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THE JAPANESE DIASPORA IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

According to Jesuit Sources

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Based on the analysis of a small fraction of the vast Jesuit documentation we attempted to trace some of the Japanese communities - both Christian and non-Christian - who lived in South East and East Asia, in the second half of the seventeenth century. It is known that the *sakoku* policy spurned many thousands of Japanese, dispersed in the abovementioned regions, who were left completely to their own resources. Without any hope of repatriation, from 1630/40 onwards, these Japanese then had to find their own means of subsistence.

1. Japanese expansion in East Asia

The arrival of the Portuguese in Japan, in 1543, would herald a new epoch of openness with regard to Japan's relations with the outside world. The route linking Japan with South China was the first of the many commercial routes which were to develop. This was primarily based upon the export of silk and gold from Macao to Japan and traded in Japanese silver in the opposite direction¹. This commercial network ensured that the Japanese archipelago soon became one of the most coveted commercial zones of East Asia². The

1 For further information about the Macao-Japan route *vide* Charles R. Boxer, *O Grande Navio de Amacau*, Macao, *Fundação Oriente and Museu and Centro de Estudos Marítimos de Macau*, 1989 (First edition of 1963) and Carlos Francisco Moura, "Macao e o comércio português com a China e o Japão nos séculos XVI e XVII: as viagens da China e do Japão, a nau do trato, as galeotas" in *Boletim do Instituto Luís de Camões*, n° 7/1, Lisbon, 1973, pp. 5-35.

2 The quantity of silver exported from Japan then represented about 30 to 40% of world production. For this reason, Vitorino Magalhães Godinho refers to Japan as being "the sole Potosí of the Orient". Cf. Ishizawa Yoshiaki, "Les quartiers japonais dans l'Asie du Sud-Est au XVIIème siècle", in *Guerre et Paix en Asie du Sud-Est*, Paris, *Harmetton*, 1998, p. 90 and Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, *Os Descobrimentos e a Economia Mundial*, 2nd edition, Lisbon, *Presença*, 1982-1983, vol. 2, p. 137. For the production of Japanese silver, see Kinshichi Norio, "Produção e circulação da prata no Japão durante o Século Cristão", in *O Século Cristão no Japão. Actas do Colóquio Internacional Comemorativo dos 450 anos de Amizade Portugal-Japão (1543-1993)*, ed. Roberto Carneiro and Artur Teodoro de Matos, Lisbon, 1994, pp. 267-279.

Portuguese exports of Japanese silver reached its zenith at the beginning of the seventeenth century, even though its market share in this trade was declining in the face of European and Asiatic competition³. Toyotomi Hideyoshi and the early Tokugawa Shoguns were adept at making the most of this demand for Japanese silver. Along with measures aimed at suppressing piracy, at the same time, they developed external Japanese commerce and improved contacts between Japan, South East Asia and other regions of East Asia. The foreign policy of the Japanese administration ensured them a foothold in the markets of South East Asia and even, in part, in the Chinese market itself⁴. Thus, in the period between the final years of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth century, Japanese merchants emigrated to areas throughout East Asia and promoted relations between these regions and Japan and also, at the same time, improved contacts with the native populations and Europeans whom they encountered along the way. The Japanese who established themselves in these areas ended up marrying locally and thus created communities constituted by their progeny. Thus, the four decades preceding the *sakoku* policy were a period of Japanese commercial expansion, above all in South East Asia, a region in which a large number of Japanese then settled, especially in the principal ports and cities.

1.1 The Japanese quarters

The preferred sites of these merchants were areas such as Burma, Cochin-China, Cambodia and Thailand, however, they also settled in the Philippines, in Java, in the Celebes and in Timor. In all these areas, particularly in the main cities and ports, Japanese quarters were established, where these communities of emigrants settled and dedicated themselves to developing commercial relations with other nations, especially with their country of origin. According to Ishizawa Yoshiaki, these quarters - that developed in the late sixteenth century and early seventeenth century - were constructed essentially for three main reasons: In the first place, to render assistance to the entire community of Japanese emigrants; secondly, due to the inherent necessities of

3 Cf. Jorge Manuel Flores, "Macau: O Tempo da Euforia" in *História dos Portugueses no Extremo Oriente*, 3 vol., A.H. de Oliveira Marques (dir.), *De Macau à Periferia* Vol I, Tome II, Lisbon, *Fundação Oriente*, 1998, pp. 187-193.

4 In areas such as the ports of Fujian, Macao and Taiwan, it is possible to detect traces of the presence of Japanese merchants. The Chinese Imperial prohibition of relations with Japan was not always complied with, and we know of the existence of a number of Chinese junks in Japanese ports. Cf. Jorge Manuel Flores, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

overseas commerce that greatly benefited from a fixed establishment in the main ports abroad and, thirdly, because the local authorities themselves used to establish certain sites for the foreigners' residential areas in order to control their movements and activities more effectively. These quarters, which did not follow any precise urban plan, sought to establish themselves in commercial ports - where there was frequent maritime traffic - as well as in sites close to the central political authority. The societies in these quarters lived communally and were rather closed and kept very much to themselves. One of the Japanese in the quarter, generally one of the more reputable amongst them, held the post of Captain of the quarter, being responsible for all matters that concerned the community therein. Without generalizing, we can affirm that this model developed more or less throughout South East Asia and adapted itself to a pre-existing model⁵. However, this does not mean to say that all the Japanese who settled outside their country of origin were obliged to live in these quarters⁶.

Many of the residents in these quarters were Christians. Their numbers increased considerably, in direct proportion to the growing persecution of Christians by the Japanese authorities. These Christians, who had fled, or been expelled from Japan, swelled the number of inhabitants in these quarters and were, generally, aided by missionaries from Macao. Many of these emigrants were also warriors - *samurai* - who were held in great esteem by the ruling elite of South East Asia, due to their military skills and experience⁷. The accentuated politico-military instability in South East Asia - ravaged by internal and external wars - ensured that these Japanese were greatly prized by the local powers. The emigration of the *rônin* was particularly intense in the aftermath of the Battle of Sekigahara (1600), and the siege of Osaka (1615), events that consolidated the power of Tokugawa Ieyasu, and also contributed towards the increase in the Japanese emigrant community. These emigrant warriors cashed in on their talents, serving as mercenaries in the employ of diverse authorities in South East Asia or, alternatively, dedicated themselves to regional commerce.

5 For further information about this subject, see Denys Lombard, "Le sultanat malais comme modèle socio-économique" in *Marchands et hommes d'affaires asiatiques*, Paris, Éditions de L'EHESS, 1987, pp. 119-120.

6 "En ce qui concerne le mode d'habitation de ces Japonais après leur implantation, tantôt ils occupèrent un certain espace à eux seuls pour former un bourg, tantôt ils s'installèrent parmi les autres résidents étrangers. C'est dans le premier cas qu'on peut parler de quartier japonais [...]. Le deuxième mode d'habitation des Japonais, disséminés parmi les non Japonais, était répandu un peu partout dans l'Asie du Sud-Est". Ishizawa Yoshiaki, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

7 "L'existence de ces commandants - rônins - avait peut-être contribué considérablement à aider le petit nombre de Japonais émigrés à l'étranger à déployer des activités différentes de celles des autochtones et à acquérir une bonne réputation notamment dans le domaine militaire". *Ibidem*, p. 88.

1. 2 The isolationist policy and the end of Christianity

From 1640 onwards, we can affirm that the foreign policy of the *bakufu* in Edo was characterized by a strict control of everything that came from the outside world. This policy of isolating the archipelago would reveal itself to be the death knell of the Japanese Quarters scattered throughout East Asia. The decree for the “closure” of Japan naturally implied snapping ties between the Japanese who lived within Japan and those who lived abroad⁸ - and the latter, at least officially, stopped receiving news about happenings in their native land. The existence of these emigrant communities was inextricably tied to the commercial relations that they maintained with Japan, and the *sakoku* policy was to prove to be the beginning of the end. Contemporary documentation shows that these communities did not survive more than fifty or seventy years after the “closure” of Japan⁹.

In the early decades of the seventeenth century, the Tokugawa Shoguns actively promoted external Japanese trade. The measures that they implemented served to significantly increase the number of Japanese merchants who settled overseas throughout East Asia, as well as the number of foreigners who traded in the Japanese archipelago. This foreign policy was linked to the internal policies implemented by the Shogunate. Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542-1616), at least in the internal sector, tried to perpetuate the political and administrative projects of his predecessor, Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-1598)¹⁰. Japan found itself in the throes of a political unification, and the socio-economic order greatly benefited from Japan’s economic prosperity, or more specifically, from the expansion of external commerce. At the economic level, Ieyasu implemented measures to stimulate the agricultural sector, mining and the commercial expansion of Japan¹¹.

We have already mentioned that the Shogun attempted to suppress piracy so as to ensure a greater degree of security for the commercial routes to

8 “Ceci avait dû toucher tout d’abord le côté sentimental des Japonais émigrés, actifs et entreprenants, qui déployant leurs activités dans les pays étrangers éloignés du Japon et il se pouvait que l’interruption complète et de la circulation et de la communication les eût découragés, inquiétés, désespérés même” *Ibidem*, p. 93.

9 Cf. *Ibidem*, pp. 86-87. Owing to the acute scarcity of Japanese women scattered throughout South East Asia as well as the prohibition in force on emigration from Japan, inevitably, the days of these communities were numbered.

10 Cf. Francine Hérail, *Histoire du Japon, des origines à la fin de Meiji*, Paris, Presses Orientalistes de France, 1986, pp. 292-297. The Jesuit annual letters dating from the first decade of the seventeenth century testify to this process of political centralization.

