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EDWARD HAGEMANN

ABOUT three hundred years ago, in 1640, Japan took the last and most effectual step to eradicate all Western influence from her people. The year before, 1639, the last definite decree had been enforced forbidding all commercial intercourse to the Portuguese.[1] By this means all further contact with the Western world had been stopped, and no more Christian missionaries could be sent to Japan. But in Japan itself, despite the ban on Christianity,[2] there were still some hundreds of thousands of Christians.[3] These had to be exterminated, and everything that savored of foreign influence removed. In 1640 the office of the inquisition was erected to carry out this policy.

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[1] Léon Pagés, *Histoire de la Religion Chrétienne au Japon* (2 v., Paris, 1869–70), I, 850. The text of the decree in Latin is in note 2. A German translation is in Ludwig Riess, "Die Ursachen der Vertreibung der Portugiesen aus Japan (1614–1639)," *Mittheilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens* (Tokyo), VII (1898), 25, 26, hereafter cited as *M.D.G.O.* The names of the signatories, given in Pagés, *loc. cit.*, in a Latinized form, are found correctly spelled in their Japanese form in Riess, *op. cit.*, 26. All Portuguese traders had been ordered to leave Japan in 1638. This decree was enforced in 1639, which year marked the final exclusion of all Portuguese. Yoshi S. Kuno, *Japanese Expansion on the Asiatic Continent* (2 v., Berkeley, 1937–40), II, 83. For former restrictions on Portuguese trade with Japan see C. R. Boxer, "Portuguese Commercial Voyages to Japan Three Hundred Years Ago (1630–1639)," *Transactions and Proceedings* of the Japan Society (London), XXXI (1933–34), 27–77, hereafter cited as *T.P.J.S.*

[2] Two anti-Christian decrees had been issued by Ieyasu in 1611 and 1612. James Murdoch, in collaboration with Isoh Yamagata, *A History of Japan during the Century of Early Foreign Intercourse (1542–1651)* (Kobe, 1903), 611. The great decree was passed in 1614. The text is in Ernest M. Satow, *Transactions* of the Asiatic Society of Japan (Tokyo), VI (1877), 46–48; M. Steichen, *The Christian Daimyos* (Tokyo, n.d.), 273–77; Riess, *op. cit.*, 27–30. "This edict was the signal for the bloody persecution which resulted in the destruction of the Church of Japan and in the isolation of this country from the rest of the world." Steichen, *op. cit.*, 273. For a vivid description of the ruthless carrying out of this edict see Frans Caron, "Account of Japan," in John Pinkerton, *A General Collection of Voyages and Travels* (17 v., London, 1808–14), VII, 631, 632.

[3] In 1614, when the great persecution began, there were nearly 1,000,000 Christians in Japan. Steichen, *op. cit.*, 242. L. Delplace, S.J., *Le Catholicisme au Japon* (2 v., Brussels, 1909–10), II, 130, basing his estimate on the reports of the Jesuits and the work of the Franciscan missionaries, accepts this number. What are we to say about the number around 1640? The deaths due to the persecution had been numerous, so that in 1626 Propaganda numbered the Christians at only 600,000. Pagés, *op. cit.*, I, 640; Delplace, *op. cit.*, II, 128. According to Kuno, *op. cit.*, II, 65, by 1635 approximately 280,000 Christians had been put to death since 1614. Yet conversions were made despite the persecution. From 1614–30, 25,000 adults were baptized. António Cardim, *Batalhas da Companhia de Jesus na sua gloriosa Provincia do Japão* (Lisbon, 1894), 2–4, cited by Delplace, *op. cit.*, I, 275. In 1637 the number of Christians ranged from 280,000 to 300,000. Kuno, *op. cit.*, II, 79. Perhaps, then, if we put the number of Christians in 1640 at somewhat under 300,000 we shall not be very far wrong.

