In the meantime the Shogun Hidetada ¹⁵⁾ had consolidated his government and renewed the persecution. Nagasaki, however, was deceptively calm. Gonroku had frequently given evidence that he was no lover of bloodshed and had no desire to serve as the shogunal watchdog. « Although Gonroku conducted himself to appear in public as a faithful observer of the imperial decrees, he secretly took care that none of those who housed or hid religious came to harm. As soon as an accusation came to his ears he went in person or sent a confidant of his to notify the accused so that he could put in safety any religious he was hiding in his house. Thus both parties escaped the danger in which they found themselves » ¹⁶⁾.

Soon, however, the hands of the lenient persecutor were to be tied. Great harm was done to the cause of the Christian religion by a dispute between two Christians, Murayama Toan and Suetsugu Heizo ¹⁷⁾. They accused each other of having harbored religious. Heizo apostatized and won the case. Toan and his family were condemned to death. The knowledge that so many priests were still in the country enraged the Shogun and he appointed Heizo Lieutenant Governor of Nagasaki ¹⁸⁾. With the hatred of the apostate

¹⁵⁾ Hidetada, Ieyasu's son, had succeeded to the shogunate in 1605, but Ieyasu held the reigns of government until his death in July 1616 under the title « Bakufu » (SICARDO, *op. cit.* 66, 1 f.). By 1618 Hidetada had established his rule.

¹⁶⁾ SICARDO, *op. cit.* 169, 2; see also SAN AGUSTIN, *op. cit.* 142, 2.

¹⁷⁾ See BOXER, *Chr. Cent.* 333 and 493, no. 12 for further references. Also: SICARDO, *op. cit.* 170, 1 f.; SAN AGUSTIN, *op. cit.* II 143, 1 f.

¹⁸⁾ BOXER, *Chr. Cent.* 334. An interesting note on the hesitancy of Gonroku to persecute and the pressure Heizo put on him is contained in a letter of Vicente Simoens of Jan. 18, 1624 (G. OCHOA DEL CARMEN, O. R. S. A., *Dos Héroes o admirable Vida de los PP. Francisco de Jesus y Vicente de San Antonio Agus-*

he set out to destroy whatever church property was left, tearing up the foundations of the churches and building pagan temples on their sites. He also had the cemeteries profaned and the bodies dug up. The missionaries had to take refuge from his fury in the mountains and the more remote islands. On December 13, 1618 the persecution was renewed with searches and arrests. All the citizens of Nagasaki had to promise in writing that they would not house a religious ¹⁹⁾. On January 25 of the following year Heizo went to the Shogun's court to tell him how well his instructions had been carried out.

The vacillating character of Gonroku showed itself in his dealing with Zuñiga. It is hard to say what really moved him to such behavior. It may have been the noble birth of the missionary. Gonroku knew that he was the son of a Viceroy of Mexico. It may also have been the priest's charitable work, or simply Gonroku's dislike of bloodshed. At any rate he had the Augustinian twice advised to leave the country, lest he would have to arrest him ²⁰⁾. When this produced no result he had Pedro secretly brought before him. He received him with great consideration and show of courtesy. He pleaded with him to embark on one of the boats which were about to leave for Macao. He added the threat that in case of refusal he would have him deported by force. The priest gave him his word to attend to the matter. He went to see Father Bartolomé, his immediate Superior, and informed him of what had transpired. He received the order to obey the Bugyo, and so Pedro Zuñiga left for Macao. Upon his arrival in the Portuguese trading outpost he changed into his religious habit ²¹⁾ and returned as soon

tinios Recoletos (Zaragoza 1934) 232): «Había subido el Konvoko (Gonroku) a la corte del emperador a su llamamiento con otro gobernadocillo de Nagasaki, llamado Figo (Heizo), renegado, que es el mayor perseguidor que tenemos; e después de aver entre los dos grandes dares y tomares delante del emperador sobre si hay cristianos o no, afirmando siempre el renegado que los hay, obligó a que se resolviese el emperador a echar de esta Ciudad a todos los españoles».

¹⁹⁾ SICARDO, *op. cit.* 171, 1.

²⁰⁾ SICARDO, *op. cit.* 172, 1; SAN AGUSTIN, *op. cit.* II 142, 2; BOXER, *Chr. Cent.* 345 f. Aso Reyer GYSBERTSZ, *Historie der Martelaren, die in Jappan om de Roomsche Catholijcke Religie, schrickelijcke, ende onverdraghelijcke pynen geleden hebben, ofte ghedoodt syn, beschreven in Machtigh Koningrijck van Jappan* (Gravenhage 1662) 56 testifies that Gonroku was not a bloodthirsty persecutor when he announces the coming of Gonroku's successor Kawachi-no-kami.

²¹⁾ SAN AGUSTIN, *op. cit.* II 144, 2.

as possible to the Philippines. While his brethren rejoiced at seeing him again in their midst, he was very unhappy that the crown of martyrdom had escaped him. He stated under oath that rather than spend his time in exile he would prefer returning to his country.

Capture on the High Seas

For a short time Father Pedro resumed his former work in the Islands. In 1620 a letter arrived at Manila, while the Provincial Chapter was in session, asking for the return of their beloved missionary to Japan ²²). In return the Christians promised they would hand over the relics of the martyred Hernando Ayala. Father Zuñiga was called into the session and asked for his opinion. He said that he would be more than willing to return if obedience should send him. As to the practicability of his going he ventured the opinion that it would not be of much help to the Christians, as he was so well known to so many pagans in the city that he would have difficulty to pass even the harbor guards. His Superiors sent him nevertheless as they had no other priest with experience of the country and the knowledge of its difficult language. Besides the petitioners had offered to meet the boat on which the missionary would arrive and take him into a small junk far outside the harbor. As soon as Father Zuñiga had received his orders he prepared for the return trip.

A Christian captain of a Japanese Red-seal ship ²³), Joachim Hirayama of Sakai, had just brought a boat load of herring to Manila in his sampan, which had a capacity of approximately 60 tons. He was about to return to Japan with a cargo of deer leather. The religious Superiors of Manila made arrangements with him to take on his return voyage Father Pedro Zuñiga, who was to travel as the Spanish merchant Juan Gonzalez, and the Dominican, Father Luis Flores ²⁴). When bidding his brethren farewell, Pedro Zuñiga told them that they would not see each other again.

²²) SICARDO, *op. cit.* 172, 2; SAN AGUSTIN, *op. cit.* II 145, 1; PAGÉS, *op. cit.* I 449.

²³) That Hirayama's boat carried the official passport with the Shogun's red seal may be inferred from Sicardo's remark, *op. cit.* 175, 1: aunque el Capitan les (the English and Dutch) avia mostrado despachos de su señor. See also JENNES, *op. cit.* 143.

