

The Jesuit Peril. 683

The second half of the sixteenth century is the most interesting period in Japanese history — for three reasons. First, because it witnessed the apparition of those mighty captains, Nobunaga, Hidéyoshi, and Iyéyasu, — types of men that a race seems to evolve for supreme emergencies only, — types requiring for their production not merely the highest aptitudes of numberless generations, but likewise an extraordinary combination of circumstances. Secondly, this period is all-important because it saw the first complete integration of the ancient social system, — the definitive subordination of all the clan-lordships under a central military government. And lastly,

The period is of special interest because the incident of the first attempt to Christianize Japan, — the story of the rise and fall of the Jesuit power, — properly belongs to it.

The sociological significance of this episode is instructive. Excepting, perhaps, the division of the imperial house against itself in the twelfth century, the greatest danger that ever threatened Japanese national integrity was the introduction of Christianity by the Portuguese Jesuits. The nation saved itself only by ruthless measures, at the cost of incalculable suffering and of myriads of lives.

It was during the period of great disorder preceding Nobunaga's effort to centralize authority, that this unfamiliar disturbing factor was

introduced by Xavier and his followers. Xavier landed at Kagoshima in 1549; and by 1581 the Jesuits had upwards of 200 hundred churches in the country. This fact alone sufficiently indicates the rapidity with which the new religion spread; and it seemed destined to extend over the entire empire. In 1585 a Japanese religious embassy was received at Rome; and by that date no less than eleven daimyō, — or "Kings", as the Jesuits not inaptly termed them — had become converted. Among these were several very powerful lords. The new creed had made rapid way among the common people also: it was becoming "popular", in the strict meaning of the word.

† When Nobunaga rose to power, he

favoured the Jesuits in many ways — not because of any sympathy with their creed, for he never dreamed of becoming a Christian, but because he thought that their influence would be of service to him in his campaign against Buddhism. Like the Jesuits themselves, Nobunaga had no scruple about means in his pursuit of ends. More ruthless than William the Conqueror, he did not hesitate to put to death his own brother and his own father-in-law, when they dared to oppose his will. The aid and protection which he extended to the foreign priests, for merely political reasons, enabled them to develop their power to a degree which soon gave him cause for repentance. Mr. Gubbins, in his "Review of the Introduction of Christianity into China and Japan," quotes from a Japanese

work, called Ibuki Mogusa, an in-
-teresting extract on the subject:-

body

2 eds

"... Nobunaga now began
to regret his previous policy
in permitting the introduc-
-tion of Christianity. He
accordingly assembled his
retainers, and said to
them:- 'The conduct of
these missionaries in per-
-suading people to join
them by giving money, does
not please me. How would
it be, think you, if we
were to demolish Nambanji
[the "Temple of the Southern
Savages" - so the Portuguese
church was called]?' To
his Mayéda Tokuzénin
replied:- 'It is now too late to demolish

manuscript type - lead.

The Temple of the Namban.
To endeavor to arrest the
power of this religion now is
like trying to arrest the current
of the ocean. Nobles, both
great and small, have become
addicted to it. If you
would exterminate this
religion now, there is fear
that disturbance should be
created among your own
retainers. I am therefore of
opinion that you should
abandon your intention of
destroying Nambanji. No-
bunaga in consequence regretted
exceedingly his previous action
in regard to the Christian
religion, and set about thinking
how he could root it out."

Directed by the same.

2. 14

The assassination of Nobunaga in 1586

may have prolonged the period of toler-
-ance. His successor Hidéyoshi,
who judged the power of the foreign
priests dangerous, was for the moment
occupied with the great problem
of centralizing the military power,
so as to give peace to the country.
But the furious intolerance of the
Jesuits in the southern provinces had
already made them many enemies,
eager to avenge the cruelties of the
new creed. We read in the histories
of the missions about converted
daimyō burning thousands of
Buddhist temples, destroying
countless works of art, and slaught-
-ering Buddhist priests; - and
we find the Jesuit writers prais-
-ing these crusades as evidence
of holy zeal. At first the
foreign faith had been only per-

-suasive ; afterwards, gathering power under Nobunaga's encouragement, it became coercive and ferocious. A reaction against it set in about a year after Nobunaga's death. In 1587 Hidéyoshi destroyed the mission-churches in Kyôto, Osaka, and Dairi, and drove the Jesuits from the capital ; and in the following year he ordered them to assemble at the port of Hirado, and prepare to leave the country. They felt themselves strong enough to disobey : instead of leaving Japan, they scattered through the country, placing themselves under the protection of various Christian daimyô. Hidéyoshi probably thought it impolitic to push matters further : the priests kept quiet, and ceased to preach publicly ; and their self-effacement served them well until 1591. In

That year the advent of certain Spanish
 Franciscans changed the state of
 affairs. These Franciscans arrived
 in the train of an embassy from
 the Philippines, and obtained leave
 to stay in the country on condition
 that they were not to preach Chris-
 -tianity. They broke their pledge,
 abandoned ^{all} prudence, and aroused
 the wrath of Hidéyoshi. He
 resolved to make an example;
 and in 1597 he had six Francis-
 -cans, three Jesuits, and several
 other Christians taken to Nagasaki
 and there burnt. The attitude
 of the great Taikō toward the
 foreign creed had the effect of
 quickening the reaction against
 it, - a reaction which had already
 begun to show itself in various

provinces. But Itidégoshi's death in 1598 enabled the Jesuits to hope for better fortune. His successor, the cold and cautious Iyégasu, allowed them to hope, and even to re-establish themselves in Kyōto, Ōsaka, and elsewhere. He was preparing for the great contest which was to be decided by the battle of Ōkijahara; — he knew that the Christian element was divided, — some of its leaders being on his own side, and some on the side of his enemies; — and the time would have been ill-chosen for any repressive policy. But in 1606, after having solidly established his power, Iyégasu for the first time showed himself

decidedly opposed to Christianity by
issuing an edict forbidding further
mission-work, and proclaiming that
those who had adopted the foreign
religion must abandon it. Never-
theless the propaganda went on—
conducted no longer by Jesuits
only, but also by Dominicans
and Franciscans. The number
of Christians then in the Empire
is said, with probable exaggera-
tion, to have been nearly two
millions. But Iyégasu neither
took, nor caused to be taken,
any severe measures of repression
until 1614, — from which date the
great persecution may be said to
have begun. Previously there had
been local persecutions only, con-

- directed by independent daimyō, - not
by the central government. The
local persecutions in Kyūshū, for
example, would seem to have
been natural consequences of
the intolerance of the Jesuits in
the days of their power, when
converted daimyō burned Buddhist
temples and massacred Buddhist
priests; and these persecutions
were most bitter in those very
districts - such as Bungo, Omura,
and Higo - where the native
religion had been ^{most fully} persecuted at
Jesuit instigation. But from
1614 - at which date there re-
mained only eight, out of the
total sixty-four provinces of
Japan, in which Christianity had not been

introduced — the suppression of
the foreign creed became a
government matter ; and the
persecution was conducted sys-
-tematically and uninterruptedly
until every outward trace of
Christianity had disappeared.