11 Cf. Conrad Totman, *A History of Japan*, Cornwall, Blackwell Publishers, 2000, p. 215 and Francine Hérail, *op. cit.*, pp. 328-333.

enable the circulation of Japanese and foreign merchants. Another of his measures to stimulate this commercial expansion was the creation of official licenses for travel and commerce (ratified with the red seal of the Shogun) for Japanese merchants. The ships that these merchants sent overseas normally had a capacity of 200 men, and were called the red seal ships or *go-shui-sen*. During a period of approximately 31 years, with regard to the red seal ships, the Tokugawa government issued about 356 travel licenses to Japanese merchants. Between 1604 and 1635, 67% of these licenses were given to merchants who traded with Indo-China¹², the preferred geographical region of these merchants. Another measure taken by Ieyasu, in 1604, was the creation of a kind of corporation that enjoyed a monopoly of the commerce in raw silk, the main commodity that the Portuguese imported from China¹³. In the light of the above, we can see that the Shogun was not opposed to external trade. On the contrary, he intended to ensure that he obtained a portion of the profits for himself. It was the Shogun himself who re-established relations between Japan and Korea and, leaving aside the megalomaniac project of the conquest of China as idealized by Hideyoshi, his foreign policy seems to have been quite similar to that of his predecessor. He likewise wished to continue to reap the advantages offered by commercial relations with foreigners, but sought to put a halt to the Portuguese missionary expansion in the interior regions of the archipelago.

Ieyasu's successors - Hidetada (1578-1632) and Iemitsu (1604-1651) - did not seem to be so concerned with the commercial policy and their anti-Christian measures had inevitable repercussions on trade. The relations that the Tokugawa maintained with the missionaries were officially snapped in 1614, while Ieyasu was still alive.

There were about 150 missionaries in Japan at the time. Subsequently, in November 1614, 62 Jesuits and a diocesan priest left for Macao, accompanied by a large group of seminarians and *dojukus*. A group of 23 Jesuits, four Franciscans, two Dominicans and a diocesan priest also left for the Philippines¹⁴. Two years later, the new Shogun, Hidetada, promulgated a law that condemned anyone who protected or aided missionaries to death and, at the same time, also imposed restrictions upon the circulation of foreigners

12 Ishizawa Y. estimates that, at this time, between both foreign and national ships, 100,000 Japanese dispersed throughout East Asia. Cf. Ishizawa Yoshiaki, *op. cit.*, pp. 85-87.

13 This corporation held the monopoly for buying raw silk and ensured its distribution in the internal market. The cities of Nagasaki, Kyoto and Sakai participated in this, as also, at a later stage, Osaka and Edo. Cf. Francine Heráil, *op. cit.*, p. 328 and Jorge Manuel Flores, *op. cit.*, p.180.

14 Cf. João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, *Portugal e o Japão. O século Namban*, Lisbon, *Imprensa Nacional - Casa da Moeda*, 1993, p.79.

within the archipelago¹⁵. On the other hand, despite the continued concession of navigation permits, he also began to impose certain restrictions upon the Japanese merchants who plied the oceans aboard the red seal ships¹⁶. In the subsequent years, a large number of Japanese Christians would be executed in Kyoto and Nagasaki. At the same time, various Catholic missionaries continued to enter the archipelago clandestinely. Some of these were apprehended by the Japanese authorities and executed in September 1622, in an event that was to go down in history as the Great Martyrdom of Nagasaki. A year later, in 1623, the *bakufu* forbade the permanent residence of any Portuguese national in Nagasaki. Those Portuguese who had settled there and had married local Japanese women were forced to leave, and could only take their children with them. It is probable that, during these decades, in the face of the mounting persecution and martyrdoms to which the missionaries and Christians were subject, various Christian Japanese opted to emigrate to regions outside Japan.

The decade of the 30's, with the ascension of Iemitsu (1623), was to witness the decrees that almost totally closed Japan to the outside world, as also an intensification of the persecution of Christians. Between 1633 and 1639, the *bakufu* implemented three decrees that definitively established the isolationist policy. In 1633, it prohibited any Japanese from leaving the country, without prior authorization from the government, and forbade any Japanese emigrant to return to his motherland, under penalty of death. In 1635, a new decree was promulgated, that was identical to the 1633 edict and also reinforced it. It further added that the trade in Chinese silk would henceforth be a state monopoly and decreed that all Europeans who were resident in Japan be transferred to the artificial island of Dashima, and that their movements and activities would from then on be severely limited and controlled. After the Shimabara Revolt (1637 / 1638), the persecution of Christians in the archipelago greatly intensified¹⁷. In 1639, the Japanese authorities definitively snapped ties with the Portuguese and, in the following year, executed almost the entire crew of the ship, along with the Ambassadors, that Macao had sent to Japan, in an attempt to re-establish trade with the

15 They could only reside in the cities of Nagasaki and Hirado. The law thus sought to prevent the missionaries from circulating in the archipelago disguised as lay people. Cf. João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, "Japan" in *História dos Portugueses no Extremo Oriente...*, p.423.

16 From then on, their travel licenses had to be approved by the *Rōjū* (officials who were part of the *bakufu* council). Cf. Sansom considers this measure to be the first step of the *sakoku* policy. Cf. George Sansom, *A History of Japan 1615-1867*, Tokyo, Tuttle Publishing, 2000, vol. 3, p.40.

17 For more information about the persecutions after the revolt of Shimabara, see Anesaki Masaharu, "Prosecution of Kirishitans after the Shimabara Insurrection" in *Monumenta Nipponica*, n° 1, Tokyo, Sophia University, 1938, pp. 1-8.

archipelago, an attempt that was to end in abject failure¹⁸. In this way, Japan's isolation was to intensify to a great extent. With this policy, the *bakufu* did not exactly intend to isolate the country, but rather, aimed to eradicate Christianity and monopolize the foreign policy of Japan¹⁹. External trade, initially in the hands of the Portuguese, Chinese and Japanese, from 1639 onwards, was to be carried out solely by Chinese and Dutch traders, who thus became the only foreigners to trade with Japan. The presence of Chinese junks - the *tôsen* - and of VOC ships in the port of Nagasaki was implacably regulated, but was also the only way by which Japan could access certain products that were essential for its market, as well as obtain any kind of information about the outside world.

2. The Japanese diaspora

2.1 Macao

At this point in time, the city of Macao was considered to be the Rome of East Asia. In effect, this metropolis was the point of departure for the fathers who dedicated themselves to missionary activities in East Asia. Another characteristic feature of the city - which was responsible for its very foundation - was the preeminent role that it played as a mercantile *entrepôt* and principal port of call in the commercial routes of navigation in this part of the world²⁰. Due to the cessation of the lucrative Macao / Nagasaki route, the inhabitants of Macao had to find alternative means of subsistence. From 1614 / 1615 onwards some routes had been developed, such as those which linked Macao with the ports of Indo-China and India. It was but natural that various Japanese Christian merchants should have been associated in these voyages, both in Macao and in Indo-China.

18 For further information about this embassy to Japan, *vide* Benjamim Videira Pires, SJ, *A embaixada Mártir*, 2ª edição, Macao, *Instituto Cultural de Macau*, 1989.

19 According to Michael Vié, the Edo *bakufu* sought to control foreign policy and prevent the return of Christianity. Francine Héralil presents us with another reason that is related to economic preoccupations, linked to a decrease in the mining of silver and the fear that some *daimyô* could grow too rich by means of this trade and possibly revolt against the central authorities. In effect, some of the measures taken by the Shogunate with regard to the trade carried out with the Chinese, at the end of the seventeenth century, allow us to conclude that the Shogunate grappled with the problem of a shortage of this mineral. The effects of the decrease in the extraction of silver from the archipelago's mines would have been felt as early as the mid seventeenth century. Cf. Michel Vié, *Histoire du Japon, des origines à Meiji*, 5th edition, Paris, *Presses Universitaires de France*, 1995, p. 89; Francine Héralil, *op. cit.*, p. 332; Marius B. Jansen, *China in the Tokugawa World*, Harvard, *Harvard University Press*, 1992, p. 28.

20 For more information about the commercial importance of Macao see the article by Jorge Manuel Flores, to which we have already referred, "Macao: O Tempo da Euforia", in *História dos Portugueses no Extremo Oriente...*, pp. 179-213.

After the closure of the Japanese mission, Macao, naturally, apart from other areas, directed its missions towards the Indo-China peninsula, amongst other reasons also because it was well known that there were a large number of Japanese Christians settled in this region. Some of these missionaries were even Japanese, as was witnessed in Cambodia, during the 1620's and 1630's. In effect, by this time, the mission was, successively, managed by three Japanese priests, Father Justo Kazariya (1570-1629/30), Romão Nishi (1569-1639) and Leão *Chinzaemon*²¹, all of whom had been ordained at the College in Macao.

Father Justo Kazariya, who is also mentioned in the documentation by Justo Yamada, was born in Nagasaki. He entered the seminary in Arima in 1585 and five years later was admitted into the ranks of the Jesuit order. Until November 1614, when he left for Macao, he spent time in various residences such as, for example, that of Chijiwa, Uchime and Urakami. After his sacerdotal ordainment in 1624, he worked in Cochin-China and Cambodia (between 1629 and 1639)²².

The second of these Japanese fathers, Romão Nishi, is referred to very often in Jesuit documentation. Born in Arima, he entered the seminary in 1580 and was admitted into the Society of Jesus at the same time as Justo. He, too, left for Macao in November 1614, and was ordained as a priest at the beginning of the 1620's²³. He was to spend the rest of his life in the Indo-China missions, where he later died.

By means of these two examples, we can see how Macao was one of the places of refuge for those Japanese who did not wish to renounce their new religious beliefs. The closure of the mission in Japan led many Japanese Christians and novices to go to the College in Macao²⁴. From the Annual Letter of the College of Macao for the year 1616, we know that there were “many fathers and brothers from Japan in this College” [“neste Colégio muito padres e irmãos de Japão”]²⁵. In effect, of the 96 missionaries who were present in the College that year, there were 33 priests and 26 brothers who had

21 Cf. Ishizawa Yoshiaki, *op. cit.* p. 91.

22 Cf. João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, *O Cristianismo no Japão e o episcopado de D. Luís de Cerqueira*, Ph.D. thesis presented at the Faculty of Social and Human Sciences of the New University of Lisbon, photocopied text, Lisbon, 1998, Vol. II, p. 870.