²⁴) The anonymous *Relacion Verdadera y Breve del Excelente martirio que*

Although the boat left on June 3 or 4, it could not leave the Bay of Manila before June 13 because of lack of wind. Once on the open sea, the winds became so violent that the missionaries more than once thought themselves lost. They were driven off their course, but finally reached the port of Macao where they stayed for two days. Then they made their way through the straits of Formosa towards the Isles of Japan. On the way they suffered greatly from lack of wood and water as well as from the stormy sea. On July 22, near Formosa, they sighted a ship which seemed to the crew to be of Dutch origin. As Japan was at that time in friendly relations with the Dutch they approached the ship for water and wood. Lest the religious be discovered the captain sent them below deck. For a day and more they had to suffer the suffocating heat and the stench of the skins. Father Flores wrote later : « Never, in my whole life, did I suffer so much from the evil odor, hunger and thirst, day and night. A longer stay would have ended our life » ²⁵). As the sampan approached the strange ship the discovery was made that they were face to face with the English frigate « Elizabeth », a unit of the joint Dutch-English « Fleet of Defence » which had been established by the Treaty of Defence concluded at London in 1619 to end Dutch and English commercial rivalry

onze Religiosos de la Sagrada Orden de Predicadores padecieron por Christo nuestro Señor, en el imperio del Japon los años de 1618 y 1622 (Madrid s. d.) fol. 2^v, has: Luiz Flores de nacion Flamenco, natural de Gente, hijo de Santo Domingo de Mexico ». PAGÉS, *op. cit.* II 204: According to Maseti this Father entered between 1565-1570. His name was Fraryn. But Philip II did not permit anyone to sail for the Philippines except Spaniards, so he had to assume a Spanish name. Ryer Gysbertsz, who according to Cretineau-Joly, *op. cit.* III 198, « se trouvait de 1622-1629 à Nangasachi au service de la Compagnie Holandaise; il fut tesmoin oculaire de la plupart de martyres », has an interesting report on Father Flores' name and origin, *op. cit.* 53: « Sedert dat het leste van 't Jaer 1622 ende het begin van 't Jaer 1623 in Nangasacque omtrent hondert en dertigh personen, so Mans, Vrouwen, als Kinderen, sijn verbrant, ende onthooft, daer mede onder andere geestelijcke geweest sijn de twee Papen, die hier so lange in de Logie geseten hadden, ende by de Vloot van Defensie, komende uyt de Manilla, ofte het schip de Elizabeth, omtrent Ila Formosa verover't waren, te weten, Don Pedro de Suynego, Spangiaert, ende Louys Pietersz, van Antwerpen: onder den verbranden is oock geweest een Italiaen, genaemt Spinelo van Genua... ende de rest lappanders, die de Papen geherbergt, ende huysvestinge verleent hadden... ». Although Pagés gives the Flamish name of Flores as Fraryn, we shall not be too far from truth if we trust the Dutch traveler who was familiar with the languages of the Netherlands.

²⁵) Letter of Flores in PAGÉS, *op. cit.* II 205.

and unite against the common foe, Spain and Portugal. The « Fleet of Defence », in blatant disavowal of its name, had received the order « to assault and surprise Portuguese, Spaniards, or their adherents anywhere ». Japanese and Chinese junks bound for Japan were to be left unmolested. Hirado was the combined fleet's main base of operation ²⁶⁾.

When the sampan had pulled along the English boat, and the Englishmen saw how poorly it was manned, they ordered the captain, his officers and the more distinguished Japanese into the « Elizabeth » while promising to provide them with the necessary supplies. In the meantime they searched the sampan. The day after they discovered the missionaries and took them to their boat. It was a Friday, and the captain, who had been a prisoner of the inquisition in Spain ²⁷⁾, had meat served to the hungry priests who had been without food for more than a day. They did not touch it. This confirmed him in his suspicion that the two merchants, who had been so carefully concealed, were priests in disguise.

The English took their prize to the meeting place with the other units of the fleet and discussed with the Dutch what was to be done with the Japanese sampan. The English and Dutch factors, Cocks and Specx, found an easy way out : they would use the priests as pawns to claim the sampan and its merchandize ²⁸⁾. They knew they had violated the Shogun's orders. However, if they could prove that the two Spaniards aboard were not merchants but priests, they would be able to claim that they had helped to carry out the Shogun's orders and perhaps could get pardon and the cargo. Already before the capture of Hirayama's boat the Dutch and English had sent a combined delegation to the court to explain to the Shogun their new policy. When this delegation was delayed, Cocks sent on December 20, 1620 a letter to the East Indies Company which contains the following explanation : the four men were delayed « by reason of the taking of a frigatt, which came from Manillias, wherein were both Portingals, Spaniards and Japons, and amongst the rest two semenary pristis, people defended not to come into Japon, which maketh the better for us » ²⁹⁾. The captors

²⁶⁾ BOXER, *Great Ship* 98.

²⁷⁾ Letter of Flores, PAGÉS, *op. cit.* 205; SICARDO, *op. cit.* 175, 1.

²⁸⁾ Cf. L. RIES, 'History of the English Factory at Hirado', *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* XXVI (Yokohama 1898) 80.

²⁹⁾ Letter of Cocks to the East India Company, December 13, 1620, Appendix

were sure the two pretended merchants were priests, as they had found on Zuñiga a letter of the Provincial Chapter appointing Bartolomé Gutiérrez Vicar Provincial for Japan, and Flores had two letters to the Dominicans in Japan ³⁰). If they could prove the status of the missionaries they would not have to kill the crew and throw them into the sea in order to conceal their act of piracy. Captain Joachim protested and showed them his *shuinjo*, or vermillion government passport, under which he carried on his business. Notwithstanding the booty and prisoners were divided by lot. The priests as well as the other two Spaniards fell into the hands of the Dutch, captain Hirayama and his crew were allotted to the English. Cocks set all his captives free, but the Dutch had to watch over their prisoners and make them confess their true character. They put them in shackles and brought them on August 4 to Hirado, the site of the Dutch factory. On the following day the prisoners were taken ashore and questioned by the Dutch factor Specx on their religious background ³¹).

As soon as word reached Father Gutiérrez of the happenings which led to the arrest of Pedro Zuñiga he made efforts to free him.

« We had news of the seizure of seven Spaniards traveling in a boat of a Japanese named Joachim Diaz ³²), and we were assured at the same time that two of the captives were religious. I began immediately to discuss with some Japanese Christians the feasibility of rescuing these religious and, therefore, I sent two ships with a prudent, brave and reliable crew to abduct them from the boat of the heretics. However, when they got there, the two were no longer aboard, but were already in a very narrow and dark prison in the warehouse of the Dutch. This left me very disturbed and sad as it touched my sentiments of brotherly love » ³³).

to Cocks, *op. cit.* II 318 f. The new policy was contained in a letter which the Dutch and English captains submitted to the Shogun on the occasion of their mission to the Court. It is preserved in the India Office, Suppl. to China Materials, Bk I, Japan and reprinted in Ries, *op. cit.* 90: « ... to make spoil and havock of all Portingalls and Spaniards wheresoever we meet them... As long as these voyages continue His Majesty (the Shogun) may be assured that they will not leave to bring friars from thence as long as they are allowed their trade ».

³⁰) SICARDO, *op. cit.* 175, 1.

³¹) SICARDO, *ibid.*; SAN AGUSTIN, *op. cit.* 164, 2.

³²) The Portuguese name of Captain Hirayama.

³³) Letter of Bartolomé Gutiérrez of February 24, 1623. SICARDO, *op. cit.* 210, 2; SAN AGUSTIN, *op. cit.* 212, 2.

Imprisonment in Japan

The Dutch had thrown their prisoners into a small cave one fathom wide and four long. It was without light. In order to force them to admit their priestly state the two religious were kept there for thirteen days while receiving for nourishment only a little rice boiled in water. They had to sleep on the bare floor, and were left without blankets and sanitation. They were put to torture in order to make them admit that the sampan did not belong to the Japanese, but rather to some citizens of Manila. When the expected answers were not forthcoming, the Dutch stripped their prisoners as far as the belt and hung them with their arms tied behind their back from a rafter while they tied at their feet two mortars filled with powder. They threatened their victims they would explode the kegs unless they were given the expected answer. Though the priests did not answer, they did not carry out their threat.