For almost a century Japan had been known to the Portuguese,[4] who carried on a brisk trade with the islands. August 15, 1549, six years after their discovery, the first Christian missionaries, three in number, landed on Japanese soil. Their leader, Francis Xavier, was immensely impressed by the striking qualities of the natives,[5] and after a stay of a little over two years in the country he wrote to his superior in Rome, Ignatius Loyola, that Japan was well disposed toward the propagation of Christianity in that country.[6] These hopes were well founded, and they began to be realized to a striking degree.[7] With the frequent arrival of missionaries[8] converts multiplied[9] all over Japan,[10] churches sprang up, and schools were opened.[11] There were good prospects that eventually a great part of Japan would become Christian.[12]

[4] Japan was discovered probably in 1543, although other dates are assigned. M. von Brandt, "The Discovery of Japan and the Introduction of Christianity," *M.D.G.O.* (Yokohama), I (July, 1874), 30. Hans Haas, *Geschichte des Christentums in Japan* (2 v., supplement 5 and 7 to *M.D.G.O.*, Tokyo, 1902–4), I, 15–49, discusses the opinions of different authorities and decides for 1543.

[5] *Monumenta Xaveriana* (2 v., Madrid, 1899–1912, in Collection of *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu* (65 v., 1894–), I, 579, 580, 630, 631, 653, 663, 676, 677.

[6] "La tyerra de Japón es muy dispuesta para se perpetuar la chrystyandad entre ellos . . . entre todas las tyerras descubyertas destas partes, sólo la gente de Japón está para en ella se perpetuar la chrystyandad." *Ibid.*, I, 672. See also similar expressions, *ibid.*, 582, 653.

[7] The assertion of Engelbert Kaempfer, *The History of Japan*, translated by J. G. Scheuchzer (3 v., Glasgow, 1906), II, 155, that Xavier left Japan on account of his having such little hope of its conversion is refuted by Haas, *op. cit.*, II, 1–4.

[8] At first Jesuits; then, after 1593, Franciscans, Augustinians, and Dominicans. Cf. Delplace, *op. cit.*, II, 20–29, 61–68.

[9] By the end of 1581 there were 150,000 Christians, according to the Annual Letter of the Jesuits written by Coelho, cited by Murdoch, *op. cit.*, 71. By 1596 the number had risen to 300,000. *Ibid.*, 635, note 8; Delplace, *op. cit.*, II, 129. Six years later, according to the Bishop of Japan, the number had sunk to 200,000. Murdoch, *op. cit.*, 635, note 8. But there would seem to be some inaccuracy here, for, according to a report from the Council of the Indies signed in 1606, there were more than 600,000 Christians in Japan in 1606. Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson, *The Philippine Islands* (55 v., Cleveland, 1903–9), XIV, 225. More precision is found in Pagés, *op. cit.*, I, 110, who states that in 1605 there were 750,000 Christians. Delplace, *op. cit.*, II, 129, 130, explains why he accepts this estimate. Vivero y Velazco, governor of the Philippines, after visiting Japan put the number of Christians in 1610 at 1,800,000. Pagés, *op. cit.*, 1, 190. (Delplace, *op. cit.*, II, 128, has by mistake 1,600,000.) However, this is an exaggeration, as Steichen, *op. cit.*, 242, states that the number of nearly one million was the highest figure ever reached. It may be that the governor meant the total number of Christians from the introduction of Christianity. Joseph Schmidlin, *Catholic Mission History*, a translation from the German, edited by Matthias Braun, S.V.D. (Techny, 1933), 343, note 17. Kuno, *op. cit.*, II, 253, note 74, thinks that in 1613 from five to ten per cent of the population of Japan had become Christian.

[10] "With the exception of but eight provinces all Japan, which was then [1600] divided into sixty-six provinces, had come under the dominating influence of Christianity." Kuno, *op. cit.*, II, 24.

[11] In thirty-eight states of Japan the Jesuits conducted eleven colleges. Pagés, *op. cit.*, II, 428, 429.

[12] Masahuru Anesaki, *Kirishitan Shumon no Hakugai to Senpuku* (Tokyo, 1926), preface, cited in a German translation by Gustav Voss, S.J., "Masaharu Anesaki, als Historiker des

These hopes were destroyed by the Tokugawa anti-Christian policy, beginning with the decree of Ieyasu in 1614, and culminating under Iemitsu in the prohibition of all intercourse with the Portuguese and the erection of the bureau of inquisition to root out Christianity.[13] It is my intention in this paper to study this period of the repressive measures against Christianity, beginning with 1639 and lasting until 1658, a period of nineteen years. This is not merely a religious question. Just as the policy was not only anti-Christian but antiforeign,[14] for Christianity was considered the opening wedge of Portuguese and Spanish aggression against the state,[15] so the result was not merely of religious importance. As the rise, so the fall of Christianity in this newly discovered land was closely linked with Western culture.[16] Japan was brought into contact and kept in contact with Western culture largely through the missionaries and their converts. When the last Portuguese ship sailed from Japan in 1639,[17] and the