23 Cf. *Ibidem*, Vol. II, p. 897.

24 “Ha mais nesta cidade hum collegio dos frades da companhia que tem entre irmãos e sacerdotes sem pessoas; e a razão de aqui estar tanta gente he por respeito da perseguição de Japão, e pellos padres que la estavão assistirem oje neste collegio”. *Carta do Ouvidor de Macau [Miguel Pinheiro Ravasco] a [Filipe II] rei de Portugal e de Espanha, sobre os conventos existentes em Macau; religiosos que cada um tem; rendas e bens que possuem*, 16th Outubro, 1621. AHU (Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino), Macau, caixa 1, doc. n.º 8.

come from Japan. Of these, 3 priests and 21 brothers were of Japanese origin²⁶. The latter were especially entrusted with the task of “..relearning some books in the College, written in the calligraphy and language of Japan, knowledge which could greatly contribute towards assisting in the cultivation of Christianity..”²⁷. These brothers were still present in Macao during subsequent years, at least in the period between 1617 and 1621²⁸. Later, when the missionaries realized that the re-opening of the mission in Japan would not be such an easy task as had been thought, some of these Japanese were sent to the missions in which their compatriots were carrying out evangelical activities²⁹.

But it was not only the men of the cloth who lived in the city. A number of laypeople were also to be found in Macao. It is probable that, here, they did not live in the habitual Japanese quarters but rather, in dwellings scattered throughout the city. The core nucleus of the Japanese community that sought refuge in Macao was constituted by Christians and, apparently, they did not feel the need to group together and unite in the same quarter, as was the case with their compatriots in South East Asia. It was but natural that there should exist some solidarity amongst the residents of Macao for their “brothers in the faith” and, apart from this, one should take into account the fact that, it was these very same residents who had helped them in their hour of need, providing them with their immediate necessities for survival at the time of the deportations³⁰. Finally, any concentration of Japanese would have given them an unwelcome visibility, that would have provoked inevitable reactions on the part of the Chinese authorities.

We have already mentioned that, in 1623, the Portuguese who were married to native Japanese women were expelled from Japan and that they

25 Cf. *Cartas Anuas do Colégio de Macau (1594-1627)*, (henceforth cited as *CACM*) co-ordination and introduction by João Paulo Oliveira e Costa and paleographic transcription by Ana Fernandes Pinto, Macao, *Comissão Territorial para as Comemorações do Descobrimentos Portugueses and Fundação Macau*, 2000, p. 144.

26 Cf. *Ibidem*, pp. 144-145.

27 *Ibidem*, p. 145.

28 *Ibidem*, pp. 158, 166, 180, 198, 216 and 230.

29 Some of these Japanese, naturally, died in Macao: brother Mâncio Taichiku (1574-1615), Gracia and Maria, two sisters (?-1615), Father Constantino Dourado (1566-1620), and brothers Lourenço de Omachi (1573-1615), Pedro Chikuan (1566-1622), Romão de Bungo (1552/53-1626/27), André de Amakusa (1563-1626), Fanka Leão (1537-1626/27) and Pedro da Cruz (1602-1652). Cf. João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 877, 839-840; *CACM*, 146-147, 219-220, 243-244, 264-265; *Carta Anua da Província do Japão do Ano de 1652*. BA (Biblioteca da Ajuda), 49-IV-61, fl. 197; Joseph Dehergne, *Répertoire des jésuites de Chine de 1552 à 1800* (henceforth cited as *Répertoire*), Rome-Paris, 1973, p. 68.

30 Referring to the Japanese women in Macao, Nicolau da Costa, author of the annual letter of 1616 mentions that: “A todas estas mulheres procurarão os nossos que a misericórdia de Macao desse esmolas, comida [...]”. *CACM*, p. 147.

could only take their children with them. In 1627, five Japanese noblemen along with their entire families were handed over to the Portuguese, who were to take them to Macao, and from there, to Goa. According to the Japanese authorities, if the Portuguese did not do so, all their merchandise would be confiscated. The reason given for their expulsion was the fact that they were Christians³¹. We do not know if the Macanese authorities carried out these orders to the letter, or if the exiled Japanese remained in Macao where, despite being expatriates, they would find themselves in the company of fellow countrymen. Nine years later, in 1636, the city was to witness the deportation of all Eurasian children, along with their Japanese mothers, to Macao. These consisted of approximately 287 people³².

The number of Japanese Christians in Macao, during the 1630's and 1640's, was sufficiently large enough to warrant the creation of a seminary in the city, exclusively for those who wished to follow the path of religion. In effect, the Seminary of St. Ignatius was founded in Macao by the Japanese priest (Cristovão) Paulo dos Santos, who provided the necessary capital for the enterprise - about 12,000 taels. We do not know the year of its foundation and nor do we find a trace of its Japanese benefactor. Probably, he was one of those many exiled Japanese, and the foundation of the seminary probably dates from sometime around the 1630's / 1640's. Its purpose was to render assistance to approximately twelve Japanese boys who were in Macao. The missionaries intended to ordain them as priests and send them to the mission in Japan, when it reopened its doors³³. In 1651, two of these boys were already members of the Society of Jesus³⁴. We know that the seminary was in the full swing of activities in 1654, the date of the last Annual Letter that refers to it³⁵.

There is ample proof of the presence of the Japanese in Macao, throughout the seventeenth century and the early eighteenth century. One way of concrete proof is by analyzing the names on the graves of the

31 Cf. Reyer Gysbertz, *De tyrannie ende wreedtheden der japanen* quoted in Valdemar Coutinho, *O fim da presença portuguesa no Japão*, Lisbon, *Sociedade Histórica da Independência de Portugal*, 1999, p. 37.

32 Cf. Charles Ralph Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan 1549-1650*, Manchester, *Carcanet*, 1993, p. 369; Manuel Teixeira, "Japoneses em Macau" in *O Século Cristão do Japão...*, p. 202.

33 "[...] ha neste Collegio hum [seminário] para o qual deixou certo clerigo jappão doze mill taeis de cabedal, para com elles, E com seus ganhos se ensinarem doze meninos japoens, que aprendendo tudo o necessario para Se ordenarem Sacerdotes e abrindo se Jappão entrar nelle com as noticia de Filosofia e Teologia". *Carta Ânua da Província do Japão do ano de 1650*. BA, 49-V-13, fl. 641; Manuel Teixeira, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

34 Cf. *Carta Ânua da Província da Japão do ano de 1651*. BA, 49-IV-61, fl. 17.

35 Cf. *Carta Ânua da Província do Japão do ano de 1654*. BA, 49-IV-61, fl. 381-381v.

churches. We know, for example, that Ana Soba, one of the benefactors of the College of St. Paul³⁶, was buried in the Church of St. Paul, in the first half of the seventeenth century. Here, too, one finds the grave of a Macanese Jesuit, João Pacheco (1668-1725), the son of Japanese parents. This cleric studied in the seminary of St. Ignatius³⁷ and was ordained as a priest in 1694. In the course of about thirty years he spent time in various missions. He took his vows as spiritual coadjutor in Macao in 1716, and died there on the 4th April, 1725³⁸. Another, later, example of the Japanese in Macao is that of Catarina Correia who died in 1726, a year after João Pacheco³⁹. These two Japanese are excellent examples that corroborate the presence of Japanese - or Macanese, children of Japanese parents - in Macao till the second quarter of the eighteenth century. After the natural disappearance of the exiled Japanese, one finds in Macao, traces of the first descendents of this community who are normally mentioned in the sources as “Macanese, offspring of Japanese parents”⁴⁰.

There were many other Japanese who lived in Macao, who are to be found buried in the same church, perhaps due to the fact of having been benefactors of the College of Macao⁴¹. As an example, one can cite the case of Isabel Regouta or Reigota, who was married to a Portuguese, Francisco Rombo de Carvalho, and died in February 1698. She donated “to the Father Visitor Antonio Rubino and his companions, who had gone to Japan one thousand two hundred taels, and to another Father, seven hundred taels in order to conclude the Cambodian Embassy [...] and further two hundred for the mission to China and Tonkin”. In addition, she founded a residence in China,

36 Cf. *Livro do Padre Montanha*. AHU, cód. 1659, fl. 115; “Ana Soba por sy so deo para hua esmola e hum ornamento para o altar mor, e por sua morte deixou para a Igreja e suas casas cento e sincoenta, e sinco taels[...]”. *Título dos benfeitores menos principais deste Colégio de Macau*. BA, 49-IV-61, fl. 92.

37 We do not know if, by this point in time, the seminary of St. Ignatius still dedicated itself exclusively to the instruction of Japanese, or whether it was already open to youngsters coming from other regions of East Asia. We believe that the number of Japanese who pursued their studies at this institution, quite naturally, decreased as the century progressed, and with the extinction / dilution of the Japanese community of Macao.

38 Cf. *Répertoire*, p. 192 e *Livro do Padre Montanha*. AHU, cód. 1659, fl. 112.

39 Cf. *Livro do Padre Montanha*, AHU, cód. 1659, fl.121v.

40 Very often, they appear with the designation “japonês de Amacai”.

41 There exist many other Japanese buried in this church such as, for example: *Toba Maria Bicuni*; the *dojukus* Luís and Lino; Regina Pereira (d.7-9-1648); the mother of Gaspar Barbosa (d. 3-11-1649); Maria Dias (d.3-11-1649); Tomásia da Costa (d.7-10-1652), mother of Bartolomeu da Costa; Marta *Songa* (d.10-4-1654); Maria Fernandes (d.10-3-1655), aunt of the doctor *Shibon* dono; another Japanese woman, mother of the Jesuit novice António Rodrigues (d.10-8-1655); André *Guzaki*, son of *Shizube* dono (d.19-6-1658); Paulo *Sharobe* dono (d.5-10-1670) and his wife, Isabel *Jozze* (d.10-1-1685); Mónica *Jozze*; Mónica Pires (d.17-1-1687) buried in the sepulchre of her sister, Jerónima Peres; Leonarda da Fonseca (d.15-9-1688); Maria Fernandes (d.17-2-1698); Ana da Costa (d.9-12-1698); another Maria Fernandes (d.16-3-1703). Cf. *Livro do Padre Montanha*. AHU, cód. 1659, fl. 115-121v.