The news of the seizure of the sampan filled both the pagans and the Christians in Japan with apprehension. The pagans were alarmed at this outrage and feared the trade with Macao and the Philippines would suffer. Individual merchants and money lenders who had a financial interest in the cargo feared the loss of their money. The Christians, on the other hand, fearful of a new outbreak of persecutions, discussed steps by which the prisoners could be restored to freedom ³⁴).

In particular Alvaro Muñoz ³⁵), a citizen of Nagasaki, offered his services. He thought of using his friendship with the English factor on their behalf. He also had in mind to exert his influence with the Dutch to get permission to see or even to free the Fathers. Due to his intervention they were moved from their horrible pri-

³⁴) JIMENEZ, *op. cit.* 85.

³⁵) Alvaro Muñoz was one of the banishees from Manila « settled somewhat disreputably at Hirado and Nagasaki » (BOXER, *Chr. Cent.* 491, note 1). In 1625 his negro slave Ventura betrayed him for having aided priests. He was brought before Gonroku. It is to be lamented that his kindness to Father Pedro did not earn him the grace of perseverance. On June 20, 1626 he and two others were to be burnt alive with three Jesuit priests and a Brother. But Muñoz and the other two laymen apostatized this same day and their three columns remained empty (AIA July-Dec. 1914, 521; Ochoa DEL CARMEN, *op. cit.* 285). They, together with Diego de Acosta, became the real traitors of the Japanese Christians. SICARDO, *op. cit.* 176, 1, reports the various helps Muñoz gave to the two priests.

son ³⁶⁾). Not even the intimation that Zuñiga was the son of a Mexican Viceroy helped.

Two Japanese, perhaps members of an underground organization which assisted the missionaries in their work, supplied their needs and found hiding places for them, helped the prisoners. One was the interpreter of the Dutch, Gaspar Nacamoura, the other the secretary of the Dutch for Japanese correspondence, Juan Goro-bioye ³⁷⁾). They kept our martyrs supplied with laundry, food and writing materials, and delivered their letters. When they were found out by the Dutch and Japanese they were beheaded at Nagasaki in 1622.

While the Dutch interrogated the prisoners, captain Hirayama and the other interested parties pressed their case before the Shogun. Although he and his advisers did not look favorably upon the action of the English and Dutch, in the end the gifts which had been lavished upon the Shogun's ministers prevailed. The Shogun finally referred the question whether the Japanese sampan should be declared a prize to the daimyo of Hirado and the bugyo of Nagasaki. They were to verify the facts which the Dutch had submitted. The result ultimately depended on sufficient evidence that the two Spanish passengers were priests. The daimyo of Hirado sent his secretary to ask the two priests whether they were religious. Although the factor had promised them liberty in case they admitted it, Father Luis answered evasively that priests did not wear the kind of clothes they had on, neither were they merchants. With this answer the secretary returned to Hirado. The factor drew up a report on the capture of the sampan by the English and stated that the religious had been aboard in disguise. The day after he took it to the priests to have it signed by them. However, they had

³⁶⁾ PAGÉS, *op. cit.* I, 453. They had been left without a bed for thirty days. Letter of Flores, PAGÉS, *op. cit.* II 207.

³⁷⁾ SICARDO, *op. cit.* 176, 2: « Als dito Suynego, en Louys Pietersz, geinciteert werden, omtrent 130 personen, ende de volgende veys 100 soo mans, vrouwen als Kinderen, daermede onder zijn gheweest, den Iappanschen Schryver, ende eenen Tolck van de Logie, die met Papen, die hier gheseten, ende gheconspireert hadden, om haer los te helpen, ghelijck sy't selve oock onderleyt hadden, doch werden wederom bekomen; dit wierde by de Jappanders t'hooger genomen, selfs om dat sy Dienaers hier ten huysen waren, waer over oock geene genade voor haer te bekomen was ». GYSBERTSZ, *op. cit.* 53.

already been informed of its contents by a Christian interpreter and refused to sign it.

A few days later Gonroku, the Bugyo of Nagasaki, sent his secretary. He had instructions to examine the priests in the house of the daimyo of Hirado. Although they were threatened with serious penalties unless they admitted their state they refused to do so again. The Dutch who had a great interest in their confession kept asking them to admit their priestly state. When they finally saw that neither threats nor actual ill-treatment could make the Spaniards confess they became afraid that their prey might escape their hands. Thus, the priests were detained in the Dutch factory, while a report was sent to the Shogun on the transactions in the police headquarters, and one last attempt was made to force the truth from them. The Dutch held the papers they had found on Zuñiga before his eyes and told him they would make him die a slow death unless he confessed that he was a religious. Thinking of the harm that would come to the captain and the crew he told them to do with him as they pleased. They confronted him each day with the details they had found out about him. More and more Japanese and others were brought in who had known him before. As they still could not get him to confirm their charges, they returned the four Spaniards in fetters to the same jail and tied them during the night to an iron post in such a manner that no one could move without causing discomfort to the others.

This turn of events caused the Spaniards at Nagasaki so much apprehension that they used all means to free them. They arranged duplicates of the prison keys to be made. The wealthy Macedo ³⁸⁾ must have had a hand in it, as all those who helped were promised great rewards. Fathers Bartolomé Gutiérrez and the Dominican Collado ³⁹⁾ approached Richard of St. Anna Trouvé ⁴⁰⁾, a Fran-

³⁸⁾ Jeronimo de Macedo de Carvalho, a wealthy fidalgo from Alemquer, Portugal, was a great lay apostle. He was the Captain-major of the 1619 and 1620 voyages of the Great Ship. 1621 he was arrested on charge of having helped missionaries to enter Japan by way of Macao, and also because he was implicated in the attempt to free Zuñiga and Flores. He remained a prisoner at Omura until his death in 1632. He was allowed to continue his trading activities and spent a good deal of his wealth in aiding the missionaries. Cf. BOXER, *Great Ship* 97 f.

³⁹⁾ The rescue attempt of this priest is indicated in Gutiérrez' letter, SICARDO, *op. cit.* 210, 2; UYTENBROECK, *op. cit.* 107.

⁴⁰⁾ UYTENBROECK, *ibid.*

ciscan for help. As Father Richard was of Flemish origin he was acquainted with the Dutch. He had the prisoners notified to be ready to escape on October 18. He himself would be waiting in a small boat and would have Japanese helpers who would bring the prisoners from the prison to the shore. It had been arranged that the break from prison should be made when the Dutch were asleep. However, the prisoners feared that they would be bound again to the iron post and have more difficulty to free themselves. So they resolved to leave during supper. Father Zuñiga left first and was followed by the two Spaniards. By misfortune, he ran by the prison gate into a Hollander who shouted and gave the alarm. Father Flores, reckoning the risk was now too great, did not follow. While Zuñiga and the Spaniards ran to the beach, the Hollanders followed them with lanterns and with arms. Just when they were about to embark they were arrested. The boat succeeded in making its getaway because of the descending darkness. The poor run-aways were severely beaten, put into more rigorous custody and chained during the night with hands and feet to their bed ⁴¹).

Although with their gifts the Dutch had many protectors among the authorities, matters did not advance with the dispatch they had desired. As yet they had only the letters found on the religious. To add more substance to their charges they sent a few Japanese, whom they had well paid, to Manila to bring additional proof from the Philippines that their two prisoners were priests in disguise. However, when the ships returned the following year they had accomplished nothing.

