

The Augustinians in Seventeenth Century Japan

(continuation and end) *)

CHAPTER V

Kintsuba

Ever since the coming of Bugyo Takenaka to Nagasaki it had become more difficult to smuggle missionaries into Japan. The very severe penalties meted out to captains and crews of ships who had tried to carry missionaries into the country frightened the Japanese and Chinese seafarers, so that they refused to take missionaries aboard. When any doubt arose as to the identity of the passengers, the captains handed them over to the authorities.

As already mentioned, the four religious Orders of the Philippines had chartered a ship in 1623 and safely smuggled nine missionaries into Japan. In 1628 they made a renewed effort to send replacements at any cost. The two branches of the Augustinian Order, together with Dominicans and Franciscans, built a sampan, hired sailors, and paid for the services of a pilot ¹⁾. The voyage was not successful for the sampan was wrecked near the coast of China. They bought another boat in China, which had no better luck ^{1a)}. Our Order lost its share of the expenses (1500 pesos), the

*) *Augustiniana*, XIV (1964), 315-377, 640-669; XV (1965), 237-258.

¹⁾ SICARDO, *op. cit.* 96, 2.

^{1a)} In 1627 Bartolomé and Vicente together with the Superiors of the Franciscans and Dominicans had a boat constructed in Japan which cost more than 600 taels. It was to be sent to Manila to get new missionaries. SICARDO, *op. cit.* 89, 1; OCHOA, *op. cit.* 316 f. The affair was betrayed by a « young Judas », UYTEN-BROECK, *op. cit.* 93,

sufferings of the missionaries of our Order, Fathers Pedro de Quesada and Agustino de Chauru, were grave ²⁾ and they had to return home at the command of their superior. Early in 1630 one ship was wrecked near Marivelez and another attempt was frustrated by the Governor of Manila who sent an aide with soldiers to prevent the sailing of further missionaries. It may be that he did this because he thought any further loss of missionaries imprudent. It may also be that the decree of the King of Spain issued in 1628 had by that time reached the Philippines, viz., that for the next fifteen years no religious should pass from the Philippines to Japan ³⁾.

We have a record of these attempts and gain an insight into the difficulties of entering Japan in the days of the persecution in a letter of Francisco Terrero, written October 18, 1631, in the prison of Omura :

« ...I also thank God, our Lord, a thousand times for the care with which you contrive to encourage and aid this afflicted church, by making efforts to send laborers who cultivate it. Although in the Divine Providence their solicitous efforts did not bear fruit, as each time, according to the letter of your Reverence, the voyage came to nought with loss of much money, our Lord will repay you abundantly for this holy zeal... To speak of the large sampan in which twenty-four priests of the three Orders traveled, I say, that since it was a sampan, the sailors had necessarily to be Sangleyes, and they had to

²⁾ Pedro de Quesada, born at Jaen and a son of the Province of Castilla, had come to the Philippines in 1628. Yet he is the man who was appointed to go to Japan for SAN AGUSTIN, *op. cit.* II 387, 1, says on the occasion when Quesada was elected Procurator in both Curias in 1639: « el cual hacia poco que habia venido de arribada del Reino de Japon, adonde iba con algunos religiosos de Sto. Domingo; pero los temporales contrarios los obligaron a volver a Manila por tenerlos la divina Providencia guardados para otro ministerio ». He died in Mexico in 1645. PEREZ, *op. cit.* 107.

On the unsuccessful attempt see: J. DE MEDINA, O. S. A., *Biblioteca Historica Filipina* (Manila 1893) 265; MS *cit.* AHHA VII (1917) 27; L. PEREZ, O. F. M., 'Relaciones de Fr. Diego de San Francisco' AIA I (1914) 80 f. (quoted in UYTENBROECK, *op. cit.* 93). Mention should be made that in 1628 Japan had placed an embargo on Portuguese trade. Cf. BOXER, *Great Ship* 115 ff.; for documents COLIN-PASTELLS, *op. cit.* I 236 f. Also letter of the Provincial of the Discalced Augustinians to the Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith of July 30, 1628 (Publ. in OCHOA, *op. cit.* 318 f.).

³⁾ J. MURDOCH, *A History of Japan* (Kobe 1903) II 634; SICARDO, *op. cit.* 95, 1.

disembark in the harbor of Nagasaki. For by special decree of the emperor it was ordered that all strangers must enter by this and no other port (with the exception of the Dutch who enter by way of Hirado). There the ship was to be searched thoroughly. For various reasons, therefore, the Lord permitted that neither voyage took place.

I shall give here the reasons I find with my poor talent and my awkward insight. Without a doubt that of your Reverence together with so many prudent and learned religious should be preferred as they all agreed to the undertaking. But just for this alone your Reverence could not deny that my argument was heard, because they lacked experience of what was happening here and how this country could be entered safely. As the case was, this country was more persecuted in 1629 and 1630 than it was ever before. Many Judases were seduced by large sums of money to betray us into the hands of the tyrant so that we were few who could remain in the neighborhood of Nagasaki...

Fear has gripped these afflicted brethren that, although those who came here free to the place of refuge, did not know where to land, nor who would shelter them even for one night ; I do not say all of them, but not even three. As far as sailing with Sangleyes is concerned, I consider it no less unadvisable. For they are like women or children, who at the least trouble they encounter accuse each other and there is reason to fear that they will drown the religious in the sea or upon arrival denounce them to the tyrant with the excuse that they were forced or deceived, in order to free themselves from the tyrant's pyre...

With this I do not intend to dilute the thoughts of your Reverence, nor to dissuade you from sending, or endeavoring to send, in good time, some workers into this inheritance of the Lord ; I rather say the contrary, although I am of the opinion that not too many should come at once as it was planned on the two past occasions. It suffices if each Order sends two or three and not more. Thus many difficulties will be avoided.

To ensure this, a boat, not too large, is to be built in Japanese fashion in a place distant from this city. The sailors must be Japanese and its deck must be camouflaged. Upon arrival in this country it must be sunk. The travelers must disembark at Osaka, where, because of the infinite number of boats in the harbor, they will be able to stay for a month or as long as necessary, until they can safely go ashore... » ⁴).

⁴ OCHOA, *op. cit.* 407 ff.

On the ship which tried to get to Japan in 1630 sailed the first Japanese ordained for the priesthood in the Augustinian Order, Father Thomas of St. Augustine Jihioye ⁵⁾. As he is the dominating figure of the last period of Augustinian missionary activity in Japan, a few details of his biography will not be out of place here.

Thomas Jihioye ⁶⁾ was born in 1602 the son of Leon Ochiae Keomon and Clara Ochiae ⁷⁾. He came from a simple family, distinguished, however, by the nobility of Christian martyrdom. All the members of his family laid down their lives for the faith in the persecution, after they had worked for it as lay apostles for many years.

The parents raised their son in the fear of the Lord. When he was six years old he entered the Catholic school at Arima which was conducted by the Jesuits. It seems that his parents were not too willing to let him attend school ⁸⁾. Within a few years it was to become a true cradle of martyrs. Many of its students were later pillars of the Church in Japan and gave their lives for Christ.

In an unusually short time the young student from Omura mastered Latin and Rhetoric and won the admiration of even the most advanced Europeans on account of the elegance and skill with which he spoke Latin. Later on he even taught the language to his fellow seminarians whom he surpassed.

⁵⁾ Besides Claver's work, the main source used for this section is the Informative Process conducted at Macao in 1638. It was published in the original Portuguese by G. DE SANTIAGO VELA, 'Mártires Agustinos del Japon, Los Venerables PP. Fr. Tomas de San Agustin y Fray Miguel de San José' AHHA XVII (1922) 57 ff. It will be quoted: Inf. Proc.

⁶⁾ His name is thus recorded in M. ANESAKI, 'Concordance to the History of the Kirishitan Missions' *Proceedings of the Imperial Academy of Tokyo*, suppl. to Vol. VI (Tokyo 1930) 70: « An ardent pursuit of Fr. Thomas of S. Augustinus, whose Japanese name was Jihioye with a nickname Kintsuba or « gold sword-guard ». 500 Christians were arrested and some martyred in punishment for their protection of the Padre. The story of the pursuit and capture of the Padre is prominent in Japanese records Omura Kembun, shu (in Japanese characters, meaning Collection of Information on Omura) and other books ». The Spanish authors give his name as Izofioi.

⁷⁾ T. PURCELL, O. S. A., 'Father Thomas of Omura', *The Japan Missionary Bulletin* (Tokyo June 1962), special extract 1.

⁸⁾ MS Letter of Father Jihioye to the Prior General, in *Registers of the Prior General Girolamo Rigoli of Corneto*, General Archives of the Order 1632-1633, Rome Dd. 70 fol. 48. Publ. in AHHA XXIII (1925) 369 f.: « ... ad Collegium... ultro me, licet invitis parentibus, contuli... ».