“and all this after the loss of the Japan trade, also giving many smaller amounts that, over a period of ten years amounted to about two hundred taels”⁴². One of the earliest examples of Macanese of Japanese origin that we found was the priest, Father Bartolomeu da Costa (1629-1695), the author of the Annual Letter of the Macao College for the year 1664. Another Macanese who belonged to this generation was Brother Inácio Saga (1631-1688) who, apart from having been a minister in the College of Macao, where he was present in 1673, also worked in the Cambodia mission, between 1680 and 1688⁴³.

In the late seventeenth century, on the 10th March 1685, a Japanese junk with twelve sailors on board and laden with 74 bales of tobacco, ran aground on a small island near Macao. The mariners lived in Ise and were bound for Nagasaki, when a storm caused them to change course and land in Macao. The Macanese and these Japanese faced some difficulties in communication, as it was impossible to find anyone in the city who spoke Japanese. Finally, a woman who was the daughter of Japanese parents was located and, with difficulty, managed to communicate with the castaways⁴⁴.

The crew of the Japanese junk remained in Macao for four months, where they were treated with all courtesies. The Portuguese repatriated them, aboard a frigate that arrived in Nagasaki on the 3rd July, 1685. By means of this act, they hoped to gain favour in the eyes of the *bakufu* and reactivate trade with the archipelago, the trade that had been interrupted 47 years ago. However, the Japanese authorities only authorized the castaways to disembark and obliged the frigate to return to Macao⁴⁵. It is worthy of note that during the 1680's, it was already very difficult to find anyone in Macao who spoke Japanese, or who possessed the basic rudiments of the language to be able to communicate with the castaways. On the contrary to what had happened in South East Asia - where the existence of quarters inhabited solely by Japanese delayed the miscegenation of the Japanese populace with the native inhabitants - the Japanese community in Macao, from the very beginning, mixed with the Portuguese population or with the Chinese community. Christianity itself fomented this process in the city of Macao.

42 *Titulo dos benfeitores principais deste Colégio de Macau*. BA, 49-IV-66, fl. 87. Despite not knowing the source of his fortune, everything points to the fact that it would have been considerable.

43 Cf. *Répertoire*, p. 239; *Monumenta Historica Japonica*, (henceforth cited as the abbreviation *MHJ*) Rome, 1975, pp.1110-1111.

44 Cf. “Assento e memória de um barco que veio de Japão, desgarrado por força dos temporais a estas ilhas da China em Março de 1685”, in *Arquivos de Macau*, Vol. 1, nº 4, September 1929, pag. 177-188 quoted in Ana Maria Prosérpio Leitão, “Os Portugueses e o termo das relações comerciais com o Japão”, in *O Século Cristão no Japão...*, p. 226.

45 Cf. *Ibidem*, pp. 227-228.

There is evidence of the presence of lay Christians or Japanese priests in Macao, until the beginning of the eighteenth century. In 1697, the superior of the Tonkin mission, Father Manuel Ferreira wrote a letter to D. Pedro II, in which he apprised him of the state of affairs of the missionary activity in East Asia. He also spoke of the necessity to establish a seminary in Macao, in order to train natives of China, Tonkin, Cochin-China, Cambodia, Siam and Japan as missionaries. We presume that, when he referred to the Japanese, Father Michael Ferreira had the descendants of the Japanese who had settled in Macao in mind, as one can deduce from a meeting of the Overseas Council [*Conselho Ultramarino*] with regard to this proposal⁴⁶.

2.2 South East Asia

As we have already mentioned previously, the city of Macao was, at the time, the nerve center of the Portuguese commercial and missionary activities in East and South East Asia. In the seventeenth century, with the fall of Malacca (1641), relations between Macao and South East Asia greatly intensified. As early as the sixteenth century, with the constant sieges that Malacca had to endure, the importance of Macao as a regional commercial *entrepôt* in Asia had increased significantly. Macao, as we can infer from, for example, a perusal of the Annual Letters of the Jesuit Fathers, was a kind of crossroads for trade and missionary activity throughout the entire region. It was from Macao that the Portuguese boats heading for trading voyages to the commercial ports of South East Asia, set sail, taking on board with them men of the cloth. Frequently, these missionaries could only remain in those areas during the duration of the merchants visits, and had to return to Macao along with them. The rupture of trade with Japan naturally caused a renewed interest for trade and evangelization with these regions in South East Asia - the merchants and missionaries attempted to substitute the economic and spiritual damage brought about by the end of trade relations with Japan. It was necessary to direct their efforts to other areas apart from Japan, despite the fact that, for

46 One of the letters annexed to this document is a consultation of the *Conselho Ultramarino* or Overseas Council about the same subject: “Vendosse este conselho da carta incluse (sic) [...] do padre Manuel Pereira superior da missaon de Tunquim e outros particulares Pareceo representar Vossa Magestade que este seminario de Macau se reconhece por utilissimo e que deste se devem criar asim os naturaes da China, Tunquins, Coxichinas, Cambojas, Sioes e Jappoez se os houuer [...]”. *Carta do Superior da Missão de Tonquim, Pe. Manuel Ferreira, a [D.Pedro III], rei de Portugal, sobre a acção missionária no Extremo Oriente, sobre a necessidade de formação de missionários naturais da China, Tonquim, Cochinchina, Cambodia, Sião e Japão e sobre as actividades dos missionários da Propaganda*, 22nd July, 1697. AHU, Macau, caixa 2, doc. n° 24.

many years, there persisted the hope that it would be possible to re-establish relations with the Japanese archipelago.

The presence of missionaries in South East Asia was largely dependent on the goodwill of the local political authorities. Through a perusal of Jesuit epistolography we are aware that the latter did not make a habit of maintaining a constant policy with regard to the missionaries and sometimes persecuted and expelled them and at other times enticed them to construct churches within their kingdoms⁴⁷. They were more interested in the commercial benefits that relations with Macao could offer, rather than in the religion of the missionaries that accompanied those very same merchants. In their turn, the Jesuit missionaries attempted to gain the goodwill of the rulers and, as far as was possible, sought to satisfy their demands and made constant visits to the courts with presents, in a bid to entice the monarchs to support their cause.

In the beginning of the seventeenth century, new missions for the areas of South East Asia were founded, based in Macao. Many of the missionaries who moved to this region were those who had left Japan when the anti-Christian policies hardened. The mission in Cochin-China was founded in 1615⁴⁸ by Father Diogo de Carvalho (1578-1624), a Portuguese who had been expelled from Japan, and Father Francisco Buzomi, an Italian. It was a mission beset by woes, Cochin-China being an area where the presence of missionaries was deemed necessary owing to the large numbers of Japanese Christians who were in dire need of spiritual succour⁴⁹. The mission in Cambodia was founded a year later, by Father Pedro Marques (1577-1657), a Portuguese who had also been expelled from Japan two years before. However, “due to the war in Cambodia, interrupted the activities of the mission, and the Father withdrew from Cambodia and returned to Macao; it later recommenced activities; it continues with the offspring of the Japanese Christians who were administered to there”⁵⁰. In 1626, it was the turn of Siam and Tonkin. It is worthy of note that, apart from Europeans, Japanese brothers were also sent to these last two missions. Father Pedro Morejón (c. 1562-1639), a Castilian, and António Francisco Cardim (1596-1659) went to Siam, accompanied by Brother Romão Nishi, whom we have already referred

47 For further information about this subject, see João Paulo Oliveira e Costa “Pastoral e Evangelização” in *História Religiosa de Portugal*, 3 vol., Co-ordinated by Carlos Moreira, *Humanismos e Reformas*, Vol. 2, Lisbon, *Círculo de Leitores*, 2000, pp.287-299.

48 Cf. CACM, p. 17.

49 Cf. António Francisco Cardim, *Batalhas da Companhia de Jesus na sua Gloriosa Província do Japão*, edition prepared by Luciano Cordeiro, Lisbon, *Imprensa Nacional*, 1894, pp. 15 e 175-221.

50 *Ibidem*, p. 15.

to previously. The latter went to Siam for the specific function of assisting the Japanese who lived in Ayuthia⁵¹.

Father Juliano Baldinote, an Italian, went to Tonkin, accompanied by a Japanese Brother. Father Pedro Marques, the founder of the mission in Cambodia also went to the mission on the island of Hainão, in 1633, accompanied by a Macanese Brother, Domingo Mendes (1582-1652). And finally, the mission in Laos was founded in 1642 by the Italian, João Maria Leiria, followed by the Makasar mission, which was founded by Father Ambrósio de Abreu and Gonçalo da Fonseca⁵². The fact that some Japanese missionaries were sent to these new missions is an indication that allied with the desire to convert heathens was the necessity to provide spiritual assistance to the Japanese Christians who were settled there.

The appearance of Japanese communities throughout South East Asia was, initially, directly linked with the economic prosperity of the region and with the increase in the number of *red seal* ships. In the wake of the first anti-Christian measures, from the Battle of Sekigahara and the Siege of Osaka onwards, the number of Japanese emigrants in these areas increased. Ishizawa Y. estimates that in the first half of the seventeenth century, approximately 71,200 Japanese left aboard Japanese ships, and if we take into consideration the foreign ships, about 100,000 Japanese emigrated to various destinations in East Asia⁵³. Irrespective of whether they were Christians or non-Christians, from 1635 onwards, they found themselves without any possibility of returning to their native country and remained in these areas for the rest of their lives.