On his obligatory visit to the Court Gonroku stopped over at Hirado. After having talked with the English and the Dutch he had the prisoners brought before him. Although he knew Pedro Zuñiga well, he refused to recognize him nor did he accept the evidence of the letters which the Dutch had placed before him. In his inquiry he asked the priests why they had dared to come to Japan against the Shogun's will, although they knew they would be burned, and endangered the lives of the crew of the boat which brought them to Japan. The priests recognizing the trap answered they would be very happy to be priests and that the letters were not theirs. Gonroku threatened the Dutch to prove that their prisoners were priests or they would be severely punished and forbidden to trade

⁴¹) SICARDO, *op. cit.* 179, 2; SAN AGUSTIN, *op. cit.* 148, 2.

in Japan. He also appointed Japanese guards until the time when a final settlement could be made ⁴².

When the Dutch saw that their threats would not prevail they put them into effect. On October 2, 1621, they confronted Zuñiga again with the proofs and when he refused, as in the past, to admit that he was a priest, they stretched him out on a bench and tied him securely to it. Then they covered his face with a piece of cloth on which they poured water. After each two containers the tormentors asked the Father to confess. They stopped only after they had emptied a large tub. Then they struck severe blows upon his stomach to force the water out. The pain became so intense that the priest could not stand it and fainted. After him Father Flores had his turn. He being older suffered so much that they thought him dead ⁴³).

Before the Bugyo's Tribunal

In November Gonroku returned to hear the case ⁴⁴). He was accompanied by the daimyo of Hirado. In four hearings the priests denied again that they were padres. Now the Dutch proceeded to introduce their own eyewitnesses. The first was a Portuguese, named Rabelo, a resident of Nagasaki. He stated that he remembered very well that Father Zuñiga had said Mass at Nagasaki and that he had confessed to him. He also had received Communion from him in the house of Alvaro Muñoz. Another witness was a Filipino who had come from Manila that year. He had been arrested and as the Dutch promised him his freedom if he cooperated, he declared that he had known Father Pedro as an Augustinian priest at Manila. He had seen him in the habit of the Order at Tongo.

⁴²) SICARDO, *op. cit.* 180, 2 f.

⁴³) SICARDO, *op. cit.* 181, 2 f. It is regretable that Father Zuñiga's own report on his experiences in the prison of the Dutch is lost. It is referred to in VICENTE BARRANTES, *Guerras Piraticas en Filipinas* (Madrid 1878): *Relacion de los Tormentos y affliciones que paso Fr. Pedro de Zuñiga, religioso Augustino, desde que fue entregado por el Ingles a los Holandeses escrita la vispera de su martirio*. The report of Luis Flores is contained in PAGÉS, *op. cit.* II 209.

⁴⁴) SICARDO, *op. cit.* 182, 1. COCKS, *op. cit.* II 215 describes the questioning of Zuñiga before the Bugyo which, according to his diary, began on November 6. Flores, on the contrary, says in his letter, PAGÉS, *op. cit.* II 210 that «in December 1621 the Daimyo of Hirado and Gonroku received order to examine us».

When Zuñiga did not even then confess, Cocks raised his voice and shouted : « You can cut off my head, if it is not true that he has said Mass at Nagasaki, and that his name is Pedro Zuñiga, and not Juan Gonzalez, as he says » ⁴⁵⁾. The English and Dutch began then to revile the priests and said that they worshipped the devil, and that they did not come to preach the Gospel, but to spy for their king, in order to help him get control of the country, as they had done with the rest of the Indies ⁴⁶⁾. Zuñiga succeeded in proving the Portuguese a false witness and denied the statement of the Filipino. By coincidence a great fire occurred at Naga-

⁴⁵⁾ SICARDO, *op. cit.* 182, 2.

⁴⁶⁾ This statement of SICARDO, *op. cit.* 182, 1 receives an interesting confirmation in a report taken from *Hekija Kuwanken-roku* I p. 20^v, read in connection with the discussion of J. Gubbins' article 'Introduction of Christianity into Japan', *supra*, note 17 of Chap. I:

In the year 1617 (third of Genna) a Dutch vessel fell in at sea with a ship of Chinese built, and observed on board several individuals who appeared to them to be Bateren (a Japanese word for Catholic priest from corruption of Portuguese Padre). As the Dutch used to trade at the time to Hirado, they brought the ship in there, and reported the matter to Matsura Iki no Kami, who sent information to the Governor's office at Nagasaki. Hasegawa Gonroku was at once dispatched to Hirado, to conduct an inquiry into the facts of the case, from which it appeared that the ship belonged to a native of Sakai in Idzumi, named Jojin (Joachim), and that she had been on trading voyage to Luzon. Several letters written in barbarian character were discovered on board, which were handed to the Hirado interpreter Mori Sukeyemon to be translated. They were found to be addressed from barbarous countries to Bateren who were lying concealed in Japan, and their purport was to the effect that as soon as the greater half of the Japanese nation had been converted to the Kirishitan Sect, information would at once be sent to the writers upon which a large fleet of war vessels should be dispatched. In consequence of these facts the Bateren who had been found in the ship and Jojin were taken prisoners to Nagasaki and there burnt, the remainder of the crew being decapitated. Rewards for their fidelity were given to the Hollanders on that occasion.

Although the date does not correspond, the capture is no doubt that of the Fathers Flores and Zuñiga. It would be absurd to believe that these letters have contained information about treacherous designs on the part of the Spaniards of Manila. We know that both English and Dutch did all in their power to prejudice the rulers of Japan against the Portuguese and Spaniards (cf. BOXER, *Chr. Cent.* 310 f. especially the excerpts of Cocks' Diary). Examples of Similar Dutch forgeries are reported in connection with the discussion of Gubbin's article, *loc. cit.*

saki and the people ascribed it to the fact that so many Christians lived in the city.

The judges were not satisfied with the proof the Dutch had furnished and called in other clerical prisoners who were imprisoned at Omura : the Dominican Francisco Morales, the Jesuit Carlo Spinola, the Franciscan Pedro de Avila, and a Japanese secular priest, Thomas Araki ⁴⁷). After five days they arrived and the trial continued. When they were brought into court, their hands tied, they were asked whether they had known the priests. They answered they did not know Luis Flores but they had seen Pedro Zuñiga at Nagasaki dressed like a merchant. They also knew that his name was Juan Gonzalez. In the following confrontation of Alvaro Muñoz with Rabelo so much amusement was caused by the latter being involved in many contradictions, that the judge ordered the court cleared and adjourned. During the next session the court inquired from the Fathers of Omura whether the documents were genuine, i.e., drawn up in the customary style and whether they originated from the respective religious superiors. They answered the style was the proper one, but where the letters originated they could not state. They were then ordered to testify under oath whether they knew Father Pedro. They declared they could not take an oath without the proper permission of their Superiors. Pedro Zuñiga handed in a document in which he stated that he was a Catholic and believed in the Blessed Trinity. As it had become past nine o'clock in the evening the case was adjourned. Of the sinister part which Araki played in the prosecution of Zuñiga we know from an entry of Cocks' diary under November 17 :

« ...Only in that tyme they sent for 2 letters directed to Frier padre Tomas, a Japon padre, presenor at Umbra. and now brought to Firando, as noted heretofore. As we are secretly informed, this frire has confessed that the two pre-

⁴⁷) Thomas Araki was one of the few Japanese priests who had been sent to Rome for studies. During his stay in the Holy City St. Robert Bellarmin used to recite the Divine Office with him. He was ordained at Rome in 1612. After his return to Japan he was expelled from the Society of Jesus for unchastity. After his arrest at Nagasaki in 1619 he apostatized (« probably the same year » JENNES, *op. cit.* 145). Because of his intimate knowledge of the Catholic Church he could reveal the missionaries' hiding places and the persecution took a sharp upturn (BOXER, *Chr. Cent.* 263 states that his information is based on written reports furnished him by SCHURHAMMER, S. J., *Chr. Cent.* 485, note 8).

soners at Hollands howse are padres, for he was all day with the King and Gonrock Dono in secret conference, and, as it is said, will turn gentell again, or at least renege his priesthood, to save his life » ⁴⁸⁾).

