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THE EARLIEST HISTORICAL RELATIONS  
BETWEEN MEXICO AND JAPAN

FROM ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS PRESERVED IN SPAIN  
AND JAPAN

BY

ZELIA NUTTALL

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PUBLISHED BY THE CROCKER FUND FOR RESEARCH IN MEXICO.

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It is strange but true, that whereas for many years past much has been said and written about the hypothetical transmission of Asiatic influences to Mexico and Central America by means of the ship-wrecked crews of Japanese junks, the precise date when official relations were first established between Japan and Mexico has only just been ascertained.

It is Señor C. A. Lera, the actual Mexican Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Japan and China, who deserves the credit of having instituted researches in archives and annals of Japan and succeeded in finding therein the documentary evidence which a countryman of his, Angel Nuñez Ortega, had vainly endeavored to find in the national archives of Mexico.

With the coöperation of Father Steichen, a learned missionary residing in Japan, who is known as the author of a History of Japanese Commerce, Señor Lera obtained translations of important original documents, and incorporated them in a report to the Mexican Minister of Foreign Affairs, which was privately printed in Tokio in pamphlet form a few months ago, under the title of "First Official Relations Between Japan and Spain With Respect to Mexico."

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On reading Señor Lera's valuable contribution I found evidences that he was unacquainted with the scholarly monograph privately published in Mexico in 1879, by the distinguished scholar and diplomat, Señor Ortega, under the title "Historical Note on the Political and Commercial Relations Between Mexico and Japan in the XVIIth Century." I found moreover that although Señor Lera refers to it, neither of the above writers had ever read that most valuable document, the detailed report of his embassy submitted to Viceroy Mendoza, by the first ambassador ever sent from New Spain to Japan. This is contained in Vol. VIII of that monumental work published in Madrid: Collection of unedited documents relating to the discovery and conquest and organization of ancient Spanish possessions in America and Oceania.

Finding myself deeply interested in the facts preserved in the above disconnected monographs, it occurred to me that I could not send to the San Francisco meeting of the Anthropological Association a more acceptable communication than a compilation of all three publications, with translations of the original documents contained therein. In preparing this I found it necessary, in order to fill certain gaps, to refer to a number of works on Japan, and also to incorporate certain data contained in a newspaper article recently published in the City of Mexico by the erudite Father V. de P. Andrade. I venture to believe that the data collectively presented here, for the first time in English, will be of interest and value, not only to historians and ethnologists, but also to the general public.

To them it will doubtless be a matter of surprise, as it was to me, to learn that it was no less a personage than Tokugawa Iyeyasu, surnamed "The Illustrious," who, in 1598, took the first steps towards establishing official relations with Mexico. Iyeyasu is known to have inaugurated the policy of exclusion and isolation, which was perfected by his grandson, Iyemitsu, and to have organized the form of government which secured to Japan a peace of two hundred years.

At the time, however, when he conceived the desire to enter into direct communication with New Spain, he was at the beginning of his remarkable career. Only two years had passed since

Taikun Hideyoshi had bestowed upon him, as a reward for his services as a general, the eight provinces, which were designated "The Kwanto," and ordered him to take up his residence at the then unimportant town of Yedo, the present Tokio. Considering that since 1542, when the first Portuguese trading vessels visited Japan, the Portuguese had been enjoying the monopoly of a system of trade by barter, it was certainly a new departure for General Iyeyasu to attempt to establish direct communication between his new domain and Mexico. It was his idea that this result might be obtained if he could but induce the merchant vessels which plied between the Philippines and Mexico to touch at one of the ports of "The Kwanto." With this object in view, he sought the advice and aid of the learned Franciscan friar, Geronimo de Jesús, who wrote for him a Spanish letter to the governor of the Philippines, in which, as an opening to future negotiations, Iyeyasu courteously invited the Spanish merchant vessels to seek shelter in any of the ports situated in his domain, if ever overtaken by the dangerous storms so prevalent in these regions. This letter, which was written in the same year in which the second expedition to Corea came to an end and a number of Coreans were brought from that country to Japan, was not sent when written, for the negotiations were suspended by the stirring events which culminated in the famous battle of Sekigakara, which, in 1600, established Iyeyasu's supremacy in Japan. It was not until 1601 that Iyeyasu found leisure to revert to his plan, and sent Shinkiro, a wealthy merchant of the City of Sakai, as bearer of the above letter and some costly presents to the governor of the Philippines. The latter, deeply involved at that time in the war which Spain was carrying on in Cambodia against Siam, responded by saying that Iyeyasu's proposal pleased him extremely, and that he would accept it as soon as he was free and able to do so. Meanwhile he begged him to accept certain gifts in return for those which he had received with much gratitude through the Japanese envoy Shinkiro.

In the month of May of the following year, a new governor, Don Pedro Bravo de Acuña, was appointed for the Philippines. In September of the same year Iyeyasu dispatched Shinkiro again with another letter, also written in Spanish by the

Franciscan friar, Geronimo. The original draft of this interesting document, which is preserved in Japan, is in Japanese, from which language it was translated into French for Señor Lera, so that he, in turn, could translate it into Spanish, from which language I have made the following literal translation.

I venture to suggest that it would be an interesting experiment for some scholar to translate my version back into Japanese, and to compare his translation with the original document and verify the changes which must have been produced by its passing through the crucible of three European languages.

“Minamoto Iyeyasu of Japan, to his Lordship the Governor of Luzon:—

“After a long voyage your envoy has arrived at last with your letter. He has spoken to me of the mode of government and the flourishing condition of your country, and, at the same time, delivered to me the five objects which you have deigned to send me as presents.

“Although I have never had the honor to see or listen to you, your amiable behavior makes me realize how all men are members of a single family; which reflection has moved me deeply.

“Nothing would satisfy my desires so much as to see merchant vessels establishing frequent communication between my country and New Spain. In formulating this wish, it was not only the interests of Japan which moved me, but also, in equal measure, your own advantage. Many of your people have assured me that it would be a considerable advantage to them to be able to count upon a port in the Kwanto as a shelter for their ships during tempests. They have also manifested to me the pleasure with which they would see Japanese vessels making voyages between the Kwanto and New Spain.

“I shall await your answer with eager anticipation.

“If you render me this service, I, in turn, will severely prohibit piracy even in the most remote islands of Japan, and, if you so desire, I will condemn all pirates to death. You, in turn, can execute all Japanese who in the Philippines violate your laws. If any of the merchants who with my authorization visit your country, prove to be rebellious to your authority, I will, upon being informed of their names, prohibit their embarking again.

“Although unworthy of you, deign to accept as a sign of friendship the Japanese suit of armor, which I send you.

“My ambassador will tell you all that I have failed to express in this letter.”

It is related that Iyeyasu's assurances did not disarm the



suspicious of the Spaniards, nor convince them that he would or could keep his promise. Indeed the Spaniards' fear to send their galleons to Japan was not unfounded, for, but eight years previously in 1596, Hideyoshi, since surnamed the "Napoleon of Japan," had confiscated without provocation the Spanish vessel named "San Felipe," and a month before the date of Iyeyasu's above letter another galleon, the "Espirito Santo," almost incurred the same fate. It was sailing with contrary winds from Manila to New Spain, and touched the coast of Tosa in August, 1602. It was immediately attacked by the natives of this province, and its captain, Lope de Ulloa, had to resort to arms in order to defend it against its assailants. As soon as the news of this singularly inopportune episode reached Iyeyasu, in October, he hastened to write to the governor of the Philippines, protesting that what had occurred had been without his knowledge and consent. He laid stress upon the amicable relations then existing between both countries—adding that they might almost be regarded as an alliance. Refusing to admit that his subjects were in fault, he adroitly suggests that it was probably only the fear of a repetition of the "San Felipe" episode, which had caused the Spaniards to take alarm and precipitate their departure from the Japanese coast. He adds: "Henceforth, in case of any kind of accidents, let your people not hesitate to take refuge in the ports of my domain, for I have sent to all quarters severe orders relating to this matter. Through your merchants I have learned that the eight galleons which leave Luzon every year for New Spain desire to obtain a license permitting them to take refuge in the ports of my country. Full of compassion for these foreigners I have had eight licenses written and sealed. These will preserve them from the rapacity of the people, and thanks to them they will without fear be able not only to take refuge in the ports and islands, but also to land and penetrate into all villages and towns throughout Japan, without incurring the risk of being treated as spies, even should they devote themselves to studying the usages and customs of the land."

While nothing could exceed the courtesy and good will expressed in this letter, it utterly failed to reassure the governor

of the Philippines, who could but bear in mind several recent disastrous losses of Spanish galleons, laden with the much coveted riches from the Spanish possessions in Asia. But fifteen years had elapsed since Francis Drake had lain in wait at Cape St. Lucas for the galleon expected from the Philippines, and after robbing it of its treasures, abandoned its crew on the arid shores of the Peninsula of California. This disaster had produced a profound commotion throughout the Spanish colonies, and brought infinite trouble upon the viceroy of Mexico, who was obliged to send out a maritime expedition with orders to pursue and punish the English corsairs. The seizure of another galleon by a Japanese potentate had taken place but six years previously, and now, at the very time that Iyeyasu was offering hospitality to Spanish merchantmen, came the news of the real or imaginary danger incurred by the vessel which had taken refuge in a Japanese port. Considering that besides all this the memory of the persecution and martyrdom of Roman Catholic missionaries in 1597 was still fresh, it is not surprising that the Spanish governor took no notice of Iyeyasu's overtures, and broke off negotiations.

In the native history of Japanese Commerce (*Nihon Shogyoshi*) and Kottenhamp's "History of the Colonization of America," this rupture and the subsequent failures to establish the desired commercial relations are attributed, no doubt justly, chiefly to the powerful merchant princes of Seville, who violently opposed any encroachment on their monopoly of Asiatic trade. Six years later, however, in 1608, the situation suddenly changed. A new governor, Don Rodrigo de Vivero, came to the Philippines, where, at that period, there existed a colony of about fifteen thousand Japanese. The principal Japanese merchants residing in Manila petitioned him to resume the interrupted negotiations, and an ambassador sent by Iyeyasu insisted, at the same time, upon the advantages that would accrue to Spanish interests by a friendly treaty with Japan.

Iyeyasu's ambassador, in this case, was the Englishman William Adams, a native of Gillingham, Kent, who shares, with his companion Timothy Shotten, the distinction of being the first Englishmen who went to Japan. Both served as pilots on a

Dutch ship, the "De Liefde," which had sailed from Texel at the mouth of the Zuyder Zee in 1598 with four other vessels and was wrecked at Bunzo, in Japan, on April 19, 1600. Adams ingratiated himself with the Japanese, volunteered to instruct them in the art of ship-building, and won the Emperor's notice by offering to teach him geography and geometry. Received at court, he rapidly rose in favor. The title "Hatamoto," or Noble, was conferred upon him, and he became not only Iyeyasu's influential adviser, but was employed, as in this case, as the emperor's envoy in establishing commercial relations with foreign countries.

