
Document 1609E

Historical facts about Don Rodrigo de Vivero and General Sebastián Vizcaíno

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Historical facts about Don Rodrigo de Vivero and General Sebastián Vizcaíno found in AGI by Navy Commander Don Cristóbal Ariza Torres, M.D.

Research carried out to comply with a handwritten royal order of 5 March of this year issued by Naval Commander, Don Carlos Luis Díez y Pérez Muñoz.¹ Seville, 20 July 1925.

...
[When Vivero was named interim Governor General of the Philippines] he presented himself at Mexico, whence he left for Acapulco, after he had written on 24 February 1608 to the royal Council of the Indies to let them know about his appointment and acceptance. For his part, the Viceroy wrote to H.M. on 9 March of the same year about the selection of Don Rodrigo for the post, because he more than met the qualifications of nobility, diplomacy and polished manners, acquired in the Royal Household while he had been a page to Queen Doña Juana [rather Ana] and he showed signs that he would proceed and serve the King with complete satisfaction, since he had talent and experience in both war and peace, as he had demonstrated when in charge of the government of Nueva Vizcaya.

Before he left for Acapulco, he requested and obtained an advance of 4,000 ducats from the royal treasury of Mexico, to attend to the necessities of such a long voyage.

1 Ed. note: This Commander Díez was a public information officer at the Navy Headquarters. This research study was initiated by a request of the Spanish Naval Attaché in Tokyo.

Once in Acapulco he learned, from Captain Sojo and his pilot Oliveras, that two Dutch ships had weighed anchor from the island of Guan and, cruising about the 11° [sic] of the said islands, were awaiting no doubt the passage of the galleons that go from New Spain to the Philippines, and vice versa. Confronted with such news, he resolved to modify the route of the flagship and *almiranta* galleons¹ and, sailing on 15 March, passed by 17° [through the Marianas], thus outwitting the vigilance of the Dutch and still making sure the navigation would avoid the danger of the *vendavals*. Without more misfortunes than a few illnesses and the death of 24 men aboard the flagship, they arrived at Cavite on 13 June.² Upon his arrival he was able to verify the lack of people and money, since the total Spanish population of 1,800 was scattered among the Moluccas and the provinces of Pintados [Visayas], Cagayan and Cibri [Cebu], and the rest in Manila, whose walls were crumbling. The ships in the port of Cavite were defenceless, with the guns upon the ground and the Indian population stirred up and disposed to reject the faith unless their pay were raised by the two reals established by the Bull of the Crusade which the [Father] Commissioner Don Luis de Robles had just published; he forbid him to preach and to collect the said tribute until His Majesty had been informed. He learned and undid the plot hatched between the Mindanaos, those of Jolo and the Dutch in order to fall upon the Moluccas, by sending Juan Xuárez Gallinato to their succor. He fortified the province of the Pintados and reduced the rebellion of the Mindanaos. He raised resources of people, money and expert tradesmen in founding cannon, in order to make those islands safer against the Dutch pirates who had the control of the sea with a fleet of 10 ships and a schooner, and had a fort a league and a half from the Moluccas. In addition, he concocted the first general budget documents for the Philippines, a true model of meticulous work and honesty. Such was, very briefly, his marvellous labor during his short interim stay in those islands.

Embarkation and shipwreck on the coast of the Quanto [Kanto].

The proprietary governor, Don Juan de Silva, having arrived, Don Rodrigo embarked aboard the flagship **San Francisco**, along with three religious and a total of 400 men. In the same convoy as the flagship were the *almiranta* San Antonio [rather **San Andrés**] and the patache **Santa Ana**. Raising the sails on 25 July 1609, they left the port of Cavite bound for Mexico.

From the three ships, the only one that made it through was the *almiranta* San Antonio [sic], since the patache **Santa Ana** and the flagship ended up, the first one at the port of Ucique [Usuki] on the coast of Bungo, running aground on 13 September, unmasted and with great damages. The flagship was destroyed upon the reefs of the coast of Kanto. Not everybody perished by drowning because the poop cabin, the bunks and the top deck of the vessel were dislodged by a surge and they were transported as aboard a raft by the waves toward a small beach, from which point they were able to reach the

1 Ed. note: This is the only reference to a second ship for the 1608 westward voyage.

2 Ed. note: The 13th of July, says Robertson (see Doc. 1609B1).

shore by taking advantage of the mouth of a stream that lessened the waves and the surf.

All in all, not more than 300 were saved, among them Don Rodrigo and the religious. This shipwreck occurred on 30 September. The horrible spectacle was witnessed by some dumbfounded fishermen¹ who guided them to their hamlet (Yuwanda) where they were given refuge, food and a few clothes.

Once the sea had calmed down our people got ready to rescue some cloth and supplies but the quantity they extracted was such that it stimulated the greed of the Japanese who had been peaceful and compassionate until then; they decided to take everything for themselves and to make them prisoners. Not far from that hamlet could be found the fortress and lands of a *Tono*, Honda Tadatomo. The Prince of Katsura,² having learned of the situation and rank of Don Rodrigo, visited him and maintained them all at his expense for 36 days. Vivero decided to send two Spanish officers to Surunga, the court of Emperor Shogunsama, and to Yendo, the residence of the prince and heir Cubosama, to ask them for clemency or justice, and, accompanied by an official of the Emperor, they returned 24 days later with the authorization for presenting themselves at court. Don Rodrigo began his march at the end of October, by going first to Ohotaki,³ a castle-town of 10,000 soldiers and the metropolis where the Imperial Prince [sic] lived, by whom he was very well received. He later went on to Yendo and, called by Consuquedono, the secretary of the Prince and heir, he was received in audience by the latter who made him sit four paces on his left.

According to Don Rodrigo, he appeared to be 35 years old, had a good appearance, a noble air and a brown face. He gave the General an honorable welcome. His palace, decorated with luxury, employed over 20,000 persons. Four days later he went on to Surunga, a city of 600,000 inhabitants.⁴ Received by the Emperor within a week of being at court, he took along Father Juan Bautista Porro, to serve him as interpreter. The Emperor was awaiting them upon a two-step platform; they took their place behind a golden grating located four paces away. Shogunsama looked like someone who was 60 years of age, with a regular stature, well fleshed out, [his face] less dark than that of the Prince and with a venerable and gracious aspect. Once the audience was finished, Don Rodrigo withdrew with decorous ceremonies and he delivered to Konsuquedono a petition beseeching the Royal protection of the religious and the free use of their houses and churches, the establishment of a mutual alliance between the Emperor and the King of Spain, and the expulsion of the Dutch from the kingdom. The next day, after a banquet, he received the answer, the first two clauses having been granted, but

1 Ed. note: Poetic licence. This is not what Vivero said. The shipwreck took place during darkness and some sailors were sent inland in the morning and discovered some peasants at work in their rice fields.