In 1614 the persecution forced all religious out of Japan. Churches were destroyed, schools closed and the students sought refuge in various places. Thomas fled the Shimabara Peninsula and at Nagasaki took a ship for the Portuguese colony of Macao, where he continued his studies under the Jesuits. Five years later he returned at the request of his teachers to Japan and worked as a Catechist and preacher. This gave him the first taste of the insecurity of a missionary's life, for he often had to flee from place to place and hide in a cave.

While he was working as a lay apostle he developed a love for the life in the cloister. He came to the Philippine Islands, wishing to become a member of the Augustinian Order out of the great esteem he had for the Augustinians and their work in Japan. These are his own words :

« While I did this (catechized and preached) I felt within me an ardent desire to become a monk in order to live a more perfect life. Therefore, I left all things and came to these Philippine Islands. Under the guidance of God, Who abandons no one, I found in this Augustinian family what I had hoped for » ⁹⁾.

He came to Manila in 1622, his twentieth year, and sought admission to the priesthood in the Order during the Provinciate of Father Alonso de Mentrída (1623-26) ¹⁰⁾. As Thomas was the first native Japanese to apply for admission to the priesthood in the Order ¹¹⁾, the Fathers were divided in their opinion whether he should be admitted. But the Father Provincial could discern the spirit that moved the young man, and on November 26, 1623, clothed him in the habit of the Order. A year later the community approved the good judgment of the Superior by unanimously admitting him to profession, which he made November 26, 1624. It seems that he was sent for a time to Cebu to study Arts and Theology. At this famous shrine he prayed very often before

⁹⁾ Letter to Prior General.

¹⁰⁾ DE CASTRO, *op. cit.* 329; SAN AGUSTIN, *op. cit.* II 352 ff. For biographical notes on Mentrída see DE CASTRO, *op. cit.* 29; PEREZ, *op. cit.* 53.

¹¹⁾ Brother Nicholas of St. Augustine, the martyr of Russia, had been the first Japanese admitted to the Brotherhood in the Order. Cf. A. HARTMANN, O. S. A., 'Father Nicholas Melo and Brother Nicholas of St. Augustine, Martyrs, O. E. S. A.' *Augustiniana* IX (Héverlé-Louvain 1959) 118 ff.

the statue of the Holy Child for the grace to return as a missionary to the land of his fathers to be of assistance to the persecuted and tormented Christians. He was ordained at Cebu by Bishop Pedro de Arce, O. S. A.¹²⁾, and returned to Manila. Soon he became lonesome for Cebu or rather for the Holy Child venerated there. He kept asking for a transfer to Cebu until he was granted his request. On this trip he suffered many hardships. Shipwrecked, he barely survived by swimming to the nearby village of Panay on the isle of Pintados. Thus the Lord prepared him for greater combats.

When he returned the second time to Cebu he learned of the renewed outbreak of the persecution in Japan with the advent of Takenaka. All the priests had been forced underground and were searched out with the utmost diligence. When the news of the arrest of one after the other of the missionaries reached him the misery of his countrymen, deprived of spiritual help, tore the heart of Father Thomas, and he approached his Superiors for permission to come to the aid of the suffering Catholics of Japan. The authors of the Order, Peter Claver¹³⁾, Gaspar San Agustin¹⁴⁾, and Siscardo¹⁵⁾ agree that at this time the Superiors readily granted him his wish and that he sailed on the feast of the Purification of our Lady, 1630. Of this trip to Japan we know only a few salient details. He boarded the ship in disguise and hid immediately to remain unknown to chance Japanese spies who might have tried to prevent his return to Japan. It was one of Takenaka's devices to post spies in the major ports to prevent the sailing of priests for Japan, or at least to overtake them as soon as they landed. The voyage was ill-fated. Within a few hours after departure a great hurrican arose near the isle of Marivelez, situated at the entrance to Manila harbor, which broke the ship in two. The poor missionary had not even succeeded in leaving the Bay of Manila and had lost all the supplies and vestments he carried for his work. He barely escaped with his life.

¹²⁾ His biography is published in P. DIAZ, O. S. A., 'Episcopologio Hispano-Agustiniano, Ilmo. y Rmo. Sr. D. Fr. Pedro de Arce, tercer Obispo de Cebu' AHHA III (1915) 15 ff. See also DE CASTRO, *op. cit.* 267; SAN AGUSTIN, *op. cit.* II 466; PEREZ, *op. cit.* 23.

¹³⁾ *Op. cit.* 48.

¹⁴⁾ *Op. cit.* II 363, 2.

¹⁵⁾ *Op. cit.* 301, 2.

It appears that Thomas immediately requested permission to make another attempt to sail to Japan, a request which did not find the favor of his superiors. Prudence forbade them to accede to his proposal at this time. The futility of many attempts, the attitude of the Governor of Manila and the decree of the King justified their decision ¹⁶⁾. Thus tension arose between Thomas and his Superiors. On August 2, 1630 he sat down full of disappointment and wrote a letter to the Prior General of the Augustinian Order, which arrived on May 29, 1633 in Rome ¹⁷⁾. It was written with holy impetuosity and in fluent Latin. The bitter outbursts it contained were dictated by his great zeal to do all in his power to help the Christians of his home country. Among other details the Prior General read :

« I have now spent almost ten years here (at Manila) without hope of ever returning to Japan because of the great laxity and carelessness — I speak the truth, Most Reverend Father, — of the Fathers of this Province. They became frightened at the reports of the Japanese persecutions, and allow no Brother to sail to Japan... Yet, Most Reverend Father, I do not see why only we Augustinians should not be allowed to go to Japan to preach the Gospel, while the Dominicans, Franciscans and Jesuits are all permitted to do so, for they sail there each year and reap abundant fruits with their sermons. They do not seek their own advantage, but God's. We, however, look for riches (I speak of the Fathers of this Province), we refuse to work, and make little account of the honor of the Order... » ¹⁸⁾.

He concludes his letter with a request for permission to go to Rome, as he has much to discuss with the Father General concerning Japan, « which truly follows Rome enriched by the testimony of so many martyrs », and he quotes the example of his many Jesuit teachers who were helped so much in teaching Catechism by their knowledge of the Roman scene. The letter is dated Manila August 2, 1630, and signed : Fr. Thomas de Sto. Augustino, Japponensis.

¹⁶⁾ On the attitude of the Governor of Manila see SICARDO, *op. cit.* 97, 2 f. The decree of the King is the one referred to *supra* note 3.

¹⁷⁾ AHHA XXIII (1925) 369 note 1.

¹⁸⁾ Letter to Prior General, *ibid.* A similar letter was written by Martin of St. Nicholas who, after the Superiors had stopped sending missionaries to Japan, wrote several times to Spain for permission to go there. AHHA VII (1917) 27.

Before the letter reached Rome the writer was already in Japan. In 1631, together with the Franciscan José de Valencia ¹⁹⁾, he had prevailed upon a Japanese who had called at the port of Manila to take them along on his return voyage. The boat was wrecked and José compelled to return to Luzon. Thomas, because of his excellent disguise and his Japanese looks, was not recognized as a priest and succeeded in persuading some Chinese traders to take him to Nagasaki. In order to conceal every trace of his arrival he disembarked at a distance from the port and, for fear of immediate arrest, remained for several days under cover. He lived in the house of John Ribeira who was later to abandon the faith and play such a sinister part in the story of Thomas. The Portuguese merchants, Juan Peres and Roberto de Paiva, helped the missionary financially ²⁰⁾.

Shortly after his arrival he met Father Bartolomé Gutiérrez, his Superior, in prison. By the time Father Gutiérrez had died new helpers had arrived from the Philippines. When the news of the arrest of Fathers Francisco and Vicente reached Manila and above all the letters in which the two imprisoned missionaries implored their superiors not to leave the flocks without a shepherd, the Provincial agreed to send help. A group was formed with two other Orders, the Dominicans and the Augustinians of the common observance. The two Augustinians chosen to join the group were Francisco da Graça Correa and Michael of St. Joseph, a Japanese.

Francisco da Graça Correa ²¹⁾ was born at Lisbon in the parish

¹⁹⁾ MS of the Franciscan Province of St. Gregory, Cajon 8, legajo 3. Publ. by L. Perez, O. F. M., in AIA II (1914) 241 ff. 246: « Y este año de 1631 se embarcaron dos sacerdotes, el uno, llamado Fra José de Valencia, de nuestro P. San Francisco, y otro, sacerdote Japon, de San Agustin; y quebraron el navio y se volvieron. Mas el Padre sacerdote Japon, como tenia menos dificultad, por ser Japon, se concerto con unos chinos, y lo trujeron a Nagasaki en salvo, no sabiendo que era sacerdote ».

²⁰⁾ The Inf. Proc., AHHA XVII (1922) 63 f., contains the list Ribeira handed over to the Japanese authorities. It establishes that Father Thomas had already received alms in 1631. GARCIA, *op. cit.* 342, writes that Father Thomas began his work among his compatriots in 1632. The statement of MARTINEZ, *op. cit.* 119 and DE CASTRO, *op. cit.* 290, that Father Thomas arrived in Japan already towards the end of April 1630 is untenable. His letter to the Prior General is dated August 2, 1630. He met Father Gutiérrez only after February 1632. Had he arrived in 1630 this meeting would not have been postponed that long.