Won over by William Adams' representations, backed by the petition presented by the Japanese residents of Manila, Governor Vivero agreed to renew negotiations at once, and commissioned the leaders of the Japanese colony to write two letters for him in their language. These and some gifts were entrusted to William Adams, who was likewise placed in command of the next Spanish vessel which was sent to Japan. In the first letter, addressed to Iyeyasu, the interruption of negotiations and its cause were wisely ignored, and great stress was laid upon "the amiable sympathy which from olden times had bound one nation to the other," and assurances were given that "far from wishing to abandon it or allowing it to become lukewarm, it would be his aim diligently to tighten the bonds of their long friendship." He states, immediately afterwards, that a number of turbulent characters having promoted sedition and made disturbance in the Japanese colony at Manila, he had adopted the course of sending them back to Japan. According to Father Steichen not less than two hundred Japanese were thus expelled from Manila. Governor Vivero adds that their troublesome behavior would certainly not prevent him from receiving any peaceful Japanese merchants who might come to the Philippines. With respect to such nothing had changed. He continues: That he was sending a vessel to Japan, and had given orders to William Adams to take shelter by preference in a port in the "Kwanto." In case, however, that contrary winds should impede the vessel's course, he had no objection to any other port being entered, now that the whole of Japan was under Iyeyasu's Lordship. He did not

doubt that his captain and his people would meet with a good reception, and he begged, at the same time, that the Catholic friars residing in Japan should be well treated. In the second letter, addressed to the shogun, Hidetada, Iyeyasu's son, in whose favor the latter had resigned in 1605, Vivero announced the sending of a galleon, and states that he would be obliged if the shogun would send Japanese vessels, but not more than four a year, to the Philippines, and he requests that he view with benevolence the friars and priests who were living in Japan.

By the time that these letters reached their destination, eight years had elapsed since Iyeyasu had made his first attempt to open negotiations. Vivero, the enterprising and enlightened governor of the Philippines, henceforth became his ally, and, as we shall see, conducted the first Japanese embassy to Mexico.

The credit of having established amicable relations should be given to William Adams, whose influence over Iyeyasu finally opened to the Spaniards the Port of Uruga, the most commodious and flourishing port of Japan, situated in the Province of Sagami, a day's journey from Yedo. An imperial decree, dated 1608, was posted at the entrance of this port, threatening severe penalties to all who might molest the merchantmen from Luzon.

The answers to Governor Vivero's letters, which were soon sent, express Iyeyasu's and his son's pleasure at the realization of their desire.

With regard to the Japanese who had been forcibly expelled from Manila, Iyeyasu simply remarks:—

“In your country the government and the people live in harmony, the inhabitants treat each other with good will and courtesy, and extend even to foreigners the same general benevolence. In Japan we also have just laws, and all are governed with equity. Consequently we have no thieves nor malefactors. Therefore, if the Japanese who are in the Philippines commit injustices, pray condemn them to death.”

In a letter dated October 2, 1608, Hidetada reiterates his father's assurances that Spanish vessels might visit Japan without fear, and expressed the desire that future communications should be more frequent between both countries.

Perfect harmony having thus been established, friendship increased between the Japanese and Spaniards, and the galleon

which navigated between Manila and Acapulco regularly touched at Uraga.

In the following year a change of governor took place in the Philippines, and Don Juan de Silva, the new governor, hastened to announce to Iyeyasu his arrival in Luzon, and his intention to continue to send vessels to Japan. He seized this opportunity, however, to inform the emperor that a number of Japanese residents in the Philippines were fomenting revolt and disturbing the peace. In answer to the latter complaint, Iyeyasu sent the governor a copy of the severe laws applied to criminals in Japan, directing him to apply these laws in punishing the seditious Japanese in the Philippines. He ends with the assurance that the friars in Japan were being treated with sympathy and good will. Considering that, in 1597, twenty-six Christians and foreign friars, among them a native of Mexico, San Felipe de Jesús, were crucified at Nagasaki, the imperial assurances that he viewed the friars with benevolence and good will must have been extremely welcome to Governor Vivero.

Three months subsequently, Hidedata, who vied with his father in liberality and affability, renewed the privilege granted to Spanish vessels to enter all Japanese ports indiscriminately, and sent their captains copies of an official permission, dated November 2, 1609, which reads as follows:—

“The vessels sailing from Luzon to New Spain may freely enter all ports in Japan and take shelter therein in stormy weather.”

In this same year a strange combination of circumstances occurred, which afforded the Japanese rulers an unexpected opportunity not only of demonstrating their good will towards the Spaniards, but of giving a proof of their good faith and generosity. Don Rodrigo de Vivero, the retiring governor of the Philippines, sailed from Luzon for New Spain on the 25th of July, in a vessel named the “San Francisco,” escorted by two galleons. Overtaken by a storm, the “San Francisco” and one of the galleons were wrecked on the shores of Japan. As soon as the Japanese learned that the ship-wrecked crews were Spaniards, and that among them was the former friendly governor of the Philippines, they hastened to offer them shelter and food.

Vivero dispatched two messengers to the Japanese court to inform the emperor and the shogun of his misfortunes. Whereupon they not only invited him and his companions to the capital, but with spontaneous liberality promised a restitution of all the merchandise, etc., which could be saved from both wrecks. Iyeyasu generously offered to part with one of the best vessels, which had been constructed for him by William Adams, and likewise to lend him four thousand ducats, with which to man and provision the ship, which was named "San Buenaventura." Vivero was also loaded with presents for the King of Spain and Viceroy of Mexico, and was requested to exert his influence towards the sending of a Spanish ambassador to Japan.

It appears that Vivero took advantage of his sojourn in Japan to prejudice the Japanese rulers against the Portuguese, who had hitherto enjoyed the sole privilege of exporting gold from Japan. He likewise attempted to have this privilege transferred to the Spaniards.

An interesting fact connected with this visit, and to which I will revert, is that Iyeyasu requested that as many as fifty expert miners be sent to Japan from Mexico in order to teach the Japanese the most advantageous methods of working their gold mines, the principal one of which was situated in the Island of Sado.

Governor Vivero, having consented to take with him to New Spain a certain number of Japanese merchants, so that they might learn the way, and also study commercial conditions, stipulated that the price of the vessel ceded to him might be payable in Spanish merchandise.

On the first of August, 1610, after having enjoyed Japanese hospitality for over a year, Vivero and his countrymen embarked for New Spain with twenty-three Japanese merchants, who were under the leadership of two noblemen named Tanaka Shosake and Shuya Ryusai.

In Mexico City, where they arrived towards the end of the year, the Japanese were presented by Vivero to the viceroy, Don Luis de Velasco the Second, who received them well and stood sponsor at the baptism of at least one of the two Japanese noblemen, who returned to Japan bearing the Christian name Francisco and the viceroy's family name, Velasco.

The singularly noble conduct of the Japanese towards the ship-wrecked sailors at a time when all nations accepted the principle of "*jus littoris*" could but make a particularly deep impression upon the viceroy, who in the year 1600, for instance, had granted a concession to the inhabitants of the coast of the Gulf of Mexico, which legally authorized them to appropriate all ship-wrecked goods. Moved by gratitude, or as Father Caro prefers to state, by his ardent desire for the aggrandizement of New Spain, the viceroy determined to exert a prerogative usually confined to sovereigns, and to send an ambassador to Japan, entrusted with a letter in which he expressed to the Japanese rulers his gratitude and appreciation of the great charity and liberality towards his ship-wrecked countrymen.

Mexican historians have differed as to the name of the ambassador appointed, but an original document preserved in the archives of the Indies proves, beyond a doubt, that it was General Sebastian Viscaino, who in this document is twice mentioned as being a son of the viceroy.<sup>1</sup>

The memory of Don Sebastian Viscaino is intimately associated with California, for, in 1596, he was commissioned by the King of Spain to make a voyage of discovery to California, and, as is well known, sailed from the Port of Acapulco with three vessels and reached the Port of La Paz, where he established himself, built a church and dispatched a series of expeditions westward. This expedition ended somewhat disastrously on account of the discontent of the soldiers under his command, but in 1602 he was appointed Captain General of an expedition sent by order of Phillip III and fitted out by the Count of Monterey, viceroy of Mexico. During this voyage, which lasted nine months, the whole coast of Southern California was carefully surveyed. After reaching Cape Mendocino, they proceeded as far north as 45 degrees north latitude, but he was forced to return to Acapulco on account of illness and mortality amongst his men.

<sup>1</sup> It has already been mentioned that the contents of this valuable document have not been discussed by Señor Ortega, Father Andrade or Señor Lera, who erroneously states in a footnote on page 23 of his monograph that the texts of the two letters from the Japanese sovereigns are contained in Vol. VIII of the collection of unedited documents; whereas this contains only the texts of Spanish letters addressed by General Viscaino to the emperor and shogun.

The account of his embassy to Japan, evidently written under his dictation by the secretary of the expedition, is divided into twelve chapters, and fills ninety-seven printed pages in the collection of unedited documents to which I have already referred. This document, which is full of interesting and valuable information concerning the avowed and secret aims of his mission, gives a detailed account of its history. It enables one clearly to recognize moreover the manifold causes and events which within a few years wrought so complete a change in Iyeyasu's views, and which culminated in the banishment of foreigners, the extirpation of Christianity, and the complete isolation of Japan for centuries.

On the 22nd of March, 1611, Viscaino sailed in a vessel named the "San Francisco" from Vera Cruz, accompanied by the Japanese nobleman now known as Don Francisco de Velasco, twenty-two Japanese merchants, a commissary and six friars of the Franciscan order, a captain named Palacios and a crew of fifty-two.

Before launching into Viscaino's report, of which I shall give a literal translation, excepting where abbreviations and commentaries are necessary, let us read the Japanese records of the foregoing events, which were indirectly communicated by the well-known scholar, Mr. Ernest Satow, to Señor Nuñez Ortega, in 1879. They demonstrate that in the 17th century, as now, the official records of Japan were written with a brevity and reticence which causes so many modern Japanese war dispatches to read more like our weather reports:—

"The Sairan Igen of Arai Haku Seki (B. 1657, D. 1725) says: In the 15th year of Keycho (1600) a merchant vessel belonging to New Spain was driven by a storm on the east coast of Japan and considerably damaged. The government ordered that it should be repaired, and provisions having been supplied it was started to depart. In the summer of the 17th year (1612), an ambassador came from that country on a complimentary mission, to return thanks. Amongst the presents was a self-sounding bell (clock), and our manufacture of this article commenced from this date."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This clock is still preserved in the temple of Kino-San, near Shizouka, Province of Suraga. An inscription records its history, and a small metal plate, fastened to it, records that it was made in Madrid.



