and on the other hand, the han, representing the remnants of feudalistic tendencies. Yet the system did work. If the bakufu realized no tax revenues from the han, it was nevertheless relieved of the burdens of local government by the latter. It could also order the han governments to engage in the building of the Edo castle and other civil engineering duties or to perform military services. The existence of the han, which numbered as many as 295 in the early Tokugawa period, ensured the continuation of local diversity. This in turn served to infuse vitality in the cultural attainment of the period.

The economic basis of both the bakufu and han governments was in agriculture. Thus control of the rural area became of paramount importance. The Tokugawa legislation generally aimed at controlling farmers and the lands. The cadastral surveys conducted by Hideyoshi and the later ones under Tokugawa served as the basis of taxation. The Tokugawa bakufu directly controlled one-fourth of the lands, and its magistrates (daikan), working under the kanjō bugyō (commissioner of finance), came into close contact with the day-to-day affairs of the rural areas (Documents 4 through 9).

In spite of their generally agrarian oriented mentality, control of major urban areas was not neglected, and two machi bugyō (town commissioners) each were assigned to Edo, Osaka, and Kyoto. (Documents 10 and 11). Buddhist temples, along with Shinto shrines, were also placed under a rigid system of control, and the Buddhist temples were made an arm of the government in its system of surveillance of its citizens (Document 12).

The decision to close the country was a momentous one. The pros and cons of that decision cannot be debated here. However, suffice to say, it did contribute to the stability and peace that the Tokugawa rulers sought from that decision (Documents 13 through 17).

The Tokugawa peace, in turn, brought forth prosperity. The rich varieties of commercial activities experienced during this period are contained in Documents 18 through 22. Students of economic history may find in the training of apprentices, described in Document 20, practices akin to the training of employees undertaken by modern Japanese corporations. Some of today’s famed Japanese management practices, such as nemawashi and corporate philosophy, can also find their precursors in the Tokugawa period. They are included as Documents 23 and 24. Growth of commerce gave the chōmin class an opportunity to redefine their role in society. Documents 25 and 26 relate to this subject.

CONTROL OF VASSALS

In 1611, Ieyasu felt strong enough to exact an oath of fealty from the daimyō of central and western Japan, and in 1612 he imposed a similar covenant of submission on the daimyō of the northern provinces. The initial oath was taken by the daimyō at the Castle of Nijō in Kyoto. At that time the Toyotomi forces were in Osaka, and the capture of Osaka Castle was still four years away. In exacting these terms, Ieyasu had especially in mind the loyalty of those tozama daimyō who had been vassals of the Toyotomi. The oath was the first ordinance which defined the duties of the Tokugawa vassals. (Document 1).

Buke Shohatto (Document 2) was issued in 1615, a year before Ieyasu’s death. It laid down fundamental rules for the conduct of the entire military class. It was amended frequently, and here the amendments of Kanei (1635) which gave specific instructions on the system of alternate attendance (sankin kōtai) are reproduced (Document 3). Otherwise the substance of Buke Shohatto remained the same and was reaffirmed on the accession of each new shōgun. It enjoined the samurai to the virtues of obedience, sacrifice, and frugality. Its attempt to lay down standards of dress and food reminds one of similar attempts made by Yoritomo, the Hōjō Regents, and the sengoku daimyō (see Documents 3 through 6 in Chapter 7). Each of the articles was accompanied by comments drawn from earlier authorities, such as historical works and old laws. Frequently these comments consisted of appropriate quotations from the Confucian classics. The document was drafted by the Zen monk, Sūden (1569–1633) in collaboration with other scholars. After approval by Ieyasu who was in his retirement, the document was sent to Shōgun Hideyada. The second shōgun in turn promulgated the laws in Fushimi Castle before the assembly of the daimyō who had also come to witness a performance of Nō.

1 Oath of Fealty, 1611

1. We will respect the laws and formularies established by the bakufu for generations since the time of the General of the Right (Yoritomo); out of concern for our own interest, we will strictly obey any regulations which may be issued by Edo hereafter.

2. If there will be anyone who violates the laws and regulations or goes contrary to the instructions given from above (Edo), we will not harbor any such person in our respective domains.

3. If any samurai or other subordinate officer in our employ is found guilty of rebellion or homicide, and that fact is reported to us, we pledge to each other that we shall not take the offender into our employ.

In case any of the foregoing articles is violated, upon investigation conducted by Edo, we shall be immediately liable to be severely dealt with in accordance with the laws and regulations.