'Christlichen Jahrhunderts'," *Monumenta Nipponica* (Tokyo), I (1938), 570, hereafter cited as *Mon. Nip.* The facts in this paragraph are surely a sufficient answer to the statement made by A. L. Sadler, *The Maker of Modern Japan* (London, 1937), 21, that "from first to last they [missionaries and conquistadores] found themselves chiefly used as conveyers of any information on technical or scientific matters that these island people had not yet acquired, while their attempts to implant their religious ideas and customs were adroitly evaded."

[13] The decree of seclusion and the erection of the inquisition bureau were occasioned by the Shimabara insurrection. Kuno, *op. cit.*, II, 79. Cf. Anesaki, "Prosecution of Kirishitans after the Shimabara Insurrection," *Mon. Nip.*, I (1938), 293–300. For an account of the Shimabara Insurrection see Pagés, *op. cit.*, I, 842–48; Kuno, *op. cit.*, II, 72–79.

[14] "The foreign faith was proscribed primarily on political, not on religious grounds." Kenneth Scott Latourette, *The Development of Japan* (New York, 1923), 72. Frank Brinkley, *Japan: Its History, Arts and Literature* (12 v., Boston and Tokyo, 1901–2), III, 129, 130, states that the policy of seclusion was only anti-Christian, not antiforeign. He is criticized by Herbert Thurston, S.J., "Japan and Christianity, III. Extermination," *Month* (London), CV (April, 1905), 391.

[15] See, e.g., the answer given to the Portuguese ambassador in 1647, in C. R. Boxer, "Fresh Light on the Embassy of Captain Gonçalo de Siqueira de Souza to Japan in 1644–1647," *T.P.J.S.*, XXXV (1937–38), 45, 46; also the same article entitled "The Embassy of Captain Gonçalo de Siqueira de Souza to Japan in 1644–1647," *Mon. Nip.*, II (1939), 63. Of course, other causes were not excluded. See an enumeration of these causes in Latourette, *op. cit.*, 70–72; Satow, *op. cit.*, 43–46; Kuno, *op. cit.*, II, 91.

[16] "The history of these missions and their suppression . . . tells a profoundly significant phase of the contact, for the first time, of the Far East with Europe, wherein were involved all the factors of their respective civilizations and racial traits." Anesaki, *A Concordance to the History of Kirishitan Missions* (Tokyo, 1930), 1, supplement to *Proceedings* of the Imperial Academy, VI, hereafter cited as *P.I.A.* See also Gustav Voss, S.J., "Japan Looks Back," *Historical Bulletin* (St. Louis), XVIII (May, 1940), 76.

[17] The Portuguese sent a ship from Macao with four ambassadors in 1640. The ambassadors, their servants and the greater part of the crew, in all amounting to sixty-one persons, were executed at Nagasaki. Pagés, *op. cit.*, I, 853–63. The Portuguese in Lisbon made another attempt in 1647 to renew trade relations, sending an ambassador with two ships. No success was achieved, but the ambassador and the crew were not harmed. See Boxer, *op. cit.*, *T.P.J.S.*, XXXV (1937–38), 13–26; *Mon. Nip.*, II (1939), 40–74. Cf. also *Kirishito-ki* (see footnote 26), p. 83, no. 10.

systematic extermination of the Christians began with greater intensity, Japan shut out all influence from the West and retired into her own civilization. It remained thus for more than two hundred years to almost our own days—until 1853 when Commodore Perry forced Japan once more to renew relations with Western civilization. During all this time the Dutch alone were allowed to remain in commercial relations with Japan, and thereby they exercised no small influence on Japanese culture.[18] This exception, however, did not affect the policy of national seclusion, as the Dutch were permitted to reside only on the little artificial island of Deshima,[19] where they were practically prisoners and were allowed but very restricted intercourse with the mainland.[20]