The same annals preserve the following report, made to their government by the Japanese merchants on their return from New Spain:—

“Some of our sailing merchants departed in company with this embassy. They (the merchants) returned in the following year, and stated that the country visited was populous and productive. They also reported that the foreigners had thanked them, saying: ‘Our countries are far apart and navigation is difficult. Pray do not come again.’”

It is, of course, evident that this blunt intimation that their presence was not desired in New Spain emanated from the same monopolists who had caused the rupture of negotiations in 1602, and who, later on, obtained a royal decree, limiting the traffic between Mexico and Japan to one galleon a year, and putting restrictions upon the value of the cargo it carried.

From Viscaïno’s report we learn that the relations between the Japanese merchants and the Spanish crew of the “San Francisco” were decidedly strained. He relates that, at the beginning of the voyage, the Japanese gave trouble on account of their haughtiness and rudeness to the sailors—especially “concerning matters of the kitchen,” and by their high-handedness. The general put an end to this state of affairs by ordering that no Spaniard was to interfere with a Japanese, nor lay hands on him, nor give occasion for dispute, under penalty of death. The same threat was made to the Japanese, and they were enjoined to be civil, and to come to him whenever any difficulty presented itself, and to avoid all disputes and quarrels with the sailors. Viscaïno likewise threatened that if any Japanese were insolent, he would have him hanged from the yardarm, and would report him to the Japanese emperor, of whom it was known that he did not like his vassals to be insolent—especially when they were being treated to such a good voyage. Whereupon, it is recorded, the Japanese were so filled with fear that they “restrained their pride and haughtiness, became more docile than lambs,” and gave no cause for complaint during the remainder of the voyage. Their leader was the first to set an example of changed behavior. Viscaïno invited him to his table, considering it expedient, as he says, to please and satisfy him, in view of the fact that upon his report to the emperor would depend the

manner of reception accorded to the Spaniards by his Imperial Majesty, and the dispatch with which permission would be obtained to set out from said Empire of Japan for the discovery of said islands of gold and silver, which constituted the principal aim of this expedition.

It is interesting to note that in the letters which General Viscaino sent by messengers to the emperor and his son, on his arrival in Japan after a voyage of eighty days, he emphasized how much respect and honor had been accorded to the Japanese merchants during the voyage, but refrained from all mention of the islands of gold and silver, which it was his main object to discover.

General Viscaino's letter to Iyeyasu reads as follows:—

“Most Serene Emperor of the kingdoms and provinces of Japan:—

“Sebastian Viscaino, General and Ambassador of his Majesty the King of Spain, Phillip III, and also of the Marquis of Salinas, Viceroy of New Spain and the King's Lieutenant, as well as the Friar, Peter Baptist, of the Order of St. Francis, make known unto your Majesty that, to-day, Saturday, the 10th of June, 1611, we have reached this Port of Uraga in a vessel in which we sailed from the Port of Acapulco, in New Spain, on the 22nd of March of this year. We have come to this kingdom directly for the sole purpose of bringing you the news that said Marquis received the embassy and presents which you sent through Friar Alonzo Munoz, and also to bring to this realm Josquendono and your other vassals who went last year with Don Rodrigo de Vivero to New Spain, as well as to return the money which by your order was lent to Don Vivero and the value of the ship ‘San Buenaventura,’ which said Marquis purchased in the name of my lord and king. It was not considered expedient to return here in said vessel for reasons of which Josquendono and the other Japanese will inform you. They will tell you at the same time how, during their voyage to and from New Spain, they were respected and honored and given presents on account of their being your servants and vassals. While the said Marquis could have sent them back by the Islands of Luzon, he did not do so, considering that voyage would be long and dangerous, not only on account of difficult navigation, but because they, the money and the value of the ship which we are bringing to your Majesty, in the name of my lord and king, might have been endangered on account of the number of Dutch pirates, whose vessels are in the vicinity of the Islands, and who are going about robbing and in revolt against my lord and king.”

Viscaino closes his letter by humbly begging permission to go to court in order to "kiss the emperor's hands," and by an allusion to the existing relations of peace and good understanding which it is his mission to promote.

Notwithstanding these relations, the general found it necessary, before landing his Spanish crew, to confer with the governor of the port and the commander of the Japanese fleet of junks as to the best method of avoiding quarrels and disputes between the Spaniards and Japanese. He issued orders that, under penalty of death, no Spaniard was to draw his sword or any other arm against the Japanese—nor use violence against Japanese women, nor take anything from any one against his will.

A great number of Japanese visited the Spanish vessel, among them many noblemen. These were received with honors by Viscaino, who "offered them chairs and gave them sweets, which they soaked in sherry, which they liked extremely."

He records complacently that the Japanese merchants and their leader, Josquendono, departed at once for the court of the emperor, in order to give him an account of their voyage, in which they expressed the excellent treatment they had received from the Spaniards. But since we know the nature of the official report of their voyage, made by some of these same merchants, who must also have harbored resentment at the threats employed by Viscaino on ship-board, we may be prompted to doubt whether all accounts were as favorable as that of Josquendono, who had been won over by Viscaino. An insight into an existing undercurrent of ill will towards the Spaniards is afforded by Viscaino's remark, "that it was indeed well that they had come directly to Japan, for their arrival with the Japanese merchants contradicted the rumors which had been rife, and which had spread the belief that the Spaniards had deceived the emperor; that the money lent to Vivero would never be returned, and that the Japanese who went to New Spain were enslaved and made to serve the Spaniards."

In a few days Viscaino received a gracious communication, signed by several court officials, informing him that the shogun, Hidedata, had received his letter with great pleasure, and granted

him permission and all facilities to visit him immediately at his court. In the five junks placed at his disposal Viscaïno at once embarked with an escort of thirty Spaniards, armed with muskets and arquebusses, and with the friars and a few of the Japanese whom he had brought from New Spain.

At the mouth of the river Yedo he was met by the commander of the junks, who made great demonstrations of joy and offered him a Japanese collation. The Spaniards responded by a salutation of musketry and arquebusses and by the beating of the drum. On the main mast of the ambassador's junk they flew the royal standard, and at the stern floated another royal standard, made of Castilian silk, along with an infantry flag with its streamers, all of which, it is related, gave great pleasure to the Japanese beholders who crowded the banks of the river that was filled with innumerable junks.

On landing, the Spaniards were hospitably entertained at the house of the commander, and were assigned a fine residence, whither a nobleman, followed by a numerous suite, came with a message from the shogun. The general went out to meet him at the door, his escort being drawn up in line. The Japanese nobleman was most polite, bowing to the ground, according to native usage. The ambassador followed the Spanish mode, and made a great display of politeness—particularly at the door, where there was much discussion as to who should enter first.

The nobleman expressed the shogun's hope that the Spaniards were resting and contented in his domain. He informed them that his messenger had orders to provide amply for the general and his escort, and that they would be given six meals a day, for the expenses of which he was sending gold and silver instead of the customary rice, which was used in barter. On the following day he sent two cooks, many servants and an abundance of game and fish. Two kitchens were set up in which meals were respectively prepared in Spanish and Japanese styles. The shogun's messenger returned to investigate whether all was being attended to, and was invited to dine by the ambassador, who found that his guest cared less for his meat than for his sherry, but was unwilling or unable to respond when his host drank his health for the second time.

On the next day, Tuesday, another messenger was sent by the shogun, announcing that on Wednesday, if the weather were fine, Viscaino would be permitted to deliver his embassy. This message was communicated by two noblemen, who then inquired whether Viscaino had it in mind to adapt himself to the ancient court etiquette of the rulers of Japan, which required that, in the imperial presence, he would have to kneel on both knees and remain with his hands and head on the floor until the shogun gave the sign for him to rise. The Spanish ambassador promptly answered that he did not intend to do any such thing, but would adhere to Spanish court etiquette, would make the bows and render homage to the emperor in the same way as he would to his own lord, the King of Spain. He also announced that he would refuse to lay aside his sword and dagger, or remove his boots, and that the chamberlain would have to assign him a seat near enough to the shogun to be able to hear what the latter said. This answer caused much consternation and discussion and an exchange of messages. Finally the general threatened that if he were not allowed to deliver his embassy according to Spanish etiquette, he would return to New Spain without delivering the viceroy's letter or presents, and would merely report that he had brought back the Japanese merchants, and returned the money lent to Vivero. Upon this the shogun's counsellors courteously reminded him that, when received at the Japanese court, Don Rodrigo Vivero, who was not only a cavalier and relative of the viceroy, but had also been governor of Luzon, had made no objections, and had entered the presence of the shogun in the way that was required of him. Ambassador Viscaino replied that all this was perfectly true in the case of Don Vivero, who personally was worthy of the highest consideration, but the latter had come to this court because he had been shipwrecked and lost, and because necessity compelled him to seek aid and means to proceed to New Spain. He was then in such dire necessity that he was not to blame for any act of submission he may have made, since he came to implore succor and naturally was grateful to the ruler of this country who afforded him aid. It was in consideration of all this that the viceroy had dispatched the present embassy to escort the Japanese mer-

chants home and to express the good will of their Catholic majesties. He added, what was not quite true, that he had not come to ask for anything, nor to bring merchandise, nor to reap gain or profits, but solely for the purpose of delivering his embassy. He repeated, however, that he would sooner depart without delivering it than allow the authority of king and viceroy to be lowered one fraction of its grandeur, for his king was the greatest lord on earth. Viscaino's arrogant utterances naturally gave offense to the shogun's messengers; they returned to the palace greatly nonplussed, and affairs came to a standstill.

It was then that the shogun wisely summoned a meeting of the presidents of the councils of state and government, and other high officials, who, after lengthy debates, finally formulated the decree that the Spanish ambassador was to be permitted to fulfill his "mission according to his own usage as best he could." It was moreover decided that it was only when he spoke in the name of his king that he was to be permitted to occupy the same platform as the shogun who, seated, would receive the viceroy's letter and presents. Having delivered these, the ambassador was to descend a step, and there deliver his present to the shogun, after which he was to seat himself. The decree concluded with the resolution that as much honor and mercy as possible was to be conceded to the first ambassador from New Spain. All difficulties having thus been overcome by the good will and courtesy of the Japanese, the audience took place on the following morning.

The shogun sent four thousand soliders of his guard to escort the Spaniards to his palace. The latter formed a group and proceeded in solemn procession, headed by the captain and pilot of the Spanish vessel, followed by members of its crew, and a sergeant, who bore the banner with three streamers, each held by a man. The standard came next, with its three streamers, the ambassador holding it with his right hand. Friar Luis Sotelo, the commissary of the Franciscan order, walked at one side with General Viscaino, and two Franciscan friars at the other, this group being preceded by the commander of the junks and another Japanese nobleman.