We know from a report of Spinola, which the Jesuit chronicler D. Bartoli had in his hand, that in his meeting with Gonroku Araki had testified that he had heard the two priests discuss the subject of their vocation in prison, when they both admitted that they were priests ⁴⁹⁾.

Then the judges brought in nine witnesses who were allowed to see Pedro Zuñiga in one room and then go to another where they would have to testify whether they believed him to be the Augustinian the authorities were looking for. Once this had been established Gonroku could not protect him any further. The judges were sure that they had their man and removed him to a separate room. Then they called in the priests of Omura and placed before them all the evidence they had against him and asked them to confirm it ⁵⁰⁾. But first they should talk the matter over with Zuñiga himself. After nine o'clock that night Pedro Zuñiga was called in and was left with them. When they were alone Father Morales took him aside and told him that his religious state was now proved and that he and the Japanese would be condemned. They all advised him that it would be better if he would make now a statement of his priesthood. We report these events best in Zuñiga's own words :

⁴⁸⁾ COCKS, *op. cit.* II 221 under Nov. 17.

⁴⁹⁾ D. BARTOLI, S. J., *Dell'Istoria della Compagnia di Gesu. Il Giappone* II 155 f.

⁵⁰⁾ *Ibid.*: Spinola gave Zuñiga the advice to reveal himself for the following reasons:

- 1) The letter of the Augustinian Provincial of Manila which contained the express permission for Zuñiga to wear civil dress.
- 2) The sworn statements of various Portuguese to have seen him say Mass three years ago and to have made their confession to him.
- 3) Thomas Araki had testified that, while imprisoned with the two priests at Omura, he had heard their discussions whether to manifest themselves and admitting that they were priests and religious.
- 4) When Zuñiga was asked to swear that he was neither a priest nor religious, he refused to do so saying that he would only swear to be a Christian.
« Per tutte dunque insieme queste cagioni, che abbiamo da una minuta relazione di mano del P. Spinola ivi presente, pareva a lui... ».

« He (Francisco Morales) told me that I could manifest myself very well and make a statement ; and that I could do so in good conscience, because for fear of scandal I had never dared to swear in any manner whatsoever, and because the facts were now evident. It would be better if I would admit myself that I was a religious, which I had not done under torture. It would thus be of greater edification. I should also say that the Japanese did not know it, and did not know me in any other way than as Juan Gonzalez, as also the people of Nagasaki while I lived there. Also the other two Fathers were of the opinion that I should do this, because it was more proper that I did not disclose my identity with the little information I had before they told me. That all this happened thus was certainly the will of our Lord. It was on the feast of St. Andrew at 11 o'clock at night. We were then taken to the place where the judges were and after I had made my statement they were surprised and showed great contentment. Gonroku stated that I had not sworn an oath. A document was drawn up for the Emperor, very short, with my statement and with the Fathers' and my own signature. On the margin of the same document was a Japanese translation of the main points of my statement. It said that 'what I had not stated under torture, I had declared by my own free will. And that I had done so because the poor Japanese did not know that I was a priest' » ⁵¹).

Having made this statement he was taken into custody by the Japanese authorities who gave him the choice of staying in their prison at Hirado or of returning to the Dutch. Since the Fathers of Omura advised him to return to his companions and inform them of the events of the past few weeks he chose to return to the prison of the Dutch where he had suffered so much. The judges ordered him to stay there until further orders. He communicated his confession in writing to his Superior, Bartolomé Gutiérrez. In it he said that had he been aware that his confession contained the slightest offence against God, he would have preferred to die a thousand deaths rather than make it » ⁵²).

On December 2 he was brought before the judges again in the presence of the English, the Dutch and Alvaro Muñoz. He repeated his confession together with the motives why he had not made it earlier. He tried on that occasion to obtain freedom for

⁵¹) SICARDO, *op. cit.* 186, 1 f.

⁵²) SICARDO, *op. cit.* 187, 1.

the Japanese crew. He stated that they had not known his identity. He was also asked again whether he had said Mass in the home of Alvaro Muñoz, and whether Rabelo had assisted at that Mass and gone to confession to him. Father Pedro said that it was not so, and that once he had confessed the greater detail he would not conceal the less important. Thus Alvaro Muñoz went free.

After this the judges ordered the Dutch and English to leave the courtroom and spoke to Zuñiga alone. They asked him why he had come to Japan and, above all, why he had returned in the face of so great a risk. They also asked him concerning the torture he had undergone. The missionary explained that it was all for the greater glory of God and that he had been moved only by the desire to save souls and show them the road to salvation. When the hearing was over the daimyo and bugyo assigned the priest to the prison of the Dutch factory. Before leaving the courtroom he asked for permission to be allowed to wear his religious habit again. The judges asked the English to furnish him with the needed material. On December 7, the Feast of St. Ambrose, he wore it for the first time, as also the religious tonsure ⁵³).

He remained in the prison of the Dutch, however under Japanese guard, until December 23, 1621, when he was transferred to an abandoned island, named Ikinoshima. There he was put into a stockade which was open from all sides.

« I came to this island on December 23, very happy and filled with consolation. I find myself in this place which God has given to me. I do not call it a prison, because it is open on all sides and I suffer much from the intense cold. This abode is situated in the midst of a field without shelter against the wind or the moon, which penetrates even to where I sleep, without myself being able to resist it except by covering myself with my poor kimono and habit with which I always sleep. I get food twice daily, some boiled roots and a little water and salt with a little rice. Whenever they become so generous as to give me a fish, it will hardly weigh one ounce. This is surely no exaggeration, but simple truth. I am so contented and satisfied with it, as if I were eating chicken and capons. Wine does never get here. I love this dwelling place and esteem it as much as if I were in the most sumptuous palace. Three guards watch me day and night. I give my Lord infinite thanks for such an outstanding mercy and hope that He with His

⁵³) SICARDO, *op. cit.* 187, 2; SAN AGUSTIN, *op. cit.* II 182, 1.

Divine fatherly love, Who has begone this work, will accomplish it in such a manner that it will be to my benefit, as also to my beloved mother, my Order. I am ready with His divine favor that they cut me member by member or crucify me or burn me alive ; whatever it will be, it will show the fulness of His great grace. I do not know a thing nor am I of value. My Lord and God knows all. May He do with me as with His creature because He has placed me on such an exalted place. For this reason I would not know how to express the joy which fills my heart » ⁵⁴).

With the close of Father Zuñiga's case, Father Luis Flores remained alone in the prison of the Dutch. A brother Dominican, Diego de Collado, made a last attempt to free him with the help of Louis Yakishi and four other Japanese Christians. He wrote letters to friends to help him raise money and bribed a Dutchman of the factory with 50 *duros*. There were so many accidents, among others a broken rope, that this attempt also failed ⁵⁵). The Japanese renewed their efforts to make him confess that he, too, was a priest. When finally one of the Japanese was to be put to torture to make him say what he knew about the Dominican, Flores, in order to avoid further bloodshed among the men who had done so much for him, declared on March 5, 1622, that he, too, was a priest. The daimyo ordered that he be given a habit and had him sent to the Isle of Ikinoshima ⁵⁶). There he was to wait with Father Zuñiga for the Shogun's verdict. They were given another companion, Father Constancio Camillo of the Society of Jesus ⁵⁷).