While the first century of Western influence in Japan from 1543 to 1639 with its numerous letters of missionaries is well known to us, the period that begins after 1640 is shrouded in darkness. The reason is not far to seek. With no ships leaving Japan, no reports from the few remaining missionaries there could be sent.[21] There are many native contemporaneous documents relative to this period of persecution,[22] some of which have been published. Unfortunately only a few have been translated. Among the documents until recently hidden from most of the world in Japanese is the collection[23] of jottings, memoirs, and memoranda of the first head of the anti-Christian inquisition, organized in 1640. Their recent publication in a German translation[24] throws no little light over the dark period

[18] "Not a few seeds of western civilization were by them [the Dutch] planted in a fertile soil and bore abundant fruit." David Murray, *Japan* (New York, 1906), 310, 311. The different aspects of the cultural influence of the Dutch on the Japanese are found in C. R. Boxer, *Jan Compagnie in Japan, 1600–1817* (The Hague, 1936).

[19] Pagés, *op. cit.*, I, 866; Kuno, *op. cit.*, II, 90, 317.

[20] They were allowed to visit the city of Nagasaki only once a year on New Year's Day and the six following days. Kuno, *op. cit.*, II, 90, 91. See also pp. 317, 318.

[21] Through the Dutch factory on the island of Deshima, a few Europeans acquired some knowledge of Japan which they published. See Shunzo Sakamaki, "Western Concepts of Japan and the Japanese, 1800–1854," *Pacific Historical Review*, VI (March, 1937), 1–4.

[22] The documents fall into three classes: "1) official and semi-official documents compiled in some way or other; 2) books of narration for popular consumption; 3) writings intended to refute Kirishitan [Christian] doctrine and practice." Anesaki, "Exaggerations in the Japanese Accounts of the Kirishitan Propaganda," *P.I.A.*, IV (March, 1928), 85. Anesaki preëminently has used Japanese source material to good purpose in his writings on the rise and fall of the Christian missions. See Gustav Voss, S.J., "Masaharu Anesaki als Historiker des 'Christlichen Jahrhunderts'," *Mon. Nip.*, I (1938), 276–83.

[23] This collection is known as the *Kirishito-ki* (Records of Christians). For a description see Anesaki, "A Collection of Documents belonging to the Inquisition Office against the Kirishitans," *P.I.A.*, VIII (1932), 331–34. That the prosecution of the Christians was an antiforeign policy is shown by the words of Anesaki: "The idea underlying the whole collection is the identity of the two causes, the strict vigilance against foreign intercourse and the interdiction of the Kirishitan religion." *Ibid.*, 333.

[24] *Kirishito-ki und Sayo-yoroku* translated into German by Gustav Voss, S.J., and Hubert Cieslik, S.J. (Tokyo, 1940), hereafter cited as *Kirishito-ki*.

after 1640. This first inquisitor was Inouye Chikugo-no-kami. The right man in the right place, he was possibly an apostate himself and had had much experience in dealing with Christians.[25] From 1640 to 1658 he held the position of chief inquisitor and during that period of almost twenty years carried on the task given him by the Shogun of extirpating Christianity. After his retirement in 1658 he composed the *Kirishito-ki,* in which he told of the methods he used and of the results he achieved in his office as head of the inquisition. This may have been intended as a guide for his successor, Hojo Awa-no-kami.[26] In this collection we see how the persecution of the Christians was carried out with an unusual thoroughness and perseverance[27] that can be accounted for only by the fact that such a persecution was considered as the most important national policy.[28]

The methods of suppression used by the government were energetic and thorough. The first important measure was to prevent any more missionaries from entering the country, for if those who would give support and encouragement to the Christians were kept out, it would be easier to stamp out the new religion. Accordingly, no more foreigners were to be allowed to come into the country. If they were smuggled in by Chinese ships, all persons on the offending vessels were to be put to death. Moreover, no Christian writings or objects of devotion could be introduced. And whosoever should find out that such things had been brought in was ordered to give notice to the authorities.[29] To insure this exclusion, lookout stations were erected along the west coast of the island of Kiushu. Inouye gives us a list of twenty-three such stations.[30] Watchers were continually on duty who reported the arrival of foreign ships. When a ship arrived, they went out to it, made an investigation, and gave a report. If a Japanese ship approached a Chinese ship, an immediate investigation was made. And while Chinese ships lay in the harbor a guard was continually on watch throughout the night.[31] To cut off all communication with the outside Christian world, no Japanese was allowed to travel out of the country.[32]

[25] Anesaki, "Prosecution of Kirishitans after the Shimabara Insurrection," *Mon. Nip.,* I (1938), 294.