The rear-guard was formed by the secretary of the expedition, a sergeant, and the general's negro drummer, whose appearance and drumming made a great commotion, and attracted a numerous crowd. A detachment of the Japanese guard marched in front of the Spaniards and another behind. At the fifth door of the palace they were met by the chamberlain and other officials and were led into a waiting room, where the ambassador sat for a little while. Thence they were ushered through an inner, richly decorated hall, into a great court-yard, where stood more than a thousand royal princes and knights, each one wearing a helmet on which his insignia of rank was displayed. To them the ambassador made the courtesies and bows which he considered they were entitled to, beginning with the highest in rank. He records that they responded by folding their hands and bowing until their heads touched the ground. Passing on to another square, the ambassador came into the presence of the shogun, seated in his royal robes on cushions and rich carpets. To his right, at a distance, sat his nine counsellors, and, at a lower level, his steward, chamberlain, and secretary. A sign was made to the ambassador to approach, and he did so, all present observing him in profound silence. First of all he made three bows, which were not very deep, and lowered the staff he carried until it nearly touched the ground. He then advanced six paces to a lower platform and made three bows, which were slightly lower than the preceding ones. The next three bows he made, while standing on the lowest platform, were still more profound. Then he placed on his head the viceroy's letter, and, after making three more bows, deposited it on the platform. During all this time the shogun and his counsellors were observing the ambassador and his extraordinary performances with unconcealed merriment, which the Spanish attributed entirely to the fact that before this the Japanese had never seen a full dress Spanish costume. Viscaino's raiment is described as being very fine. His cap was adorned with feathers and a gold band. His sword and dagger were gilt, his boots were white with buttons, and his frill was of the finest lace.

Showing evidence of being pleased, the shogun beckoned to his secretary, and gave him an order to lead the ambassador to

the seat prepared for him, also to tell him that the shogun was glad to have seen him—especially after all the hardships of the long sea voyage. The thought of not seeing land for eighty-one days seemed to the shogun to be truly dreadful. The ambassador replied, through the interpreter, that he kissed his Highness' hands for the great condescension that he was showing him, and that, as far as the hardships were concerned, which he had undergone and was yet to undergo on the return voyage, he had come to regard them as gifts ever since he had come into the presence of such a prince. When this speech was translated by the secretary, the prince bowed his head several times towards the ambassador to express his thanks. Viscaino then arose, and after a very profound obeisance presented the viceroy's gifts. Up to the present the Spanish ambassador had had everything his own way, but now occurred an episode which was probably unexpected. After a moment's silence, the prince waved his hand with great majesty, and two chamberlains approached the ambassador and led him out of the audience chamber. After a little while, during which the shogun examined the vice-regal presents, Viscaino was again led into the hall, which he entered as he had made his exit, performing the same series of triple bows. This time, it is related, these bows were more profound, a sign that the ambassador had been impressed with great respect for the shogun's authority. The latter informed him, through his chief counsellors, that he much esteemed the gifts, and that, if the general would like the Spanish soldiers and servants to see him, they would be permitted to enter the audience room. The ambassador then made another bowing exit, and returned with his men, who were, as he takes pains to record, "booted and armed." The shogun examined them with evident curiosity. The friars were then presented, and offered him their gifts themselves, two of them being excellent interpreters.

Each time that the friars addressed a word to the ambassador, he, although in the presence of the shogun, arose and made them an humble and respectful bow, thus demonstrating his reverence for their priesthood, an observance which, he says, impressed the shogun and his counsellors. At the end of a quarter of an hour, during which the prince contemplated the



Spaniards, he made a sign to two of his chief counsellors, who again went to the ambassador and led him out of the hall. He was then requested to allow the shogun to view the portraits of the King and Queen of Spain, which were intended for the emperor. When these were sent for and brought before the shogun, he arose and dismissed every one from the audience room and sent a message to the ambassador, telling him that he was to return to his lodgings, and that the portraits would be sent back to him later. It is recorded that he and his consort and the ladies of the palace particularly enjoyed seeing the portrait of the Spanish queen, on account of her beauty and rich costume, which to them seemed very strange.

On receiving his dismissal, the ambassador set out as he had come, but received the injunction that no volleys of musketry were to be fired as long as he was inside the palace precincts. Once outside, to the great delight of the Japanese, the Spanish soldiers began to fire loud volleys of musketry, with such rapidity that in an hour they had used a whole barrel of powder.

The following days were spent in making visits and presents to the court officials, and on St. John's day the ambassador and his men went in state to mass, at the Convent of San Francisco, in order, as is stated, to honor the feast of the Saint, and also to give an example to the Japanese to go to church and respect the priests.

At mass they offered a thanksgiving for the mercy that during their stay in the city there had been no accident or bloodshed such as might have been expected. At the Elevation of the Host, volleys were fired and the royal standard and banner were lowered to the base of the altar. On their way to the convent the Spaniards were met by Masumane, the mighty Lord of the Province of Oxo, who was awaiting them on horseback, accompanied by two thousand soldiers and many mounted horsemen. This noble prince, who was to become the friend and protector of the Spaniards and all Christians, is described as so powerful that, in case of warfare, he could command the services of eighty thousand men. As soon as he saw the ambassador he dismounted and sent him a message, asking him as a favor to order the

Spanish soldiers to discharge their firearms, because he wanted to see and hear them do so. Acceding to this request, they discharged two such loud volleys that he put his hands to his ears in alarm. Frightened by the noise a number of horses threw their riders, or rolled on the ground. Viscaino relates that the prince and his suite were so amused at this that they nearly died of laughter. When order was restored, the prince approached the ambassador, and bowing to the ground, offered him thanks and his services, and passed on with such demonstrations of politeness and courtesy that the Spanish ambassador was led to state that the Japanese nobility excelled in politeness all of the nations of the world.

The return journey to the Port of Uraga was made at the expense of the shogun and with a large escort of people. About a week later the embassy set out for the court of the emperor, Iyeyasu, at Shizuoka, in the Province of Suraga. On their way the Spaniards met nothing but hospitality, and on arriving at "Corunga," were lodged in houses adjacent to the palace. On the following day the emperor sent a gracious message, expressing the hope that the ambassador was sufficiently rested to come to the palace. If not, he would be granted an audience whenever it suited him best. Viscaino, who, it is said, was always ready to guard his dignity and impose his will, sent answer that he was ready to deliver his embassy, but that he first desired to know how the ceremony was expected to be. He, for his part, refused to remove his sword, dagger and boots, nor would he kneel upon the floor; what is more, it was his wish and intention to be accompanied by his armed men bearing the insignia of war, the standard, banner and drum. The answer was that the emperor graciously permitted him to deliver his embassy according to his own usage, but that on no account would he be permitted to fire volleys of musketry in the imperial court. Possibly as a means of giving the emperor an opportunity of expressing his displeasure at the arrogance of the Spanish ambassador, it was decided that he was to enter and leave the audience chamber twice,—the first time as the ambassador of the king and viceroy, the second time in his capacity of captain general.

On arriving at the palace, Viscaino was notified of this arrangement, and when he made his first entrance the emperor bowed his head in silent acknowledgment of the series of bows with which he advanced and presented the letter and viceregal gifts.<sup>1</sup>

When Viscaino entered the second time, he was received on a lower platform, and the emperor with what is described as "greater severity" bowed his head only at the captain general's entrance and exit, being apparently absorbed in examining the royal portraits just received.

When the friars offered their gifts, they were spoken to with great friendliness by the emperor, who asked them many questions. A message was sent to the ambassador, who was waiting outside, telling him that the emperor had been pleased to see him, that he was to go back to his lodgings, and that the emperor would speak to him later on—a promise which was never fulfilled.

The following days were spent in an interchange of visits with court officials. One of the ladies of the imperial palace, a devout Christian convert named Julia, went to visit the ambassador and hear mass at his residence. Her example was followed by a number of Christian Japanese, who were received with much affection by the Franciscan friars. Many other Japanese also came and expressed their desire to be taught the Catholic religion and to be baptized.

Meanwhile General Viscaino was preparing petitions to the emperor, which were worded as follows:—

"Sebastian Viscaino, Captain General of Phillip, King of Spain, says:—

"That he carries an order from his king and the viceroy of New Spain to make a survey of all the ports of this kingdom from Nagasaki to its northernmost limits, providing your Imperial Majesty grants the permission to do so. He is to make charts and take soundings, so that if obliged to take

<sup>1</sup> These gifts consisted, in the first case, of the clock, manufactured in Madrid, which the Japanese described as a "self-sounding bell," and copied with such success that Japanese clocks subsequently became famous as articles of commerce.

Besides this, the viceregal gifts consisted of the royal portraits already mentioned; of a water-proof coat, two saddles, a roll of paper, two barrels of Spanish wine, two sets of the implements used in falconry, and a roll of ribbon with gold braid, such as was used in Spain to adorn gala shoes.

shelter from storms, Spanish vessels on their way from Luzon to New Spain may know which are the best ports to enter, and may not be wrecked and lost as heretofore. Viscaino begs, as mercy, that a Japanese official be sent to accompany him, and to obtain ships and provisions for him everywhere at moderate prices. He ends with the promise that when the survey map is made, he will send one copy to the emperor and another to his lord and king."

In a second petition Viscaino requests permission to build a ship, so that when he returns to New Spain in the vessel in which he came, he could fill the new one with Japanese products, which he wished to take home as presents. He begs that the emperor will aid him by issuing an order that wood, carpenters, blacksmiths and other necessary workmen be supplied to him at reasonable rates such as are paid by his Imperial Majesty. He also asks that a Japanese official be placed in charge of the building of the vessel, and adds that he would gratefully receive this favor in the name of his king, for whom the ship was intended, and that he would return in it to Japan in the following year, with a view to promoting the friendship and commercial treaty already existing.

In the third remarkable petition Viscaino makes the false assertion that he had come to Japan for the sole purpose of bringing thither the Japanese vassals of his Imperial Majesty, and of returning the money lent to Rodrigo de Vivero. He claims that he had no other interests or merchandise, but admits that he has some stuffs and cloths, which he was obliged to sell in Japan in order to provide food for his men and to build the ship mentioned in the previous petition. He complains that when he attempted to sell the stuffs in the Port of Uruga, he was prevented from doing so by some Japanese courtiers, who stated that his Majesty needed said stuffs for his personal use. If this is the case, he says, "the whole ship's cargo and its men are at the emperor's disposal. If not, then will his Majesty please send an order, so that now, and whenever he may return to this land from New Spain or Luzon, General Viscaino can sell such stuffs free from duty or taxation." It would be well, he adds, to settle once and for all time what was to be done, so that one could know whether to return another time to Japan

and whether peace and amity are to continue. Viscaino closes his note by stating "that in New Spain the Japanese merchants were allowed to sell their merchandise without paying duties or taxes of any kind."