2 Ed. note: Former name of the Chiba Prefecture.

3 Ed. note: Misprint for Hondaki, actually Odaki.

4 Ed. note: In what seems like the original version of Vivero's letter (Doc. 1609C1), the population of Soronga is said to have been 120,000 people only.

not that about the Dutch because they had already received the royal permission to reside in Japan. He was offering him one of his ships, built by Adams in the European style, in order to convey him to New Spain, begging him to obtain from Philip III some miners from among the most skilful to exploit those mines of his that produced little on account of the lack of expertise of his own miners.

The Emperor was much amazed by the insistence with which Vivero asked for his Royal protection for the religious and the expulsion of the Dutch, something not surprising because he ignored that everywhere we [then] battled for the faith and that Prince Maurice of Nassau, or of Orange, not content with the obtention of independence for Holland, sent his squadrons to the Orient to perturb our commerce with China and Japan, taking over our spice islands and pillaging our galleons. Being convinced that our major enemy was the Dutch, Don Rodrigo was not afraid to insist upon their expulsion. But it was already too late, since Prince Maurice, in 1605, and even before, had opened dealings with the Emperor, through his intermediaries the admirals of those piratical fleets, Stephen Verhagen and Cornelis Matlieff, to whom he had given letters to be delivered to Shogunsama, in which he proposed good trade and commercial relations, a port, protection and friendship, and recommended in passing that such treatment should not be given to the Portuguese or the Spanish.

Besides, the Dutch were supported by the English pilot Adams, so that Don Rodrigo did not have any success in this pursuit, the Prince [of Nassau] having won the battle not only in Europe but also in Japan.

Vivero thanked the Emperor for the offer of the boat and begged him permission to go to the province of Bungo where the **Santa Ana** was found, in case he should find it in sailing conditions and pursue his voyage and, if he did not, he would consider himself lucky to make use of the generous offers of his Highness. Taking leave, he departed for Bungo.

While he was at this point¹ there he received a letter from the captain of the ship **Santa Ana** in which he promised him splendid accommodation, in spite of the many passengers he had aboard. Vivero answered him that he was very thankful for his good wishes, but that he did not accept because there were not enough accommodations left for the voyage. Upon learning that the Emperor was thinking about sending to New Spain a ship that was at the city of Yendo, under the command of Bolaños the pilot and other seamen, Don Rodrigo offered himself to go aboard, so that on account of his authority the Japanese personnel to be taken along would be given a more comfortable voyage and better accommodation and attention upon arriving in New Spain. Then, upon learning that two Dutch ships, from among those that had intervened in the Moluccas, had arrived in Japan, he desisted from such a voyage, hoping to renew the negotiations and insist again for their expulsion. [However,] when Shogunsama learned that Vivero had accepted his offer of a boat, he was very much pleased and he

1 Ed. note: The patache was at the port of Usuki.

charged him to hurry to come up to the court where he would be lodged comfortably, according to a letter sent by the Senior Majordomo, Amindono, the Captain General of the Empire, by the Treasurer of the Royal Treasury, Goto Yosabrot,¹ and by the Secretary.

During his stay in Bungo, as he came to know about a campaign on the part of some religious to obstruct his labor, he resolved to counteract such intrigues, not too noble to be sure, by forwarding a letter² meant for the attention of His Majesty King Philip, in which he clearly says what Japan was, its power and wealth, what harm or benefit could accrue to New Spain or to Manila by trade and commercial relations with it, and that his purpose in so doing was none other than to serve the cause of God and that of his monarch as best as possible; in passing, he asked for the royal approval of what he had negotiated and intended to negotiate, given that nothing that had previously been referred to His Majesty would be compromised by it.

In this precious letter, dated in Bungo on 3 March 1610, whose copy is enclosed in full in the documental part of this work, he tells the King about the 66 kingdoms into which Japan is divided, about its fertility and wealth, the tributes paid to the Emperor, the quality of the land and its products, the climate, the population density, its culture and military power and the benefit that the [Spanish] monarch would derive from trading and mine exploitation. He paints the [Japanese] people as being so prosperous, intelligent and rich that he did not find any fault with them except that they were not governed by our pious monarch.

(Facing page) **Map of Japan and its 66 provinces, by Fr. Cardim, ca. 1619.**

Because of the relative historical importance of this map, I have translated the Latin text by this Portuguese Jesuit, as follows:

[Title, upper vignette:] New and accurate description of Japan by Rev. Fr. Antonio Francisco Cardim, S.J. in praise of Japan.

[Lower middle, beginning below the ship drawing:] St. Francis Xavier, the apostle of Japan, arrived at Cangoxima [Kagoshima] on 15 August 1549. Japan is divided into 66 provinces or kingdoms, indicated by the letter P. The Catholic Faith is propagated through all of them, thanks to the labors and industry of the religious of the Society of Jesus, and the Christians number into the hundreds of thousands. Here are various statistics of the Society: 6 colleges, 3 major residences with their colleges, 2 probationary houses, 64 residences, 2 seminaries. Many are those who suffered martyrdom for Christ.

1 Ed. note: Referred to as Goto Fosabrodonno below.

2 Ed. note: See Doc. 1609C.



[Top left corner:] The Jesuits have:

1. In the kingdom of **Figen** [i.e. Hizen], in the city of Nangasaki are a college, a probationary house, a house of mercy and hospital, and within the territory 6 residences and many churches marked with a cross symbol.

2. In the city of **Arima**, a college and seminary, and in its dependencies 7 residences and many churches.

3. In **Vomura** [Omura] City, a college and in its dependencies 5 residences and many churches.

4. In the city of **Firando** [Hirado], a college including a residence, and many churches.

5. In the **Goto Islands**, 2 residences, and in the above-mentioned churches the Council of Trent was published.

6. In the **Amacusa** [Islands], 2 residences and churches.

7. In the kingdom of **Satsuma**, in the city of Kangoshima, residences and churches.

8. In the kingdom of **Fiunga** [Hyuga, now part of Miyazaki Prefecture], residence and churches.

9. In the kingdom of **Fingo** [Higo, now part of Kumamoto Pref.], in the city of Uto, a college and in its dependencies 12 residences and many churches.