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~~Munro~~ The fate of the missions,
therefore, was really settled by
Iyéyasu and his immediate
successors ; and it is the part
taken by Iyéyasu that espe-
-cially demands attention. Of
the three great captains, all
had, sooner or later, become
suspicious of the foreign pro-
-paganda ; but only Iyéyasu

could find both the time and the ability
to deal with the social problem which
it had aroused. Even Hidéyoshi
had been afraid of complicate existing
political troubles by any rigorous
measures of an extensive character.
Izégasen long hesitated. The reasons
for his hesitation were doubtless
complex, and chiefly diplomatic.
He was the last of men to act hastily,
or suffer himself to be influenced
by prejudices of any sort; and
to suppose him timid would be
contrary to all that we know of
his character. He must have recog-
nized, of course, that to extirpate
a religion which could claim, even
in exaggeration, more than a million
of adherents, was no light under-
taking, and would involve an immense

amount of suffering. To cause needless misery was not in his nature: he had always proved himself humane, and a friend of the common people. But he was first of all a statesman and patriot; and the main question for him must have been the probable relation of the foreign creed to political and social conditions in Japan. This question required long and patient investigation; and he appears to have given it all possible attention. At last he decided that Roman Christianity constituted a grave political danger, and that its extirpation would be an unavoidable necessity. The fact that the severe measures which he and his successors enforced against Christianity, — measures steadily maintained for upwards of

Two hundred years, — failed to completely eradicate the creed, proves how deeply the roots had struck. Superficially, all trace of Christianity vanished to Japanese eyes; but in 1865 there were discovered near Nagasaki some communities which had secretly preserved among themselves traditions of the Roman forms of worship, and still made use of Portuguese and Latin words relating to religious matters.

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To rightly estimate the decision of Iyegasa — one of the shrewdest, and also one of the most humane statesmen that ever lived, — it is necessary to consider, from a Japanese point of view, the nature of the evidence upon which he was

impelled to act. Of Jesuit intrigues in Japan he must have had ample knowledge — several of them having been directed against himself; — but he would have been more likely to consider the ultimate object and probable result of such intrigues, than the mere fact of their occurrence.

Religious intrigues were common among the Buddhists, and would scarcely attract the notice of the military government except when they interfered with state policy or public order. But religious intrigues having for their object the overthrow of government, and a sectarian domination of the country, would be gravely considered. Nobunaga had taught Buddhism a severe lesson about the danger of such intriguing. Iyeyasu

decided that the Jesuit in Japan had a political object of the most ambitious kind; but he was more patient than Aburatsubo. By 1603 he had every district of Japan under his iron yoke; but he did not issue his edict until eleven years later. It plainly declared that the foreign priests were plotting to get control of the government, and to obtain possession of the country:—

Conell

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— "The Kirishitan band have come to Japan, not only sending their merchant-vessels to exchange commodities, but also longing to disseminate an evil law, to overthrow right doctrine, so that they may change the government of the country, and obtain possession of the land. This is the germ of great disaster, and must be crushed..."

middle type
— least

"Japan is the country of

Dumetier (The - least)

the gods and of The Buddha: it honours the gods, and reveres the Buddha... The faction of the Balien* do believe in the Way of the Gods, and blaspheme the true Law, - violate right-doing and injure the good... They truly are the enemies of the gods and of the Buddha... If this be not speedily prohibited, the safety of the State will assuredly hereafter be imperilled; and if those who are charged with ordering its affairs do not put a stop to the evil, they will expose themselves to Heaven's rebuke.

"These [missionaries] must"

* Balien, a corruption of the Portuguese padre, is still the term used for Roman Catholic priests, of any denomination. Ilegashu refers by it to Dominicans and Franciscans as well as to Jesuits.

smaller type
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lead

be instantly swept out, so that
not an inch of soil remains to
them in Japan on which to
plant their feet; and if they
refuse to obey this command,
they shall suffer the penalty...
Let Heaven and the Four
Deas hear this. Obey! *

3 eds

It will be observed that there
are two distinct charges made against
the Baten in this document, — ^{that of} politi-
-cal conspiracy under the guise of
religion, with a view to getting posses-
-sion of the government; and that
of intolerance, towards both the Shinto
and the Buddhist forms of native
worship. The intolerance is sufficiently
proved by the writings of the Jesuits

* The entire proclamation, which is of considerable length, has
been translated by Satow, and may be found in Vol. VI, part I,
of the Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan.

themselves. The charge of conspiracy was less easy to prove; but who could reasonably ^{have} doubted that, were opportunity offered, the ^{Roman} Catholic orders would attempt to control the general government precisely as they had been able to control the local government already in the lordships of converted daimyō. Besides, we may be sure that by the time at which the edict was issued, Iyégasa must have heard of many matters likely to give him a most evil opinion of Roman Catholicism:— the story of the Spanish conquests in America, and the extermination of the West Indian races;— the story of the persecutions in the Netherlands, and of the work of the Inquisition elsewhere;—

the story of the attempt of Phillip II
to conquer England, and of the
the loss of the two great Armadas.

The edict was issued in 1614; and
Izéyasu had found opportunity to
inform himself about some of
these matters as early as 1600.