The imperial message brought to Viscaino, after four days, stated that the orders had been given, and that he would be permitted to build a ship wherever he chose to do so—that the material and workmen would be furnished him at very moderate prices, and that the concessions to survey the ports and to sell stuffs free of taxation would be granted him. Not satisfied with this, Viscaino sent his expression of thanks, somewhat contradictorily adding, "that he wished to inform the emperor that the principal business for which he had come to Japan was to find out whether his Majesty intended to be friends with the Dutch and allow them to enter his realm. If so, the Spanish king would not like his vassals to come to Japan to trade, and the peace begun could not be continued, for many reasons which he would explain, if permitted to do so, to his Majesty and the council."

On the next day at the house of the emperor's secretary, the latter and the president of the council listened attentively to Viscaino's representations. He asked them, in the first place, for a written acknowledgment that he had faithfully brought back the Japanese who had gone to New Spain, and that they themselves had testified that they had been well treated during their voyage. He added that if any one had any complaint to make, he would certainly give him satisfaction. He also wished a written acknowledgment of his having paid all that was lent to Don Rodrigo de Vivero, and the proceeds of the sale at Acapulco of the Japanese ship in which Vivero had made the voyage to New Spain. He here volunteered to pay any debt that might be found remaining due, and then asked for a return of the bonds or bills which Vivero had left as guarantees for the payment of the debt. The Japanese officials told him that they considered his requests just ones, and that both of them would immediately report to the emperor on the subject. After having thus emphasized the faithfulness and honesty with which he had performed his mission, Viscaino made an attack upon the Dutch, which was to cost him and his countrymen dear. He

accused certain Dutch traders, who had made a mercantile contract with the emperor a year previous, of being pirates, who, after committing many robberies, had been pursued and chastised by the governor of the Philippines. He affirmed that they certainly would not be able to fulfill their contract with the emperor, and asked "what friendship could the latter have with people who were not only thieves, but were disobedient and in revolt against their lord, the King of Spain?" He requested his auditors to reflect upon what he had already written on this subject to the emperor, and also requested an answer as to whether the Japanese intended to tolerate Dutch trade or not. He expressed a wish not to have to leave Japan without knowing the result of his embassy, so as to report it to the King of Spain. Viscaino's listeners expressed great surprise at his accusations against the Dutch traders and withdrew. On the following day they sent a message, saying that they had reported all he had told them to the emperor; that as they knew he intended to spend some time in Japan, an answer would be sent him before his departure for New Spain; that he was to go in God's name to the Port of Uraga. On his return to that port, he found that the emperor had cut off the free supply of food and lodgings which had heretofore been given to Viscaino. Viscaino interprets this act as a token of the displeasure the emperor was said to have felt at the Spanish embassy having visited the court of his son, the shogun, before his. He also accuses the emperor of an avarice which was increasing with advancing years, and makes other derogatory remarks concerning the aged monarch. A few days later the Spaniards entered the domain of the shogun, who sought to make amends for his father's abrupt action, and attributed it to the influence of his counsellors. Notwithstanding Viscaino's report against the emperor, he boasts further on of his embassy not having cost his king one hundred pesos, or dollars—a fact, however, which he attributes to the shogun's generosity and to his own practical wisdom and industry, which enabled him, as he said, "to make a quarter of a dollar of his Majesty's treasury appear like a million."

A series of disappointments awaited the Spaniards at Uraga. Their sale of stuffs did not yield as much as they expected, for

being unknown to them, the Japanese did not appreciate the real value of the finest woolen cloths and friezes, and would not buy them. Then, when the cost of building a vessel was estimated, it was found to exceed by far the means at their command; so it was determined to repair and strengthen the vessel they had come in, and to make the survey of the ports in it alone. It was found necessary before starting to apply to the shogun not only for credentials to the lords and princes who resided in the north of Japan and were not on good terms with the emperor, but also for the escort of a high official, who, in the name of the shogun, was to oblige people to furnish the necessary provisions and all assistance needed in making the survey. The shogun, who was under the influence of Friar Luis Sotelo, and showed a decided leaning towards Christianity, sent kindly messages to Viscaino, and expressed the wish to see and speak with him at length on his return concerning the friendly relations between his country and the Spanish nation. He also sent word, through the commander of the junks, that he had heard that Viscaino had given up building the vessel for lack of means, and he deplored his father's parsimoniousness. He expressed the desire that the emperor's license to build the vessel be transferred to him, as he would like to carry out the plan himself. Viscaino states that he gave him the imperial permit on account of being under obligations to him, and as it was important not to offend him on account of his friendliness towards Christians. Viscaino caused, however, a document to be drawn, in which he ventured to impose the following conditions upon the shogun:—

“The ship was not to carry more than one hundred tons. It was to be placed under his entire command; only two Japanese were to go as stewards of the ship and of its cargo. Not a cent was to be spent on the vessel by the Spaniards, but, on arrival at Vera Cruz, if the viceroy desired to buy the ship, it was to be given him at a moderate price. If not wanted, it was to sail for Manila, or wherever the viceroy might command.”

It is needless to state that these conditions, which Viscaino attempted to impose upon the Japanese ruler who was to defray the entire expense of the building, were never fulfilled. What happened will be told later on. While at Uraga, Viscaino had

a memorable interview with William Adams, the staunch partisan of his former employers, the Dutch, for whom, in 1611, he had obtained permission to establish a ship-building factory at Firando. Two Dutchmen had arrived at Uraga while Viscaino was there, carrying many presents for the emperor, who through William Adams' influence received them very well, and gave them all the permits and grants they asked for. In their name Adams went to see the Spanish general, and demanded from him an explanation as to "why he had told the emperor that the Dutch were a bad people, who were disobedient and in revolt against their king, and who went about robbing and creating trouble." Viscaino's characteristic answer, which is verbally given, was, "that it was perfectly true that he had said all that to the emperor, and much more besides, and that he had fallen short of the truth in describing what the Dutch were. He ended by stating that he was ready to give them any satisfaction they desired." He adds, "that it was agreed that the Dutchmen were to meet him, but that they did not dare to do so and adopted the alternative of leaving Uraga at night without seeing him."

Viscaino little imagined when he wrote thus disparagingly of the Hollanders, that these same men were about to secure a monopoly of Japanese trade which was to last for as many centuries as the dynasty of the Tokugawas.

The above encounter, in which William Adams called Viscaino to account, is of special interest, for it was to him that Friar Cavo attributes the total failure of Viscaino's embassy, and the fresh persecution of the Catholics which began at about this time.

According to Cavo, the emperor, surprised at the Spanish ambassador's over-bearing threats and demands, asked William Adams, his friend and adviser, whether such was the style of European nations. The answer was an emphatic denial, followed by a warning to the emperor "to be on his guard against the Spaniards, because it was their desire to dominate the whole world. For this purpose, they sent out as precursors the Jesuits, who, under the pretext of teaching the Christian religion, incited the people to rise in rebellion against their sovereigns. By this method they had made themselves masters of immense pos-



sessions in Asia and America. It was because they knew all this that the Dutch had cast off the yoke of their rule, and that the English and Germans were in warfare against them." It was evidently immediately after his interview with Viscaino, in which Adams had ascertained the Spaniards' antagonism towards the Dutch and more besides, that he returned to the emperor's court, and informed his Majesty that they knew for a certainty that the principal aim of the Spanish ambassador's visit was to discover certain islands of gold and silver. Adams and the merchants then took the liberty of asking the emperor how he could possibly have given the Spanish general permission to make a survey of the entire coast and of all the ports of his realm. The Spaniards, they said, were bellicose and skilled in the use of arms, and might come with a great armada to conquer Japan. In England and Holland no such permission would have been given to the Spaniards."

The old emperor evidently resented the criticism of his action—even from his friends, for he loftily answered, "that if the English and Dutch would not grant such a permission, they must indeed be cowardly, since they admitted fear of another nation." He said that "he had certainly not understood that the Spaniards had any such evil intentions, but that even if they had, he would have given them as ample a permission as he had done. He would have no fear even if the whole of Spain came against him, for he had enough men to defend him, so that this matter did not cause him the slightest anxiety. As to the islands that were to be discovered in his realm, he would like to know where they were—what report had been made about them and what their riches were reputed to be. If they belonged to his crown, he would know how to defend them, and if not, he wished the Spaniards good luck in discovering them, and he hoped that they would find them situated at a convenient distance, so that he could enter into mercantile relations with them, this being what he cared for most." The Dutchmen then told him that the rumor of the existence of these islands was attributable to some Portuguese, who, being lost at sea, had come across them. They had spent several days on them, saw that they were inhabited, and that the land was fertile and produced gold and silver, but

they could not tell in what latitude, nor at how many leagues from Japan the islands were situated.

The emperor somewhat sarcastically rejoined that "it would certainly require great good fortune for any one to discover anything so vague."

Although the Dutchmen were dissatisfied at the way in which the emperor had received their communications, they evidently bore fruit. Soon after, a Portuguese frigate arrived, with Don Nuño de Sotomayor, the Admiral of the Fleet of the Indies, as ambassador to Iyeyasu and the shogun. With the presents he offered, he made a request that the Portuguese be allowed to return to trade in Japan, stating that they would like to do so under certain conditions, the principal one being the removal of the governor of Nagasaki, against whom they had made some complaint. The emperor received them coolly and simply said that "if they desired to come to his country, they might do so, but that it was not for them to ask him to reform things therein, and that he did not wish to grant their request." The Portuguese left without obtaining more than this rebuff, and "with evil disposition towards the Japanese."

Doubtless the enemies of the Spaniards likewise brought to Iyeyasu's notice a disagreeable little episode which occurred at about that time, and cited it as an example of Spanish commercial dishonesty. It seems that no less a personage than a son of the commander of the junks had entrusted a member of Don Rodrigo Vivero's suite with a quantity of valuable merchandise, which was taken to Mexico and sold there. From the proceeds the Spaniards were to buy certain woolen stuffs and fine cloths for the Japanese nobleman's household. The latter learned, on Viscaino's arrival, that the Japanese goods had been sold in Mexico, and also that Vivero's follower had sent him nothing in return. It seems that it was with difficulty that the ambassador pacified the incensed creditor, and tried to exonerate Vivero from all blame, stating that he doubtless knew nothing about his follower's affairs. In order to hush the matter up, however, Viscaino and the Franciscan friars jointly compensated the Japanese lord with woolen stuffs of the value of seven hundred dollars. Commenting on this, Viscaino expresses him-

self as follows, unconsciously rendering a tribute to Japanese commercial honesty, at that period:—

“This transaction was wrong and deserving of punishment—especially with people like these, who are so punctual and exact, and are unacquainted with such dealings.”

Unfortunately, about this period, a high official in the house of the aged emperor was found guilty of an unprecedented act of deceitfulness and treachery, and, on being tortured, confessed that not only he but his wife and other fellow servants had been converted to Christianity by the Spanish friars. All were arrested and threatened with punishment and the confiscation of their property if they did not abjure their new faith. Many remained firm and incurred disgrace and loss of property, among them the lady Julia, who was expelled from the palace with shorn head and exiled to an island.