2.2.1 Tonkin

In the second half of the seventeenth century, Tonkin was one of the principal areas with which Macao maintained continued commercial relations⁵⁴. Naturally, missionaries worked side by side with the Macanese merchants. As we have already mentioned previously, the foundation of the mission, in 1626, was also related to the fact that a Japanese Christian community was settled in Tonkin, given that the missionaries made it a point

51 Cf. *Ibidem*, p. 260.

52 Cf. *Ibidem*, pp. 15-16.

53 Between 1604 and 1616 about 39,000 Japanese circulated throughout East Asia in Japanese boats; between 1616 and 1635, the number is estimated to be 32,000. Cf. Isizawa Yoshiaki, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

54 Cf. Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *O Império Asiático Português 1500-1700, Uma História Política e Económica*, Lisbon, Difel, 1995, p. 294.

of taking a Japanese Brother along with them that very same year. The following year, the newly elected Visitor of China and Japan, Father António Palmeiro (1569-1635), sent a Portuguese missionary, Father Pedro Marques, to the mission who “knew the language of Japan, to assist the Japanese resident in that kingdom”⁵⁵.

The initial years of the mission went relatively smoothly for the missionaries. Apart from having been well received at the royal court, they had a reasonable number of baptisms. As he had not heard news of the missionaries, in 1629, Father Pedro Morejón, the Rector of the College of Macao (1627-1631), sent Father Gaspar do Amaral (1592-1646) to Tonkin, along with “Father Paulo Saito, Japanese, who was later a glorious martyr in Japan”⁵⁶. In the meanwhile, in 1630, the Jesuits were obliged to return to Macao. The monarch was displeased due to the fact that no ship from Macao had gone to trade with his kingdom that year. A year later, Father António Francisco Cardim, who knew Japanese, and Father Miguel Matsuda (c. 1577-1632)⁵⁷ and Father Pedro Kasui (1587-1639)⁵⁸, both Japanese missionaries who were also martyred in Japan, were sent to Tonkin. This time, the request for more priests was made by the king himself, to render assistance in his kingdom and in “whose shadow should continue the Macao trade”⁵⁹. This situation of close dependency in which the mission found itself, with regard to royal disposition and the kingdom’s trade with Macao, is a characteristic that can be applied to almost all the missions of South East Asia.

It does not appear to us that the Japanese community based in Tonkin was very large but, on the other hand, it was a fairly dynamic community.

⁵⁵ António Francisco Cardim, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 76. Paulo Saitô, a native of the province of Tanbu, was admitted into the Society on the 2nd February 1607. Like many other missionaries, he left for Macao in November 1614. Later ordained as priest, sometime between December 1623 and 1625, Saitô worked in the Cochinchina missions, in 1620, and in Tonkin. He returned to Japan around 1628, where he was tortured and executed in October 1633. Cf. João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 890.

⁵⁷ Miguel Matsuda, also mentioned in the documentation as Miguel Pinheda, was a native of Shiki and was admitted into the Society on the 2nd February 1607. He studied Latin for six years and in 1613 held the post of Grammar Master in Todos-os Santos [All Saints]. In November 1614, he left for Manila, where he was later ordained as a priest in 1621. In 1623, he shifted to Macao and seven years later returned to Japan, where he died in 1632. Cf. *Ibidem*, Vol. II, p. 885 and *Répertoire*, p. 171.

⁵⁸ Pedro Kasui, a native of Urube (Bungo) was the son of Romão Kibe, an important functionary of Ôtomo Yoshishige, and Maria Hata. He left for Macao in November 1614 and from there proceeded to India, Persia and Palestine. He was ordained as a priest in the Eternal City on the 15th November 1620, and shortly thereafter entered the Society of Jesus. He later returned to Macao, arriving in that city in 1625. He worked in Siam in 1627, visited Manila and returned to Japan in 1630. He was martyred in Edo, in 1639. Cf. João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 891. For further information about this personality, see Hubert Cieslik SJ, “P. Pedro Kasui (1587-1639), der letzte japanische Jesuit der Tokugawa-Zeit” in *Monumenta Nipponica*, n° 15, 1960, pp. 35-86.

⁵⁹ António Francisco Cardim, *op. cit.*, pp. 76-78.

We do not have information neither about whether they were grouped together in a typical Japanese quarter nor of the number of Japanese settled there. We do know, however, that they owned ships who sailed to Japan to trade, under the command of Chinese captains. It was through these Chinese junks and through the Dutch ships who would call at Tonkin, that the missionaries from Macao would often receive news about the Christian community in the Japanese archipelago.

Between 1646 / 1647, António Francisco Cardim once again found himself in Tonkin, where a Japanese by the name of Paulo Rodrigues, who was the Dutch *feitor* or overseer, provided him with some news about the Christians in Japan⁶⁰. Paulo Rodrigues, through the Dutch, had learned of the capture and execution of five Jesuits who had entered Japan via the Philippines, in 1643⁶¹. A few years later, in 1651, the missionaries learnt of the death of the Tokugawa Shogun through the very same sources⁶².

The Annual missive of the Province of Japan pertaining to the year 1654 provides us with some more information about this Paulo Rodrigues. He was a typical Japanese merchant who had been officially authorized by the Japanese authorities to trade in South East Asia. At the time when the isolationist policy was implemented, he found it impossible to return to Japan, also partially due to the fact that he was accused of having taken some missionaries there clandestinely. He, thus, opted to settle in Tonkin where, after a few years, as a result of the preaching of a Japanese Brother, he embraced Christianity. The post that he held, that of Dutch overseer, did not preclude him from trading on his own account and, thus, he also owned a ship that he used to send to Japan, under the command of a Chinese captain. Every year, when this ship set sail for Japan, he would give his captain orders to gather information about the Christians who lived there. He knew, for example, that in December 1653, in the city of Nagasaki, two women had been martyred by being buried alive, and that a few days later, the husband of one of them was also arrested, accused of being a Christian⁶³.

We also come across the case of a Japanese in the service of the king of Tonkin. In effect, in 1665, a ship that set sail from Tonkin, where it had

60 "Assim mais me informei de um japão muito rico por nome Paulo Rodrigues, que assiste no dito reino, como feitor dos holandezes, e por sua via se comunica com japões seus amigos e correspondentes que tem em japão". *Ibidem*, p. 62.

61 These were Fathers Pedro Marques (1575-1657), Afonso Arroyo, Francisco Cascola and José Claro, and a Japanese brother by the name of André Vieira. Cf. *Ibidem*, pp. 62-63.

62 Cf. *Do Estado da Missão de Tunkim neste presente ano de 1652*. BA, 49-IV-61, fl. 157.

63 Cf. *Carta Anua da Província do Japão do ano de 1654*. BA, 49-IV-61, fl. 395-396.

bought silver, and headed for Macao, found itself in grave difficulties while still off the coast of Tonkin, and was unable to continue the voyage. It finally managed to land on the coast and “the King of Tunkim ordered them, through a Japanese who had lived there for many years with his people, to unload the contents, and they were still able to find twenty and two thousand taels of silver, apart from the artillery”⁶⁴.

During the period between 1640 and 1660 there lived in Tonkin a couple of Japanese Christian nobles, Paulo de Bada - who held the office of captain of the Japanese quarter - and his wife, Ursula⁶⁵. We believe that the missionaries were referring to this nobleman in the annual missive pertaining to Japan for the year 1665. In this letter, the missionaries relate the case of the arrest of the crew of a Dutch ship by the Japanese authorities at the beginning of the 1650's. The arrest followed in the aftermath of an attack made by the Dutch on a Chinese junk that was bound for Japan to trade⁶⁶. The news was sent to Macao “by a Japanese nobleman who has been living here for many years, exiled because of his faith, who corresponds and communicates with many Japanese in these neighbouring kingdoms; however it is [also] said that it was due to [the fact that] the Dutch built a factory on a certain Japanese island”⁶⁷. Could this have been the very same Japanese, Paulo de Bada who, a few years earlier, in 1653, had informed the missionaries who were at the court of Tonkin, of the circumstances of the conversion and death of the apostate Cristovão Ferreira in Nagasaki?⁶⁸ Shortly after, between 1655 and 1656, he apprised Kiyō Japão, a Japanese friend who lived in Macao⁶⁹, of the same information. We thus see that on various occasions, it was the Japanese residents in Tonkin who would inform the missionaries in Macao about news concerning Japan.

64 *Carta Ânua da Missão do Japão do ano de 1656*. BA, 49-V-14, fl. 97.

65 Ursula died sometime around 1651-53. Cf. *Carta Ânua da missão de, ou Reyno de Ainão, da Província do Japão do Ano de 1654*. BA, 49-IV-61, fl. 265v.-266.

66 Cf. *Carta Ânua da Província do Japão do Ano de 1665*. BA, 49-V-15, fl.223-223v.

67 *Carta Ânua da Província do Japão do Ano de 1665*. BA, 49-V-15, fl.223v.

68 According to the latter, Cristovão Ferreira was in Nagasaki: “velho e doente arrependera-se dos seus pecados e, em voz alta pedia perdão a Deus [Old and ill, he repented his sins and asked aloud for the God's forgiveness].” *Carta Ânua da Província do Japão do Ano de 1655*. BA, 49-IV-61, fl. 441v.-443v. For further information about Cristovão Ferreira see the article by Hubert Cieslik, SJ, “The case of Cristovão Ferreira”, in *Monumenta Nipponica*, n° 27, 1974, pp. 1-54 and Valdemar Coutinho, *op. cit.*, pp. 74-84.

69 Cf. A Certidão de Quio Japão, casado e morador nesta cidade... BA, 49-V-3, fl. 206v. and *Carta Ânua da Província do Japão do Ano de 1655*. BA, 49-IV-61, fl. 441v.-444v.

2.2.2 Cochin-China

Cochin-China was another of the preferred places of residence for a group of Japanese. Here, one could find two Quarters, one in Faifo (Hoi An) founded in 1617 and survived until 1696, and another in Tourão (Da Nang) that was founded in 1623. Ishizawa Y. estimates that approximately 300 Japanese lived in Cochin-China. The majority were Christians and they constructed a church in their Quarter to house the missionaries who came from Macao⁷⁰. However, the presence of Japanese in these two cities dates to before the foundation of the Quarters themselves. In effect, as we have already mentioned before, in the early part of 1615, the first Jesuit missionaries left Macao, bound for Cochin-China. Their main objective was “to cultivate the Japanese Christians who, every year, would go from Japan to Cochin-China to trade, and some would winter there one or more years in order to trade better with the Cochin-Chinese”⁷¹. Perhaps, they hoped to return to Japan, from where they had been expelled a year earlier, through these Japanese emigrants who had stayed on there. In effect, seven years after the missionaries were expelled from Japan, a priest disguised as a soldier set out for Japan on board a Japanese ship that left from Faifo, bound for the Japanese islands. In Macao, he was joined by two other missionaries, both of whom employed the same disguise⁷².