In that year the English pilot
Will Adams had arrived at
Japan in charge of a Dutch
ship. Adams had started

on this eventful voyage in the
year 1598, — that is to say, just
ten years after the defeat of
the first Spanish Armada,
and one year after the ruin of
the second. He had seen the

spacious lines of great Elizabeth
— who was yet alive; — he had
very probably seen Howard and

Deymon and Drake and Hawkins
 and Frobisher and Sir Richard
 Grenville, the hero of 1591. For
 this Will Adams was a Kentish
 man, who had "served for
 Master and Pilot in her Majes-
 ties ships." The Dutch ship ^{vessel}
 was seized immediately upon her
 arrival at Kyūshū; and Adams
 with his shipmates were taken
 into custody by the daimyō of
 Bingo, who reported the fact
 to Iyēyasu. The advent of
 these Protestant sailors was considered
 an important event by the Portu-
 -guese Jesuits, who had their
 own reasons for dreading the results
 of an possible interview between such
 heretics and the ruler of Japan.
 But Iyēyasu also happened to

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think he sent an important one; and he ordered that Adams should be sent to send to him at Osaka. The malevolent anxiety of the Jesuits about the matter had not escaped Iyeyasu's penetrating observation.

They endeavoured again and again to have men sailors killed, according to the written statement of Adams himself, who was certainly no liar; and they had been able in Bungo to frighten two commanders of the ship's company into giving false testimony.* "The Jesuites and the Portugalls", wrote Adams, "gave many evidences against me and the rest of the Emperor [Iyeyasu], that we were thieves and robbers of all

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* "Daily more and more the Portugalls incensed the justices and the people against us. And two of our men, as traytors, gave themselves in service to the king [daimyo], heeling all in all with the Portugalls, having by them their limes warranted. The one was called Gilbert de Conning, whose mother dwelleth at Middleborough, who gave himself out to be marchant of all the goods in the shippe. The other was called John Abelson Van Owater. These traitours sought all manner of wayes to get the goods into their hands, and made known unto them all things that had passed in our voyage. Nine dayes after our arrivall, the great king of the land [Izégasu] sent for me to come unto him." —
— Letter of Will Adams to his wife,

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nations, — and [that] were we suf-
-fered to live, it should be
against the profit of his
Highness, and the land...

But Iyéyasu was perhaps all
the more favourably inclined
towards Adams by the eagerness
of the Jesuits to have him
killed — "crossed [crucified]", as

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Adams called it: "the custom
of justice in Japon, as hanging
is in our land". He gave

them answer, "says Adams,

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"that we had as yet not doen
to him nor to none of his lands
any harme or dammage: there-
fore against Reason and Justice
to put vs to death"... And
there came to pass precisely what
the Jesuits had most feared, — that

They had vainly endeavoured by intima-
-tion, by slander, by all possible
intrigue to prevent, — an interview
between Iyéyasu and the heretic
Adams.

"Soe that as soon as
I came before him," wrote Adams,
"he demanded of me of what countrey
we were : so I answered him in
all points ; — for there was nothing
that he demanded not, both concerning
warre and peace between countrey
and countrey : so that the par-
-ticulars here to wryte would be
too tedious. And for that time
I was commanded to prison, being
well vsed, with one of our mariners
that cam with me to serue me."
From another letter of Adams it
would seem that this interview lasted
far into the night, and that Iyéyasu's
questions referred especially to politics

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and religion. "He asked," says Adams, "whether our country had warres? I answered him yea, with the Spaniards and Portugals - being in peace with all other nations. Further he asked me in what I did believe? I said, in God, that made heaven and earth. He asked me diverse other questions of things of religion, and many other things: As, what way we came to the country? Having a chart of the whole world, I shewed him through the Straight of Magellan. At which he wondred, and thought me to lie. Thus, from one thing to another, I abode with him till midnight..."

The two men liked each other at sight, it appears. Of Iyégasou Adams significantly observes:-

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"He viewed me well, and seemed to be wonderful favourable". Two days later Dyégasu again sent for Adams, and cross-questioned him just about those matters which the Jesuits wanted to remain in the dark. "He demanded

also as concerning the warres betwene the Spaniards or Por-
-tingall and our country, and the reasons: the which I gave him to understand of all things, which he was glad to heare, as it seemed to me. In the end I was commaunded to prison again, but my lodging was bettered..." Adams did

not see Dyégasu again for nearly six weeks: then he was sent for, and cross-questioned

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a third time. The result was liberty and favour. Thereafter, at intervals, Iyégasen used to send for him; and presently we hear of him teaching the great statesman "Some points of geometry, and understanding of the art of mathematics, with other things..." Iyégasen gave him many presents, as well as a good living, and commissioned him to build some ships for deep-sea sailing. Eventually, the poor pilot was created a samurai, and given an estate. "Being employed in the Emperor's service," he wrote, "he had given me a living, like unto a lordship in England, with eightie or ninetie husbandmen

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that be as my slaues or seruents:
the which, or the like president
[precedent], was neuer here
before geuen to any stranger...
Witness to the influence of
Adams with Iyeyasu is fur-
-ished by the correspondence of
Captain Cock, of the English
factory, who thus wrote home
about him in 1614: - " The truth
is the Emperour is deuenish
lym much, and he may see
in and speake with hym at
all times, when kynges and
princes are kept ovr." * It
was through this influence that
the English were allowed to estab-
-lish their factory at Hirado.
There is no stranger seveneenth-
-century romance than that of

* " It has pleased God to bring things to pass, so as in ye eyes of ye
world [must seem] strange; for the Spaynard and Portingall hath bin my
bitter enemies to death; and now they must seek to me, an unworthy wretch;
for the Spaynard as well as the Portingall must haue all their negosshes [negotiations]
go thorough my hand." - Letter of Adams dated January 12th 1613.

his plain English pilot, — with only his simple honesty and common-sense & helps him, — rising & such extraordinary favour with the greatest and shrewdest of all Japanese rulers. Adams was never allowed, however, & return & England, — perhaps because his services were deemed too precious & lose. Itz says himself in his letters that Iyégasu never refused him anything that he asked for*, except the privilege of revisiting England : when he asked that,

* Even favours for the people who had sought to bring about his death. "I pleased him so," wrote Adams, that what I said he would not contravene. At which my ^{former} enemies did wonder; and at this time must treat me to do them a friendship, which to both Spaniards and Portuguese have I done: recompensing them good for evil. So, to pass my time to get my liking, it hath cost me great labour and trouble at the first, but God hath blessed my labour."

once too often, the "ould Emperor"
remained silent.