²¹⁾ Francisco's family name is transmitted to us by the Augustinian chronicler of Goa, Manoel da Ave Maria, *op. cit.* 400.

of St. Catherine of Mount Sinai ²²). He was the son of Antonio Gracia and Ignez Correa. He must have been born about 1592 as the Augustinian Chronicler Manoel da Ave Maria reports that he was about eighteen years old when he came to Goa in October 1610 ²³). He frequently visited the local Augustinian monastery and when he made up his mind to consecrate his life to God he chose the Augustinian community. Just at the time he entered, Father Christopher of the Holy Spirit ²⁴), a Spanish Augustinian, who had come to India in 1595 as confessor to Archbishop Aleijo Meneses ²⁵), was preparing a group of young men with whom he was to open the new novitiate and seminary in Tana in the Kingdom of Miliki in northern India. Francisco joined as the twelfth member and received the habit at Tana on October 7, 1611. A year later he made his profession before the Prior Gaspar de Amorin. We read that during the years of his formation modesty was his outstanding virtue ²⁶).

Sicardo reports that because of his intellectual gifts he was sent to Goa for his studies, and that he distinguished himself there in public disputations ²⁷), but the local chronicler Manoel has it that he studied philosophy and theology at Tana ²⁸). After his

²²) We follow here M. da Ave Maria, *ibid.* and *Memorias da Congregação Agostiniana na India Oriental*. MS Bibl. Nac. Lisboa F. G. N. N^o 177 fol. 262 ff. (publ. by A. DA SILVA REGO, *Documentação para a Historia das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente, India* 12 (Lisbon 1958) 42 f.). HERRERA, *op. cit.* I 237 gives Francisco's birthplace as Alenquer. He is followed by SICARDO, *op. cit.* 289, 2 and DE CASTRO, *op. cit.* 103. The latter's Menquer for Alenquer is certainly a faulty reading of the MS.

²³) *Ibid.*

²⁴) Manoel DA AVE MARIA, *op. cit.* 249, says that Christopher of the Holy Spirit was stationed for a few years at Macao and went from there into China and even Japan. He came to Japan, according to the report, when his ship was driven off its course in a storm.

²⁵) Aleijo de Meneses, O. S. A., was Archbishop of Goa and Primate of the Indies 1595-1610; Viceroy of India from June 3, 1606 to May 27, 1609.

²⁶) Manoel DA AVE MARIA, *op. cit.* 400; SICARDO, *op. cit.* 290, 1 where the year of his profession is reported wrongly as 1613; SAN AGUSTIN, *op. cit.* 314, 2 followed Sicardo.

²⁷) SICARDO, *ibid.*

²⁸) *Op. cit.* 400. This is very hard to reconcile with the history of the house of Tana in MS *Memorias*, *op. cit.* 14, where the chronicler reports « Muitos annos teve este convento caza de noviços, e estudo de Humanidades e Artes ». Manoel DA AVE MARIA, *op. cit.* 150 contains the same notice with the addition « nelle se lerão tres curços ». Francisco seems, therefore, to have studied Theology at Goa.

ordination he was engaged as preacher and confessor and spent many hours each day in meditation.

When the first reports of the heroic struggle of the church of Japan reached Goa the heart of the young priest felt drawn to greater achievements in the Kingdom of God and even to the glory of martyrdom. Nineteen years after having received the habit he approached his superiors for permission to go to Japan. Although they regretted his departure they did not wish to stand in his way. They gave him permission to go to Japan for six years ²⁹⁾. In search of his missionary vocation he went to Macao. When he arrived he learnt that the Portuguese had been forbidden to trade in Japan ³⁰⁾. Disappointed he asked God to show him the way into Japan. When told that it was easier to get to Japan via Manila he sailed for the Philippine Islands and arrived there in 1632. The Philippine chronicler San Agustin says that he returned once more to Goa to ask his Superiors to be allowed to join the Philippine Province of the Order ³¹⁾. On July 10, 1632 the permission was granted ³²⁾. He set his sights immediately upon Japan, and since Father Michael of St. Joseph was just about to return to his home country Francisco asked to be allowed to go with him.

Father Michael, the last Augustinian martyr of Japan, was born in the town of Funai in Bungo ³³⁾ of devout Christian parents, Leon Tanago and Maria Orzuru ³⁴⁾. From childhood he showed signs of outstanding virtue. He was sent to the Jesuit school at Arima, where he spent but a few years as he wished to become an Augustinian. He wanted to receive the habit of the Order in his home province of Bungo ³⁵⁾. But the situation in Japan did not permit him to be

²⁹⁾ CLAVER, *op. cit.* 40.

³⁰⁾ SAN AGUSTIN, *op. cit.* 314, 2. This confirms the timing of Francisco's arrival in Macao, nineteen years after his profession for the last year of the temporary embargo on Portuguese shipping was 1631. See BOXER, *Great Ship* 124 ff.

³¹⁾ *Op. cit.* 314, 2. Considering the travel conditions of the period and the short space of time available this can not be easily assumed.

³²⁾ SICARDO, *op. cit.* 291, 1; SAN AGUSTIN, *op. cit.* 315, 1; DE CASTRO, *op. cit.* 104. PEREZ, *op. cit.* 182 contains the evident printing mistake 1642 instead of 1632; PAGÉS, *op. cit.* II 761 affiliates him wrongly with the Discalced Augustinians.

³³⁾ PROFFLET, *Le Martyrologe de l'Eglise du Japon 1549-1649* (Paris 1897) II 381.

³⁴⁾ SAN AGUSTIN, *op. cit.* II 372, 1.

³⁵⁾ Thus SICARDO, *op. cit.* 314, 2. SAN AGUSTIN, *op. cit.* 372, 2 says explicitly. « Por no haber podido obtenerlo (the habit) en los conventos de Usuqui, Bungo,

educated either in Nagasaki or Usuki. He was thus sent to the Augustinian house of studies at Manila. Father Alonso de Mentrída proposed him for admission to the priesthood in the Order, but first he had to overcome some obstacles. There were still a number of die-hards in the community who did not favor the reception of Japanese candidates to the priesthood ³⁶). Gaspar San Agustín gives us as one of the reasons that « among the Japanese of the time there remained still the bitter aftertaste of the recent convert » ³⁷), although many had proved themselves as Catechists and had even achieved the crown of martyrdom.

Michael of St. Joseph entered the novitiate in St. Paul's monastery at Manila, March 26, 1625 ³⁸). A year later he made his solemn profession and showed himself a very humble and zealous religious under the guidance of the Prior, Father Eustaquio Ortiz who had worked six years in Japan. Most probably Michael of St. Joseph and Thomas of St. Augustine were the « two friars of Japan » who are mentioned as translators for the Japanese embassy which came to Manila in 1630 ³⁹). After his ordination Father Michael prepared for the ministry of preaching for which he had natural talent ⁴⁰). Soon he expressed to his Superiors his desire to return to his home country which was in dire need of priests. Fathers Michael and Francisco da Graça were part of a group of

ni Nangasaqui determino pasar a la ciudad de Manila... se le dio muy contento en el convento de S. Pablo de Manila en 26 Marzo de 1625 ». To these two authors we owe the only fairly comprehensive sketches of Father Michael of St. Joseph.

³⁶) This deplorable attitude was not exclusively confined to the Augustinian Order. See BOXER, *Chr. Cent.* 86 ff.

³⁷) *Op. cit.* 373, 1. As a comment to this phrase of San Agustín may serve a reference to the development he describes *op. cit.* II 384, 1 ff. The Fathers doubtlessly recalled the quarrels which had arisen with the native Filipinos who had joined the Order in the Philippines about appointments to the various offices in the Province. The situation caused Gregory XV to issue the brief of December 29, 1621, in which he ordered that the office of Provincial be given one triennium to a Father who had come from Spain, the next triennium to a Filipino. When Michael of St. Joseph entered the Order the argument was by no means settled, for Urban VIII issued another brief from Castel Gando'fo, May 18, 1634, in which he appointed the Archbishop of Manila to settle the argument.

³⁸) SICARDO, *op. cit.* 315, 1; SAN AGUSTÍN, *op. cit.* 372, 2.

³⁹) J. DE MEDINA, O. S. A., *Biblioteca Historica Filipina* (Manila 1893) 264.

⁴⁰) SAN AGUSTÍN, *op. cit.* 373, 1.

eleven missionaries who managed to enter Japan in 1632. Besides them there were three Jesuits, two Dominicans, two Franciscans, and two Augustinian Recollects ⁴¹⁾. One of the latter, Melchior of St. Augustine ⁴²⁾, was born at Granada according to San Agustin, who refers to the history of the Discalced Augustinians ⁴³⁾. However, Sicardo relates that the royal registers of the Secretariat of India in the list prepared by Father Andrew of the Holy Spirit and approved on April 4, 1620, contain the following entry, « Fray Melchior of St. Augustine, a student of Arts, 21 years old, native of Portillo » ⁴⁴⁾. It is hard to believe that the director of the mission did not obtain his information directly from the person concerned.