[26] *Kirishito-ki,* introduction, 6.

[27] "Die japanische Inquisition ... hat mit einer Gründlichkeit und Ausdauer gearbeitet, die dem japanischen Volke sonst nicht eigentümlich ist." Haas, *op. cit.,* I, ix.

[28] Anesaki, "Prosecution ... Insurrection," *Mon. Nip.,* I (1939), 298. See also Kuno, *op. cit.,* II, 309.

[29] *Kirishito-ki,* 48.

[30] *Ibid.,* 44, 46.

[31] *Nagasaki-shi* (Nagasaki, 1928), 44 *et seq.,* cited in *Kirishito-ki,* appendix, 159–160.

[32] *Kirishito-ki,* 49.

In the country itself stern measures were adopted. It was forbidden to keep any Christian in hiding, likewise any Japanese who had returned from a sojourn in a foreign country.[33] Christians, even if they were smuggled in, were in danger of betrayal; the tempting bait of a big reward was offered for information about Christians in hiding. The results, however, were evidently not as successful as had been anticipated, for six years later the price to be paid informers was increased.[34] Yet it was not always so easy to discover Christians as it had been formerly. In earlier times, wrote Inouye,[35] Christians had confessed immediately without concealing anything; later, however, they endeavored to conceal everything, as far as possible.

A ready way of finding out Christians or of making them apostatize was the *e-fumi,*[36] or the ceremony of treading under foot a Christian picture. In many places it was a part, indeed, the most important part of the Shumon-aratame-yaku, or anti-Christian inquisition, which was usually held, it would seem, early in January.[37] For the common people this ceremony was held in the temple and in the presence of the chief magistrate of the village; for the samurai it probably took place in one of their fortresses. When the chief magistrate presided, all the members of the village, or at least of one quarter, had to assemble. Every member of every family had to place a foot on the picture. Officials watched closely to see if there were any signs of hesitation. Thus a Christian even if performing the act would be detected. From his long experience Inouye said[38] that during the *e-fumi* Christian women showed signs of great excitement, breathing heavily and breaking out into perspiration; at times, even if they trod on the picture, they endeavored secretly to show it reverence. Once the picture was trodden upon, the head of the family put his seal in the official register. There he noted down if during the year there had been any deaths, births, or marriages in his home or whether anyone had left or returned. As the families were called to the ceremony of *e-fumi* in groups of five (all neighboring families), no one could deceive the authorities; other families could testify if there were any deception.[39] For the *e-fumi*

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 46, IV, no. 1.

[34] *Ibid.*, 49.

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 58, VII, no. 1.

[36] See Mario Marega, S.S., "E-Fumi," *Mon. Nip.*, II (1939), 281–84. Inouye was not the first to introduce this simple but efficient method. It had been practiced in the previous decade. See *Kirishito-ki,* appendix, 160.

[37] *Kirishito-ki,* appendix, 161.

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 58, VII, no. 2.

[39] This was the *Gonigumi* or groups of five families. These comprised the three families that lived in the three houses across the road and the families in the house to the right and to the

in the temple the faithful had to gather every year in the pagoda, where the bonze presided over the ceremony. Afterwards he wrote a letter to the neighboring château in which he attested having examined the religious beliefs of his faithful and of not having found any suspect. Inouye stated[40] that the greatest care had to be taken, as at times even the bonzes were deceived. For the sick there was a private ceremony at home. The sick person, after having placed a foot on the Christian picture, sent a letter to the château to give notice of his or her illness.[41]

The Christians had a great veneration for sacred images. Inouye knew this and used it as a means of detecting them. His instructions[42] were to examine sword guards, on which Christian noblemen often had such religious pictures engraved. During a search the officials were to examine cushions, incense-boats, and herbs; Christians sometimes hid pictures in them in order to avoid detection. The search was so thorough that in some provinces a Japanese and a foreign oath had to be taken,[43] that is, the one taking the oath had to call on the God of the Christians and on the Japanese gods to strengthen his assertion that he was not a Christian. For a Christian this would have been apostasy. Should anyone refuse, his religious faith was immediately suspect. Sometimes a certificate was required, vouching that the person belonged to a Buddhist temple.[44] Even the dead were not spared in the search for Christians. Corpses were dug up, whether interred in a casket or not, and examined to see if there were any Christian marks on them.[45] The infliction of torments was the radical means of extirpating Christianity. Those Christians who did not apostatize and who were detected in the Shumon-aratame were subjected to excruciating tortures,[46] protracted till death or apostasy ensued. The infliction of torments, however, was to be the last resort after all other means of obtaining information had failed.[47]