Gonroku then went to see the Shogun to make his final report and to get instructions. He returned to Nagasaki on July 29, and immediately had the captain and his crew arrested. They had been free on bail. He also ordered the hosts of the priests imprisoned. He now put the crew on trial and asked them on the details of their trip and how they could have dared in defiance of the Shogun's orders to bring religious into the country. He offered them

⁵⁴) SICARDO, *op. cit.* 188, 1; SAN AGUSTIN, *op. cit.* II 182 f.

⁵⁵) SICARDO, *op. cit.* 188, 2 f.; PAGÉS, *op. cit.* I 490: the rope broke on March 4. Juan FERRANDO, *Historia de los PP. Dominicos en las Islas Filipinas* (Madrid 1870) II 34.

⁵⁶) SICARDO, *op. cit.* 189, 1.

⁵⁷) Letter of Flores quoted in SICARDO, *op. cit.* 189, 2. He was burnt on September 15, 1622. Cf. Letter of Bartolomé Gutiérrez, SICARDO, *op. cit.* 226, 2; SAN AGUSTIN, *op. cit.* II 295, 2.

freedom, pardon, and restoration of their property if they would worship their Kami and Hotokes⁵⁸). The answer was that they would lose nothing, but would gain life everlasting.

Holocaust

Shortly afterwards Gonroku ordered the transfer of the prisoners back to Nagasaki. His deputies first picked up the Japanese at Hirado, together with the five who had assisted in the attempt to free Luis Flores. Then, passing by Ikinoshima, they took along also the two priests. They tied their arms and then chained their necks to them to secure them in the boat. On August 17 they arrived at Nagasaki. The following morning they had to appear again before Gonroku for a final hearing and a last attempt to make them apostatize. The two priests were heard first, then captain Hirayama and the rest. When they did not yield to his persuasion, Gonroku became furious and ordered preparations for their execution. He gave instructions that the usual stockade be prepared and within it a table with spikes to receive the heads that were to be cut off.

« That very evening the authorities forced the people to bring firewood⁵⁹), and ordered that during the night an extensive palisade-like enclosure be built in great haste. Inside were erected some pillars of wood. All this was the work of the floggers and henchmen, whenever someone was to be executed. When these did not wish to do it, they ordered the pagans, who lived and were employed in the street of the prostitutes, to make the preparations. The vendors of firewood in the town were also notified that wood was needed to burn the holy Fathers. Hearing this they hid all they had, so as not to give it for such an evil purpose, so that all that was done in this matter was done by the pagans »⁶⁰).

⁵⁸) SICARDO, *op. cit.* 191, 2; SAN AGUSTIN, *op. cit.* II 187, 1. Kami was the name for an infinite variety of Shinto deities, Hotoke was a Buddha or Buddhist deity. Cf. JENNES, *op. cit.* 33.

⁵⁹) GYSBERTSZ, *op. cit.* 53 reports that the evening before someone is to be burnt a town crier announced that every home owner had to deliver to the place of execution two, three, or more bundles of firewood according to the number of people to be burnt. It was the duty of the street captain to see to it that each household furnished the proper quantity.

⁶⁰) Letter of Bartolomé Gutiérrez, SICARDO, *op. cit.* 194, 1.

The apostate Heizo, who had been appointed lieutenant governor as a reward for his apostasy, ordered a Christian policeman to look into this matter, but he also refused saying that his superior should not give an order which was out of harmony with his faith.

The erection of the platform already attracted a large crowd in the morning of August 18. However, it had come into the Bugyo's head to try the constancy of the Christians once more through the efforts of Thomas Araki. The apostate priest spent the whole day, Thursday, August 18, with his attempt at persuasion. « He gave them as an argument his own bad example, namely, that he was a cleric and had studied in Rome, and still had abandoned the faith » ⁶¹⁾. With death before them all his victims answered that they would rather die a thousand deaths than deny their faith. Some of the martyrs even advised him to do penance for his sins and return to God. When he informed Gonroku of his failure the Bugyo himself tried once more to change their mind. Was this perhaps another attempt on the part of the hesitating official to get the case off his hands without the shedding of blood ? He had as little result as Araki and ordered them back to prison ⁶²⁾.

Thus dawned the morning of Friday, August 19, 1622. Father Bartolomé Gutiérrez, present at Nagasaki on that memorable day, describes the trepidation of the Christians :

« I wish I had the grace and the words to express the great affliction and apprehension which filled all Christians about the events. Because these were the first priests to be burned alive, they did not tire night or day in very earnestly directing public prayers to our Lord that he would arm his valiant knights with the weapons of his holy grace, and send them special help and fortitude to break a lance with the enemy and defeat him. The whole city had become a sanctuary, lamenting, weeping and sending forth sighs which came from the inmost recesses of the heart. Much blood was shed that night, and many other terrible penances were performed. Besides, many vows and promises were made and numberless alms were distributed » ⁶³⁾.

Very early the streets were filled with people and the sea with boats. The priests, the captain, the boatswain and the bookkeeper

⁶¹⁾ *Ibid.*

⁶²⁾ SICARDO, *op. cit.* 195, 1.

⁶³⁾ SICARDO, *op. cit.* 214, 1.

of the sampan were brought to the Shoya, the official residence of the Bugyo. Gonroku waited for them in the courtroom. The prisoners had their hands bound to their sides. When the ten sailors of the sampan had been brought in, Gonroku made a gesture worthy of a Japanese nobleman of his day. He asked Father Zuñiga to rise so that he could show him the esteem in which he held his person because of his noble birth. However, the Augustinian did not accept this honor ⁶⁴). Then Gonroku pronounced sentence : The priests and the captain were to be burned alive, the other twelve beheaded and their heads to be displayed on spikes. The sentencing of Louis Yakishi and his companions was deferred to a later date.

After sentence had been pronounced the missionaries asked the judge through Hirayama : « Tell us why does the emperor of Japan persecute the Christians ? Why does he persecute us who have committed no misdeed ? » Gonroku answered : « Because you are preachers of the Gospel, and the preaching of the law of Christ is forbidden in Japan as well as its observance by the residents of this empire ». The condemned men rejoiced because now the cause of their martyrdom was officially established ⁶⁵). They reminded Gonroku that their blood would only be the seed of new Christians, and missionaries would come again. The captain made a last effort to get his crew released on the plea that they had been ignorant of the identity of the priests. Gonroku accepted his plea with delight and made immediately another attempt to sway the hearts of the men from the true faith. However, they answered they would rather give their lives a thousand times than abandon the faith they treasured. Gonroku became furious, called them fools and confirmed the sentence. Just as he and his cortege were about to leave the room captain Hirayama spoke up once more. He made a request that the family with which he had boarded at Hirado, while engaged in his action against the Dutch, be recompensed out of his personal holdings. Then the Bugyo made a deep bow to Pedro Zuñiga and going up to him said a few words which the bystanders

⁶⁴) SICARDO, *op. cit.* 195, 2.

⁶⁵) It is worthy of note that according to Gutiérrez' letter (SICARDO, *op. cit.* 214, 2) Gonroku did not answer Zuñiga's question. However, Gutiérrez mentions, « en el qual juyzio no sè lo que passò, y lo que les preguntaron a los dichos Padres » (*Ibid.* 214, 1). Sicardo had at his disposal the « Sumario », which contained the statements of the Portuguese who had been able to consult their interpreters and their Japanese friends who had been present at the trial.

could not hear. But we can guess their content from the missionary's reply : « There is no time for this now. Now is the time to go and suffer and die for Christ our Lord ». Chivalry had prevailed upon the Bugyo to the end. He would avoid having one of noble birth die what was, in his eyes, an ignominious death ⁶⁶).