10. In the kingdom of **Bungo**, in the city of Usuqui a college, in Funai [Yufuin?] a probationary house, and in its dependencies 15 residences and many churches.

11. In the kingdom of **Chicungo** [Chikugo], residences and other churches.

12. In the kingdom of **Bigen** [Buzen, now part of Kitakyushu], in the city of Cocura, comprising a college, 2 residences and churches.

13. In the kingdom of **Chicujen** [Chicuzen], in the city of Fakata [Hakata, better known as Fukuoka] comprising a college, 3 residences and churches.

14. In the kingdom of **Nangato** [Nagato], in the city of Ximonoxequi [Shimonoseki], residence and churches.

15. In the kingdom of **Suuo**, in the city of Yamanguchi, residence and churches.¹

16. In the kingdom of **Aqui**, in the city of Firoxima [Hiroshima], residence and churches.

17. In the kingdom of **Bitchu**, churches.

18. In the kingdom of **Bijen** [or Bizen, now part of Okayama Prefecture], churches.

19. [Mislabelled 20 on the map] In the kingdom of **Farima**, residence and churches.

20. In the kingdom of **Tçunocuni**, in the city of Ozaca [Osaka], a residence, and another in the city of Sacai.

21. In the kingdom of **Cauachi**, churches.

22. In the kingdom of **Yamaxiro**, in the metropolis of Miaco, a college with a residence, as well as another in the city of Fuximi [Fushima], and churches.²

1 Ed. note: Yamaguchi was first visited by St. Francis Xavier in 1550.

2 Ed. note: All of these are now part of the Kyoto Prefecture.

23. In the kingdom of **Tamba**, churches.¹
 24. In the kingdom of **Uomi** [Omi], in the city of Anxuqui, a residence and seminary.
 25. In the kingdom of **Uacasa** [Wakasa], churches.²
 26. In the kingdom of **Yechijen** [Echizen, now in Fukui P.], churches.
 27. In the kingdom of **Canga** [Kaga], in the city of Canazaua [Kagazawa], residence and churches.
 28. In the kingdom of **Noto**, churches.³
 29. In the kingdom of **Mino**, in the city of Quifu [Gifu], residence and churches.
 30. In the kingdom of **Uouari** [Owari], in the city of Quiyosu [Kiyosu], residence and churches.
 31. In the kingdom of **Surunga** [today Shizuoka], court of the Emperor Daifu [i.e. Ieyasu], residence and churches.
 32. In the kingdom of **Musaxi** [Musashi], at the court of the Emperor Shogun in Yendo [Edo], residence and churches.
 33. In the kingdom of **Quinocuxi** [Shinotsuke], a residence and churches.⁴
 34. In the kingdom of **Sanuqui**, churches.⁵
 35. In the kingdom of **Aua**, churches.⁶
 36. In the kingdom of **Iyo**, in the city of Dongo [Dogo], residence and churches.
 In the other kingdoms, mainly in **Voxu** [Woshu or Oshu] and **Deva**⁷, and in **Yezo** [Hokkaido] beyond Japan, the Christians are dispersed, due mainly to the persecution that began in 1612.
 [There are 3 distance scales: Italian miles (top), Portuguese leagues (center), and Japanese leagues [sic] (bottom).]
 (From Fr. Antonio Francisco Cardim's book: "*Fasciculus è Iapponicis floribus...*" [Pamphlet about the fruits in Japan], 1646; also reproduced by Cortesão y da Mota's *Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica*, Vol. V, Plate 609)⁸

[Back to Yedo in March 1610]

At the request of Don Rodrigo, the Commissioner of the Order of St. Francis, Fray Alonso Muñoz, sent Fray Luis Sotelo ahead of Vivero in order to prepare everything for when Don Rodrigo would arrive at court. Once there, they were received by Shogunsama and they renewed the negotiations, Vivero delivering some [draft] contracts in which he asked a port in the Kanto [region], with warehouses, dockyards, churches

1 Ed. note: Probably part of the Hyogo Prefecture today.

2 Ed. note: Appears to be in the Tottori Prefecture.

3 Ed. note: Now part of the Ishikawa Prefecture.

4 Ed. note: Now in Wakayama Prefecture.

5 Ed. note: The Kagawa Prefecture today.

6 Ed. note: Now Tokushima Prefecture.

7 Ed. note: Both are to be found in the Yamagata Prefecture today.

8 Ed. note: Father Cardim was born near Évora, Portugal, in 1596 and went to Asia in 1618, visiting Siam, Cochin China, Tonquin, China and Japan. He died at Macao in 1659 (B&R 22:140).

and religious; for a good treatment for the galleons from New Spain and the Philippines, without damage to persons and property; supplies and tradesmen for repairs, at regular prices; that if, as a consequence of relations between the two countries, an ambassador were to come, he would have to be received, honored and lodged as required for a Minister of such a great Monarch; that he would discuss the despatch of the [silver] miners with King Philip, but on the condition that half of the silver would be theirs, and the other half to be divided between the Emperor and the King of Spain; that if the miners would be granted, there would be in each mining settlement a priest, and that there would be no other jurisdiction but that of the Emperor; the expulsion of the Dutch; the sounding of all the ports, and that whatever ship that lost its way or arrived by stress of weather was to be well received; that everything stipulated had to have a *chapa* and royal decree, and that he, on his part, obliged himself to treat this with the King his lord, and to send an answer and resolution within two years, and he did not ensure nor promise anything without it having been first approved by His Majesty.

We will see now what he answered to Fr. Luis Sotelo.