3d

Sketch

The correspondence of
Adams proves that Iyeyasu dis-
-dained no means of obtaining
direct information about foreign
affairs in regard to religion and
politics. As for affairs in
Japan, he had at his disposal
the most perfect system of es-
-pionage ever established; and
he knew all that was going on.
Yet he waited, as we have seen,
fourteen years before he issued
his edict. Hideyoshi's edict
was indeed renewed by him in
1606; but that referred particularly
to the public preaching of
Christianity; and while the

missionaries, outwardly conforming to the law, he continued to suffer them within his own dominions. Persecutions were being carried on elsewhere; but the secret propaganda was also being carried on; and the missionaries could still hope. Yet there was menace in the air, like the heaviness preceding storms. Captain Davis, writing from Japan in 1613, records a pathetic incident which is very suggestive.

Follows
S. Kelly } "I gave leave," he says, "to divers women of the better sort to come into my Cabbin, where the picture of Venus, with her sonne Cupid, did hang somewhat wantonly set out in a large frame. They thinking it to bee Our Ladie

follow
spelling

and her sonne, fell downe and
worshipped it, with shewes of
great deuotion, telling me in a
whispering manner (that
some of their own companions,
whom were not so, might not
heare), that they were Chris-
-tians : whereby, we perceived
them to be Christians, converted
by the Portugall Iesuits... When
Iyégasū first took strong measures,
they were directed, not against the
Iesuits, but against a more im-
-prudent order, - as we know
from Adams's correspondence.
"In the yeer 1612", he says, "is
put downe all the sects of the
Franciscannes. The Iesuits
hau what priuiledge.... they are
benige in Nangasacki, in which

follow
spelling

{
follow
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}
 place only may be so many as will of
 all sects : in other places not so
 many permitted..." Roman Catho-
 -licism was given two more years'
 grace, after the Franciscan episode.

Why Iyégasu should
 have termed it a "false and corrupt
 religion", both in his Legacy and
 elsewhere, remains to be considered.
 From the Far-Eastern point of view
 he could scarcely have judged it
 otherwise, after an impartial in-
 -vestigation. It was essentially
 opposed to all the beliefs and
 traditions upon which Japanese
 society had been founded. The
 Japanese State was an aggregate
 of religious communities, with
 a God-King at its head; - the
 customs of all these communities
 had the force of religious laws,

and ethics were identified with obedience to custom; — filial piety was the basis of social order, and loyalty itself was derived from filial piety. But this Western creed, which taught that a husband should leave his parents and cleave to his wife, held filial piety to be at best an inferior virtue. It proclaimed that duty to parents, lords, and rulers remained duty only when obedience involved no action opposed to Roman teaching, and that the supreme duty of obedience was not to the Heavenly Sovereign at Kyōto, but to the Pope at Rome. It had not the Gods or the Buddhas

been called devils by these missionaries
 from Portugal and Spain? Assuredly
 such doctrines were subversive, —
 no matter how ^{and} they might
 be interpreted by their apologists.
 Besides, the worth of a creed
 as a social force might be
 judged from its fruits. This
 creed, in Europe ~~and America~~,
 had been a ceaseless cause of
 disorders, wars, persecutions, atro-
 -cious cruelties. This creed, in
 Japan, had fomented great dis-
 -turbances, had incited politi-
 -cal intrigues, had wrought al-
 -most innumerable mischiefs.
 In the event of future political
 trouble, it would justify the
 disobedience of children to parents,
 of wives to husbands, of subjects

to lords, of lords & Ohogun. The
 paramount duty of government was
 now to compel social order, and
 to maintain those conditions of
 peace and security without
 which the nation could never recover
 from the exhaustion of a thousand
 years of strife. But so long
 as this foreign religion was sub-
 -ferred to attack and to sap
 the foundations of order, there
 never could be peace... Convictions
 like these must have been well
 established in the mind of
 Iyeyasu when he issued his
 famous edict. The only wonder
 is that he should have waited
 so long.

Davis

Very possibly Iyeyasu, who never did anything by halves, was waiting until Christianity should find itself with a single Japanese leader of ability. In 1611 he had information of a Christian conspiracy in the island of Sado (a convict mining-district), whose Governor Ōkubo, had been induced to adopt Christianity, and was to be made ruler of the country if the plot proved successful. But since Iyeyasu waited. By 1614 Christianity had scarcely even an Ōkubo to lead the forlorn hope. The daimyō converted in the sixteenth century were dead or dispossessed or in banishment; the great Christian generals had been executed; the few remaining converts of importance had been placed under surveillance, and were practically helpless.

The foreign priests and native catechists were not cruelly treated immediately after this proclamation^{of 1614}. Some three hundred of them were put in ships and sent out of the country, - together with various Japanese suspected of religious political intrigues, such as Takayama, former daimyō of Akashi, who was called "Justo Ucondono" by the Jesuit writers, and who had been dispossessed and degraded by Hideyoshi for the same reasons. Iyeyasu set no example of unnecessary severity. But harsher measures followed upon an event which took place in 1615, - the very

year after the issuing of the edict. Hidéyori, the son of Hidéyoshi, had been supplanted — fortunately for Japan — by Iyégasu, to whose tutelage the young man had been confided. Iyégasu took all care of him, but had no intention of suffering him to direct the government of the country, — a task scarcely within the capacity of a lad of twenty-three. In spite of various political intrigues in which Hidéyori was known to have taken part, Iyégasu has left him in possession of large revenues, and of the strongest fortress in Japan, — that mighty castle of Ōsaka, which Hidéyoshi's genius had rendered almost impregnable. Hidéyori, unlike

his father, favoured the Jesuits; and he made the castle a refuge for adherents of the "false and corrupt sect." Informed by government spies of a dangerous intrigue there preparing, Iyégasu resolved to strike; and he struck hard. In spite of a desperate defense, the great fortress was stormed and burnt — Itidégori perishing in the conflagration. One hundred thousand lives are said to have been lost in this siege. Adams wrote two maindés of Itidégori's fall, and the results of his conspiracy:—

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"Hee mad warres with the
Emperour... allso by the Jessvits
and Ffriers, which mad believe

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he should be favored with
 mirracles and woundes;
 but in fyne it proved the con-
 -trari. For the ould Empe-
 -rour against him pressently
 made his forces redde by
 sea and land, and compas-
 -sed his castell that he was
 in; although with loss of
 multitudes on both sides, yet
 in the end rased the castell
 walles, setted it on fyre,
 and burneth hym in it.
 Thus ended the warres. Now
 the Emperour heering of thes
 jessvets and friers being in
 the kastell with his enemies,
 and still from tym to tym
 against hym, commanded all
 romische ^{sorte of} men to depart out
 of his countie - thear churches

pulld down, and burned. This
 followed in the old Emperours
 daies. Now this yeeare, 1616,
 the old Emperour he died. His
 son raigneth in his place,
 and hee is more hot agaynste
 the romish religion then his
 ffather wass: for he hath
 forbidden thorough all his do-
 -myinions, on paine of death,
 none of his subiects to be
 romish christiane; which
 romish sect. To prevent
 eueri wayes that he maye,
 he hath forbidden that no
 stranger merchant shall abide
 in any of the great cities..."