Shortly afterwards, under pretext of having to extend the boundaries of the town, the Franciscan monastery at Yedo was destroyed, and throughout the country the Christian churches and monasteries were razed to the ground. An ill-timed speech delivered by Viscaino during his visit to a Japanese lord was also doubtless reported to the emperor, and must have prejudiced him still more against the Spanish influence. Viscaino had assured his Japanese host “that the latter could not give greater satisfaction to the King of Spain than by allowing the friars to enter his domain and preach to his vassals—thus establishing permanent peace. For the King of Spain,” he said, “did not care about trade with Japan, nor any temporal interests, for God had given him many kingdoms and dominions. The only inducement that his Christian Majesty had (to enter into relations with Japan) was a pious desire that all nations should be taught the holy Catholic faith, and thus be saved.”

While the emperor, under the influence of his English and Dutch protestant advisers, daily took more active measures to expel the Roman catholicism introduced by the Spaniards and Portuguese, Viscaino was sailing northward, surveying ports and thickly populated islands, and bestowing upon them the names of his patron saints! He little thought, as he took his soundings, and, in the absence of a Spanish cosmographer, super-

intended the drawing of his charts by a Japanese artist, that he had become the unconscious educator of the Japanese, and that they, and never the Spaniards, were to make sole use of the results of his trained skill.

His charts, of which he duly sent the promised copies to the emperor and shogun, were examined with great interest by more than one Japanese nobleman. One lord, the coast of whose domain he had surveyed, sent him presents and a message, saying "that he much esteemed the trouble Viscaino was taking in discovering towns of his dominion, that he was delighted to hear that there were good ports in his land, and that he would much like to see the map of demarcation and the paintings which had been made."

Everywhere Viscaino and his companions were well received and generously entertained. Friar Luis Sotelo accompanied him for part of the time, and was with him when he visited Masumane, the powerful Lord of Oxo, who had displayed such interest in Spanish musketry at Yedo. This prince welcomed the Spanish general, and particularly Friar Sotelo, with utmost affection, respect and reverence, and insisted upon serving food and drink to them with his own hands. As a pledge of a friendship which he faithfully kept, he changed his sword for Viscaino's dagger, and, on receiving this, kissed its crossed handle, and placed it on his head. He displayed his socialistic tendencies and esteem for Christians by bestowing a title on one of his own servants, who was a convert, and by inviting him to dine with him and his Spanish Christian friends. Thereupon, naturally enough, many other members of Prince Masumane's household crowded around the friar, kissed the hem of his robe, and announced their intention to frequent the Franciscan monastery and study the Christian religion. Masumane from the first exhibited the greatest interest and inclination towards the Catholic faith, proved himself a true friend and protector of the Christians, and ultimately became a convert with all of his family, and a large number of his vassals.

At the beginning of December, General Viscaino had reached 40 degrees north latitude. On interrogating the natives he found that they knew the use of the compass, and was told that there

was a distance of about sixty leagues from the extremity of Japan to Corea, and that before reaching Tartary, in the channel lay a great island called Yeso, which was inhabited by people like savages who were so covered by hair that only their eyes were visible, and who habitually visited Japan in the months of July and August for trading purposes. Intense cold set in, and as Viscaino concluded that ports situated on the northwestern and southeastern shores of Japan would be of little use to vessels trading from the Philippines, he decided to return to Uraga, where he arrived on the 4th of January and met the members of his crew who had remained behind. He lingered at Uraga until the end of May selling his woolen stuffs at Yedo, "with difficulty and poor profits," and then started on a survey of the coast lying between Uraga and Nagasaki.

He first went to Ito, however, where, as agreed upon, the ship was being built by Japanese workmen under the patronage of the shogun. He found that beyond the preparing of the timber nothing had been done to advance its construction, and was struck by the lukewarmness and slowness with which the work was progressing. The general gave instructions to the ship-builders by word and by letter, and then proceeded on his journey. On returning to Miaco on July 2, he had four copies made of his survey charts, or as he calls them his "Discovery of Japanese Ports," these being intended for Iyeyasu, the shogun, the King of Spain and himself. From Corunga, a week later, he sent a message to the emperor, asking permission to start on his homeward voyage. It is evident that the emperor understood that Viscaino intended to sail directly to New Spain, for he sent word that Viscaino was to go on to Uraga, whither his answer would reach him, and there the emperor sent him a gift and a letter for the Viceroy of Mexico. The fact of his not sending any letter or gift to the King of Spain by Viscaino proved that he, probably enlightened by William Adams, had not taken very seriously Viscaino's pretence to be the ambassador of the king as well as of the viceroy. Viscaino, who had been informed that the emperor was so incensed at the Christians, on account of the treachery in his household, that no Christian dared approach him, complains that the emperor's answer to

the viceroy was very different from what had been promised, since in it his Majesty wrote "that he did not like" the Christian religion.

The complete text of this remarkable letter has just been published by Señor Lera, who wrongly states, however, on page 23, that Spanish translations of both letters are contained on page 185, Vol. VIII, of the "Documentos Ineditos," and on page 22, that the first galleon which sailed from Uruga for Acaulco carried six letters to the viceroy.

In Iyeyasu's letter, dated July 18, 1612, which closes the official correspondence between him and the viceroy of New Spain, he courteously thanks the viceroy for his presents and letter, and "expresses the hope that Heaven will permit that their mutual relations will be as close as those which result from familiar intercourse between neighboring countries." He remarks "that the interchange of merchandise could but be of mutual advantage"; and then expounds the elements of the Japanese religion, explaining that "in Japan, in making solemn compacts or agreements, it was customary to appeal to the gods to act as witnesses of their sincerity. These gods infallibly reward those who are faithful to their promises, and punish those who violate them." Iyeyasu next asks, "whether the path of all virtue is not to be found in the practice of the five virtues: Humanity, Justice, Courtesy, Prudence, and Fidelity?"

He then makes a statement which reveals too well what unfortunate experiences he had had in his dealings with the very people whose intercourse he had cordially desired for many years, and what erroneous ideas concerning the Christian religion had reached him in his seclusion within his palace walls, for he says:—

"The doctrine followed in your country differs entirely from ours, therefore, I am persuaded it would not suit us."

"In the Buddhist writings it says that it is difficult to convert those who are not disposed towards being converted. It is best, therefore, to put an end to the preaching of your doctrine on our soil.

"On the other hand, you can multiply the voyages of merchant ships, and thus promote mutual interests and relations.

Your ships can enter Japanese ports without exception. I have given strict orders to this effect." The presents sent with this letter are said to have been "five pairs of gilt screens and a map of Japan."

The shogun's letter was brief and reserved, but entirely friendly. He gives thanks for the viceroy's letter and presents, states "that intercourse and inclination, mocking at distance, have brought them together as neighbors," and adds "that he would await with impatience the merchant vessel, which, once a year, was to bring him news of the viceroy and his nation."

In conclusion he mentions three breast-plates and other pieces of Japanese armor, which he begs the viceroy "to accept as a proof of his devotion."

At the time this letter was written, the shogun, who did not share his father's views, and was under the influence of Friar Luis Sotelo, was preparing to send an embassy to New Spain on his own account, with a view of counteracting his father's severity and establishing direct relations between New Spain and his own domain.

The first step towards the execution of his plan had been his request to Viscaino to transfer to him the emperor's license to build a vessel, and it would seem as though the whole affair had been kept a profound secret from his father and from General Viscaino. As soon as the latter had departed, presumably for New Spain, the rigging and fitting up of the vessel, which seems to have been purposely delayed, were rapidly completed. Five weeks after Viscaino's departure, Friar Sotelo sailed from Uraga for New Spain with credentials appointing him the shogun's ambassador, and with a numerous suite of Japanese. They had barely reached the open sea, however, when they were overtaken by a storm which drove their ship upon the rocky coast and completely wrecked it. The fact that when building it the dimensions planned by Viscaino had been altered and the probability that the Japanese were as yet unskilled in the navigation of similar vessels may in part account for the loss of the vessel. The shogun, who, for unknown reasons, cast the entire responsibility and blame for the disaster upon Friar Sotelo, had him cast into prison and sentenced to death. He released and pardoned

him, however, at the instance of Masumane, who took Friar Sotelo to his court and made him his chief counsellor.

While all this was occurring at Uraga, General Viscaino was cruising about in search of the two islands, for it had never been his intention to sail for New Spain until he had accomplished what he and his father, the viceroy, had decided to be the principal aim of his voyage, namely, the discovery of the islands described by the Portuguese mariners. To his chagrin, he had had to give up setting out with the second ship, as he had planned from the beginning, for it had been built of a greater capacity, and although he had seen it actually afloat at Uraga, it could not be finished before he left.

On the 16th of September, Viscaino, with a reduced crew, and short of many necessary provisions, sailed from Uraga. On the 25th, after covering more than two hundred leagues, he found himself in the latitude in which, according to certain charts, the islands were supposed to lie. Finding no sign of these, the general held a consultation with the pilots on board as to what would be the best method to pursue in searching for them. All agreed to sail southward to 32 degrees of latitude, and did so, coming across many signs of a proximity to land, such as floating pieces of pumice stone, ducks and turtles. But they did not find the islands. The general, who it is recorded would not allow himself to think of returning to Acapulco until he had ascertained whether the islands existed or not, gave orders to retrace the ship's course. They continued their search with extraordinary diligence until October 12th, when some of the sailors became disheartened. The pilot then declared that, to his belief, the islands did not exist, and that he had exceeded his obligations and the viceroy's orders. Some of the crew mutinied, and, as he had no armed men to back him, the general, to avoid being killed, was obliged to pacify them with good words. On the 14th a violent storm overtook them, followed on the 18th by a hurricane which obliged them to cut down the mainmast. For eleven days they were in great peril, and suffered from lack of water and food, all cooking utensils having been washed overboard. Giving themselves up as lost, and realizing the importance of continuing their voyage to New Spain, they held a con-



sultation and decided that there was nothing to do but return to Japan, obtain a loan from the emperor, which their king would approve of, and make preparations to go back to New Spain in the following year. With a vessel which owed its escape from foundering to the lining which had been given it in Uruga, they reached this port, where further trials and deceptions awaited them.

The first news learned by Viscaino, on reaching the harbor of Uruga, was the history of the shogun's attempt to send an embassy and the loss of his vessel. The following is his characteristic comment on this disaster:—

“We found on reaching Uruga that the ship ‘San Sebastian’ had sailed and had run aground about a league from port, because the Japanese had insisted on carrying out their will, and had loaded it without permission from the Spaniards. The Japanese recognized their mistake.”

On landing, Viscaino at once sent messages to Iyeyasu and the shogun, announcing his return and explaining his misfortunes and the absolute necessity there was for him to obtain means to fit himself out for his return journey to Mexico in the following year.