[Fr. Sotelo becomes honorary Japanese ambassador]

By a decree of the Emperor, Minamoto no by name and Vagojosama by honorary designation, Sotelo was named as his ambassador at the court of the King of Spain and that of the Viceroy [of New Spain]. Called by Goto Fosabrodon, President of the Council of the Treasury, he was received in audience on 21 January 1611 [rather 1610]. After the Emperor had communicated his appointment to him, he ordered the Secretary to cause the letters to be written upon gold and elegant paper, called *fjiabaxe*,¹ *which would be delivered to him by the President with the royal seal; these were written with much elegance and respect, on account of their being for the Lord of some kingdoms so far away, and with common characters, called kana, as they are easier than the mofin.*² After they had been written, they were shown to him. When they were warned [by him] that they did not use compliments, they laughed, and told him that he had to say them verbally, given that he was going as such [i.e. as an ambassador], he was to make use of them to the satisfaction of his Lord; that the use of compliments in letters was considered a lack of courtesy in Japan; that in these letters only the substance of the embassy would be written, and in order to differentiate between that meant for King Philip III and for the Viceroy, that for the Monarch would bear an endorsement marked very private, called *turicungui* [turikugi?] in Japan, and the second one, addressed directly to him. This type of mannerism is called *firojo* [hirosu?], and indicates greater compliments and humiliation on the part of the Emperor. When he was asked if the endorsements should be written at the end of the letter, as is the custom in Japan, or at the beginning, he answered that it was written the latter way in Spain, and

1 Ed. note: With the usual transliteration, this could be "hizyabashi" or something like it.

2 Ed. note: A reference to the cursive, or *hiragana* style of writing, as compared to the Chinese-style characters, or *kanji*. See the illustration below.

so it was done. The contracts, peace agreements and presents were despatched by Fondaco Juquedano [Honda Kosukedono], President of the Council of State and Government, and that regarding the miners, by the senior Majordomo, Amindono, Captain General of the whole empire. The President of [the Council] of State, in sending his regards that he had to transmit to His Majesty and the Viceroy regarding the security and firmness of this business and about the excuses for the Macao affair,¹ he ordered that a ship that the Emperor owned be made ready in the kingdom of the Kanto. This ship was later baptized by Don Rodrigo with the name of **San Buenaventura**.

Legal translation of the above-mentioned letters.

(Overleaf) **Letter from Shogun Hidetada, dated Edo, fall of 1610.** *"The Universal Lord of Japan, Minamo Hidetada, greets the Duke of Lerma, Governor of Spain: The former Governor of Luzon speaks of the coming of a ship from New Spain to Japan.*

I declare that, as far as I am concerned, there is no inconvenience to the said ship coming to any port of this land.

All the details of this matter will be dealt with by Fathers Fray Alonso Muñoz and Fray Luis Sotelo who are carrying five (Japanese) armors as a gift.

On the 4th day of the 5th month of the 15th year of Keicho."

[Red seal of Shogun Hidetada]

(From AGI MP Escritura y Cifra #30. Translated by Higashitani Hidehito, 1964).

(Overleaf) **Letter from Shogun Ieyasu, dated Soronga, spring of 1610.** *"The Universal Lord of Japan, Minamo Ieyasu, begs the Duke of Lerma, in Spain, to show this letter to the Supreme Majesty.*

The former Governor of Luzon spoke of having a ship come from New Spain to Japan. That is fine. Therefore, in whatever part that the ship may reach, it will be well received and no harm shall be done to it, rather only a favorable welcome.

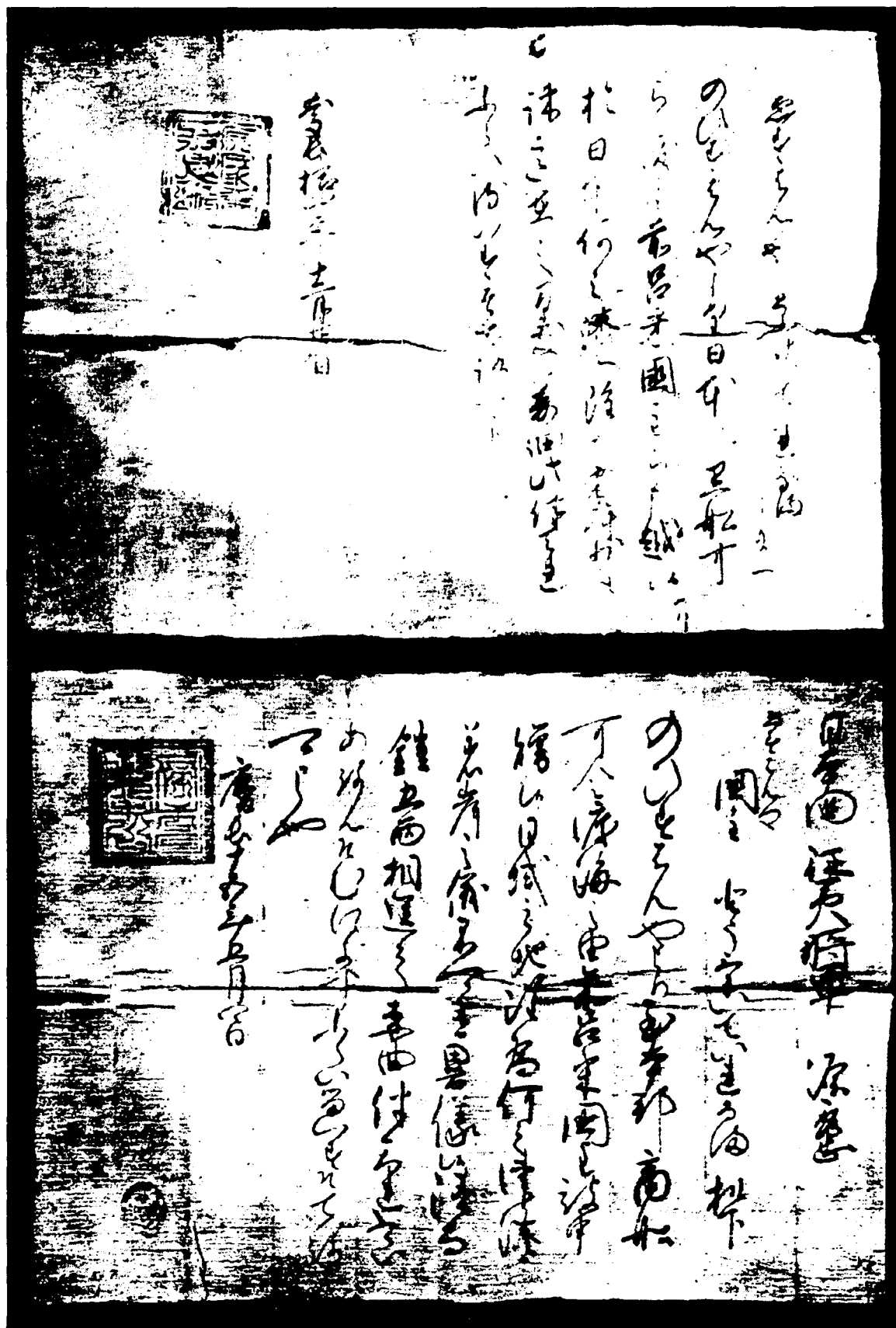
All the other small details will be dealt with by this Father Fray Luis Sotelo.