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 speak

Ellis

The son here referred to was Otidezada, who in 1617 issued an ordinance sentencing to death every Roman priest or friar discovered in Japan, — an ordinance provoked by the fact that many priests expelled from the country had secretly returned, and that others had remained to carry on their propaganda under various disguises. Meanwhile, in every city, town, village, and hamlet throughout the Empire, measures had been taken for the extermination of Roman Christianity. Every community was made responsible for the existence in it of any person belonging to the foreign creed; and special magistrates^{or inquisitors,} were appointed,

called Kirishitan-bugyō, I seek out and punish members of the prohibited religion. * Christians who freely recanted were not punished, but only kept under surveillance: those who refused to recant, even after torture, were degraded to the condition of slaves, or else put to death.

* It should be borne in mind that none of these edicts were directed against Protestant Christianity: the Dutch were not considered Christians in the sense of the ordinances, nor were the English. — The following extract from a typical village kumicho, or code of communal regulations, shows the responsibility imposed upon all communities regarding the presence in their midst of Roman Catholic converts or believers:—

"Every year, between the first and the third month, we will renew our Shimmon-chō. If we know of any person who belongs to a prohibited sect, we will immediately inform the Daijūwan. ... Servants and labourers shall give to their masters a certificate declaring that they are not Christians. In regard to persons who have been Christians, but have recanted, — if such persons come to or leave the village, we promise to report it." — (See Professor Ingham's "Notes on Law, Customs and Local Institutions in Old Japan".)

In some parts of the country, extraordinary cruelty was practised, and every form of torture used to compel recantation. But it is tolerably certain that the more atrocious episodes of the persecution were due to the individual ferocity of local governors or magistrates — as in the case of Takenaka Unémé no Kami, who was compelled by the Government to perform harakiri for abusing his powers at Nagasaki, and making persecution a means of exorbitant money. Be that as it may, the persecution at last either provoked, or helped to bring about a Christian rebellion in the daimirate of Arima, — historically remembered as the Shimabara Revolt. In 1636 a host of peasants, driven to desperation by the tyranny of

their lords — the daimyō of Arima
 and the daimyō of Kasabon (converts
 - districts) — rose in arms, burnt
 all the Japanese temples in their
 vicinity, and proclaimed religious
 war. Their banner bore a cross; —
 their leaders were converted samurai.
 They were soon joined by Christian
 refugees from every part of the
 country, until their numbers swelled
 to thirty or forty thousand. On the
 coast of the Shimabara peninsula
 they seized an abandoned castle, at
 a place called Hara, and there fortified
 themselves. The local authorities could
 not cope with the uprising; and the rebels
 more than held their own until govern-
 -ment forces, aggregating over 160,000 men,
 were despatched against them. After a
 brave defense of one hundred and two days,
 the castle was stormed in 1638, and its defend-
 -ers, together with their women and children,
 put to the sword. Officially the occurrence was
 treated as a peasant revolt; and the persons

considered responsible for it were severely punished; — the lord of Shimabara (Arima) was further sentenced to perform harakiri. Japanese historians state that the rising was first planned and led by Christians, who designed to seize Nagasaki, subvert Kyūshū, invite foreign military help, and compel a change of government; the Jesuit writers would have no believe there was no plot. One thing certain is that a revolutionary appeal was made to the Christian element, and was largely responded to with alarming consequences. A strong castle on the Kyūshū coast, held by thirty or forty thousand Christians, constituted a serious danger, — a point of vantage from which a Spanish invasion

of the country might have been attempted with some chance of success. The Government seems to have recognized this danger, and to have dispatched in consequence an overwhelming force to Shinabara. If foreign help could have been sent to the rebels, the result might have been a prolonged civil war. As for the wholesale slaughter, it represented no more than the enforcement of Japanese law: the punishment of the peasant revolting against his lord, under any circumstances whatever, being death. So far as ^{concerns} the policy of such massacre, it may be remembered that, without provocation, Nobunaga exterminated the Tendai Buddhists at Hiei-san. We have every

reason I pity the brave men who
perished at Shimabara, and I
sympathize with their revolt
against the atrocious cruelty of
their rulers. But it is necessary,
as a simple matter of justice,
to consider the whole event from
the Japanese political point of
view.

~~Word~~ The Dutch have been
denounced for helping I crush
the rebellion with ships and
cannon: they fired, by their
own acknowledgment, 426 shot
into the castle. However, the
extant correspondence of the
Dutch factors at Hirado proves
beyond question that they were
forced, under menace, to thus
act. In any event, it would

be difficult to discover a good reason for the merely religious denunciations of their conduct, — although that conduct would be open to criticism from the humane point of view.

Dutchmen could not reasonably have refused to assist the Japanese authorities in suppressing a revolt, merely because a large proportion of the rebels happened to profess the religion which had been burning alive as heretics the men and women of the Netherlands. Very possibly, not a few persons of kin to those very Dutch had suffered in the days of Alva. What would have hap-

pened to all the English and Dutch in Japan, if the Portuguese and Spanish clergy could have

got full control of government, ought
to be obvious.