The answer he received was that both sovereigns were grieved at his hardships, and that he was not to be troubled, as they would furnish him with what was necessary; that the emperor was about to visit his son at Yedo, and that, while there, both would discuss what was to be done. As soon as the general heard that the emperor had reached Yedo, he went thither to see him and solicit the loan he had asked for. He spent five whole months making extraordinary efforts, by means of presents and petitions, to attain his end. He underwent many hardships and suffered from exposure to cold—even waiting for hours by the roadside and in the places where he expected the emperor to pass when out hunting, but he never succeeded in speaking to him, nor did his petitions ever reach their destination, being intercepted by the secretaries and counsellors.

All this did not correspond with what had been promised him, and it was but natural he should abuse the Japanese, and accuse them of bad faith, etc. Later on he learned the cause of the treatment he had received and exonerated the emperor's

counsellors from blame. It seems that a friar, whose name and whose order Viscaino withholds, had sent a communication to the emperor, stating that he had heard that the general was soliciting a loan of six thousand dollars, to be repaid in New Spain. He warned the emperor and his counsellors to be careful, because Viscaino carried no authorization from the viceroy or from the King of Spain to make a loan there, that he had no means of repaying it, and that none of the friars would be responsible for the debt. Naturally the emperor withheld the loan, but kept Viscaino waiting in uncertainty for five months. Meanwhile the latter received an offer from certain Spaniards to loan him the sum he needed, the capital and interest to be payable in New Spain. This offer was joyfully accepted, and Viscaino drew up a mortgage of his and the king's property to give as security. But the friars warned the Spaniards also, stating that they had their grave doubts as to whether the loan would ever be repaid, and other things which, Viscaino says, could not bear repetition. In his dire necessity he called together his men, who were suffering from hunger, explained the situation and told them that nothing remained but for him to try to sell in Yedo at auction all he possessed—not only his negro slave and the mattresses from his own bed, but also the merchandise he had bought on commission for several noblemen of Mexico. He appealed to them to follow his example, and to sell all their personal belongings, so that they would be able to pay what they owed, repair their vessel and sail for New Spain. He thought that even if they had to live on rice and water alone during the whole voyage, it would be better than "to remain in the heathenish country they were in." When on the next day he endeavored to collect the clothing, etc., in order to take all to Yedo for sale, the majority of his men excused themselves, some hid their belongings and others sold them secretly and deserted. Being powerless, as he says, to "exercise the power of royal justice," Viscaino confesses that he thought it best "to be silent and dissimulate." So he collected all he possessed and went to Yedo to dispose of it, with the intention of paying his debts, and then meeting the expenses of his return voyage by taking freight and Spanish and Japanese passengers on his vessel.

The Spaniards agreed to this and some Japanese were inclined to do so, when another friar of the same order crossed Viscaino's plans—not only hindering the sale of his effects and the realization of his project, but also preventing Japanese merchants from even visiting the general's lodgings.

After making certain accusations against the friar, who seems to have been no other than Luis Sotelo, Viscaino describes how he became so discouraged that he actually fell ill. He was rapidly growing worse when a new vista suddenly opened out before him. Agents sent by Lord Masumane arrived, and offered to employ him and his men to build a vessel and to navigate it, when ready, to New Spain. Viscaino, who had had to relinquish all hope of ever being able to return in his own ship, which had become unseaworthy, only too gladly drew up a contract, the terms of which were, as he states, most favorable to his Majesty, the King of Spain. Masumane's agents undertook not only to give the remainder of the Spanish crew, consisting of twenty-six pilots, carpenters and other workmen, the same salary they had been receiving from the crown, but also to advance them good wages and free transportation for themselves and their belongings to the prince's domain.

General Viscaino, the royal constable, the surgeon and three or four other officers were to remain in the pay of the Spanish crown, but were to have free board and lodgings from the time they embarked until they reached Acapulco. Over and above these terms of agreement, which were faithfully kept by the Japanese, Viscaino imposed upon the agents two conditions which Masumane did not subsequently recognize. The first of these was that all employees, whether Japanese or Spaniards, were to be exclusively under the general's orders. The second was that, if, previous to sailing, no permission was received from the viceroy of Mexico for Japanese to go to New Spain, only a few Japanese were to be allowed to fill menial positions on board, and only in case they were needed. This clause, similar to that introduced by Viscaino in his previous contract, absolutely confirms the statement of the Japanese merchants who returned from New Spain and reported that they had been asked not to return, and shows that the vice-regal government

of Mexico had received orders from Spain to follow a policy of exclusion in order to protect Spanish-Asiatic trade.

It was not until the 26th of October, 1613, that the vessel was ready for the voyage. Viscaïno complains of having had great trouble with the Japanese, and of suffering much from the constant interference of "a friar who had persuaded the Japanese to help him to further a plan he had in mind." At the last moment, Viscaïno relates, "the friar took entire command of everything, embarked as many Japanese as he wanted, and constituted himself Governor and Captain General of the vessel." The friar was no less a personage than Friar Luis Sotelo, whose previous expedition as the shogun's ambassador had ended so disastrously. This time he and a Japanese nobleman, named Hasekura Rokuyemon, set out as co-ambassadors for Masumane, the Lord of Oxo, with a suite of one hundred and eighty Japanese, including sixty Samurai and several merchants. They were provided with letters not only to the viceroy of Mexico, but also to the King of Spain and to Pope Paul V.

Viscaïno pathetically records that he protested in vain, and finally, in order to avert a great disaster, was forced "to dissimulate and to embark as a mere passenger" upon the ship he and his men had built. He adds that the humor of the Japanese was such that they actually would have killed him had he attempted to do otherwise.

It would seem as though Viscaïno left the vessel at the first Mexican port which was touched, for it is from Zacatula, north of Acapulco, that Viscaïno dispatched, on January 22, 1614, his report to his father, Don Luis de Velasco, then living in Spain, and whom he probably soon joined. He seems to have ended his days in obscurity, for the date of his death was unknown to his Mexican biographer, Beristian.

The somewhat lengthy superscription of Viscaïno's report conclusively reveals the true aim of his embassy, which he took such pains to conceal from the Japanese, but of which they were informed by William Adams and his Dutch friends. It reads as follows:—

"Account of the voyage made for the discovery of the Islands named 'The Rich in Gold and Silver,' situated in Japan, Don Luis de Velasco being Viceroy of New Spain, and his son, Sebastian Viscaïno, the General of the Expedition."

Here ends the history of the first and last Spanish vice-regal ambassador to Japan.

Friar Sotelo's arrival in Mexico as the ambassador of the Protector of Christianity in Japan, and with a flock of would-be converts, was regarded as a triumph of the church and particularly of the deservedly much loved Franciscan order. At Acapulco, the town officials determined to honor the members of an embassy to the viceroy, the king and the pope with extraordinary honors, and greeted it with salutes of artillery. Its members were escorted with music to luxuriously appointed lodgings, and the festivities were crowned by a gala bull-fight. The viceroy sent orders that provisions for the journey to the capital were to be provided, and a large mounted and armed escort was to accompany the embassy on its long and somewhat perilous journey. In all villages, towns and cities along their route the travelers were received with military music and triumphal arches. Carpets strewn with pieces of gold were spread on their pathway, and they were lodged and lavishly entertained at the royal houses. In the capital, where they were anxiously expected, they were lodged in a palace near the Convent of San Francisco, where they were at once visited by the archbishop, the judges and officers of the inquisition and the high nobility and gentlemen of Mexico.

Having opportunely arrived in Holy Week, the Japanese were able to witness the solemn processions and impressive religious ceremonies held in the cathedral and churches of Mexico, the interiors of which were beautifully decorated with flowers. They were so impressed with what they saw that seventy-eight members of the Japanese ambassador's suite expressed their desire to be baptized. This sacrament was performed in the Church of San Francisco with great solemnity and the sanction of the archbishop's presence, members of the highest nobility acting as sponsors. Subsequently the Japanese ambassador expressed his desire to be baptized, but after consultation the archbishop and the commissary-general of the Franciscan order advised him to defer this ceremony until his arrival at the Spanish court.

It is recorded that on the day the Japanese ambassador went

to "kiss the hand" of the viceroy, he distributed new liveries to his servants and went in state to the palace, with a mounted escort.

The viceroy, Don Diego Fernandez de Cordova, Marquis of Guadalcazár, who received him with great delight and courtesy, expressed his satisfaction at the embassy's having been sent from Japan. He consented to give the Japanese passports allowing them to go to Spain, but informed them that it would be necessary for them to obtain from the King of Spain permission to return to Mexico; a detail which again reveals the existence of an established policy of exclusion.

On account of the difficulties of transporting so many persons, it was decided that the majority of the ambassador's suite was to remain in Mexico. The baptized converts were sent back to Acapulco, and the few merchants who had accompanied the embassy remained in the country, doubtless studying its products and manufactories. The mercantile relations with Mexico, which are said in the "Japanese History of Commerce" to have been kept up until 1636, when they entirely ceased, were probably established by these merchants and limited to Masumane's domain.

Friar Sotelo, Masumane's ambassador, his relatives and the sixty Samurai departed for Vera Cruz, visiting Puebla, where bull-fights and tournaments were held in their honor, and where they were lodged in the Franciscan monastery.

On the 10th of June, after spending four and a half months in Mexico, the embassy embarked in one of the best Spanish vessels and, escorted by the fleet commanded by General Antonio de Oquendo, reached Havana a fortnight later, and finally landed in Spain on the 5th of October, 1614.

The embassy was received with honors in Madrid, where the baptism of the ambassador was celebrated. He was given the name of the king, who probably acted as his sponsor, and that of Francis, the founder of Friar Sotelo's order.

Friar Cavo states that "this embassy did not succeed in establishing commercial relations between Spain and Japan on account of the persecution of Christians going on in the latter country." It is obvious, however, that no diplomatic negotia-

tions could possibly have been entered into by the King of Spain with ambassadors who were sent by one of the feudal lords and not by the emperor of the country whence they came.

After a very short stay in Madrid, during which, however, the King of Spain appointed Friar Sotelo his court preacher, the embassy went to Rome, where the friars and Hasekura Phillip Francis were received in audience by the Pope on the 3rd of November, 1615. It is recorded that after being presented to his Holiness they read him, probably with a view of obtaining his support, Latin translations of Masumane's letters, in which the prince cordially invited Franciscan friars to his domain, promised to protect all converts to the Catholic faith, expressed his desire to hold friendship with his Catholic Majesty, the King of Spain, and to enter into direct commercial relations with Mexico.

The Franciscan friar, Gregorio Petrocha, then made an address, and a Monsignor answered for the Pope, expressing his joy at the embassy, his benevolent acceptance of the homage and reverence paid to the Apostolic See by the "King," Masumane, who, he hoped, would soon follow his pious inclination and be baptized. The embassy was dismissed with presents and a letter for Masumane.

Beristian states that a painting from life of Friar Sotelo and Hasekura is preserved in the Quirinal Palace, in the ante-chamber of the chapel.