Sixteenth year of Keicho [1611], fourth month, 16th day.
Jointly signed by the daimyō in Kyoto.

village headman, or ten *koku* in the case of a plain farmer. If anyone disobeys this, he is liable to be prosecuted. Notify all concerned.

(b) Exposition of the Above

Altogether the proscription [against parcelization of land] by farmers owning land which produces less than ten *koku* has been in force for some time. This is done in order to prevent division of land into small lots for children who are brothers. Otherwise, the position of the head family will be weakened, and later, all the brothers will become destitute peasants. This fact is understood initially, but as one gets older, he becomes indiscreet and wishes to divide land. The oldest son may have little discretion, and may feel that to contradict his father's unorthodox views, even for a moment, is to engage in an unfilial act. With this kind of mentality, he fails to warn his younger brothers, and the land which produced ten *koku* is divided into three portions, with the oldest son receiving five *koku*, the second son three *koku*, and the third son two *koku*. Meanwhile, the oldest son assumes the responsibility for ten *koku*, and on festive occasions everyone comes to him for gifts. There is no benefit accruing from the fact of inheritance. The second and third sons become independent and hold small pieces of land, and sooner or later they cannot maintain themselves. The same lot awaits the eldest son. Unless they can work together, their relations will be strained. If one must sell his own land, and become a tenant farmer, and receive scorn from other people, that comes from the old man’s division of the land. . . .

8 Injunctions for Peasants, c. 1619

1. Consider the Lord of your domain, the sun and the moon. Respect your fief holder (jito) or magistrate (daiken) as the patron deity (ujigami) of your place. Treat your village head (kimoiri) as if he were your own father.

2. During the first five days of the new year, pay respect to those around you in accordance with your position. Within the first fifteen days, make more than enough ropes needed to perform your major and minor public services (corvé labor for the year). After the first fifteen days, when mountains and fields are covered with snow, accumulate all the firewood needed for the year. Use a sleigh to pull nightsoil on the fields. At night make sandals for horses. Daughters and wives must sew and weave China-grass to make clothing for their menfolk. If there is a housewife who makes an excessive amount of tea to entertain others, visits around in the absence [of menfolk], and gossips, then she must have a hidden lover. Even if a man has a child with her, that kind of woman must be sent away. . . .

5. During the fourth month, men must work in the fields from dawn to dusk and make furrows as deep as the hoe can penetrate. Wives and daughters must make meals three times, put on red headbands and take the meals to the fields.

Old and young alike must put the meals in front of the men who are soiled from their work. By seeing the wives attired in red, men, old and young alike, can be so encouraged . . . to the extent of forgetting their fatigue. Once men are home after dusk, give them bath water, and let them wash their feet. Sisters-in-law and female cousins must put the chapped feet of the man on the stomach of his wife and massage them. Let him forget the toil of the day.

Near the end of the fourth month, put a harrow on the horse and rake the fields. Cut miscanthus grass from nearby mountains and put them on the China-grass field. If the field is located near a house, always check how the wind is blowing before burning the miscanthus grass. If time is appropriate, sew millet, barley, and wheat seeds.

13. During the twelfth month, if there is a notification from the fief holder or magistrate about a tax overdue, quickly make the payment. For this favor he renders you, send a bowl of loach fish soup accompanied by a dish of fried sardines. Although, according to the regulations, all that is expected of a farmer on such an occasion is a bowl of soup and a dish of vegetables, the ones [just suggested] are more appropriate. If no tax is paid after the due notice, you can have your precious wife taken away from you as security. Do not forget that in your master’s house there are many young minor officials and middlemen who may steal your wife. To make sure that kind of thing never happens to you, pay all your taxes before the end of the eleventh month. Take heed that this advice is adhered to. You are known as a man of lowly origin. But even so, you do not wish to see your precious wife exposed to wild winds (misfortunes), being taken away from you, and stolen by younger men. In this fashion you may lose the support of the way of heaven, come to the end of the rope, be scorned by your lowly peer groups, and regret the incident forever. Always remember that such a misfortune can befall you. Be diligent in delivering your annual tax rice and in doing work for the magistrate. Once all the annual taxes are paid, prepare for the coming of the new year. Make the remaining rice into rice cake (mochi), brew same sake, buy some salted fish, and add another year to your life happily. New Year is the time you must be able to chant along with others: I set sail on this journey of longevity. May the moon also accompany me!