On the 28th day of 12th month of the 14th year of Keicho."

[Red seal of Shogun Ieyasu].

(From AGI Fil. 193 (old 68-5-7), now MP Escritura y Cifra #31. Translated by Higashitani Hidehito, 1964. See also MN ms. 477 and Pages 38 & 39 of Commander Ariza's booklet)

1 Ed. note: The fracas in which Captain Major Pessoa had figured.



The contracts that they delivered to Sotelo are the same that Vivero had proposed, with the exception of the clause referring to the Dutch, which is not mentioned. He sent as a present to the King 8 bodies of armor and 1 sword, and this Father as an ambassador for him to communicate verbally the small things that are in the heart of the Emperor. These contracts were subscribed and signed by order of the Emperor by the President of State, Fondacosugedono [sic], on the 9th day of the 1st month of the 15th year of Gecho [Keicho].¹

The letter directed to the Viceroy is identical, and is differentiated only by the fact that it is addressed directly to him; as a present, he was sent 2 bodies of armor and 1 broadsword.

As soon as the letters, contracts and presents had been delivered to him, he left for Sugeme [i.e. Fushima] where he translated those and sent them to the Commissioner of his Order, Fray Alonso Muñoz, so that the religious of the other orders and some Japanese who understood our language would certify and verify if they were faithfully translated. For this purpose, Fr. Alonso Muñoz begged the Fathers Fray José de San Jacinto and Fray Tomás del Espíritu Santo, Dominicans, and Fr. Hernando de San José, Vicar General of the Augustinians, and he ordered, out of obedience, the Franciscans Fray Luis Gómez, Fray Julio de Santa Marta and Fray Francisco Galves to do the same, as they effectively did and they verified them.

At about this period the Emperor decided, either because Sotelo was sick or for other reasons, that Don Rodrigo would designate another religious to become ambassador, and the Commissioner Fray Alonso Muñoz was proposed.

[The voyage of the San Buenaventura]

Once the Emperor's boat, the **San Buenaventura**, was ready, Vivero received 4,000 ducats for his victualling, and authorization for selling it if, at his arrival in New Spain, it was not in condition to return. He embarked along with Jocukendono [Hosuke-dono?] and 22 Japanese. On the 1st of August [1610], they sailed and, without very bad weather, they arrived without incident at the port of Matanchel on 27 October.

Once again in Mexico, the Viceroy was told by his nephew what had happened in Japan and, receiving the presents, endeavored not to undo the diplomatic labor so ably initiated by Vivero. He treated the Japanese mission as best he could and, wanting to respond to the honorable welcome made to his nephew and pay back the money loaned by the Emperor and the value of the boat, and presents, in return for those he had received, he did not wish to detain the embassy much longer. For this purpose, he called a meeting of the War Council, which consisted of the Visitor [i.e. Inspector General] of New Spain, Don Juan Villela; of the President of the Audiencia of the New Kingdom of Galicia, Don Antonio de Morga; plus Fray Alonso [Muñoz], and Hernando de los Ríos Coronel, Procurator of the Philipppines; of Don Sebastián Vizcaíno and other persons.

1 Ed. note; This date and the one above confirm that they were written in the spring and early summer of 1610, respectively.

As one clause of the contracts referred to the survey and sounding of the ports of Japan, General Vizcaíno, one of the most expert navigator, specially in this type of work, was designated to carry out the embassy of the King of Spain and his Viceroy. He had proved it beyond doubt in his voyage to the Californias, whose coast from Acapulco to Cape Mendocino he had charted and sounded, sketching the maps of so many islands, bays and anchorages that he found along the way, recording in his logbooks the more appropriate ports the galleons could use as a shelter and for reprovisioning. As a man accustomed to the sea, determined, valiant and educated, there was nobody better than he to carry out such a delicate commission. [Furthermore,] he had been made responsible, by royal letter of 22 September 1608, to go and discover the islands of **Rica de Oro** and **Rica de Plata** which they said were found very near Japan. Like no-one else he could raise the spirit of the people, so many times terrified by the numerous storms they had to weather. His soul tempered upon the hard anvil of very dangerous situations, he had always come out of them scot-free, as he overly proved it during the above-mentioned glorious voyage when, his crew completely sick and decimated by a terrible epidemic of scurvy, he succeeded in making port at the islands of Mazatlan with only the five seamen that were left with hardly enough strength to stand up. Instead of resigning himself to losing all his people, he preferred to risk his life in search of something that could operate the miracle of curing them. He stepped ashore with those five famished men, and God wished to place within his reach a juicy and acidic fruit, similar to small pineapples, with which he cured all those sick of scurvy, without exception, within six days. I did not wish to pass up this opportunity without adding my modest, but fervent, tribute to the memory of this illustrious man for having discovered the treatment of this scourge of sailors, until then unknown to the medical class.

On 7 March [1611], he left Mexico for Acapulco, arriving on the 19th at this port. [Meanwhile,] Fray Alonso Muñoz, after having taken part in the above-mentioned Council of War, went on to Spain, carrying the letters, contracts and presents that Minamoto and his son had sent to His Majesty.

Having been seen by the Monarch, he was delighted with them, and, having referred the papers that had been brought to the Royal Council of the Indies, they reported favorably on 18 May 1611.¹

The King, on his part, wrote to Minamoto a letter dated 20 June of the same [sic] year, in which he thanked him for the present, the good welcome that he gave Vivero and the good treatment to the religious and vassals, and as a just gesture he was sending him another present with the said Father; that he accepted with much pleasure the friendship, trade and commerce, and that he was ordering the Viceroy of New Spain to have a ship go out to Japan every year. He addressed a letter in similar terms to the Prince Dainangosama.²

At the end of the year [1613]³, Alonso Muñoz returned to Mexico, bearing the letters and present from the King of Spain, who also had advised the Viceroy about this commission, urging him to give them accommodation aboard the ship which had to go out to Japan the following March, or aboard another of good capacity, so that the Japanese brought by Don Rodrigo could return with great comfort and attention. Given the good desire on both parts to consolidate these friendly relations and to establish trade and commerce between New Spain and Japan, we will now give a brief narrative of the embassy led by General Sebastián Vizcaíno.