He made his profession on March 26, 1618 in the monastery at Granada, and in the mission of 1622 he came to the Philippines where he spent about nine years as Master of Novices and Prior of various houses. He was an outstanding preacher both in his own tongue and several native dialects.

His companion, Martin of St. Nicholas, the son of Lazaro Lumbreras and Anna Peralta, was baptized Nov. 10, 1598 in the church of the Madonna of the Pillar at Saragossa ⁴⁵⁾. This fact was to prove of significance ; later, as a missionary, he would introduce the devotion of our Lady of the Pillar in the Philippines. From early childhood he was drawn to the life of the cloister. He received the habit in the monastery of the Discalced Augustinians at Borja and made his profession at Saragossa on May 1, 1619 ⁴⁶⁾. He distinguished himself by great humility and devotion to the Blessed Sacrament. He went to Mexico in 1622 and to the Philippines in 1623 ⁴⁷⁾. The leader of the mission had received 3946 pesos and 6 reales from the royal treasury ⁴⁸⁾. After his arrival in the Philippines he was Subprior and Master of Novices at Manila. A lover of the cloister he left it only when obedience or charity demanded it.

⁴¹⁾ UYTENBROECK, *op. cit.* 93.

⁴²⁾ HERRERA, *op. cit.* II 71, 1.

⁴³⁾ *Op. cit.* 308, 1; also MS *cit.* AHHA VII (1917) 25.

⁴⁴⁾ *Op. cit.* 283, 2 f.

⁴⁵⁾ M. CARCELLER DE LA SAGRADA FAMILIA, O. R. S. A., *La Recoleccion Augustiniana y la Virgen del Pilar* (Zaragoza 1954) 30.

⁴⁶⁾ SICARDO, *op. cit.* 284, 1; CARCELLER, *op. cit.* 55.

⁴⁷⁾ SICARDO, *op. cit.* 285, 1; CARCELLER, *op. cit.* 30.

⁴⁸⁾ SICARDO, *ibid.*

When they were ready to go to Japan Father Melchior was named Vicar Provincial and Martin went as his companion ⁴⁹⁾. The Superiors of the four religious Orders had made arrangements for their voyage with some Sangleyes, or Chinese traders, who did business with Japan by way of the Philippines against the will of their mandarins, and in disregard of the conflict then existing between the two nations. Although the priests were to travel in disguise the Chinese insisted on extraordinary compensation for the « great risk they took » ⁵⁰⁾.

We know from a letter of Father Sebastiano Vieira that he, the Vice-Provincial of the Jesuits, the two Franciscans and the Dominican, Father Jordan of St. Stephen, reached Japan on August 12, 1632 ⁵¹⁾. The two Discalced Augustinians left for Japan on August 4, 1632 ⁵²⁾. We are not sure about the voyage to Japan of the two Augustinians of the common observance. The historians of the Order, Sicardo and San Agustin, report that they left with the Discalced Augustinians ⁵³⁾. However, an anonymous manuscript ⁵⁴⁾ and the diary of the third count of Linhares ⁵⁵⁾ report that

⁴⁹⁾ SICARDO, *op. cit.* 286, 1.

⁵⁰⁾ SICARDO, *op. cit.* 286, 2; SAN AGUSTIN, *op. cit.* II 311, 1.

⁵¹⁾ PAGÉS, *op. cit.* I 766, note 2.

⁵²⁾ MS *cit.* AHHA VII (1917) 27. CARCELLER, *op. cit.* 30 says that they left in July 1632.

⁵³⁾ SICARDO, *op. cit.* 286, 1; SAN AGUSTIN, *op. cit.* II 309, 1.

⁵⁴⁾ 'Avisos del estado de las Christiandades de Japon y China y sucessos de la India Oriental y destas islas Filipinas' MS among the Jesuit Documents in the Bibl. de la Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid, Tome 120, N° 146. It is dated July 25, 1633 at Manila and publ. in COLIN-PASTELLS, *op. cit.* III 517, note.

« A un padre Agustino Calçado Portugues que fue de aqui el mismo mes de junio de 1632 en que partieron los Padres Franciscanos le dieron assalto en la casa en que estava en Nangasaqui y como el se salvasse dexando sobre una mesa una carta que escrivia a Macau á un hermano suyo en la qual le dava quenta como los fatores de aquella ciudad y un Mercader llamado Maçedo le avian ayudado les apreto el governador de Nangasaqui y quiso embargar los navios de comercio y ultimamente compussieron en cantidad de quaranta mil escudos que costo esta carta ».

⁵⁵⁾ M. DE NORONHA, *Diario do 3º Conde de Linhares, Vicerei da India* (Lisbon 1937) 26 under date of March 21, 1634:

« E que antes disto acharão em Japoão hũa carta de certo religiozo em que contava as esmolas e mimos que na cidade de Nangasaque lhe fizerão alguns homens contra o pregão del Rey que elles guardão inviolavelmente, a qual foi dar na mão do governador que a leo aos nossos, respeito porque

« a calced Augustinian of Portuguese descent, who arrived here (in Japan) in the same month of June of 1632, in which the Franciscans departed, was surprised at Nagasaki in a private home in which he lived », and in the hurry to make his get-away left on the table a letter addressed to Macao. He had been busy writing to one of his confreres of the great help and financial assistance the Portuguese merchants of Nagasaki had given the missionaries. He had detailed some of the alms and gifts. Takenaka had the letter read to the assembled Portuguese merchants of Nagasaki and they thought they would all be put to death. It was only on account of a colossal bribe of the wealthy Jeronimo de Macedo to Takenaka and some of his officials that the tragedy was averted. The only Portuguese Augustinian in Japan, who was at that time at liberty, was Francisco Correa. He would thus be the Augustinian against whom this indiscretion would be charged.

However, this would contradict Sicardo's report that Francisco was received into the Philippine Province on July 10 ⁵⁶). The same author states also that Francisco da Graça was received into the Province by the Provincial Jeronimo de Medrano, who was elected in the Chapter held in May 1632 ⁵⁷). We must either assume that the author of the anonymous manuscript erred as to the month, or that Sicardo's report is based on unreliable sources.

Be that as it may, after the group had arrived in Japan, the Chinese began to wrangle over their share of the fare and the allotment of the merchandise they carried ⁵⁸). One of the crew felt wronged by the captain, and in revenge accused his master before the Bugyo of Nagasaki of having brought priests into the country. The Governor took immediate steps to put the captain on trial and he and his accomplices were beheaded ⁵⁹). Takenaka took care to notify the Shogun of the arrival of the missionaries who sent two inquisitors. These put an award of one thousand

se virão no perigo elles e as fazendas, e se ouvera de queimar todo senão fora Jeronimo de Maçedo que com 28 mil taes que deu de peitas ao governador, e a dous privados seus se acquietou tudo ».

⁵⁶) *Supra* note 32. PACÉS, *op. cit.* I 766 reports that Fathers Michael and Francisco left for Japan on July 10.

⁵⁷) See report on this chapter in SAN AGUSTIN, *op. cit.* II 272, 1.

⁵⁸) SAN AGUSTIN, *op. cit.* II 311, 1.

⁵⁹) FERRANDO, *op. cit.* II 213.

taeis upon the head of each priest and promised to an informer freedom from punishment for any crime ⁶⁰).

This turn of events forced the missionaries to go into hiding. The two discalced Augustinians, Melchior Sanchez and Martin Lumbreras, fled into the mountains where they were received and sheltered by the Dominican Domingo Exquicia. A few days later sickness forced them to go to Nagasaki to seek help. They could not long escape the well laid dragnet of Takenaka and within two months of their arrival they were arrested on November 1, 1632. After the usual attempts to make them apostatize they were condemned to be burnt at slow fire on December 11 of the same year. They were carried to the place of execution in closed litters and on banners carried before them the sentence could be read : « Condemned to be burned because they preached the law of Christ ». About twenty thousand persons attended the martyrdom ⁶¹).

Fathers Francisco Correa and Michael of St. Joseph remained for a short time at Nagasaki. We have a report that the Discalced Augustinians witnessed the martyrdom of Bartolomé Gutiérrez and his companions ⁶²). We may well imagine that Michael and Francisco were also in the group, although there is no confirmation of it. It did not take long before the spies of Takenaka were on their track, too. It was impossible for Francisco to conceal his European features and his foreign accent. Therefore, the beloved companions said farewell to each other in order not to play into their enemies' hands. While Francisco went into the wilderness under the assumed Japanese name of Yohioye ⁶³), Father Michael headed for Bungo. This move was suggested not only by the love of the missionary for his home, but also by the great danger of the place where the persecution raged most fiercely and where he expected to be of special help as neither speech nor feature betrayed him. While he worked there he had word of Francisco's death in the pit, which had taken place on August 16, 1633 ⁶⁴).