9 Regulations for Villagers, 1643

1. Hereafter, both the village headman (*shoya*) and higher village officials (*sobyakusho*) may not build houses which are not consistent with their stations in life. However, town houses (*machiya*) may be built under the direction of the fief holder (jito) or magistrate (daikan).

2. Concerning farmer’s clothing, in accordance with the previous *bakufu* edict, the village headman and his family may wear silk, pongee, linen, and

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12Ibid., p. 94.

The above articles must be made known to all the villages, to secure immediate observance of their intent. Care must be taken continuously to conform to these injunctions.

Twentieth year of Kanei [1643], third month, 11th day.

CONTROL OF THE URBAN AREAS

Edo, the present-day Tokyo, was an insignificant fishing village in 1457 when Ōta Dōkan set out to build a castle there. In 1590 it became the headquarters for the Tokugawa, and in 1603 it became the political center of the country when the Tokugawa bakufu was established. It was inhabited by the retainer groups (kashindan), wives, and children of the tozama-daimyō who remained there as hostages, as well as the merchants who served them. In the Kanei period (1624–1643) the system of alternate attendance (sankin kōtaig) became formalized and mansions for the daimyō were built along with houses to accommodate their retainers and families.

The bakufu also regulated the establishment of over three hundred chō (wards—or units within the city). The inhabitants of each of the chō (or machi) often consisted of traders or artisans of the same occupation. Initially the bakufu moved the merchants and artisans from Mikawa and other old domains belonging to the Tokugawa. These merchants and artisans in turn called other merchants and artisans from other domains to come and join them in Edo. The bakufu gave lands and official positions (machidoshiyori, or town elders and/or goyō shōnin, or merchants by appointment to the bakufu to the leading merchants and artisans. They served under the town commissioners (machi bugyō), and became part of the system of control of commerce and industry imposed by the bakufu. This system was also employed in other castle towns and urban areas.

Document 10 contains regulations issued by the town commissioners of Edo. Note the functions played by the machidoshiyori and the group of five as well as the detailed regulations on family relations and on inheritance. Document 11 contains regulations on lawsuits which without fail favored those who were in the position of authority.

10 Regulations for the Residents of Edo, 1655

1. Parties engaged in public brawls and quarrels are punishable by death according to the law irrespective of whichever party is in the right or at fault.

If a murderer escapes, people in his township (chōnin) and his guarantor (ekenin) must find him.

Anyone who is beaten by another is asked to forebear it and report the matter

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to the commissioner’s office (bugyôshô). After an investigation, the judgment can be quickly pronounced. If anyone else is implicated in the same crime, his sentence shall be the same as the original culprit.

2. If an official commits the crimes of public brawling and stealing, these crimes must not be imputed to his master. If there is no guarantor for the official, he must be arrested. After an investigation if he is found wanting, he must be placed under the custody of his master. If he runs away, people in his township and the relatives of the master must find him.

3. Quarrels between children need not be punished, and the parents of both parties may restrain them. However, if the parents enter the disputes, their acts shall be treated as culpable offenses.

4. If a child unintentionally kills his friend, he need not be put to death. However, if he is over thirteen years of age, he cannot escape the punishment.

5. Anyone who follows his own silly will, without consulting the town elders (machidashiyouri) and the group of five, is considered to have committed a culpable offense. However, if the town elders are at fault, the entire town may submit a petition. After an investigation, the judgment will be quickly pronounced.

6. If a person dies leaving behind accounts payable and other debts, officials on duty and middlemen may ask for repayment. If there is no report of death, no claim can be made. If there is a son who is the heir, he shall be the one to make the repayment. It is natural that the father’s debts be paid by the son. On the other hand, the father is not responsible for the debts incurred by his son. However, if the father directly places his seal [on the son’s bond of debt], then he cannot escape from his obligation of making repayment.

7. Anyone who does not abide by his father’s and mother’s words of restraint or by the opinion of the town elders and of the group of five, will be called to our presence and be imprisoned. Thereafter if he does not change his mind, the parents shall disinherit him and banish him. If he still holds a grudge against his parents, he may be arrested by the people of the entire township and sent to us to be put to death.

8. A dispute involving a father and a son may be dealt with by the relatives and people of the township. However, if there is no consensus, and a brief is filed with the higher authorities and the two parties confront each other, after an investigation, if the father is found guilty, an appropriate judgment will be given. If the son is found guilty, depending on the father’s disposition, he may be punished as one who is not filial, and either be imprisoned or disinherited and banished.