While walking from the courtroom the captain met his ten sailors lined up in the vestibule. He asked their pardon for having them brought into this predicament. They assured him saying that they were glad to be called to so great an honor and reward.

We now follow the martyrdom through the eyes of Bartolomé Gutiérrez :

« After all this was over, they went from there together to the place of martyrdom, where an infinite crowd awaited them. The hills were thronged, and the sea crowded with boats filled with people, and a host of people accompanied them through the streets. As the place was situated near the ocean and at the side of a very high mountain very many people could be accommodated. Near the palisade the crowd was numberless. A man who knew told me that about 150,000 people were present. However much I would speak, even if it were for nights and days, I could not describe the devotion which the Christians showed, nor the tears and acclamations and outcries which they sent to heaven. It is impossible to portray their concern that God, our Lord, grant fortitude to his servants, and much less can one convey the joy of the saints.

Father Pedro walked the way preaching and encouraging the Spaniards, who joined him, and at times the Japanese through the saintly Joachim who served as interpreter. When the saintly Joachim met on the road a certain idol he began to deride it and to say to all to look at the great absurdity of the pagans who worshipped stones and pieces of wood, and could not save anyone, and he said many other things of devotion and edification.

When the saints began to descend towards the shore below to enter the encirclement, there arose shouts, cries of grief, and laments of the Christians, so that it seemed as if the heavens were falling down, and they tore their garments in such a

⁶⁶) SICARDO, *op. cit.* 197, 1. An interesting sidelight to the conduct of Gonroku in this instant is evident also in the Great Martyrdom of 1622. Bartolomé Gutiérrez writes as an eyewitness (SICARDO, *op. cit.* 223, 2) that all the bodies were left where they fell, except that of Maria, the wife of Andrew Tokuan. It was covered and her head was not exposed on a spike with the rest.

manner that it seemed to be the day of judgment. All were in tears, lamenting. Headlong the people rushed forth towards the condemned and left them almost naked. They took Father Pedro's cowl, and so he died without it. Those who could not come close honored him from a distance. Many heavy blows were meted out very inhumanly with both hands to kill those who intruded into the affair, for the pagans perform the office of executioners with distinction. Father Pedro had walked from the courthouse to this slope ahead of the others, then followed he saintly Father Luis, next the saintly Joachim. When they approached the palisade so many people came in contact with Father Pedro that Father Luis advanced in quick steps and entered the place of execution first. After him followed Father Pedro and then Joachim, and the other twelve. These knelt down, prayed, and were arranged in front of the three holy men, Father Pedro, Father Luis, and Joachim, and then their heads were cut off. It is impossible to describe or explain the tears and the cries of the Christians while the saints were beheaded. The prayers of the Christians were altogether extraordinary. They encouraged the martyrs-to-be to victory while invoking the holy names of Jesus and Mary with great devotion from the depth of their soul. These outcries were capable of stirring and softening the hearts not only of the Christians but even of stones. The boys and girls formed a great procession and sang in a loud voice : *Laudate Dominum omnes gentes, Laudate Pueri, the Magnificat*, and Litanies.

The court officials stood about the circle with a forest of lances and harquebuses, for they are arrogant and perform their make-believe acts of justice very well, with great display and pomposity. The judges, in their robes of office, stood within sight on a nearby slight elevation, while they presided at the execution. They were not satisfied with having had the twelve beheaded before the eyes of the three other martyrs, Father Pedro, Father Luis, and Joachim. So they had the heads one by one displayed on spikes before the eyes of the three, according to Japanese custom. Then Father Pedro exclaimed in a loud voice while looking at these martyrs : « *Qua foxa, qua foxa* », repeating this phrase over and over, which means : O fortunate, happy and blessed men. Immediately the court officials and coarse executioners prepared to bind the victims to the columns or stakes, but before this the saints embraced each other. One cannot describe the joy which all manifested and their happy farewell to the world in order to go and live forever together in heaven. Above all Father Pedro gave very great signs of joy, laughed and even slapped the saintly Joachim on the shoulders encouraging him and congratulating him on his good luck. Next they knelt down at the foot of their stakes,

kissed them and prayed. Then they rose, gave their blessing to the people and were immediately tied. Before the saintly Joachim was tied to the pillar, he tried with his hands whether he could move it. When he saw that it was not firm, he stamped the soil round about it with his feet to secure it better. Then he was bound. According to what I have heard, the holy Father Pedro had taught Joachim a talk or sermon, which he was to deliver in his last hour. For this is the time when truths are uttered which are worthy to be remembered and are of lasting impression. Thus Joachim began to preach in a loud voice and the whole gathering of people stood there in deep silence. He began thus : « Not the healthy need the physician, but the sick. The world was sick from sin, and therefore the Son of God became man, suffered and died to save mankind and heal it from its infirmities. To help in this work of salvation these Fathers came from their country with much good will that never failed, filled with trust in the mercy of their Lord. Let the fallen repent and arise, and those who stand on their feet, see to it that they do not fall, for all need the mercy of our Lord and Saviour ». As he said this the court officials approached him and bade him to keep quiet. But Father Pedro told him not to yield. So he raised his voice still louder so that they, too, could hear.

The three were tied flimsily to their columns with only a thin string of straw. Their bodies were not bound, nor were their bonds soaked, as is usually done. They were left so much freedom, that in case they wavered, they would afford the pagans an opportunity to comment on their little steadfastness and to mock the Christians. This was the intention of the executioners in not binding them firmly to their stakes and in placing the fire so far away and using but little wood. Then they applied fire and the Christians sent a shout to heaven. The three saints stood in a line. Father Pedro was in the middle, and the three stakes were near each other, perhaps a fathom and a half apart. They lit up the wood which surrounded the saints by more than a fathom and a half on each side. As it had rained a little the afternoon before and also because of the nightly dew, it took a good while for the wood to catch fire. There was a great deal of smoke which choked the saints. The holy Father Pedro, somewhat afflicted by the smoke and fire which was just igniting, exclaimed : « My holy Father, Saint Augustine, help me in this ordeal ! » Father Luis replied : « What did you say, Father Pedro ? Don't be afraid ! For he is here with us ». Immediately Father Pedro dropped his head a little and remained motionless. Until he died he kept very still, just as if he were a marble statue. Thus he gave his soul to God. This was arranged by His Divine Majesty. Even though to stir would not have meant anything, for the body

labors and gets tired, although the spirit remains firm, yet the gentiles would have taken the opportunity to talk if they had discovered even the slightest indication of a somewhat lessened fortitude. Therefore they had not tied them well, nor had they soaked the ropes. When the fire finally was about to flame up, they beat it down with sticks, and doused it with water, in order to make the agony last longer, so that the saints would writhe, and they would have occasion to deride their fortitude. But the wisdom of God confounded the cunning of the demon. They betrayed no more sensitiveness from the beginning than if they had stood in a tepid bath. After the fire was lit the saints were all smiles and encouraged each other, and Father Pedro said to captain Joachim : « Captain Joachim, heaven will be yours today ». And he answered : « So I hope in God, it will be. I give Him many thanks for so great a mercy ». The Christians wept and wept and kept saying : Jesus, Mary, Jesus, Mary, many times. They prayed to the Lord to make an end to such an outstanding victory, until the fire burnt well and the saints began to die. The first to fall to the ground was Father Luis, then the captain, and last Father Pedro, as he stood in the midst. As the wind blew from behind his shoulders only his back was burnt, for from the sides the two saints guarded him, so that he had great pain and consequently a great reward.