We must not imagine that the methods of Inouye were merely strong-handed. They were that, surely; they were also finely tempered by psy-

left of the family that was going through the ceremony of *e-fumi*. Marega, *op. cit.*, 283, note 3. Sometimes more than five families, even as many as ten, were banded together in five groups for the sake of mutual surveillance. *Kirishito-ki*, introduction, 15, 16.

[40] *Kirishito-ki*, p. 62, no. 18

[41] Marega, *op. cit.*, 285.

[42] *Kirishito-ki*, p. 59, no. 4.

[43] *Ibid.*, p. 62, no. 18.

[44] *Ibid.*

[45] *Ibid.*

[46] *Kirishito-ki*, p. 59, no. 6; p. 87, no. 7, and in other passages. For a description of the different torments see Pagés, *op. cit.*, I, 823, 824, 835, note 1; Delplace, *op. cit.*, II, 202, 203, 207, 208; Murray, *op. cit.*, 254, 255.

[47] *Kirishito-ki*, p. 53, no. 17.

chology. He wanted not martyrs but apostates, for apostasy was a strong argument against Christianity. He relates that although in earlier times missionaries had been condemned to tortures, others nevertheless continued to come to Japan. Later, however, missionaries were brought to apostatize and made to subscribe to a Japanese religion.[48] It seems probable that Inouye was made inquisitor general on account of his success in bringing about this apostasy.[49] In 1638, two years before the establishment of the inquisition, four missionaries had been captured. They were brought to Edo (now Tokyo), the seat of the central government, where the Shogun himself, who was keenly interested in the case, took a personal part in their examination. When no success was achieved, they were handed over to Inouye, who, according to his claim,[50] brought about the apostasy of two of the missionaries. After this the Shumon-aratame was organized and located in Inouye's villa at Koishikawa, which became known as the Kirishitan Yashiki.[51] Inouye, in charge of the new bureau, endeavored to continue his success in bringing about the apostasy of Christians. He had drawn up, probably with the aid of an apostate, a list of arguments against the Christian religion to prove how irrational and full of contradictions it was.[52] Inouye told how these were used.[53] When an examination of Christians was being conducted, the officials listened in detail to the statements of the Christians for the first few days, and then when the latter were through, they proposed the anti-Christian arguments. They were instructed to allow no reply on the part of the Christians; Inouye expressly warned the officials not to allow themselves to be drawn into a discussion.[54] Such discussions did no good, said Inouye, and might have done great harm; for if the officials believed that the inquisitor had not all the truth on his side, they might readily have thought

[48] *Ibid.*, p. 59, no. 6; p. 78, no. 2.

[49] Anesaki, "Prosecution . . . Insurrection," *Mon. Nip.*, I (1938), 294, 298.

[50] *Kirishito-ki*, p. 78, nos. 3, 4.

[51] For a description see *Kirishito-ki*, appendix, 191–202; Max von Küenburg, S.J., "Kirishitan Yashiki, das ehemalige Christengefängnis in Koishikawa," *Mon. Nip.*, I (1938), 592–96.

[52] *Kirishito-ki*, 84–88.

[53] *Ibid.*, p. 61, no. 16.

[54] From the very beginning Xavier noticed the love of discussion among the Japanese. See *Monumenta Xaveriana*, I, 663, 683, 684. The discussions of Xavier's companion, Cosme de Torres, with the bonzes are given at length in Georg Schurhammer, S.J., *Die Disputationen des P. Cosme de Torres, S.J., mit den Buddhisten in Yamaguchi im Jahre 1551*, in *M.D.G.O.*, XXIV (1929), part A. The report of a public discussion in 1606 is given in Hans Müller, S.J., "Hai-Yaso, Anti-Jesus," *Mon. Nip.*, II (1939), 268–75. The ordinary Christians found arguments in their faith. "The faith implanted in the breasts of some hundreds of thousands of converts . . . not only furnished them with courage but with *arguments* [italics in the original] with which to meet their persecutors." Oliphant, *Lord Elgin's Mission*, II, 25, cited by T. W. M. Marshall, *Christian Missions* (5th ed., 2 v., New York, 1896), I, 241, note