9. When a dispute arises between brothers, it shows that they lack respect for each other and that they are not given to reason. Thus once the two parties confront each other, the party who is found not given to reason must be quickly reprimanded.

10. In a dispute involving a husband and wife, as written in the regulations of former years, a divorced woman must quickly return whatever belongs to her husband, including the money from his store and clothing items he purchased for her. If she makes this difficult, then she is to be deemed as committing a culpable offense. If the woman dies, and there is a dispute over the disposition of money belonging to the store and over other matters, it can be treated in accordance with previous regulations.

11. When a merchant and his employee become involved in a dispute, they may file a brief with the higher authorities and confront each other. However, these acts will be regarded as lacking in respect for the relationship governing the master and servant. If the employee is found guilty, he shall be sentenced to imprisonment, and in addition, depending on the disposition of the master, other judgments may be rendered.

12. If the family property is first bequeathed to the oldest son and then again bequeathed to the second son, it is usually caused by the alienation of the oldest son from his father while the latter was living. Therefore, when the oldest son brings a suit, if the youngest brother has a document giving a later date, the father’s will must be respected. However, if on account of the stepmother’s slander the oldest son has been disinherited without having committed an unfilial act, then the family property must be equally divided.

13. If the father and mother do not agree [on the disposition of their property], and the daughter without reason steals from her parents and otherwise commits all sorts of questionable acts, then the man [in her life] must be reprimanded.

14. If a wife receives her husband’s family property, she must adopt one of her husband’s relatives as her son, or otherwise find an heir for the husband. If a widow seeks a second husband not long after [the death of the first husband], it is to be considered one of her most unrighteous acts. However, if a widow is still young, the relatives and township may consult each other to determine what may be permissible for her.

15. If a husband dies without leaving an heir, the widow may remain in the house. If she commits adultery with an employee soon after her husband’s death, it is a clear sign that she is a woman ungrateful to her late husband, and is not respectful of her relatives. She must be expelled from the town, and the husband’s relatives may decide who may inherit the household.

16. In case a man is seeing another man’s wife secretly, and the man and woman are found together, then without any further ado, bring forth clearly other available evidence. After an investigation, both the man and the woman may be punished with the same punishment. This being the case, a private revenge is not permitted.

17. Arson is a crime originating in one man’s malice which can give hardship to many people, and it is one of the worst crimes. Especially if a person first commits robbery and then engages in arson, heavy penalty must be imposed. In accordance with the precedents set, the culprit’s father, sons, and brothers may also be punished with the same punishment.

18. When a lawsuit (kuji) is brought to the township and both parties do not wish to abide by [its verdict] and an appeal is brought forth, render a judgment as soon as possible after both parties confront each other. This is a means to show justice to the disagreeing parties.
19. If there is anyone who engages in forgery to documents and seals, as soon as that crime is reported, a severe punishment must be given. Of course, the person who helps in the writing of such documents will be punished with the same punishment.

First year of Meireki [1655], tenth month, 13th day.

11 Regulations Regarding Lawsuits (Kuji), 1633

1. On matters relating to the succession to a townsman’s (chônin) profession, during the lifetime of the said townsman, the group of five (goningumi) must be consulted, and the decision must be put in a record book before three town elders (machidasuhiyori). If the heir proves to be insolent, again the succession issue may be brought up for decision. At the deathbed, the townsman must not make his last will inconsistent with reason.

2. Any dispute arising between a master and his servants must, of course, be judged in favor of the master. However, if the master is found to be culpable in certain respects, then judgment may be rendered in accordance with reason.

3. Any dispute arising between a parent and a child must be judged in favor of the parent. However, if the parent is found to have committed an unrighteous act, he must be duly reprimanded according to reason.

4. After the seal on the back of a brief (meyasu) by the plaintiff has been affixed for so many days, and after being notified in writing [of the pending lawsuit], if the party does not appear, then he is to be imprisoned. However, five days must be allowed to elapse before witnesses can be summoned to confront each other.

5. Briefs (meyasu) involving retainers (kûmin) of the office of the magistrate (daikansho) and townsmen and farmers must be judged by the commissioner (bugyo), magistrate, or their retainers in the same jurisdiction, and their judgment must be accepted. If their judgment is found improper, an appeal may be made to Edo. However, if a suit is not first brought before the commissioner, magistrate, or their retainers, even though reason may be on his side, no judgment can be given.