1 Ed. note: Two years earlier, on 4 July 1609, the King had already issued a letter to the Governor of the Philippines, entrusting him to maintain friendly relations with the Emperor of Japan (See AGI 105-2-1, Libro 20, folio 94). The documents relating to the here-mentioned consultation of the Council of the Indies are contained in AGI 67-6-4. The consultations dragged on from 1611 until 1613. The same file contains letters and memoranda regarding this embassy of Fr. Muñoz, the possible commerce between Japan and New Spain, as well as the list of the presents to be sent to Japan, etc.

2 Ed. note: According to James A. Robertson's article in *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* for 1915, the said letters were not despatched until June 1613 (not 1611), as follows: 1) Letter to the Viceroy of New Spain, dated San Lorenzo el Real, 17 June 1613: The King advises him of what he has written to the King of Japan, and the viceroy is to send a ship with Fr. Alonso Muñoz and his companions with the present that he carries. (AGI 87-5-2 tomo 6, folio 70 verso, 3 leaves); 2) Letter to the Governor of the Philippines, dated San Lorenzo el Real, 17 June 1613: In case Fray Alonso Muñoz and his companions were to go through Manila on their way to Japan, he is to give them transportation. (AGI 87-5-2 tomo 60, folio 80, 2 leaves).

3 Ed. note: This author has confused his chronology, assuming here that Fr. Muñoz could possibly have made it back to Mexico at the end of 1611 and taken a ship in March 1612, but Vizcaíno had left one year earlier... It was not until the end of 1613 that Fr. Muñoz' replacements arrived at Mexico.

Embassy led by General Sebastián Vizcaíno.

On 22 March 1612 [rather 1611] General Vizcaíno sailed from Acapulco aboard the ship **San Francisco**¹ taking along with him the Japanese personnel that Vivero had brought and the Commissioner of St. Francis, Fray Pedro Bautista, with five other religious. The ship had for a pilot Benito Palacios, with 51 seamen under his control. To comply with the instructions of the Viceroy, they were bound directly for Japan.

On the day before his departure, Vizcaíno wrote to His Majesty that he was about to leave with the embassy and Japanese, to whom he would attend during the voyage and that, after wintering in Japan, he would go out to the discovery of the islands of **Rica de Oro** and **Rica de Plata**, and that he would send him a detailed narrative of everything that would happen.

For his part, the Viceroy let His Majesty know, in a letter written in April, about the departure of Vizcaíno with instructions and the money sent to the Emperor that he had advanced, in addition to the presents and the money resulting from the sale of the **San Buenaventura**; that the **San Francisco** was a ship of good capacity, with 60 persons aboard, being officers, seamen and ship's boys; that it was carrying 40 arquebuses and muskets, two cannon and the necessary provisions.

During the crossing they suffered from bad weather and damages, which they repaired, and frequent disputes arose between the Japanese and the Spanish which Vizcaíno had to cut short by giving very severe orders, placing Jocukendono at his table during the voyage, for the sake of courtesy and correctness.

On 9 June [1611] they saw the land of Japan and various junks came near them. He invited them to come aboard but only four of the most determined did so. In case they were coast pilots, he invited them to remain aboard but, when they denied to be so, he retained one of them who broke down and cried when he saw the others leave. He calmed down when he was given gifts and money, and gave some information about that land. It was called Tuginahama and its lord was one of the minor sons of the Emperor. He also indicated that the port of Urangava² was 40 leagues away, but that at 25 leagues there was another, called Uracami, and even closer another port in the bay of Xiraca, into which the the river that comes out of Yendo empties. As the weather was good, Vizcaíno decided to go to Urangava, where he anchored at 5 in the afternoon of the next day.

At his arrival he was received by the Governor of the port and the General of the junks. All three together issued a declaration in which it was forbidden to the Spanish to steal, to use firearms or force on the Japanese, under penalty of death. This declaration was proclaimed according to our usage, and, once the General was installed, he

1 Ed. note: Different from the galleon that was shipwrecked in Japan in September 1609. For the original account by Vizcaíno himself, see Doc. 1611B.

2 Ed. note: I think that the port of Uranga, rather Uraga, was located on the cove just north of the port of Yokosuka today.

was authorized to raise the royal standard at the topmast of the ship and to display the flag at his lodging.

He wrote to the Emperor asking for royal licence to go to the Court and he reported that his arrival coincided with the [return of the] Japanese mission that accompanied Vivero, and that in order to make the voyage more comfortable and to avoid that the money advance, the value of the ship and the presents might fall into the hands of the Dutch pirates along the way, they had come directly to Japan, as he had been ordered by the Viceroy. He sent a similar letter to the Prince.

On the 16th [of June 1611] he received an answer from Cubosama [sic], and on the 17th one from the Prince, both authorized him to come to Yendo and Surunga.

On the 17th, in the morning, accompanied with 30 of his men, with arquebuses, a few religious and the Japanese, except Jocukendono who had preceded them to Surunga, he boarded five junks and arrived at Yendo at sunset of the 18th. He was received by Guatanave [Watanabe] Amajirodono, private secretary to the Prince, who honored him and installed him comfortably. The next day he received the visit of Guinjoson and Escavaguinban who announced to him that he would be received the next day. They discussed the protocol and, not coming to an agreement, he gathered his Council, in which it was agreed that the embassy would be in accordance with Spanish customs, except that the muskets would not be fired until a bridge had been passed, and that the drum, flag and people would remain at the first of the five gates of his palace. In addition it was detailed that upon arriving in the presence of the Prince to make the embassy and deliver the letters and present of the Viceroy this would be done on the step right next to the one where the Prince was sitting, and that after leaving the hall he would return to present his own embassy, but at another lower step, and that he would be given as much honor and favor as possible.

As per the agreement, over 4,000 soldiers of the Imperial Guard presented themselves at his house at 8 in the morning, as they were to form the vanguard and the rear-guard, as well as many other gentlemen to accompany the Ambassador. In the middle of our people, in formation and supplied with their arquebuses, there was the royal standard on whose left and right were Vizcáino and [Fray] Sotelo, and the Fathers Fray Pedro Bautista and Pedro Gómez. Before them was placed the General of the junks.