The Portuguese manifested their interest in the coast of Cochin-China immediately after the foundation of Macao, in 1557. From this date onwards, the region was often visited by numerous private merchants from Macao. The commercial expeditions to this area were seasonal and one of the main locations which was visited by the Portuguese was Faifo. There, the Portuguese acquired silk, rare woods, sugar, cinnamon, pepper and rice in exchange for arms and gunpowder, copper, lead, European textiles and porcelain and tea from China⁷³.

The Catholic missions, which were to be founded subsequently, were always dependent upon the prestige of this trade. The favours granted to the missionaries by the king, were alternated by persecution of the missionaries, in conformance with whether Macao would send the king, for example, the cannons that were necessary for the constant wars that Cochin-China was

70 Cf. Ishizawa Yoshiaki, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-88.

71 António Francisco Cardim, *op. cit.*, pp. 176-177 and CACM, pp. 150-157.

72 “[...] não faltou quem conhecesse [hum] dos padres, por ser dos desterrados, e ter la estado muitos annos, mas como o que o conheceu era bom christão, calou, e não disse nada”. CACM, pp. 232-233.

73 Cf. André Masson, *Histoire du Vietnam*, 4th ed., Paris, *Presses Universitaires de France*, 1972, pp.30-32 and Luís Filipe Thomaz, “Cochinchina”, in *Dicionário de História dos Descobrimientos Portugueses*, Lisbon, *Caminho*, 1994, Vol. 1, pp. 254-256.

engaged in with Tonkin and Champa. In effect, we know that in 1651, the monarch, then at war with Tonkin, promised them a fixed residence in exchange for a piece of artillery. The Jesuit missionaries proved to be rather reluctant in giving him the said piece, as its use could seriously jeopardize the activities of the mission in this kingdom⁷⁴.

As we have already mentioned before, the missionaries were subject to innumerable persecutions and prohibitions by the ruling political authorities, and the reasons cited by these authorities to justify their actions were innumerable and always varied. In 1617, for example, they were subject to persecution by a Governor who accused them of being the principal cause for a lack of rainfall⁷⁵. A few years later, in 1631, the king ordered the destruction of the Church in Faifo, instigated by the Dutch and by a Japanese gentile who was “the head of the others [gentiles] who reside in Faifo”⁷⁶. In 1648, we know that the Fathers in the town of Faifo were obliged to reside in the street of the Japanese, and were prohibited from leaving it and preaching the word of God⁷⁷. Two years later, this prohibition was still in force and in the street of the Japanese, “the Fathers administered the sacraments to the Christians who would seek them out, and at night they would go out in disguise to give sacraments to others, who could not come to them, and to visit some nearby place, or province”⁷⁸.

Not all the Japanese who lived in this street were Christians. The Annual Letter of 1652 makes it clear that a relatively large group of “Japanese gentiles, and apostates”⁷⁹ also lived there. Some of them did not view the presence of these missionaries in the kingdom very favourably and, according to the Jesuits, besides slandering them publicly, also conspired against them with the political authorities⁸⁰.

Other persecutions were set in motion against the Fathers and Christians in the early years of the 1660’s, even causing some deaths. One of the resultant

74 Cf. *Carta Ânua da Província do Japão do Ano de 1651*. BA, 49-IV-61, fl. 29-30.

75 António Francisco Cardim, *op. cit.*, pp. 180.

76 “cabeça dos mais que residem em Faifo”, *Ibidem*, pp. 182-183.

77 Cf. *Ibidem*, p. 220.

78 *Carta Ânua da Província do Japão do Ano de 1650*. BA, 49-IV-61, fl. 6v.-7.

79 *Carta Ânua da Província do Japão do Ano de 1652*. BA, 49-IV-61, fl. 202.

80 One of these Japanese, son of a Chinaman and a Japanese woman, and Ambassador of the King of Cochín-China to the King of Siam, “[...] pertendeo que buscassem, abrissem, lessem e interpretassem todas as cartas, que escrivião os padres desta missão e se mandasse o treslado authenticco ao rei cochinchina, suspeitando que contra o mesmo rey se fallaria alguma cousa, principalmente em negocios pertencentes a razão de Estado. Mas foy Deus servido que em dezasette cartas que se lêrão nam se achou couza alguma das que o gentio [...] pertendia”. *Carta Ânua da Província do Japão do Ano de 1668*. BA, 49-V-15, fl. 60. According to the author of the same letter this incident, as well as other attempts by this Japanese to harm the Christians, resulted in him being deprived of his job, and also cost him a heavy fine of two thousand *cruzados*.

consequences was the renunciation of the Christian faith by several Japanese who, apart from signing a document testifying to their apostasy, also underwent a ritual in which they trampled upon various Christian images⁸¹.

The presence of the Japanese Jesuits in the Cochin-China mission made its presence felt, particularly in the first half of the seventeenth century. We know that, by the 1620's, Father Romão Nishi and Miguel Maki (c. 1581-1627)⁸² were to be found working in this mission. The Luso-Japanese missionary, Father Pedro Marques (c. 1613-1679)⁸³, on various occasions visited this mission where he was "very well received by the Japanese"⁸⁴. Father Bartolomeu da Costa, to whom we have already referred previously, was in Cochin-China from 1668 to 1695 where, apart from his missionary work, he also practiced as a doctor⁸⁵.

2.2.3 Cambodia

The Jesuit mission in Cambodia was one of the first missions to be founded, in 1616⁸⁶. In Cambodia, the Japanese immigrants founded two Quarters: in Phnom Penh, in 1614, and Pinalu, in 1618 which existed till 1667. Ishizawa Y. estimates that approximately 1500 Japanese lived here⁸⁷. However, relations between Cambodia and Japan dated back to well before the foundation of these Quarters. We know that as early as 1566, a ship from Cambodia had visited the island of Kyûshû. Ten years later, it returned to the same island, bringing along with it official letters for the *daimyô* Shimazu Yoshihisa (1533-1611) and Ôtomo Yoshishige (1530-1587) with whom they maintained commercial relations. Two diplomatic embassies were organized in

81 Cf. *Carta Ânua da Província do Japão do Ano de 1665*. BA, 49-V-15, fl. 232v..

82 Cf. Manuel Teixeira, *Macau e a sua Diocese. As missões portuguesas no Vietnam*, Macau, *Imprensa Nacional de Macau*, 1977, pp. 299 e 322. Miguel Maki, was a native of Takatsuki, and was admitted into the Society in 1607. He remained in Japan till 1617, working directly with the Vice Provincial, Jerônimo Rodrigues. After passing through Macao, in 1617, he went to Cochin-China in 1618. However, in March 1620, he was already back in Macao. He was ordained as a priest between December 1623 and December 1624 and died in Macao, but not before he had visited Cochin-China again, in October 1632. Cf. João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 885.

83 Father Pedro Marques was born in Nagasaki and was the offspring of a Portuguese, Vicente Marques, and a Japanese noblewoman, Sabina (baptized in 1627), niece of the *daimyô* of Bungo, Ôtomo Yushimune. He set sail for Macao in 1631 and worked not just in that city, but also in Cochin-China where he was one of the principal architects of the mission in this region. In 1667 he held the position of Vice Provincial of Japan. Cf. *Répertoire*, p. 165 and *MHJ*, pp. 1108-1109.

84 *Carta Ânua da Província do Japão do Ano de 1656*. BA, 49-V-14 fl. 98v.

85 Bartolomeu da Costa worked during approximately two decades in Cochin-China, where he died in July 1695. Cf. *Répertoire*, pp. 63-64 and *MHJ*, pp. 1110-1111.

86 Cf. António Francisco Cardim. *op. cit.*, p. 253.

87 Approximately 44 red seal ships went to Cambodia. Cf. Ishizawa Yoshiaki, *op. cit.*, pp. 85 and 87.

1605 and 1606. Their objective was to deliver an official letter to the Tokugawa government, along with several gifts, such as ivory, Rhinoceros horn, wheat skin, honey, perfumes⁸⁸ etc. In 1625, in the face of increasingly strained relations between the Shogunate and Christianity, several Japanese Christians from Cambodia were prevented from disembarking in Japan and from trading, unless they renounced the Christian faith⁸⁹.

In Phnom Penh, around 1615, there existed a Church and a community of about 70 Christians. We have already mentioned that, in the 1620's and 1630's, three Japanese priests worked there. In 1624, Father Justo Kazariya went to this mission, who later died there in around 1632. To substitute him, Macao sent Father Romão Nishi and, finally, Father Leão *Chinzaemon*⁹⁰.

During the 1640's and 1650's, the Japanese community in Cambodia continued to be the prime concern of the Jesuits who were resident in this country. In their annual missives, the missionaries refer several times to the fact that, "the fruit, and main work is with the Japanese Christians, Portuguese and Cochín-Chinese who live in that kingdom"⁹¹. A little later, in the same letter, the author writes that "one worked with the natives of Cambodia more to satisfy the orders of the Father Visitor Manuel de Azevedo who, seeing the scarce harvest that had been realized till then, ordered that one should see what could be done with great diligence"⁹². This idea, that there were no great apostolic results from amongst the indigenous population and that the Fathers concentrated their efforts on the foreigners resident there is repeated in the annual letters of 1647/48, 1650 and 1653⁹³.