324

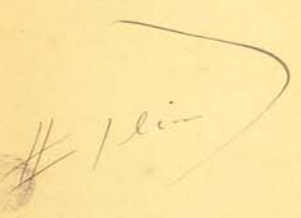
With the massacre of
Olimabara ends the real history
of the Portuguese and Spanish
missions. After that event,
Christianity was slowly, steadily,
irreplacably stamped out of
visible existence. It had been
tolerated, or half-tolerated, for
only sixty-five years: the entire
history of its propagation and de-
struction occupies a period of
scarcely ninety years. People of
nearly every rank, from prince to
pauper, suffered for it; thousands
endured tortures for its sake - tortures
so frightful that even three of
those Jesuits who sent multitudes
to useless martyrdom were forced

to deny their faith under the infliction^{*}
 ; — and tender women, sentenced
 to the stake, carried their little
 ones with them into the fire,
 rather than utter the words that
 would have saved both mother
 and child. Yet this religion,
 for which thousands vainly
 died, had brought to Japan
 nothing but evil: disorders,
 persecutions, revolts, political
 troubles, and war. Even
 those virtues of the people
 which had been evolved at
 unutterable cost for the pro-
 -tection and conservation of
 society, — their self-denial, their
 faith, their loyalty, their con-
 -stancy and courage, — were

* Francisco Cassola, Pedro Marquez, and Giuseppe Chiara. Two of these
 were Japanese women. For an account of their self-sacrifice in Japan, see a paper
 Satow in the Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Vol. VI, part I.

by this black creed distorted, diverted, and transformed into forces directed to the destruction of that society. Could that destruction have been accomplished, and a new Roman-Catholic empire have been founded upon the ruins, the forces of that empire would have been used for the further extension of priestly tyranny, the spread of the Inquisition, the perpetual Jesuit warfare against freedom of conscience and human progress. Well may we pity the victims of this pitiless faith, and justly admire their useless courage: yet who can regret that

Their cause was lost?... Viewed
 from another standpoint than that
 of religious bias, and simply
 judged by its results, the Jesuit
 effort to Christianize Japan must
 be regarded as a crime against
 humanity, a labour of devastation,
 a calamity comparable only, — by
 reason of the misery and destruction
 which it wrought, — to an earth-
 quake, a tidal-wave, or a
 volcanic eruption.

1 lin


McGraw

The policy of isolation, — of shutting off Japan from the rest of the world, — as adopted by Hidétada and maintained by his successors, sufficiently indicates the fear that religious intrigues had inspired. Not only were all foreigners, excepting the Dutch traders, expelled from the country; — all half-breed children of Portuguese or Spanish blood were also expatriated; Japanese families being forbidden to adopt or to conceal any of them, under penalties to be visited upon all the members of the household disobeying. In 1636, two hundred and eighty-seven half-breed children were shipped to Macao. It is possible that the capacity of half-breed children to

act as interpreters was particularly dreaded; but there can be little doubt that, at the time when this ordinance was issued, race-hatred had been fully aroused by religious antagonism. After the Shimabara episode all ^{Western} foreigners, without exception, were regarded with unconcealed distrust.* The Portuguese and Spanish traders were replaced by the Dutch (the English factory having been closed some years previously); but even in the case of these, extraordinary precautions were taken. They were compelled to abandon their good quarters at Hirado, and to transfer their factory to Deshima, — a tiny island only six hundred feet long, by two hundred and forty feet wide. There they were kept under constant guard,

* The Chinese traders, however, were allowed much more liberty than the Dutch.

like prisoners; they were not permitted
to go among the people; no man
could visit them without permission,
and no woman, except a prostitute,
was allowed to enter their reserva-
-tion under any circumstances.

But they had a monopoly of
the trade of the country; and
Dutch patience endured these
conditions, for the profit's sake,
during more than two hundred
years.

Other commerce with
foreign countries than that main-
-tained by the Dutch factory, ^{and by the Chinese,} ^{as}
was entirely suppressed. For any

Japanese, to leave Japan was a
capital offense; and any one
who might succeed in leaving the
country by stealth, was to be
put to death upon his return.

The purpose of this law was to prevent Japanese, sent abroad by the Jesuits for missionary training, from returning to Japan in the disguise of laymen. It was forbidden also to construct ships capable of long voyages; and all ships exceeding a dimension fixed by the Government were broken up. Lookouts were established along the coast to watch for strange vessels; and any European ships entering a Japanese port, excepting the ships of the Dutch company, were to be attacked and destroyed.

#11111

The great success at first achieved by the Portuguese missions remains to be considered. In our present comparative ignorance of Japanese social history, it is not easy to understand the whole of the Christian episode. There are plenty of Jesuit missionary records; but the Japanese contemporary chronicles yield no scanty information

about the missions, — probably for the reason that an edict was issued in the seveneenth century interdicting, not only all books on the subject of Christianity, but any book containing the words Christian or Foreign. What the Jesuit books do not explain, and what we should rather have expected Japanese historians to explain, had they been allowed, is how a society founded on ancestor-worship, and apparently possessing immense capacity for resistance to outward assault, could have been so quickly penetrated and partly dissolved by Jesuit energy. The question of all questions that I should like to see answered, by Japanese evidence, is this: — To what extent did the missionaries interfere with the ancestor-cult? It is an important

question. In China, the Jesuits were quick to perceive that the power of resistance to proselytism lay in ancestor-worship; and they strenuously endeavoured to tolerate it, somewhat as Buddhism before them had been obliged to do. Had the Papacy supported their policy, the Jesuits might have changed the history of China; but other religious orders fiercely opposed the compromise, and the chance was lost. How far the ancestor-cult was tolerated by the Portuguese missionaries in Japan is a matter of much sociological interest for investigation. The supreme cult was, of course, left alone, for obvious reasons. It is

difficult to suppose that the domestic cult was attacked then as implacably as it is attacked now by Protestant and Roman Catholic missionaries alike; — it is difficult to suppose, for example, that converts were compelled to cast away or to destroy their ancestral tablets. On the other hand, we are yet in doubt as to whether the bulk of the poorer converts — peasants and other common folk — possessed ^{domestic} ancestral cult. The outcast classes, among whom many converts were made, need not be considered, of course, in this relation. Before the matter can be fairly judged, much remains to be learned about the religious condition of the heimin during the sixteenth century. Anyhow,

whatever methods were followed, the
 early success of the missions was
 astonishing. Their work, owing
 to the particular character of the
 social organization, necessarily began
 from the the top: the subject
 could change his creed only by
 permission of his lord. From
 the outset this permission was
 freely granted. In some cases
 the people were officially notified
 that they were at liberty to
 adopt the new religion; in
 other cases, converted lords or-
 -dered them to do so. It
 would seem that the foreign
 faith was at first mistaken
 for a new kind of Buddhism;
 and in the exdant official grant

of land at Yamaguchi & the Portuguese mission, in 1552, the Japanese text plainly states that the grant (which appears to have included a temple called Daidōji) was made so the strangers that they might preach "The Law of Buddha" — Buppō shōryō no tamē. The original document is thus translated by Sir Ernest Satow, who reproduced it in facsimile:—

Mummy #2 leaf

— "with respect to Daidōji in Yamaguchi Azata, Yoshiki department, province of Suwō. This deed witnesses that I have given permission to the priests who have come to this country from the Western regions, in accordance with their request and desire that they may found and erect a monastery and house in order to develop the Law of Buddha.