The retinue having been organized, they began marching at 10 in the morning and the quantity of people gathered on the road was such that they took until 2 in the afternoon to arrive at the Palace. The effect was picturesque and brilliant; as for the crowd, it amounted to no less than a million men, women and children who attended in silence and good humor that grandiose spectacle, without precedent. Everyone would prostrate himself at the passage of the Ambassador who provoked a great curiosity on account of his costume. The roll of the drum, something never seen nor heard, also called their attention. The extraordinary cleanliness of the streets and the order observed during the procession also astonished the General.

Upon arriving at the Palace, he was received by the Captains of the Guard of His Highness, and the people, the drum, flag and weapons having been left behind the first

gate, as agreed, they accompanied him as far as the last one. There he was awaited by two private secretaries of the Prince who invited him to enter a luxuriously-decorated hall, where they seated him as well as the Fathers. Shortly thereafter, two other private secretaries made them go into another hall, even more luxurious and neatly laid out than the previous one, and after a very brief wait they were invited by two other private secretaries to pass into a third one, even more royal and spacious than the former, with a corridor and lookout points where over a thousand gentlemen were assembled, each wearing his own insignias, whom he saluted individually beginning with the sons of the Kings, then the statesmen, and finally the rest. After the salutation was over, he was invited to pass into the hall where the Prince was already awaiting him, seated and adorned with his best formal royal dress. In a corridor situated on the right of the Prince the Presidents of State and the Counselors witnessed the embassy and, a little lower, the Majordomo, Chamberlain and Secretary.

A great curiosity was aroused by the arrogant presence of the General, dressed with a cape and breeches, jerkin¹ with double-sleeves, white buttoned boots, hat with plumes, an open lace collar folded into ruffles, gilded swords and daggers. With a true distinction he executed the protocolary ceremonies, and having delivered the letters and presents, the Secretary showed him the site reserved for him to sit down. Among other things, His Highness told him about the hardships that he must have suffered during such a long voyage, regretting them very much. Vizcaino answered that he kissed the hands of His Highness and considered all of them well spent given the happiness of seeing such a great Prince, whose finesse he was very much thankful for.

During this ceremony they had already prepared the present of the General and, when he departed, he left with the same reverences as when he made his entrance, always keeping his face toward the Prince. He came in again to present his present, and as the Fathers and part of the General's retinue had remained in the outer salon, His Highness then allowed them to see him; they came in and resumed their formation and were saluted by the Prince. He detained the Fathers, as was natural, since they understood the language; they were able to converse, and they observed the pleasing impression that such an embassy had produced in him. After a friendly farewell, the retinue was organized, and with as much splendor and elegance as the earlier procession they arrived at their lodging.

From Yendo he went on to Urangava, to await the invitation to the Court. Invited by the Emperor, they left for Surunga, where Jocukendono was waiting for them; he had been made a *tono* upon his return from New Spain, and he provided them with lodging. The next day he received word from the Shogun, authorizing him to present the embassy, and the following day at 12, he entered the Palace, perhaps one of the best ones in the world in space and wealth. Here he was received by the guards and their captains and, the drum, flag, weapons and some people remaining past the first gate, they proceeded with the royal standard as far as the last one. There they were awaited

1 Ed. note: A doublet or close-fitting vest or jacket.

by the President of the Council of the Treasury, Jocabro, another gentleman and the father-in-law of Jocukendono and many others. Here they waited a long while, during which they advised the Emperor. Then the Secretary came out of the salon where the Emperor was to notify him that he should first give the embassy that he brought on behalf of the King of Spain and his Viceroy and, upon coming out, he would return to present his own.

The ceremony was identical to that sketched earlier. Once the presents had been presented, they pleased the Emperor well enough; above all, he was very much pleased to see the portraits of Their Majesties and the Prince.¹ He spoke with Father Sotelo and Father Porro, interpreters of the first and second presentations and, after a brief dialogue, the latter came to an end.

Two days later he asked, along with Pilot Benito Palacios, for the permission and *chapas* to sound the ports and build a ship, and so that our merchandise would not be subject to government monopoly or *pancada* [wholesale restriction], to which the Emperor acceded. However, upon renewing the petition to have the Dutch expelled, he said that, given that he would stay for a long time in Japan, he would be advised in due course. Having received the *chapas*, he returned to Urangava where he began all the preparations for his works.

[Vizcaíno's survey of the coast of Japan during the winter of 1611-12]

A few months were spent by Vizcaíno in exploring the whole coast, from Enangasake [Nagasaki] as far as Cape of Sestos, sounding all the ports, bays and anchorages, charting them and mapping everything he had discovered upon four sets of charts. Having finished the charts on 2 July 1612, he went on the 9th to the Court for the purpose of delivering to the Shogun two sets, as had been agreed, and to ask for permission to return to New Spain.²

During this time, our enemies the Dutch were not sleeping. They, supported by the Englishman, Adams, and a few influential counselors at court, convinced the Emperor of the danger that his kingdoms were running in continuing relations with the Spanish. As a result of this intrigue, he granted him permission to leave but he suspended those negotiations under the pretext that he did not like our law. Unaware of this change, in Spain they were preparing rich presents, they were studying and resolving favorably those negotiated contracts by the Royal Council of the Indies, our Monarch was writing to the Emperor and to the Prince approving what Vivero had negotiated; the Viceroy of New Spain was being ordered not to forget to send every ship a ship of good capacity; free trade and commerce was being promulgated with China and Japan, and that good friendship was being praised and accepted.³ What things did they say to the

1 Ed. note: These had to be the portraits of King Philip III, Queen Margarita of Austria, and the future Philip IV.

2 Ed. note: From this account, it would seem that the Cape de Cestos was located east of Tokyo and may have corresponded to Cape Inubo. None of the charts made by Vizcaíno has been preserved.

3 Ed. note: See the documents, dated June 1613, whose reference is given in an earlier footnote.

Emperor to make him hate the religious, who until then enjoyed his friendship and protection? We will answer this question later.

[Vizcaíno's return aboard the *Date Maru*]

Vizcaíno wished [to use] the same ship that had taken them in and, having embarked with his people and those who had been left behind by Vivero. The sailed on 16 September 1612. A few days later, he anchored once again at the port of Urangava on account of the uselessness of the ship **San Francisco**.¹ He was not to embark aboard the Japanese ship **San Sebastián** either, because it was beached.² He solicited 6,000 pesos from the Shogun to build another, but this assistance was denied him. Faced with this situation, he decided to enter into negotiations with Mazamune, King of Voxú.³ Being looked after and assisted by the latter, he signed contracts, then leaving with his people for that kingdom where, having built a ship and made it ready,⁴ he embarked with his people, but as a passenger, because a religious that he does not name⁵ had been elevated to the rank of Governor and Captain General of that voyage.