Señor Lera's publication contains the only statement I have been able to find concerning the date of the return of Masumane's embassy to Japan. He says that after an absence of six years it reached Nagasaki in 1620. This prolonged absence seems to indicate that it would have been dangerous for them to have returned sooner on account of the emperor's persecution of the Christians, and the proscription of their religion. It is not impossible that some of these converted Japanese remained permanently in Mexico.

Three years after the return of the embassy Iyeyasu died under tragic circumstances, and was succeeded by his grandson, Iyemitsu, who, in 1624, issued an edict ordering away all foreigners and interdicting Christianity.

In the following year Friar Sotelo, with several companions,

was burned alive at Bomura, thus realizing, as is quaintly said, "the desire with which he had come to Japan, to win a martyr's crown."

In 1636 all commercial relations with New Spain ceased, and in 1638 the Portuguese were expelled from Japan, and all ports were closed to foreign traffic. The Dutch alone were tolerated as traders and settlers, but the latter were virtually imprisoned on the peninsula of Dashima, where they had a factory.

Iyemitsu completed the system inaugurated by his predecessor, and put an end to Japanese trade and intercourse with foreign countries by issuing an edict forbidding his subjects to leave their country, under pain of capital punishment. He also ordered the destruction of all vessels of European pattern belonging to Japan. From that time to 1854, when Commander Perry made a treaty with the shogunate at Uruga, Japan "maintained a most rigid policy of isolation."

The foregoing history of the events which followed Iyeyasu's attempt to establish commercial relations with New Spain, based on original documents only and here presented for the first time, explains some of the reasons why, later on, the same emperor decided that intercourse with European nations positively endangered the integrity and future of Japan.

All had been simple at first when the Portuguese, regularly meeting Japanese merchants at the Island of Hirado, traded by barter and exported from Japan on an average of over three million dollars a year in gold. The three Portuguese Jesuit missionaries, St. Francis Xavier, Torres, and Fernandez, who landed in the Province of Satsuma in 1549, met with unexpected success in introducing the Catholic religion. The arrival of certain Spanish Franciscan friars, sent on a mission to Miaco by the governor of Manila, divided the Christian foreigners and converts in Japan into two rival parties, one consisting of the Portuguese Jesuits backed by the merchants of their own country, the other of the Spanish Franciscans supported by the Manila merchants, who bitterly resented the Portuguese monopoly of Japanese trade. The arrival of the Spanish Dominicans caused still further complications; the dissensions among the members and followers of the three orders giving direct provocation to the



persecution of Christians by the Japanese government. In order to establish peace, Pope Gregory XIII in 1585 issued a Bull forbidding all religious orders but that of the Jesuits to exercise priestly offices in Japan.

Vivero, the first Spanish official who landed in Japan, made efforts to poison the emperor's mind against the Portuguese, with a view of securing the monopoly of gold exportation for the Spaniards. Vivero and the viceroy of Mexico also ignored Iyeyasu's request for the expert Mexican miners, whom he had wished to employ to teach the Japanese the best methods of working their own gold mines.

Viscaino, the first Spanish ambassador, maligned the Dutch, with whom a commercial treaty had just been made, and went so far as to threaten that if the Japanese intended to tolerate the Dutch, the Spanish king would not allow his subjects to have dealings with Japan. On the other hand, the protestant Dutch republicans, and their influential English friend, William Adams, denounced the religion of the Portuguese and Spaniards, and described the latter's thirst for gold and success in conquering many remote countries which yielded the precious metal.

The revelation that Viscaino's secret mission was precisely to discover an unknown source of gold, presumably belonging to his dominion, was received by Iyeyasu simultaneously with the reproach of having unsuspectingly granted permission to survey the Japanese coast, which would unquestionably facilitate any future invasion of Japan, whether actually intended or not by the Spaniards. It seems possible that the existence of Viscaino's charts may have suggested to the emperor and his counsellors the idea of closing all Japanese ports to foreign nations.

The discoveries that certain converts made by Japanese missionaries had pledged their allegiance to a foreign power; that in the emperor's own household Christians had been guilty of treachery and duplicity, and the memory that missionaries, in open defiance of the emperor's orders, not only had preached in the streets of Miaco, but had even erected a church, explain, moreover, why the ruling class in Japan took alarm, and concluded that the Christian religion "struck at the root of the political and religious systems of Japan," and that "Christians formed

a dangerous and anti-national class, whose extirpation was essential to the political system initiated by Iyeyasu and perfected by Iyemitsu."

While it has seemed to me that the foregoing data concerning the earliest relations between Japan and Mexico were interesting from a historical point of view, I have also realized that they could but be of particular value to ethnologists and those who are especially interested in evidences of Asiatic influences in Mexico and Central America. To them I venture to recommend the consideration of the following facts:—

More or less frequent indirect intercourse between Japan and Mexico undoubtedly took place as soon as communication was established between the Philippine Islands and Acapulco.

In 1608 there were fifteen thousand Japanese residing in the Philippines, some of whom were probably employed in the crews of the galleons, eight of which came to Acapulco each year. In 1610, with the ex-governor of the Philippines, Vivero, twenty-three Japanese noblemen and merchants spent five months in Mexico and its capital.

In 1613, one hundred and eighty Japanese spent four and a half months in Mexico. The majority remained when the embassy departed for Europe, seventy-eight returning to Acapulco. The presumption is that they remained there awaiting the return of the ambassadors, which was delayed for six years.

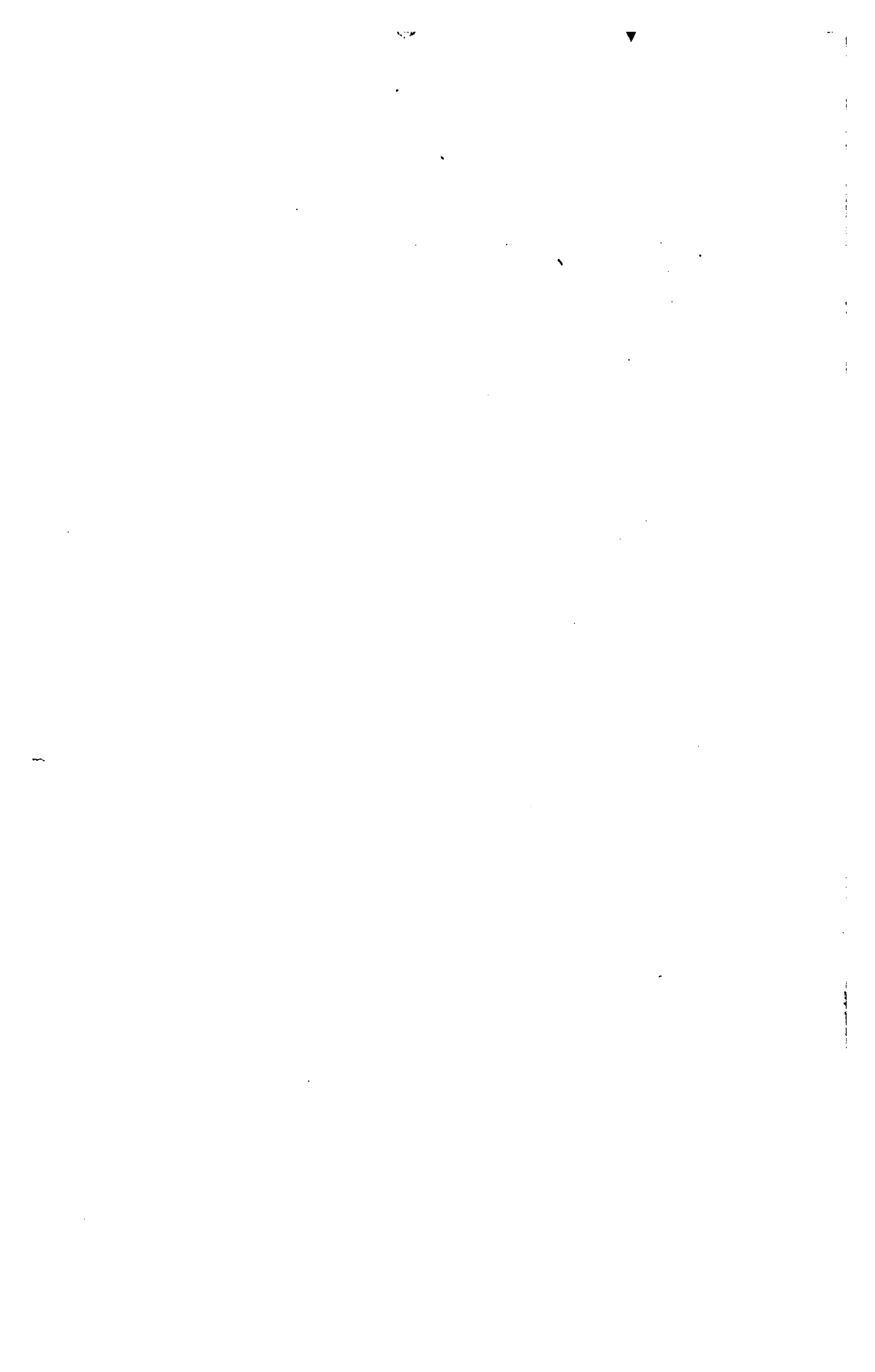
Iyemitsu's prohibition to Japanese to leave their country, under penalty of death, indicates that a large number of persecuted Christians had been going into voluntary exile. In all probability some of these, and also members of the Japanese colony in the Philippines, came to Mexico and settled there. What is more, for over two hundred years Mexico was the high-road over which passed the merchandise brought from Spain's Asiatic possessions, and landed at Acapulco by vessels whose crews frequently were partly Asiatic.

It is obvious, therefore, that it is the first duty of ethnologists to assign to the above influx of Japanese into Mexico in historical times any indications of Asiatic influence that they may detect, and for anthropologists to consider the more or less limited mingling of races which doubtless occurred in the 17th century and afterwards.

I will set an example by attributing to the Japanese who visited Mexico in the 17th century the introduction of the rain-coat made of grass or palm leaves, which is worn by the Indians inhabiting the Pacific coast of Mexico, and which is said to be identical with that used in Japan from time immemorial.

In this connection it suffices to point out the significant fact that the members of Masumane's suite returned to Acapulco from the City of Mexico in June, precisely at the beginning of the rainy season. It being absolutely necessary for them to have some protection from the torrential showers they were exposed to during their long journey, it seems more than probable that they deftly manufactured from native grasses or palm leaves such rain-coats as they had been accustomed to make and wear in their native land.

The practical lesson thus taught the observant natives and the models furnished by the rain-coats discarded at the end of the wet season would surely sufficiently account for the introduction and use to the present day of these useful and easily manufactured garments, of which a specimen, bought in the market-place at Oaxaca, has been sent by the writer to the Museum of the Department of Anthropology of the University of California.



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