Sumner
by the
— leaf

Smaller type
— lead.

" The 28th day of the 8th
month of the 21st year of
Tembun.

" Suwō no Suké."

* [August Seal] * *

3 ^{cm}

If this error (or deception?) could
have occurred at Yamaguchi, it is
reasonable to suppose that it also
occurred in other places. Externally
the Roman rites resembled those of
popular Buddhism: the people
would have observed but little that
was unfamiliar to them in the
forms of the service, the vestments,
the beads, the prostrations, the
images, the bells, and the incense.

* In the Latin and Portuguese translations, or rather pretended translations of
this document, there is nothing about preaching the Law of Buddha; and
there are many things added which do not exist in the Japanese text at all.
See Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan (Vol. VII, part 2) for Satow's
comment on this document and the false translations made of it.

The virgins and the saints would
 have been found to resemble the
 aureoled Bodhisattvas and Buddhas;
 the angels and the demons would
 have been at once identified with
 the Tennin and the Oni. All
 that pleased popular imagination
 in the Buddhist ceremonial could
 be witnessed, under slightly different
 form, in those temples which
 had been handed over to the
 Jesuits, and consecrated by them
 as churches or chapels. The
 fashionless abyses really separating
 the two faiths could not have
 been perceived by the common mind;
 — but the ^{outward} resemblances were in-
 -mediatley observable. There were
 furthermore some attractive novelties.

It appears, for example, that the Jesuits used to have miracle-plays performed in their churches for the purpose of attracting popular attention... But outward attractions of whatever sort, or outward resemblances to Buddhism, could only assist the spread of the new religion: they could not explain the rapid progress of the propaganda.

Coercion might partly explain it, — coercion exercised by converted daimyō upon their subjects. Populations of provinces are known to have followed, under strong compulsion, the religion of their converted lords; and hundreds — perhaps thousands — of persons must have done the same thing through mere habit of loyalty.

In these cases it is worth while to consider what sort of persuasion was used upon the daimyō. We know that one great help to the missionary work was found in Portuguese commerce, — especially the trade in firearms and ammunition. In the disturbed state of the country preceding the advent to power of Hidéyoshi, this trade was a powerful bribe in religious negotiation with provincial lords. The daimyō able to use firearms would necessarily possess some advantage over a rival lord having no such weapons; and those lords able to monopolize the trade could increase their power at the expense of their neighbours.

Now this trade was actually offered
for the privilege of preaching;
and sometimes much more than
that privilege was demanded
and obtained. In 1572 the
Portuguese presumed to ask for
the whole town of Nagasaki, as
a gift to their church, - with
power of jurisdiction over the
same; - threatening, in case of
refusal, to establish themselves
elsewhere. The daimyō, Ōmura,
at first demurred, but eventually
yielded; and Nagasaki then
became Christian territory, directly
governed by the Church. Very
soon the fathers began to prove the
character of their creed by furious
attacks upon the local religion.

They set fire to the great Buddhist temple, Tōgūji, and attributed the fire to the "wrath of God,"—after which act, by the zeal of their converts, some eighty other temples, in or about Nagasaki, were burnt. Within Nagasaki territory Buddhism was totally suppressed,—its priests being persecuted and driven away. In the province of Bungo the Jesuit persecution of Buddhism was far more violent, and conducted upon an extensive scale. Ōtomo Sōrin Munéchika, the reigning daimyō not only destroyed all the Buddhist temples in his dominion (to the number, it is said, of three thousand), but had many of the

Buddhist priests put to death. For
the destruction of the great temple of
Hikōzan, whose priests were reported
to have prayed for the tyrant's
death, he is said to have maliciously
chosen the sixth day of the fifth
month (1576), - the festival of the
Birth-day of the Buddha!

Dakur Coercion, exercised by
their lords upon a docile people
trained to implicit obedience,
would explain something of the
initial success of the missions;
but it would leave many other
matters unexplained: the later
success of the secret propaganda,
the fervour and courage of the
converts under persecution, the
long continued indifference of the

chiefs of the ancestor-cult to the progress of the hostile faith...

When Christianity really began to spread through the Roman Empire, the ancestral religion had fallen in decay, the structure of society had lost its original form, and there was no religious conservatism really capable of successful resistance. But in the Japan of

the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the religion of the ancestors was very much alive, and society was only entering upon the second period of its yet imperfect integration. The Jesuit conversions

were not made among a people already losing their ancient faith, but in one of the most intensely religious and conservative societies

that ever existed. Christianity of any sort could not have been introduced at all into such a society without effecting structural disintegrations, - disintegrations, at least, of a local character. How far these disintegrations extended and penetrated we do not know; and we have yet no adequate explanation of the long inertia of the native religions witnessed in the face of danger.

But there are certain historical facts which appear to throw at least a side-light upon the subject. The early Jesuit policy in China, as established by Ricci, had been to leave converts free to practise the ancestral rites. So long as this policy was followed, the missions

prospered. When, in consequence of
 this compromise, dissensions arose,
 the matter was referred to Rome.
 Pope Innocent X decided for intoler-
 -ance by a bull issued in 1645;
 and the Jesuit missions were thereby
 practically ruined in China. Pope
 Innocent's decision was indeed
 reversed the very next year by
 a bull of Pope Alexander VIII;
 but again and again contests
 were raised by the religious bodies
 over this question of ancestor-
 -worship, until in 1693 Pope
 Clement XI definitively prohibited
 converts from practising the
 ancestral rites under any form
 whatever... All the efforts of all
 the missions in the Far East
 have ever since then failed to

advance the cause of Christianity.
The sociological reason is plain.