⁶⁰) SAN AGUSTIN, *op. cit.* 311, 1.

⁶¹) On the slight variations concerning the date of their arrest and martyrdom, see MS *cit.* AHHA VII (1917) 28. COLIN-PASTELLS, *op. cit.* III 516 f. places the arrest on November 2, the martyrdom on December 13.

⁶²) MS *cit.* AHHA VII (1917) 27.

⁶³) ANESAKI, *op. cit.* 72 N° 356: P. Franciscus de Grazia bearing the Japanese name Johioye August 17-19, 1633 at Nagasaki.

⁶⁴) Thus the most reliable Augustinian sources of the Philippines, SAN AGUSTIN,

Francisco da Graça Correa had thus become the first Augustinian to die this horrible death. The death in the pit was the ultimate refinement of the fiendish technique to break the human spirit introduced by Takenaka Uneme-no-sho. Some writers call it the torment of the fosse, in Japanese it was called *ana-tsurushi*. The victim was hung from the cross beam of a gallows, head downward, into a pit five or six feet deep. The body was tightly bound in order to slow down the circulation of the blood. The holes were sealed off with planks about the victims loins. The pits were often partly filled with offal. There in those black holes many hung for as long as a week, exuding blood from mouth and nostrils, maddened by the fearful pressure on the brain, until death released them from almost unsupportable anguish. In order to prevent a speedy death by congestion, to prolong the torture and give more chance to recant, — Takenaka wanted apostates rather than martyrs — often the victim's temples were pierced. Some who had recanted under this torture later declared that neither the pain caused by burning with fire nor that of any other torture, deserved to be compared with the agony produced in this way ⁶⁵).

In prison Father Francisco had met the Dominican James of St. Mary, a Japanese, who had come to Japan with him. He had asked to become an Augustinian but had not been accepted ⁶⁶). He also met twelve other Christians who had recently been arrested. Each priest met among them two of his own dojuku. They gave them the habit of their Order. The day before they were martyred the four made their religious profession ⁶⁷). Five of the twelve

op. cit. II 315, 2 and DE CASTRO, *op. cit.* 104. We know from CLAVER, *op. cit.* 37 that Francisco Correa remained alive in the pit for 30 hours (the Dominican James of St. Mary 50; one of the dojuku lived three days and three nights). Since the date of the execution was August 15, this information is correct. Manoel DA AVE MARIA, *op. cit.* has September 15 and MS *Memorias* September 13, 1633.

⁶⁵) For a pictorial representation of this torture see A. CARDIM, S. J., *Fasciculus e Japonicis Floribus suo adhuc madentibus sanguine compositus* (Rome 1646).

⁶⁶) SAN AGUSTIN, *op. cit.* 315, 2; DE CASTRO, *op. cit.* 104.

⁶⁷) SICARDO, *op. cit.* 292, 1; SAN AGUSTIN, *op. cit.* 316, 1 f.; their names are preserved in PROFILET, *op. cit.* II 197: Français, Frère de l'Ordre de Saint-Augustin, Japonais, mort dans le supplice de la fosse, vers le 17 août 1633; and II 260: Jean, Frère de l'Ordre de Saint-Augustin, Japonais, mort dans le supplice de la fosse à Nangasaki, vers le 18 de août, 1633. Il avait été suspendu le 15. Although the year is wrong, they are the two Augustinian martyrs mentioned

were sentenced to be burned alive, one to be beheaded, the others were to die in the pit. They all were notified of their sentence on August 13. The day set for the execution was August 15. They spent the intervening days in spiritual exercises. When taken from prison they sang hymns and psalms so that their henchmen were surprised.

At the place of execution the pits were ready to receive them. The martyrs bade farewell to each other and expressed the hope to meet soon in heaven. Father Francisco was the first one to be suspended. When he was hanging head downward over the open pit, his forehead and temples were punctured so that the blood could ooze out slowly and his torment last longer. Then he was lowered into the hole as far as the cincture and the pit was sealed about with planks weighted with heavy stones. He remained alive for thirty hours, Father James for fifty. One of the dojuku lived for three days.

Fathers Michael of St. Joseph and Thomas of St. Augustine were now the only Augustinians left in Japan. At that time the price set upon the head of each religious was increased, as also were the penalties for those who concealed one. Such a man would be killed with his whole family. After Father Michael's departure for Bungo Thomas Jihioye was left alone at Nagasaki with the care of many souls. He had to proceed with the greatest prudence, for the Governor of Nagasaki was a clever, persistent and vindictive persecutor. Just after the execution of Bartolomé Gutiérrez he devised a diabolical plan. He issued a decree for his entire domain, commanding everyone under pain of death to wear around the neck a picture of the idol of the district where he resided. This decree caused great consternation among the Christians. Many were ready to give up their faith, since they lacked the fortitude to profess externally the faith they carried in their hearts. This increased the burden of Father Thomas' work. He went about explaining to the Christians how they should conduct themselves in the situation ⁶⁸).

His self-sacrificing work was not without results for many

in PACÉS, *op. cit.* I 787. Pagés says they were catechists and wore the habit. Their names are Francisco and Juan. They were notified of their death sentence on Aug. 13 and died in the pit on August 15, 1637!

⁶⁸) SICARDO, *op. cit.* 303, 1.

Christians chose to give their lives rather than to cause scandal. Noticing the renewed fortitude of the Christians it did not take the Bugyo long to arrive at the conclusion that the Christians had found a zealous and inspiring leader. He had all the persons checked who were prominent speakers. Next he promised great rewards to all who would furnish the slightest clue leading to the arrest of a minister of the Gospel. How could he have guessed that the center of all this new fervor was in his own house ; that it was a poor stableboy who opposed all his astuteness ? Father Thomas was extremely careful not to give himself away. He fulfilled his job in the horse stable with greater punctuality, and went so far in the art of disguise as to pretend that he was a very simple-minded man and even an imbecile ⁶⁹).

In this disguise and with a « Kintsuba » gold swordguard on his belt as Takenaka's bodyguard Father Thomas remained undiscovered for several years. But finally, as suspicions about him grew, he was compelled to leave the house of the Bugyo and withdraw into a mountain place, called Tone, about one hour from Nagasaki, at present Muramatsumura on the road from Nagasaki to Saikaibashi. He lived in a cave and worked in prearranged places, instructing the Christians and administering the Sacraments ⁷⁰). At times he also visited the Christians of Omura and Arima. When Takenaka saw that he could not get hold of Father Thomas, of whom he had heard enough by now, he turned to the bonzes who certainly would cooperate because of their personal hatred of the missionary.

In order to find and arrest him they made use of the following device. They employed a pagan painter to pretend he was a Christian, find out the whereabouts of the priest, and paint a picture through which he could be traced. The painter carried out this task with so much circumspection that within a very short time he gained admittance to the presence of Father Thomas and made an excellent likeness of him. This painting he brought to the bonzes, who passed it on to the Governor. Takenaka had several copies made. These he circulated among Government officials so that a search could be made throughout the whole kingdom. He also had it displayed in public places and announced that

⁶⁹) SICARDO, *op. cit.* 304, 1.

⁷⁰) PURCELL, *loc. cit.* 3.

under penalty of death no one should dare to shelter or hide the missionary ⁷¹⁾).

Father Thomas was obliged to double his caution, improve his disguise, and even disfigure himself. He left his cave and moved from place to place. When the whole neighborhood became unsafe, he fled and went all the way to Edo and there he managed to become a servant to the Shogun, where he continued his apostolate, instructing and baptizing children that were under the Shogun's care. Learning that some of his personal servants had become converts, the Shogun organized a manhunt for the priest. In order to escape these police searches he fled back to Nagasaki ⁷²⁾).

Back in Nagasaki in 1636 Father Thomas had to go into hiding immediately. This time he chose Tomachi in Southeast Nagasaki ⁷³⁾ where he hid in a cave, sometimes going on missionary excursions. Knowing that Father Thomas was active again the Shogun ordered his new converts to arrest the priest. When he could not prevail upon their loyalty by promises or threats he ordered all the members of the Confraternity of the Cincture, together with a few laybrothers and members of the Third Order to be beheaded. An eyewitness to the martyrdom of Father Thomas, testified at Macao in 1637 that more than five hundred of the converts of Kintsuba were put to death ⁷⁴⁾. Torture was used in order to force them to abandon the faith and to denounce or report on Father Thomas who, as the reports have it, was among the most hunted priests of the Japanese persecution.

Learning that some of his own household had become converts Takenaka reprimanded his officials for failing to capture the priest. He gave orders that no means were to be left unused to bring him before the judges, whom he charged with meting out fit

⁷¹⁾ SICARDO, *op. cit.* 304, 2.

⁷²⁾ PURCELL, *loc. cit.* 3. The local documents on the Christian era *Nagasaki Koso* and the *Omura Kembunshu* note in detail the apostolate of Fr. Jihioye. They tell us also that in order to detect the missionary, passports were required of all who would enter or leave the Omura-Nagasaki area, but that this method failed. Since they were not able to apprehend him, it was noted in the documents that the Father possessed some magic powers which would allow him to escape, and on this theme a legend grew up in Nagasaki about Father Thomas.