In Cambodia, the Japanese came to hold fairly important positions such as, for example, guards or royal functionaries. Around 1650, one of these Japanese, who occupied an important place in the social hierarchy, "that in our terms of reference is equivalent to that of Captain General or Governor"⁹⁴, converted to Christianity, shortly before he died. He had married a local woman and had five children. Shortly after his death, the youngest son converted and was baptized with the name Francisco, and "the most important Japanese in the street were his godparents"⁹⁵. According to

88 Cf. *Ibidem*. p. 89.

89 Cf. *Carta do Padre Mateus de Couros*, 26th October 1625, BA, 49-V-8 fl. 52 quoted in Valdemar Coutinho, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

90 Cf. António Francisco Cardim. *op. cit.*, p.253-260 and Ishizawa Yoshiaki, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

91 *Carta Ânua da Província do Japão do Ano de 1650*. BA, 49-IV-61, fl. 9v.

92 *Carta Ânua da Província do Japão do Ano de 1650*. BA, 49-IV-61, fl. 10v.

93 Cf. BA, 49-V-13 fl. 584v., 49-IV-61 fl. 9v. and 49-IV-61 fl. 588.

the author of this letter, these two conversions had sparked some mass conversions amongst the Japanese community. Other Japanese dedicated themselves to foreign trade such as, for example, Soemon and his brother, Mori Kahei. On the 9th October 1636, the former sent a ship to Cochin-China and had planned sending another to Makasar. This merchant was cited as amongst the five most well reputed figures of the Japanese Quarter⁹⁶.

Till 1654 this community rented a settlement to the British and, two years later, did the same with the Dutch, who attempted to re-establish their relations with Cambodia. Thirty years after the implementation of the *sakoku* policy, these Quarters still existed along with their inhabitants and activities.

2.2.4 Siam

The Japanese arrived in Siam comparatively late, although Luís Fróis had written that the Japanese divided the world into three parts: Japan, China and Siam⁹⁷. But it was only towards the end of the sixteenth century that the Japanese began to appear in this part of the world, participating in palace intrigues and internal wars. The high point of this Japanese participation was, without doubt, realized by Yamada Nagamasa (?-1633), a Japanese magnate who played an important role in the Thai court in the early years of the seventeenth century. It is known that after the Battle of Sekigahara and the Siege of Osaka, many Samurai made their way to Siam, where they became merchants or mercenaries. Here, the Japanese influence was fairly prominent and they even reached the point of comprising part of the Kings personal guards⁹⁸.

In the Japanese Quarter, that was situated on the outskirts of Ayuthaya, the greater part of the residents consisted of Christians, who numbered about 400⁹⁹. As late as the beginning of the 1660's, the missionaries continued to work for the indoctrination and spiritual accompaniment of these very same Japanese. We have the case of an unidentified Japanese from Nagasaki who had left Japan at the tender age of 15. A merchant by profession, he ended up

94 *Carta Ânua da Província do Japão do Ano de 1650*. BA, 49-IV-61, fl. 9v. We believe that the post to which the author of the letter refers is that of the *Shabandar*. This was a kind of Governor of a port, nominated by the King of Cambodia, who was entrusted with the administration of external trade. Cf. Ishizawa Yoshiaki, *op. cit.*, pp. 89-90.

95 *Carta Ânua da Província do Japão do Ano de 1650*. BA, 49-IV-61, fl. 10.

96 Cf. Ishizawa Yoshiaki, *op. cit.*, pp. 92

97 Cited in Henri Bernard, "Angkor, la capitale religieuse du Cambodge, et sa découverte par les Japonais aux XVIe-XVIIe siècles", in *Monumenta Nipponica*, n° 3, 1940, p.280.

98 Cf. Pierre Fistié, *La Thaïlande*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1967, pp. 25-26.

99 Cf. Ishizawa Yoshiaki, *op. cit.*, pp. 87-88.

establishing himself in Siam. Later, he went to Cochinchina where he fell seriously ill and confessed to Father Pedro Marques¹⁰⁰.

The Jesuit mission in Siam was founded in 1626. Fathers Pedro Morejon, António Francisco Cardim and Romão Nishi were all sent to this mission. Father Nishi, naturally, had the task of rendering assistance to the group of Japanese Christians who were present in Siam¹⁰¹. In this mission, the missionaries built a “beautiful church in which they administered the sacraments to 400 Japanese Christians in that kingdom and some Portuguese residents in that city and other Christians from various kingdoms”¹⁰².

In 1628, two galleons from Manila docked in Siam. Their crew set fire to a ship belonging to Japanese and another belonging to the king of Siam. As a consequence of this incident and the subsequent Embassies between the king of Siam and the Governor of the Philippines, the Jesuit missionaries were expelled from this region¹⁰³. A report of these happenings, by Father António Cardim, gives us an account of the existence of a Japanese Quarter with its typical post of a Captain in the city of Ligor, as well as the emigration of some of these Japanese to Cambodia when the king of Siam turned against them. According to Cardim, it was only years later, when the Japanese emigrants returned to Siam at the request of the king, that the Jesuit missionaries returned to Siam once again¹⁰⁴. We know that at least two Macanese missionaries, who were the offspring of Japanese, worked in this mission during the second half of the seventeenth century: Bartolomeu da Costa and António Rodrigues (1634 - ?)¹⁰⁵.

The arrival and subsequent installation of the Dutch in Siamese territory¹⁰⁶ took place at the cost of the Japanese community that increasingly found itself unseated and relegated to second place. The impact of this change was reflected in the revolt of Yamada Nagamasa in 1632, that culminated in the expulsion of some of the Japanese¹⁰⁷.

The majority of the references that we come across mentioning the Japanese community in Siam also include references to the information that the missionaries of Macao received through them about the Christians in

100 Cf. *Carta Anua da Província do Japão do Ano de 1661*. BA, 49-V-15, fl. 61v.

101 Cf. António Francisco Cardim, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

102 *Ibidem*, p. 287.

103 Cf. *Ibidem*, pp. 288-289.

104 Cf. *Ibidem*, pp. 289-290.

105 We know very little about this latter missionary, the son of Japanese parents. He took his vows as temporal coadjutor on the 15th August 1676. In 1676 he was to be found in Siam, where he had already been residing for the preceding three years. After this, his trail peters out. Cf. *Répertoire*, p. 225.

106 The Dutch founded a factory in Patani in 1602 and another in Ayuthaya six years later.

107 Cf. Pierre Fistié, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-26.

Japan. As an example, in 1659/60, the annual letter of the province of Japan informs us that by means of the Japanese community in Siam, the missionaries had received information that in the previous year there had been various Christians had been martyred in Omura and Arima and that there had been a great scarcity of provisions that had subsequently resulted in a slackening of the persecutions¹⁰⁸.

Towards the end of the seventeenth century Samurai were still to be found in Siam. In 1690, the king of Siam sent a punitive expedition to Patani, one of his vassal kingdoms that had failed to send the habitual tribute that year. This expedition consisted of one hundred small military boats with about ten thousand soldiers. Command of the mission was entrusted to a Japanese, with the rank of *Okya*, a relatively high post in the military hierarchy, who was the son of another Japanese official in Siam who had died recently and had also held the same post¹⁰⁹.

2.2.5 Batavia¹¹⁰

In April 1600, the first Dutch arrived in Japan, aboard the ship *Liefde* piloted by the Englishman William Adams. However, it was only nine years later, that the VOC received authorization from the Shogunate to commence their so ardently sought after commercial activities. In that very same year, two ships belonging to the Dutch company arrived in Kyûshû, and proceeded to establish a factory at Hirado. Naojirô Murakami affirms that some Japanese adventurers embarked on these ships, as well as on subsequent ones - that arrived in Hirado in 1611 and 1613 - bound for the island of Java¹¹¹. We know that in February 1613, about 68 Japanese left for Java, many of whom were sailors and soldiers¹¹².

As we have already mentioned previously, these Japanese soldiers who emigrated and offered their services to foreign governments were highly prized by the authorities in Batavia who utilized them in their various campaigns

108 Cf. BA, 49-V-14, fl. 723.

109 Cf. Ishii Yonei, *The Junk Trade from Southeast Asia. Translations from the Tôsen Fusetsu-gaki, 1674-1723*, Singapore, *Institute of Southeast Asian Studies*, 1998, p. 59.

110 For the Japanese presence in Batavia, we based our research almost exclusively upon Murakami Naojirô "The Japanese at Batavia in the XVIIth Century" in *Monumenta Nipponica*, Vol. 2, 1939, pp. 23-41. Unfortunately, we did not have access to the article by Seichi Iwao, "Japanese emigrants in Batavia during the 17th Century" in *Acta Asiatica, Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture*, No. 18, Tokyo, 1970, pp. 1-25.

111 Cf. Murakami Naojirô, *op. cit.* pp. 24-25.

112 Amongst these Japanese were to be found nine carpenters, three ironsmiths and two or three whitewashers. We know, by means of the letter written by the *feitor* of Hirado, that the Governor-General had asked him to send about 300 Japanese. Cf. *Ibidem*, p. 25.

throughout South East Asia. In the 1620's, by means of several letters that the Governal General of Batavia wrote to the overseer or *feitor* of Hirado, we know that he incessantly implored that the *feitor* send as many Japanese as he could manage, not just soldiers but also civilians - to assist the development and settlement of the new city¹¹³. However, in the following decade, the Shogun forbade the emigration of his subjects and thus, the Dutch were compelled to resort to the services of Japanese who were already outside Japan. Despite these circumstances, we know that, in 1635, the Japanese community resident in Batavia was relatively large.

The census of Batavia, dated 1st November 1639, registered the presence of 108 Japanese, in a total estimated population of 8058 inhabitants¹¹⁴. With the Shogun's decree that prohibited emigration, this community could only renew itself through new births and by possible reinforcements in the form of arrivals of Japanese resident in other localities in South East Asia. One exception to this situation took place in 1639, when the Shogunate expelled all the Dutch residents from Nagasaki and Hirado, as well as all the Japanese women who were married to Westerners, along with their offspring. Thus, the ship *Breda*, which set sail from Hirado in October 1639, had on board four Dutch families, seven Dutch children, the daughter of an Englishman and two daughters of an Italian, along with six Japanese women¹¹⁵. The *Generale Missiven von Batavia*, dated the 8th January 1640, refers to the arrival of more than 400 Japanese who had been expelled, but in reality, this never transpired¹¹⁶.