We have seen, then, that up to the year 1645 the ancestor-cult had been tolerated by the Jesuits in China, with promising results; and it is probable that an identical policy of tolerance was maintained in Japan during the second half of the sixteenth century. The Japanese missions began in 1549; and their history ends with the Shimabara slaughter in 1638, — about seven years before the first Papal decision against the toleration of ancestor-worship. The Jesuit mission-work seems to have prospered steadily, in spite of all opposition, until it was interfered with by less cautious and more uncompromising zealots.

By a bull issued in 1585 by Gregory XIII,
 and confirmed in 1600 by Clement III,
 the Jesuits alone were authorized
 to do missionary-work in Japan;
 and it was not until after their
 privileges had been ignored by
 Franciscan zeal that trouble with
 the government began. We have
 seen that in 1593 Hidéyoshi had
 six Franciscans executed. Then
 the issue of a new Papal bull
 in 1608, by Paul V, allowing Roman
 Catholic missionaries of all orders
 to work in Japan, probably ruined
 the Jesuit interest. It will be
 remembered that Iyégasu suppressed
 the Franciscans in 1612, - a proof
 that their experience with Hidéyoshi
 had profited them little. On
 the whole, it appears more than

lined that both Dominicans and Franciscans recklessly meddled with matters which the Jesuits (whom they accused of duplicity) had been wise enough to leave alone; and that this interference hastened the inevitable ruin of the missions.

Dans

We may reasonably doubt whether there were two millions of Christians in Japan at the beginning of the seventeenth century: the more reasonable claim of six hundred thousand can be accepted. In this era of toleration the efforts of all the foreign missionary bodies combined, and the yearly expenditure of immense sums in support of their work, have enabled them to achieve barely one-sixth of the success attributed to their Portuguese prede-

-cessors, upon a not improbable esti-
 -mate. The sixteenth-century
 Jesuits were indeed able to exercise,
 through various lords, the most
 forcible sort of coercion upon
 whole populations of provinces;
 but the modern missions certainly
 enjoy advantages educational, fin-
 -ancial, and legislative, much
 outweighing the doubtful value
 of the power to coerce; and
 the smallness of the results which
 they have achieved seems to require
 explanation. The explanation is
 not difficult. Needless attacks
 upon the ancestor-cult are neces-
 -sarily attacks upon the consti-
 -tution of society; and Japanese
 society instinctively resists these
 assaults upon its ethical basis.

For it is an error to suppose that
 this Japanese Society has yet
 arrived even at such a condition
 as Roman society presented in
 the second or third century of
 our era. Rather it remains
 at a stage resembling that of
 a Greek or Latin society many
 centuries before Christ. The intro-
 -duction of railroads, telegraphs,
 modern arms of precision, modern
 applied science of all kinds, has
 not yet sufficed to change the
 fundamental order of things.
 Superficial disintegrations are
 rapidly proceeding; new structures
 are forming; but the social
 condition still remains much like
 that which, in southern Europe, long
 preceded the introduction of Chris-
 -tianity.

#121

— Though every form of religion holds something of undying truth, the evolutionist must classify religions. He must regard a monotheistic faith as representing, in the progress of human thought, a very considerable advance upon any polytheistic creed;—monotheism signifying the fusion and expansion of countless ghostly beliefs into one vast concept of unseen omnipotent power. And, from the standpoint of psychological evolution, he must of course consider pantheism as an advance upon monotheism, and must further regard agnosticism as an advance upon both. But the value of a creed is necessarily relative; and the question of its worth is to be

decided, not by its adaptability to the intellectual developments of a single cultured class, but by its larger emotional relation to the whole society of which it embodies the moral experience. Its value to any other society must depend upon its power of self-adaptation to the ethical experience of that society. We may grant that Roman Catholicism was, by sole virtue of its monotheistic conception, a stage in advance of the primitive ancestor-worship. But it was adapted only to a form of society at which neither Chinese nor Japanese civilization had arrived, — a form of society in which the ancient family had been dissolved, and the religion of filial piety forgotten. Unlike that subtler and incomparably more humane creed of India, which had learned the secret of missionary-success

a thousand years before Loyola, the religion of the Jesuits could never have adapted itself to the social conditions of the Far East; and by the fact of this incapacity the fate of the missions was really decided in advance. The intolerance, the intrigues, the savage persecutions carried on, - all the wickednesses and cruelties of the Jesuits, - may simply be considered as the manifestations of such incapacity; while the repressive measures taken by Iyeyasu and his successors signify sociologically no more than the national perception of supreme danger. It was recognized that the triumph of the foreign religion would involve the total disintegration of society, and the subjection of the empire to foreign domination.

1/2 line

Schubert

Neither the artist nor the sociologist, at least, can regret the failure of the missions. Their extirpation, which enabled Japanese society to evolve to its type-limit, preserved for modern eyes the marvellous world of Japanese art, and the yet more marvellous world of its traditions, beliefs, and customs. Roman Catholicism, triumphant, would have swept all this out of existence. The natural antagonism of the artist to the missionary, may be found in the fact that the latter is always, and must be, an un-sparing destroyer. Everywhere the developments of art are associated in some sort with religion;

and by so much as the art of a people reflects their beliefs, that art will be hateful to the enemies of those beliefs. Japanese art, of Buddhist origin, is especially an art of religious suggestion, not merely as regards painting and sculpture, but likewise as regards decoration, and almost every product of artistic taste. There is something of religious feeling associated even with the Japanese delight in trees and flowers, the charm of gardens, the love of nature and of nature's voices, — with all the poetry of existence, in short. Most assuredly the Jesuits and their allies would have ended all this, — every detail of it, — without the slightest qualm. Even

could they have understood and felt the
 meaning of that world of strange
 beauty — result of a race-experience
 never to be repeated or replaced —
 they would not have hesitated a
 moment in the work of obliteration
 and effacement. Today, indeed,
 that wonderful art-world is
 being surely and irretrievably des-
 -troyed by Western industrialism.
 But industrial influence, though
 pitiless, is not fanatic; and the
 destruction is not being carried on
 with such ferocious rapidity but
 that the fading story of beauty
 can be recorded for the future
 benefit of human civilization.