⁷³⁾ The place where he hid in Tomachi is still known as « Kintsuba Dane » and is a station on the Nagasaki Bus Line.

⁷⁴⁾ Inf. Proc. AHHA XVII (1922) 59.

punishment. Redoubling their search the enraged populace and officials found out finally that he was hiding atop a certain mountain. They surrounded the whole neighborhood, just as if they had to storm a stronghold. But the priest, walking through the cordon of the searchers unrecognized, escaped. He went into hiding on another mountain, where he aided the Christians for some time under the greatest sacrifices. As a consequence of his escape a bulletin was published that he was a sorcerer, and that he could escape to any place he wished without being seen by magic, an art he had learned at Manila ⁷⁵). This sequence of hunts and escapes, as well as his heroic martyrdom, have made Father Thomas under his nickname « Kintsuba » a legend among the people of Nagasaki. The searching party surrounded the second place with greater care but he escaped again.

Finally, on All Saints Day 1636 ⁷⁶), Father Thomas was apprehended in present-day Katafuchimachi ⁷⁷), the spy thinking that he was an ordinary Christian. The court officials asked him who he was. To the great amazement of all he said, « I am Father Thomas of St. Augustine Jihioye, of the Order of St. Augustine ». The officials rejoiced at the find they had made and rewarded his captor liberally with 300 silver bars. They questioned him on the measures he had used to escape them so long and sent him to prison. He was placed in shackles, because even behind prison bars he did not seem to be secure enough. The jail was located in Sakuramachi ⁷⁸).

After a few days he was again taken before the judges. They had him stripped and when they saw his body wounded by hair shirts, disciplines and the abuse of the past few months they insulted him. Then they gave him the water torture. They had prepared many vessels of water which they made him drink until he could take no more. Then they poured so much water into him with a funnel that he was so swollen he almost burst. Then they stretched him on the floor face up and beat him so unmercifully on the stomach that the water streamed out through mouth, nose, ears and eyes mixed with blood. They tortured him in this manner

⁷⁵) SICARDO, *op. cit.* 305, 1.

⁷⁶) Inf. Proc. AHHA XVII (1922) 59.

⁷⁷) PURCELL, *loc. cit.* 4.

⁷⁸) *Ibid.*

until he lost his senses. He was taken back to prison almost half dead. They put him to this torture three more times, so that he almost lost his life. His tormentors, however, took care not to go too far, as they wanted to keep him alive for greater trials. Therefore, he always received good medical treatment when he was brought back to prison. When his strength was sufficiently restored he was taken again before his judges, who tried to persuade him to abandon the faith by promising him honors and privileges and the Shogun's friendship. When they saw that they could not weaken him they explained to him in detail the next torture. They showed him large iron pins which they would drive under his fingernails until he would recant. In his generous spirit he answered, « You all together do not have the power, nor the whole of Japan, nor even the world to separate me from the true God Whom I worship, and in Whom I believe firmly, and Whom I love with my whole heart ». Thereupon two executioners seized him, lifted his hands high and began to drive the big iron pins very slowly under his fingernails until they reached the joints. When they had finished the fingers they did the same to the toenails just as slowly in order to draw out the torture until their victim, exhausted by pain, fell unconscious, blood streaming from his hands and feet.

His tormentors were not satisfied. They had brought in some stout sharpened sticks made of burnt wood and shaped like harpoons. With these they had the muscles of Father Thomas' body pierced from one side to the other. When the wooden harpoons came out on one side an executioner pulled them through tearing and cutting pieces of flesh with the barbs. This was continued until there remained no sound part against which the tormentors could rage. He had become a sad spectacle, torn from head to foot. Only his tongue had remained whole to continue the praise of God and to put the tyrants to shame. This constancy roused their ire and they had first his mouth smashed, and when this did not stop the flow of his speech, he was gagged and returned to prison.

Within a very short time Father Thomas was condemned to the torture of the pit. On Thursday, August 11, 1637⁷⁹⁾, at ten o'clock in the morning, he was taken from his prison to Nishizaka, Nagasaki's famous hill of martyrs. With him were to face this ordeal

⁷⁹⁾ Inf. Proc. AHHA XVII (1922) 59; SICARDO, *op. cit.* 308, 2.

twelve others, men and women, mostly Tertiaries and members of the Confraternity of the Cincture who had given him shelter. They were led on horseback through the streets of Nagasaki to the place of execution. Father Thomas preached aloud and consoled his companions. When they arrived their pits were already prepared. Starting with Father Thomas they all had their foreheads pierced with small lancettes so that the blood would not choke them and their torment would last longer, with the intention of making them apostatize. Then they were all strung up on the gallows by their feet, and their bodies were sealed into the pits with planks about their loins.

A last reprieve.

It turned out, however, that Father Thomas was yet to be granted a release of death. A Japanese apostate known as Shozaimon to his compatriots and as John Ribeiro to the Portuguese had been condemned to be burnt alive for sheltering Father Thomas a few years earlier. When he heard of the arrival of six Portuguese ships from Macao on the evening of August 22 he saw an opportunity to win back his life if only he could give evidence against some of the sailors or passengers. He drew up a list of all the Portuguese whom he knew to have contributed to Father Thomas, because they had made their contributions through him. This list was sent by the Bugyo to the Captain-major Dom Francisco de Castelbranco, and he and the Captain-major of last year's voyage together with the Factor, Simão Vaz de Paiva, were ordered to arrest all those mentioned and hand them over to the Bugyo for execution⁸⁰). Of those mentioned only Duarte Correia was present.

⁸⁰) Inf. Proc. AHHA XVII (1922) 60; BOXER, *Great Ship* 152, especially footnote 327. Professor Boxer had the kindness to transcribe for me the following reference from Japans Daghregister (October 1637) in Rijksarchief The Hague, 'Overgekomen Brieven', Tweede boek, 22 (1638) fol. 14: «... van gelijcken dat den gerenegerden paep Jiffioye vijff Portugesen, die hem in synen noot met geld geassisteert hadden met hoope van hem selven daer door van den doot te bevrijden aen den dach gebracht hadde, mitsgaeders d'uytsprache door de regenten over dese saeche gedaen, namentlijck dat beide de Capiteijns Moors Don Gonsalvo en Francisco Castello Blanco, den feitor ende eenige vande voornaemste den eenen van vornoemden vijff persoonen sijnde tegenwoordich in Japan, was genaempt Eduart Correo sullen binden, de sententie des doots als breecher van's

The only mitigation the Captain-majors and the Factor could obtain was that Duarte Correia should be handed over to the Japanese authorities for trial. There were others among the crew who had made contributions to Father Thomas, but luckily they had not made their donations through the hands of Shozaimon.

On Saturday, August 23, at six o'clock in the evening, after seven of the victims had already died, Father Thomas was carried unconscious from the pit for further questioning. It was hoped that he would corroborate the statement of John Shozaimon, perhaps even point out some that had not been mentioned, and so compromise the Portuguese who could then be richly fined. One of the Portuguese eyewitnesses reports :

« We landed at Nagasaki, six Portuguese ships, from Macao on Friday evening, August 22, 1637 ⁸¹). At the usual place of martyrdom we found twelve Japanese men and women, suspended in several pits, the feet upward, the head downward, the whole body lowered under the earth, to remain there in the void with two planks fastened about the knees. Above the ground only their legs were visible. They were to remain in this position until they died. In the company of these blessed souls was a Japanese friar, Father Thomas by name, of the Order of St. Augustine. For six or seven years he had gone about in Japan disguised in various manners, working for the salvation of souls, always fleeing and hiding from those who searched diligently for him...

On the following Saturday evening at six o'clock, the twenty-third of the month, after seven persons had already died in the pits, the Governors ordered the priest to be taken out. After he had been lifted out they took him to the prison, where they gave him many medicines to bring him to, for he was almost dead. Then the tyrants issued a report that he had abandoned the faith, which we never believed, for a man who had suffered such torments and had not given in, would never do such a thing. The best explanation is that he was taken out of the pit when the Portuguese arrived from Macao ; for a Japanese had been arrested, who for many years had sheltered this Father, named John Ribeiro (Shozaimon was his

Keyzers geboot daerover uyt spreken ende denselven de Jappanse Justitie overleveren. Hem dat sij in toecomende de resteerende vier portugesen ordonnantie gestrafte werden in Jappan sullen brengen ».

⁸¹) According to Versteegen's letter to Couckebacker, August 23, 1637, five of the galliots had arrived on the 21st, only one came on the 22nd. Cf. BOXER, *Great Ship* 150.

Japanese name). He was the husband of Isabel Pinta, who lives at Macao in exile for the faith. This Japanese knew Father Thomas and knew some Portuguese who had given him alms for his support. When the Portuguese arrived from Macao he accused those of whom he knew that they had given alms in order to have his death sentence revoked, for he was already condemned to be burnt alive. Such pardons had been granted before for helping to accuse and arrest other priests.