On 27 October [1613]⁶ they sailed, arriving in good time at the port of Zacatula at the beginning of the year 1613 [rather 1614].

Events that impeded the good trade and commerce between Spain and Japan.

The historian Tekutomi, according to our [i.e. Spanish] Naval Attaché in Tokyo, attributes this change in the Emperor to his displeasure at seeing Vizcaíno arrive without the expert ship-builders and miners. On the other hand, Father Diego de San Francisco, in the eyewitness account of these events that he published in 1625 blames the whole thing on the Dutch and the English pilot, Adams, who, wrongly interpreting the purpose of Vizcaíno's voyage, provoked suspicions at the court. I believe that the opinion of this Father is more believable, since it gives us the key to [understanding] the second persecution of the Christians, much more terrible than the first one.

If Tekutomi were right, we would have to admit an unjustified impatience on the part of the Shogun, given that Vivero had clearly told him not to expect an adequate answer until after two years had passed. Vizcaíno's embassy was prepared in fewer than

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- 1 Ed. note: Not a few days later, but months later, because Vizcaíno was then returning from a voyage of discovery to the mythical isles of gold and silver.
 - 2 Ed. note: This has to have been the name given by the Spanish to the first of the two ships built by Will Adams.
 - 3 Ed. note: A kingdom in the NE part of Honshu Island, now consisting of Yamagata and Sendai, whose ancient name was Oshu, or Woshu, although from now on the Spanish most always wrote its name as Voxu. Masamune's family name was Date.
 - 4 Ed. note: This ship was named **Date Maru** after its Japanese owner. It was supposedly built at a village or town named Tsuninoura, in Matsushima Bay near Sendai. Meriwether (1893) says that the name has since been changed to Oginahama.
 - 5 Ed. note; It was Father Luis Sotelo whom Vivero had replaced with Father Alonso Muñoz the last time.
 - 6 Ed. note: The letter from Date Masamune to Philip III is dated 6 October 1613.

three months and when Fray Alonso Muñoz, named [honorary] ambassador by the Shogun to take the letters and contracts to the King, was still in New Spain. Therefore, if the Viceroy were to proceed in complete independence, could anyone impute Philip III with the responsibility for such an act? Obviously not, since he even ignored the existence of such dealings. On the other hand, the inconstancy of the Viceroy was also forgivable, given his intention at sending Vizcáino was to quickly follow up Vivero's attentions and favors, and to return the loaned money and the money that came from the sale of the **San Buenaventura**. In addition, as it was the first time that relations were established with a cultivated and prosperous kingdom in the Far East, he could not give his consent to everything without previous consultation with the King. Finally, taking advantage of the fact that Vizcáino had to go to the discovery of the islands of **Rica de Oro** and **Rica de Plata** which they said were in those seas, he did not wish to delay the beginning of those good relations, counting on the talent and expertise of Vizcáino to have the friendly ties bound even more, preparing in passing the survey of those coasts in order to facilitate good communications in the future. The opinion of Father Diego de San Francisco seems to be closer to reality.

The fear of the Shogun, who had lifted [his protection] when confronted by the possibility of the risk that his kingdoms ran if he continued to protect the religious, was continuously stimulated by those Dutch, and reinforced by the perfidious campaign by the astute Adams. They did not take long in making him angry, breaking all communication with the Spanish and decreeing the expulsion of the religious. This Adams augmented his distrust by warning him that those surveys by Vizcáino were nothing but the most elegant demonstration of a probable declaration of war, this being a custom practiced by the kings of Europe to make this type of reconnaissance upon the rupture of hostilities [sic], and that for this reason they rejected us on all sides. Such tricks would not have exercised an influence upon the Shogun if certain circumstances had not contributed to reinforce that imaginary danger. One of those was the boastful indiscretion of the pilot of the galleon **San Felipe** who, when asked by Yemondono in Tosa [in 1596] how our kings could lord it over kingdoms so distant, did not hesitate to say that, once the field has been prepared by the religious, some powerful squadrons then go in and take away their kingdoms unless they are our friends.

On the other hand, Safioye, the Governor of Nangasaqui, on account of his friendship with Arimadono, a convert to Catholicism, propagated at court the absurd idea that the Christian doctrine taught people not to obey their kings and lords, but only the ministers of the faith; that everything was sacrificed to the religious ideal; that they worshipped and glorified those who died of a violent death as a result of being evil-doers and disobedient; and finally, that to imitate their God who had died crucified between two thieves they preferred to die that way, and that, being revolutionary, they were dangerous people for the Empire, forever ready for whatever bad deed. Others were making efforts to present the religious as disguised captains for the King of Spain, who, under the pretext of the faith baptized ceaselessly, thus making every one a soldier, given that the religion obliged them to obey them; that, when they believed they

had an army powerful enough the revolution would follow and their squadrons would come to assist them; that is why Vizcaíno had surveyed the ports and taken the latitudes.

If the additional facts that Arimandono was condemned to exile for the crime of bribery, and that Daifachi, the Secretary of Conzuquedono, was burned alive for having forged a royal decree, and that both were Christian, we will understand the bases of that unfortunate end suffered by the first official trial at European contact.

Consequences of that campaign.

The saddest and most disastrous consequence was the persecution of the Christians, carried out with more cruelty than the one of 1597. There were decreed the expulsion of the religious and the exile of all the Japanese who had been converted to Christianity and did not apostatize their faith. Very severe orders were sent to all the *tonos* and governors in the Empire to refuse them assistance and asylum. Royal decrees were published threatening very serious penalties on those who would provide shelter or help to any religious or Christian, native or not. The churches were taken down and those who resisted the execution of the imperial orders were martyred.

On our part, the embassy that Fray Alonso Muñoz carried in the name of Philip III was suspended and precautions were taken to avoid that the Japanese became expert pilots in those seas. Such were the results of that implacable hostility of the Dutch.¹

Seville, 20 July 1925.

¹ Ed. note: Soon they alone, among all the European nationalities, were allowed to visit Japan, albeit only the island of Deshima within the harbor of Nagasaki, from the 1620s until well into the 19th century, when Commodore Perry arrived with his “kuro fune” or “black ship”.