When the saints were dead, many of the people went home to eat and rest a little, for it was almost noon and they had risen very early. However, many remained to obtain some relics. By a special decree of God the judges became blinded. To teach a lesson to the Christians and to put fear into their hearts they left the bodies of the saints for five days as they were when they fell dead to the ground. They further placed a strict watch on guard day and night, but without preventing the Christians from coming and venerating the heroes, and from saying prayers right up against the enclosure, especially during daytime. During the night they did not allow the people to come, out of fear that they would steal the bodies. This enkindled the fervor of devotion of the Christians still more, who during these five days lived more before the saints than in their homes. We were told that the guards could not leave nor discontinue their watch until the Dutch heretics had arrived from Hirado to see the martyrs and verify their death, since they had accused them before the King of Japan to have them executed ⁶⁷). But the heretics did not come. So at the end of five days, on the evening of August 23, the guards left, and

⁶⁷) Much later, in 1639, when there was danger that together with the Portuguese all European trade would be forbidden to come to Japan, the Dutch

those who were fortunate took whatever they could ⁶⁸). In the gathering of the relics people came to blows and some were wounded at the time when the saints had become an altar of adoration for the Christians, which all wished to approach. I have made most thorough inquiries, and I am still making them through third parties, both ecclesiastical and lay friends, to obtain the body of Father Pedro, but I was not successful, because it is in Portuguese hands, and is kept in good custody... ⁶⁹).

All these statements are true because of the way on which I walk, which is none other than to be also roasted alive and burnt, if they catch me, because the sentence has already been reviewed without any appeal. In token that it is true I sign this report with my name for the benefit and the edification of all.

Japan, February 24, 1623.

Fray Bartolomé Gutiérrez,
of the Order of St. Augustine » ⁷⁰).

reminded the Japanese authorities of the proof of loyalty they had shown in 1621 by handing over Zuñiga and Flores for torture and death and that they could be relied upon to act in like manner if the emergency would arise. BOXER, *Great Ship* 162; F. Caron's letter of October 26, 1639 MS Algemeen Rijksarchief, the Hague, 'Overgecomen Brieven' Tweede Boek, 1641, BBB, fol. 32: « het sijn immers de Hollanders die over 17 jaeren geleden het process der Paepen gewonnen, onde der Paepen in de Japans Justitie handen overgeleverdt hebben, ende noch wacker blijven om in alsucken gelegentheyt het selve to blijcken doen ».

⁶⁸) GYSBERTSZ, *op. cit.* 54: « Als Don Pedro de Suynego, ende Louis Pietersz, verbrandt waren, sijn des nachts eenige Portugysen end Iappansche Christenen ter plaetse gegaen, ende hebben vonde Lichamen, die nit half gaer waren, diversche stucken afgesneden, on het selve alsoo, volgens Roomsche Christenen ghebruyck, vor Heylichdom der Martelaren te ghebruycken; waerover's morgens weynig van de gheexuteerden te vinden was ». This passage in English translation in *Tagastan* 19, (Fall 1956) 17, note 19.

⁶⁹) On the relics of Pedro Zuñiga Father De Castro reports, *op. cit.* 263: Martin Gouvea, a Portuguese, who lived at Nagasaki, where the martyrdom had taken place, collected the relics of the martyr. Because of subsequent persecutions he had to flee. He went to Macao and took the relics along, as also the column on which the sacred body had been burnt. After his death the relics became the possession of his son, Pedro Pinto de Gouvea (GASPAR, *op. cit.* II 209, I call's him Figueredo). He left them in the home of a Japanese Christian who brought them to the Jesuits. Later he took them back and venerated them in his house, until the Augustinian Provincial, Jeronimo Medrano (1632-35, 1641-44, 1650-33) heard about it. He had them brought back to Manila where they were solemnly taken to the Augustinian monastery of St. Paul. They were lost during the capture of Manila in 1762.

⁷⁰) Letter of Bartolomé Gutiérrez, SICARDO, *op. cit.* 229. This letter was

On October 2, 1622 nine others were martyred at Nagasaki. Among them were the five men who had tried to free Luis Flores. The leader of the group, Louis Yakishi, was burned alive. He had suffered many tortures, as the Japanese wanted to force him to disclose the names of the people who had sent him. He had to see his wife and two small sons beheaded as also the son of one of his helpers. With them were beheaded also the two men who had helped Father Zuñiga while he was in the prison of the Dutch, Gaspar Nacamoura and Juan Gorobioye ⁷¹).

On August 22, a few days after Zuñiga's death, the Dutch received the order to deliver all the goods taken from the sampan of Hirayama by the « Elizabeth » to Gonroku and to keep only the frigate, which had rotted by this time. Cocks protested, but by November 25 the goods were handed over ⁷²). Gaspar San Agustin cannot conceal his delight at this turn of events : « Only one thing gave me some satisfaction in the midst of these trials : the fact that the imperial government had them return the frigate in which they had taken our martyrs and all the high priced merchandise. This hurt the heretics much, as they saw the little benefit which they had from their schemes and investigations after they had incurred great expenses thereby » ⁷³).

written to Father Juan Enriquez, O. S. A., Provincial of the Philippine Province from 1620-1623. Father Sicardo, during his stay in Mexico, found the letter in possession of Father Marcelo de Solis, O. S. A., Provincial of the Province of Mexico and Professor at the University of Mexico City. Sicardo made several copies. One he sent to the Province of Spain and another one to Rome. Besides in Sicardo, the letter is published in SAN AGUSTIN, *op. cit.* 211 ff. and JIMENEZ, *op. cit.* 119 ff. It is extant in English translation in *Tagastan*, (Fall 1956) 5 ff.

⁷¹) Letter of Bartolomé Gutiérrez to the Provincial at Manila of March 14, 1623 (SICARDO, *op. cit.* 228, 1 f.); also SICARDO, *op. cit.* 414, 2. Gaspar had been employed by the Dutch as interpreter for Spanish and Portuguese, Juan had been their secretary for Japanese correspondence.

⁷²) L. RIES, *op. cit.* 90.

⁷³) SAN AGUSTIN, *op. cit.* II 207, 2; cf. SICARDO, *op. cit.* 208, 2. On September 7, 1622 Richard Cocks wrote from Hirado to Thomas Smythe of the East India Company (*India Office, Original Correspondence*, Vol. IX no. 1078) : « The two fryers or semenary pristes which came in the friggat from Manillia are both rosted to death at Nangasaque, with Yoshen Dies, captain of the friggat, who was a Japon, put to death with the frires Spaniards; and 12 other Japons which were marrenars in the friggat were beheaded in their sight, before the three others were executed ».

The detection of the two priests, Zuñiga and Flores, infuriated Hidetada. He ordered the death of all the missionaries and their hosts then in prison. This led to the great martyrdom of September 10, 1622 in which fifty-five victims, among them nine priests, several brothers and thirty-three of the laity, were roasted alive.

The enraged Shogun also took the occasion of the capture of the two martyrs to sever all relations with the Spaniards of Manila and Mexico. Diplomatic relations between the two nations had never been too good and the commercial relations had been of little importance ⁷⁴).

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(To be continued)

⁷⁴) BOXER, *Great Ship* 112 f.; JENNES, *op. cit.* 165. In 1623 Manila sent an embassy to Japan offering renewal of trade on the promise that no missionaries would be sent. Cf. SICARDO, *op. cit.* 77, 1 f.