As a consequence of the charge made against the Portuguese the Japanese arrested Duarte Correia, who is married in Macao. He remained under arrest in Japan for having given alms to the said Father. Rumor has it that he will die for it. Shozaimon accused also many others, whom our Lord had not allowed to be in our company, lest they, too, would have remained here. Their names follow later, for the Governor had sent them to the Captain-major, in order that he surrender those he knew, as they had not heeded the decree and so risked death by giving alms to the religious...

The Japanese had the Father taken out of the pit to learn from him if the statement of John Ribeiro against the Portuguese was true, as I explained above, and to ask the Father some questions, but he did not give them an answer, either because he was too weak, or in order not to accuse anybody. When he said something it did not answer the question »⁸²⁾.

Despite the ingenuity of the torturers the questioning was a complete failure, the authorities then conceived a new plan. They circulated the rumor that Father Thomas had been removed from the pit because he had abandoned the faith. They told the Portuguese that he had informed against all who had aided him, and threatened to confront them with their accuser. Several times the Portuguese were called together for this purpose, but they never saw the supposed apostate, and they easily discerned the stratagem of their adversaries. Their correct reasoning was that Jihioye would have betrayed all those among the present who had aided him, and not only one. The only possible explanation, in their mind, was that the Augustinian had never been a willing tool in the hands of the persecutors. The Japanese succeeded so well in blackening the good name of Thomas Jihioye that the contemporary Dutch merchants took it for granted that the Augustinian betrayed the Portuguese and denied the faith and were only too eager to spread the rumor. The Portuguese were still more confirmed in

⁸²⁾ *Inf. Proc. AHHA XVII* (1922) 59 f.

their belief in Father Thomas' innocence when Sukataro, Correia's interpreter, was arrested in order to be examined as to whether his master had at any time given money to the Father. This, in the eyes of the Portuguese, would never have been necessary, if Thomas himself had served as witness. The native Japanese, on the other hand, had no such way of checking the story of Father Thomas' apostasy, and many of the Japanese Christians accepted it as true⁸³). Some denied the story because it was told only by heathens and because Father Thomas, supposed to have recanted in the pit, was known to have been taken away unconscious and incapable of speaking.

⁸³) Relying on Japanese and Dutch sources only, Prof. Boxer repeats in our day the story of Thomas' apostasy, *Great Ship* 152: « More serious was another incident which occurred on the eve of the galliots' sailing for Macao. A Japanese Augustinian friar who had recently been caught after eluding a country-wide search for him for several years, confessed under torture that he had received money and help from four leading Portuguese traders whose names he gave. The only one of these then in Japan was Duarte Correia, who was captain of one of the galliots. The Nagasaki Bugyo sent for Dom Gonçalo da Silveira, Dom Francisco de Castelbranco, and the Factor Simão Vaz de Paiva, and ordered them to arrest Duarte Correia, sentence him to death for infringing the Shogun's anti-Christian laws, and hand him over to the Bugyo for execution. The two Captain-majors and their colleague protested bitterly against this order, but the most they could obtain in mitigation was that Duarte Correia should be handed over to the Japanese authorities for trial. He was accordingly removed from his galliot and sent as a prisoner to Omura ». It is regrettable that Boxer did not have opportunity to consult *Inf. Proc.* From the statements made by the Portuguese merchants and mariners it is evident that Jihioye remained loyal to the last. Although mentioned by SICARDO, *op. cit.* 310 ff., whom Boxer cites as one of his sources of information, *Great Ship* 152, note 236, the distinguished author did not know the sinister part of Shozaimon. It may be useful to quote here one of the statements of the *Inf. Proc.*, AHHA XVII (1922) 66; which confirms the Dutch report, *supra* note 80 and thus carries the authority of on the scene reporting:

« We, Pedro Dias da Silva, Pedro de Crasto, Antonio de Rocha, and Antonio da Silva de Menesses, married and residents in this city of Macao, certify that it is true that we all were present at Nagasaki, a Kingdom of Japan, in the month of October of the past year 1637. Right there, at Nagasaki, a Japanese Christian, named... (Blanc in MS), told us that what many Japanese say of Father Thomas, a Japanese of the Order of St. Augustine, namely that he was fallen away, they say only because of the hatred which the Governors and the Japanese pagans had for him and out of hatred for the faith. He never turned. He had suffered the greatest torments which any martyr suffered in Japan. The Japanese, who were arrested and put to death, were not apprehended because of Friar Thomas, but because of John

It was still possible to construct a strong case against Duarte Correia, the only crew member accused in the list of John Ribeiro. The accusing apostate had originally become a Christian in order to marry a Portuguese woman, who had since lived in exile for her faith at Macao. Duarte Correia had been the sponsor at John's Baptism, and had therefore trusted John enough to give him the occasional alms he sent to Father Thomas. « This outstanding benefactor of the religious Orders »⁸⁴) won martyrdom and subsequent beatification by the Church, when he was burnt alive in 1639.

As soon as the authorities were informed of the failure of their scheme, Thomas Jihioye was again condemned to the death of the pit.

« On Thursday, November 6, of the same year (1637)⁸⁵), at nine o'clock in the morning three Japanese men and one

Ribeiro, as he knew all the places and all the Christians whom the Father had converted and who died martyrs for our holy faith. We declare that the said Japanese told us that John Ribeiro had been host of Father Thomas and that he had him steadily in his home. We know that it is so and that he thus knew of all the affairs of the Father, namely who met the Father, who gave him alms, and to whom he administered the Sacraments. To free himself from death the said John Ribeiro accused Duarte Correia and many Portuguese who were at Macao. The Shoya ordered that a request be sent to the city of Macao to hand them over as they had given alms to the Father. The said John Ribeiro had accused them to free himself from death and from the prison in which he was held. We also heard at the time of our departure that the said Father Thomas remained the second time hanging in the pit, after he had suffered the greatest torments. We swear all this on the holy Gospels. Given at Macao, March 15, 1638 ». The copy at Valladolid bears the original signatures of the four men.

⁸⁴) SICARDO, *op. cit.* 441, 1.

⁸⁵) There has been a good deal of argument about the chronology of Father Jihioye, especially concerning the date of his death. The errors of many authors can be traced to the apparent printing mistake of HERRERA, *op. cit.* II 447, who gives the date of Jihioye's martyrdom as November 6, 1633 while stating, « Haec omnia decerpimus ex Relatione P. F. Martini Claver praelo tradita ». Claver has the date very correctly from the *Inf. Proc.*, *op. cit.* 66. SANTIAGO VELA, *Inf. Proc.* AHHA XVII (1917) 55, made the regrettable mistake of ascribing Jihioye's death to the year 1638, while the very documents of the Process of Macao are dated May 5, 1638. The year 1637 is ascertained by the name of the Captain-major Don Francisco de Castelbranco who captained the Japan voyage of that year. BOXER, *Great Ship* 152, note 236, reports that Father Jihioye's martyrdom took place on September 24-27, 1637. He relies for his information on Versteegen's letters. In *Inf. Proc.* AHHA XVII (1922) 61, the Portuguese eye witness declares that the

beautiful Japanese young woman who had taken the Father into their homes were sent to the horrible torture in the pit. They went the usual road on horseback, with their hands tied behind their backs. Thus they passed openly before our eyes. They went happily with great courage, especially the woman, who plainly revealed the joy with which she was about to suffer martyrdom for God. They went to the usual place of execution, where they were suspended each one in his pit, with the head down, as is the custom.

Father Thomas was taken on a different road. We do not know the reason ⁸⁶). They transported him in a closed palanquin, and many trustworthy Japanese say that, as soon as the saint left the prison, he began to shout in a loud voice « Long live the faith of Christ », and that he was on his way to die for love of it. It is reported that he kept saying these and many other things concerning the faith in all the streets and roads through which they carried him » ⁸⁷).

From another witness we hear that to silence Father Thomas, they finally gagged him. Before him walked a herald who announced the death sentence in a loud voice. He also announced that the penalty was meted out to the priest because he was a teacher of the faith of Christ, and had actually taught it in the empire against the Shogun's laws. Each time the herald mentioned his name the Father put his head out of the litter as well as he could, so that all could see him. When the people asked him whether he had denied the faith, he shook his head, when they asked him questions that demanded an affirmative answer he nodded consent.

When they reached the place of martyrdom the gallows or frames on which they were to be suspended and the pits were already prepared. The three Japanese and the woman were made to await the arrival of Father Thomas. He was taken out of the litter humming religious hymns as well as the gag permitted. He

martyrdom of Jihioye was the last one to take place at the time of their departure. They also say that the Father was taken to the pit on Thursday, November 6, 1637, at nine o'clock in the morning, a date which is confirmed by BOXER, *Great Ship* 153 as the date of their departure. *Inf. Proc. AHHA XVII* (1922) 62, a witness says, « Partimos pera Machao com deixar a elle e aos mais no ditto Martirio ».