We note that the Japanese presence in Batavia was an undeniable fact during the first half of the seventeenth century. However, this community, that established itself in a typical Japanese Quarter, languished as a result of the *sakoku* policy. Nonetheless, through a study of the notary documents of the *Landsarchief*, Murakami traced the presence of about 30 Japanese who resided in Batavia between 1640 and 1674¹¹⁷. Amongst this community of Japanese Christians in Batavia, who corresponded with their relatives in

113 Cf. *Ibidem*, p. 25.

114 Included in the Japanese community of Batavia we find 48 men, 24 women, 11 children and 25 slaves, who together represented just under 1.5% of the city's population. Cf. *Ibidem*, p. 26.

115 Cf. *Ibidem*, pp. 26-27.

116 "Our friends report that all Japanese, whose friends were punished on account of the Roman religion, will be banished from Japan and they believe more than 400 men with their wives will come to Batavia and become useful citizens..." *Ibidem*, p. 27.

117 With regard to some of these residents, one doesn't know much apart from the names themselves, such as in the case of Domingo van Firando, Goesaymon Japander, Gonçalo Japapan Nachoda, Joan Japon, Maria Miaco, Michiel Christen Japander, Paulo Japander, Paulo Japon Mardjiker...Cf. *Ibidem*, p. 28.

Hirado and Nagasaki¹¹⁸, we find the presence of not just soldiers but, above all, fairly successful merchants who worked with the VOC or independently and who also lent money to the natives and the Chinese, a fact which enabled them to accumulate considerable wealth.

Amongst the Japanese merchants who lived in this city in the second half of the seventeenth century, we highlight : Miguel *Boesaijmon*, who Murakami considers to be, in professional terms, the most successful Japanese resident of Batavia; Miguel Ichiemon, a Japanese Christian from Osaka; and Jan Schemon, another Japanese Christian who died between 1664 and 1665¹¹⁹. There exist more than 80 documents related to the transactions of the former, realized in the period between 1640 and 1664. Of these, about 61 are bonds of loans made to natives and to Chinese, at the rate of 1 or 2.5% per month. Despite the fact that we do not have any source that could prove this¹²⁰, it is possible that some of these loans made to the Chinese were for the purpose of financing the junks that annually set sail from various ports of East Asia bound for Japan, to trade at the port of Nagasaki. By means of an analysis of the testament of Miguel *Boesaijmon*, dated 30th June 1674, N. Murakami concluded that this Japanese willed a considerable part of his estate to some of his compatriots resident in Batavia¹²¹.

Miguel Ichiemon, the second of these Japanese residents, was not only a merchant, but was also the head of the Japanese community established in Batavia. He was married and had at least four children, one of whom Marten Ichiemon, worked for the VOC. One of the sources which was studied by Murakami, dated 1651, reveals that the Japanese had a contract, for one year, with the Commandant Abel Tasman to cut timber and that he employed about eight to ten men for this purpose¹²². The last Japanese to which we have referred to above, Jan Schemon, was also known for the loans that he made and for the slave trade to which he dedicated himself at a certain point in time. He died in around 1665 and had offspring¹²³.

118 We know of the existence of some of these letters, which were found in 1910 in Hirado, and were dated 26th June 1663, 27th May 1665 and 29th May 1671. These letters, which were sent to Japan were also accompanied by presents and informed the inhabitants of Hirado or Nagasaki of the situation of the sender. Cf. *Ibidem*, pp. 23-24.

119 Cf. *Ibidem*, pp. 28-31.

120 Amongst the dates that the work in question covers - 1674 and 1723 - the Chinese who left Batavia for Japan never provided (at least officially) any information about the Japanese community in Batavia. The sole news about these Japanese that was transmitted to the Shogunate government, by the Chinese crew of the three junks that arrived in Nagasaki in 1693, was that they had been told that some Japanese castaways were to be found in Putuoshan. Cf. *The Junk Trade from Southeast Asia...* pp. 221, 223 and 225.

121 Cf. N. Murakami, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-29.

122 Cf. *Ibidem*, p. 29.

In the early years of the 1660's, the missionary Father André Gomes, en route to Macao from Goa, was obliged to break journey in Batavia, where he took advantage of the situation to preach clandestinely. He thus found two Japanese Catholics, "one of whom was called John and the other Michael, both of whom for various reasons had come to Jakarta where, owing to the interaction with the heretics [...] had fallen into bad ways, and lived many years without fulfilling the obligations of Catholics¹²⁴". The Michael to whom the missionary refers, also mentioning that this individual was the captain of the Japanese community, could possibly be the aforementioned Miguel Ichimon. According to the author of this annual letter, Miguel became a born again Catholic after the death of his friend John who, at the age of approximately 80, had prepared himself to confess before he died¹²⁵. We can also take into consideration that this John could have been the Jan Schemon to whom we have already referred previously.

In the early years of Batavia's history we find a relatively large group of Japanese who served the VOC as soldiers or who dedicated themselves to their independent commercial activities¹²⁶. The establishment of the isolationist policy did not impede the fact that these Japanese maintained some contact with their native land - namely, through correspondence which was transported on board the Dutch ships that sailed to the island of Deshima.

Despite the fact that Murakami only cites examples of Japanese who were professionally successful, such as the big traders, we believe that not all Japanese were, and that there are bound to have been some Japanese who dedicated themselves to simpler activities. As we have already seen at the beginning of this part, amongst the first Japanese who set forth for Java aboard the Dutch ships in 1613, one also finds simple painters and carpenters.

123 Murakami N. refers to the existence of a certain Abraham Scheemon in 1735, who was probably one of his descendents. Cf. *Ibidem*, pp. 30-31.

124 *Carta Ânua da Província do Japão do Ano de 1665*. BA, 49-V-15, fl. 263.

125 *Carta Ânua da Província do Japão do Ano de 1665*. BA, 49-V-15, fl. 263-263v.

126 "Il est intéressant de rappeler que dès les débuts de l'histoire de Batavia, il est fait mention d'un petit contingent de soldats japonais, servant dans les troupes de la Compagnie ainsi que d'une colonie de riches marchands, en partie convertis au christianisme". Denys Lombard, "Les ambiguïtés de l'indépendance", in *Le Carrefour Javanais, Essai d' Histoire Globale. Les limites de l' Occidentalization*, Vol. 1, Paris, 1990, p. 76 .

Conclusion

In this brief study we have attempted to give a brief account of the Japanese diaspora in East Asia, after the isolationist policy imposed by the Tokugawa Shogunate. This study was realized by means of an analysis of various documents such as, for example, those that are to be found in the VOC archives, or those utilized by Ishizawa Y. for his article in which he analyzes the Japanese Quarters in South East Asia, to which we have referred extensively in the course of this study. In our opinion, the Jesuit documentation that we consulted, confirms the analysis and conclusions of this author.

An analysis of the annual letters of the Province of Japan allows us to verify that, relatively, the missionaries bestowed considerable importance to the exiled Japanese communities, perhaps in the hope of later being able to make “the jump” to the Japanese archipelago through them. One finds that there are constant references in the documentation to the necessity of providing them spiritual support, namely through the distribution of missionaries who knew Japanese or who were Japanese themselves. On the other hand, through an analysis of the letters one also notes that the missionaries, well into the seventeenth century, continued to feel a certain “nostalgia” for the loss of the Japanese mission, and always gave voice to the idea that the Shogun’s death would resolve the problem.

The exiled Japanese established themselves in several cities and ports throughout East Asia where they contributed towards the socio-economic prosperity of these areas through their commercial or military activities. Irrespective of whether they were Christians or not, these Japanese inevitably promoted the socio-economic development of the ports of South East Asia. The possibility of our tracing these communities decreases in accordance with the course of the seventeenth century, given that these communities eventually merged with the local populations, as they had very little possibility of renewing themselves owing to the lack of new Japanese arrivals. Their cultural heritage - language, religion, traditions - were the first to disappear and, as we have seen, in 1685, it was already difficult to find anyone who spoke Japanese in Macao, although we know for a fact that descendents of these Japanese still lived there as late as the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Abstract

This article attempts to trace some of the Japanese Christian communities scattered throughout East Asia in the second half of the seventeenth century. It is an established fact that the isolationist policy implemented by the Tokugawa Shogunate condemned several thousand Japanese dispersed throughout East Asia, who were completely abandoned to their fate and left to their own resources. Without any hope of repatriation, from the middle of the 1630's onwards, these Japanese had, perforce, to find their own means of survival. The more ambitious amongst them devoted themselves to trading in South East Asia or became mercenaries in the service of local authorities, while others made their way through life as functionaries or mere employees of the VOC. Apart from utilizing the available bibliography, this article was based upon an analysis of a part of the collection known as *Os Jesuítas na Ásia* that is to be found in the Ajuda Library in Lisbon. However, it does not purport to be an exhaustive study, and other documentation could supplement the volume of information about this subject, even though it would not modify the general ideas presented herein.

Resumo

O objectivo deste artigo é dar a conhecer o rasto de alguns dos japoneses cristãos espalhados pela Ásia Oriental na segunda metade do século XVII. É sabido que a política do isolacionista, estabelecida pelo xogunato Tokugawa, desprezou vários milhares de japoneses dispersos pela Ásia Oriental, que foram completamente deixados à sua sorte. Sem qualquer esperança de repatriação, a partir de meados da década de 30 do século XVII, estes nipónicos tiveram de encontrar os seus próprios meios de subsistência. Os mais ambiciosos dedicaram-se ao comércio no Sueste Asiático ou tornaram-se mercenários das autoridades locais, enquanto que os outros encontraram o seu caminho ocupando lugares de funcionários ou de simples empregados da VOC. Este artigo, para lá da utilização da bibliografia disponível, foi baseado na análise de uma parte da colecção os *Jesuítas na Ásia* que se encontra na Biblioteca da Ajuda de Lisboa. Não tem um carácter exaustivo, e outra documentação poderá enriquecer o volume de dados sobre o tema embora não deva alterar as ideias gerais apresentadas.