that after all there was something consonant with reason in Christianity and that it was a great and beautiful religion.[55] The officials were ordered to be on their guard, especially when dealing with priests who were clever in argumentation and might have defeated them in the discussions. The inquisitor himself was told to be wary.[56] During an inquiry it was necessary to exercise prudence in handling the Christians, Inouye said, remarking also that at times it would be helpful if the officials entered into their sentiments and sympathized with them.[57] Even when torture was being applied, the officials were to endeavor to obtain an apostasy by getting the Christians to ask God for a miracle; as they believed in miracles, and since no miracle would occur, their faith would then be shaken.[58] A great triumph occurred for Inouye when in 1643 he brought about the apostasy of ten missionaries, which he narrated exultantly and at length.[59] But it was the torments to which they were subjected rather than the anti-Christian arguments proposed to them that brought about their apostasy.[60]

Inouye was almost completely successful in exterminating Christianity from Japan.[61] Still, he must have received a rude shock in 1657, when a potential Christian insurrection[62] was unearthed with the consequent arrest of six hundred persons. Inouye tendered his resignation the following year.[63] He had done his work well. In the *Kirishito-ki*[64] he discussed the great extension of Christianity and the many places where Christians had been discovered. During his nearly twenty years as head of the inquisition bureau, Christianity had been dealt a fatal blow. The bureau actually functioned until 1792, but after 1673 it had merely to perform a routine surveillance over the descendants and relatives of former Chris-

[55] *Kirishito-ki,* p. 61, no. 16.

[56] *Ibid.,* p. 60, no. 7.

[57] *Ibid.,* p. 61, no. 14.

[58] *Ibid.,* p. 60, no. 9. For an example see Delplace, *op. cit.,* II, 238.

[59] *Kirishito-ki,* 79–81, 89–91. The account of Inouye has been criticized as not being completely objective by Thurston, "Japan and Christianity, IV. The Mystery of the Five Last Jesuits in Japan," *Month,* CV (May, 1905), 505–25, and by Voss and Cieslik in *Kirishito-ki,* introduction, 21–29, where their statements are based on other Japanese documents.

[60] The missionaries said in the hearing of the Dutch that they had not apostatized freely but by reason of the insufferable torments. See Arnoldus Montanus, *Atlas Japannensis: Being Remarkable Addresses by way of Embassy from the East-India Company of the United Provinces to the Emperor of Japan,* translated into English by John Ogilby (London, 1670), 356. A German translation of the passage is in *Kirishito-ki,* appendix, 186. The account in Delplace, *op. cit.,* II, 237, 238, 240, is based on Montanus, *op. cit.,* 356, 357.

[61] Anesaki, "Prosecution . . . Insurrection," *Mon. Nip.,* I (1938), 298.

[62] This was the "Kori Debacle." See Anesaki and Kazuhiko Takamuro, "The 'Kori Debacle,' the Last Stage of the Persecution of Kirishitans in Omura," *P.I.A.,* IV (1928), 319–21.

[63] *Ibid.* [64] Pp. 63–77.

tians who had been executed or had apostatized.[65] Although the Christians continued to survive even into the nineteenth century,[66] and groups were from time to time discovered and punished after the closing of the bureau,[67] they lived a hidden life and ceased to exert any influence on the life of the nation. And when the country was opened up again, it was a Japanese civilization of the seventeenth century that met the eyes of the world.

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[65] Anesaki, *op. cit.*, 299.

[66] For the changes their beliefs went through during the two hundred years see Alfred Bohner, "Tenchi Hajimari no Koto," *Mon. Nip.*, I (1938), 465–514. The Christians were discovered by European missionaries in 1865. The description is in Ad. Launay, *Histoire Générale de la Société des Missions Etrangères* (Paris, 1894), III, 457–459, cited by L. C. Casartelli, "The Catholic Church in Japan," *Dublin Review*, CXVI (April, 1895), 275, 276.

[67] Groups of Christians were discovered in 1790–91, 1805–7 and in 1843. Anesaki, *A Concordance . . . Missions*, 22, 23.