⁸⁶) Perhaps the following reasons may be submitted: Either the authorities did not wish to encourage and strengthen the other victims, or they wished Jihioye's death to be less public.

⁸⁷) *Inf. Proc. AHHA XVII* (1922) 61.

was suspended first and the door of the pit was so tightly adjusted about his loins that no air could reach him. Then his four companions were lowered, head down, into their pits. This time the 35-year-old friar lived only a short time, for his emaciated, shredded, beaten body could take no more. The bodies of the martyrs were taken out of the pits, weighted with stones, and thrown into the sea to prevent the Christians from venerating their relics.

Nothing remains of Father Thomas Jihioye today except the bus stop in Tomachi — the hiding place of our martyr — « Kintsuba danemae »⁸⁸⁾ but he lives in Nagasaki lore. His heroic martyrdom was one of the outstanding feats of Christian heroism in the great persecution of Japan. Within a year after he died the witnesses at the Canonical Inquisition at Macao described the martyrdom of this son of Omura as the greatest martyrdom of all⁸⁹⁾, and some did not hesitate to state that he suffered more than any other martyr of the period.

The end.

While the Portuguese witnesses kept the memory of Thomas Jihioye alive⁹⁰⁾, the persecution obliterated almost completely the work of Michael of St. Joseph, who outlived his great companion only by weeks. The increasing persecution and intensified search for missionaries forced him to leave Bungo. He must have left for Nagasaki, for we have a report on his activities there. The Dominican *Historia del S. Rosario relates* that the Dominican Fathers had worked for a time at Nagasaki, but when the Governor found them out, they made up their mind to go to Omura.

« But before they left, they tried to satisfy the devotion of many Christians of Nagasaki who wished to receive Communion on the feast of St. Dominic. However, a very strict search which was taking place just then did not permit this. They were looking for a Father of the Order of St. Augustine, a Japanese

⁸⁸⁾ PURCELL, *op. cit.* 7.

⁸⁹⁾ See the *Inf. Proc.* AHHA XVII (1922) 59.

⁹⁰⁾ *Ibid.* The witnesses mention their sources of information on Thomas Jihioye: Tudo isto que passou este religioso, o contarão pessoas de credito e dignas de fee, que são os Jurubassas da Xoya Antonio Carvalho e Pedro Rodrigues, e outros muitos Jappois de que se tomou boa informação (Jurubasso means interpreter from the Malay word Juru-bahase meaning language master).

by birth, Michael by name, who showed a marvellous example and produced no less fruit by the preaching of the Gospel and hearing confessions » ⁹¹⁾.

Father Michael could not remain long in hiding. The very influence which his guidance had upon the Christians betrayed him. Besides too many spies were interested in earning the « 537 ¹/₂ Mexican pesos in our money » ⁹²⁾ which was put on his head. Father Michael was found out, arrested, and most probably suffered the martyrdom of the pit. Neither the year nor the month is known with certainty. Bernardo Martinez, O. S. A., states without mentioning his source, that Father Michael suffered martyrdom with several members of the Confraternity on August 16, 1637 ⁹³⁾. The acts of the Canonical Inquisition of Macao have the following statement :

« I, Manoel da Fonseca Pinto, married and a citizen of this town of Macao, state that it is true that I was at Nagasaki the past two years of 1636 and 1637, and heard the Japanese say, that Father Michael, a Japanese of the Order of St. Augustine, died a great martyr and that he died gloriously for the faith in the pits. Signed Manoel da Fonseca Pinto, March 22, 1638 at Macao » ⁹⁴⁾.

The *Osario Venerable* contains this added information, « In this convent of Manila there are documents and pictures which prove that this martyrdom happened a few months after the death of the Venerable Thomas of St. Augustine, which occurred on Thursday, November 6, 1637 » ⁹⁵⁾. Masaharu Anesaki has only the laconic entry, « A Japanese Augustinian, native of Bungo and captured there ; Michael of St. Joseph. November 1637 in Pit » ⁹⁶⁾.

Besides Fathers Thomas and Michael we know of several more Japanese in the Augustinian seminary at Manila. The circumstances of the times did not permit them to return to their native country. Father William Silva, born in Japan, finished his studies at Manila.

⁹¹⁾ SICARDO, *op. cit.* 317, 1; D. ADUARTE, O. P., *Historia de la provincia del Santísimo Rosario de Filipinas, Japon y Chyna* (Manila 1640) 692, 1.

⁹²⁾ SICARDO, *op. cit.* 317, 2; SAN AGUSTIN, *op. cit.* 316, 2.

⁹³⁾ MARTINEZ, *op. cit.* 124.

⁹⁴⁾ *Inf. Proc.* AHHA XVII (1922) 70.

⁹⁵⁾ DE CASTRO, *op. cit.* 509.

⁹⁶⁾ ANESAKI, *op. cit.* 74, no. 378 a.

He was an accomplished musician and filled for many years the office of organist at Manila. His compatriot, Father Leon of St. Monica, was for many years a conventual of Manila ⁹⁷). With Father Michael of St. Joseph, therefore, the missionary efforts of the Augustinians in Japan came to an end in 1637.

However, before the final curtain fell another Augustinian attempted to return to Japan. Father Juan Rivera ⁹⁸), together with two Franciscans, tried to enter Japan in 1679 ⁹⁹). They planned to enter Japan by way of Siam, one of the few countries which still had commercial relations with Japan. Arrangements were made with a Christian Sangley. They left March 17, 1679. Some thirty-five days later they reached Siam.

The Sangley taking only two of the Fathers, Juan Rivera and the Franciscan, Father Alonso, left during the night of July 2.

« At three in the morning he (the Sangley) came along in a small boat, and Father Alonso and I boarded it. We came to an estuary in the river and Thaddeus (the Sangley) said that this was a good spot to wait for the captain's sampan. We remained there a good while. Without us being able to ward it off, Thaddeus rose and aimed a heavy blow at my head with the oar he held in his hands. I fell unconscious into the water. God helped me to regain my senses and I asked my companion,

⁹⁷) PEREZ, *op. cit.* 195.

⁹⁸) Juan Nicolas de Rivera was born 1642 at Ponferrada, Leon, and made his profession at Salamanca. In 1669 he came to the Philippines and wished to go immediately to Japan. He did parish work for a few years until the permission to go was finally granted. After his Japanese adventure he went to China. He worked for 32 years at Nanking until total blindness forced him to return to Manila where he died November 10, 1711. DE CASTRO, *op. cit.* 184 ff.; SICARDO, *op. cit.* 119 ff.; PEREZ, *op. cit.* 144 f. The principal source for this part are the two letters of Father Rivera. The first one is of June 20, 1679, the second is undated. Both letters are published in SAN AGUSTIN, *op. cit.* II 720, 2 ff. San Agustin's own story on the last Augustinian attempt to enter Japan is contained in *op. cit.* II 377, 2 ff. J. SCHMIDLIN, *Catholic Mission History* (Techny, Ill. 1933) 351, note 50, has it that an Augustinian was sent to Japan in 1646. This detail could not be averred from any Augustinian source.

⁹⁹) There is a discrepancy in dating the expedition in Rivera's letters and the reports quoted *supra* No 98. They insist that it took place in 1678. MARTINEZ, *op. cit.* 19 f., is doubtlessly right in agreeing with the date given in the letters. In the first letter reference is made to Pentecost Saturday, May 20th (SAN AGUSTIN, *op. cit.* 724, 2). Pentecost Saturday occurred on May 20 in 1679. Cf. A. CAPPELLI, *Cronologia, Cronografia e Calendario Perpetuo* (Milano 1930) 58.

Father Alonso, for absolution. He absolved me and I did the same for him. Just in time, for Thaddeus turned upon me again and gave me a second blow on the head with a heavy stick. Almost unconscious, I asked the Lord for his protection. I swam in the river for about twelve paces and hid in the tall grass which was growing there. This helped me for Thaddeus thought I was dead » ¹⁰⁰).

Meanwhile the Sangley's blows had fallen on the Franciscan. Father Rivera waded towards the shore and was saved by a Siamese, who took him to a nearby temple. The pagan priests took him in and cared for him. Father Rivera remained incapacitated for a long time. In 1680 he went to China and worked for 32 years in Nanking.

A chapter has been written here in the annals of human faith. Those fifty years of the Augustinian missions in Japan compare with any in the Order's long history. Other Orders, the Franciscans and above all the Jesuits, have by far surpassed the contribution of the Augustinians to the Church's missionary effort in Japan. Yet in self-effacement, endurance, sublime courage, the tenacious holding on at solitary posts in the darkness of approaching catastrophe, which had all the earmarks of failure, the Augustinian missionaries were equal to them.

Now that the prominent part they played in Japan's Christian Century is better known, their great lives should move us to the full belief in the principles they upheld by sacrifice in death. Their work will tell its message to every age. In these days of confused faith we need more than ever before to be reminded that what we cherish was won long ago through the surrender of their lives.

Arnulf HARTMANN, O. S. A.

¹⁰⁰) SAN AGUSTIN, *op. cit.* II 725, 2.