6. Briefs involving retainers and townsman and farmers under the jurisdiction of domanial lords may be settled by the domanial lord of that particular domain.

11. Briefs involving farmers residing in territories belonging to shrines and temples are to be brought to the magistrate in the same jurisdiction, and his judgment must be accepted. If his judgment is found improper, an appeal may be made to Edo. If a suit is not first brought to the magistrate, no judgment can be rendered.

12. Disputes involving temples must be settled in accordance with the judg-
sect is permitted to become the chief priest of a temple. Addendum: If a new rite is established, it must not preach strange doctrines.

3. The regulations which govern relationships between the main temple and branch temples must not be violated. However, even the main temple cannot take measures against branch temples in an unreasonable manner.

4. Parishioners of the temples can choose to which temple they wish to belong and make contributions. Therefore priests must not compete against one another for parishioners.

5. Priests are enjoined from engaging in activities unbecoming of priests, such as forming groups or planning to fight one another.

6. If there is anyone who has violated the law of the land, and that fact is communicated to a temple, it must turn him away without question.

7. When making repairs to a temple or a monastery, do not make them ostentatiously. Addendum: Temples must be kept clean without fail.

8. The estate belonging to a temple is not subject to sale, nor can it be mortgaged.

9. Do not allow anyone who has expressed a desire to become a disciple but is not of good lineage to enter the priesthood freely. If there is a particular candidate who has an improper and questionable background, the judgment of the daimyō lord or magistrate of his domicile must be sought and then act accordingly.

The above articles must be strictly observed by all the sects.

Fifth year of Kanbun [1665], seventh month, 11th day.

CLOSING OF THE COUNTRY

Between 1633 and 1639, the Tokugawa bakufu issued a series of edicts which effectively closed the country from the outside world—with the exception of the Dutch and the Chinese—until 1853 when Commodore Perry reached the shores of Uraga. Fear of the spread of Christianity and the belief that Christianity was the vanguard of aggression by the Spaniards and Portuguese were among the reasons which prompted the bakufu to embark on the policy of seclusion, which lasted for 214 years.

The desire to monopolize all the benefits from foreign trade in the hands of the bakufu also played a part. Nagasaki was directly governed by the bakufu, and a strict monopolistic control was enforced there. The bakufu could set the price on the raw silk it acquired from foreign traders, and then set quotas for its distribution to merchants from five cities (the ito wappu system). In 1609 the western daimyō were forbidden to maintain large ships. In 1633, prohibition of Japanese ships going overseas became total (Document 13).

Playing on the bakufu’s fear of the subversive nature of Christianity, the Dutch skillfully maneuvered the bakufu into taking the position of excluding all their trading rivals. The British earlier found their Japan trade not profitable and closed their factory (1623), while the Spaniards found themselves expelled from the country (1624). The Portuguese were excluded from Japan in 1639 (Document 14), and when they sent an embassy from Macao in a futile hope of regaining trading privileges, the envoys were put to death (Document 15). The fear the Japanese felt toward Christianity is well reflected in the renunciation of the Christian faith reproduced in Document 16.

Incidentally, the prohibition of Japanese ships to trade overseas (Document 13) did eliminate one important source of competition—the Japanese-run overseas commerce—against the Dutch trade, and Dutch duplicity in this respect must be noted. The nature of the Dutch trade is given in an account by Engelbert Kaempfer (1651–1716) (Document 17), a German doctor, who served the Dutch traders at Dejima between 1690 and 1692.

The Edict of 1635 Ordering the Closing of Japan: Addressed to the Joint Bugyō of Nagasaki17

1. Japanese ships are strictly forbidden to leave for foreign countries.

2. No Japanese is permitted to go abroad. If there is anyone who attempts to do so secretly, he must be executed. The ship so involved must be impounded and its owner arrested, and the matter must be reported to the higher authority.

3. If any Japanese returns from overseas after residing there, he must be put to death.

4. If there is any place where the teachings of padres (Christianity) are practiced, the two of you must order a thorough investigation.

5. Any informer revealing the whereabouts of the followers of padres (Christians) must be rewarded accordingly. If anyone reveals the whereabouts of a high ranking padre, he must be given one hundred pieces of silver. For those of lower ranks, depending on the deed, the reward must be set accordingly.

6. If a foreign ship has an objection [to the measures adopted] and it becomes necessary to report the matter to Edo, you may ask the Ōmura domain to provide ships to guard the foreign ship, as was done previously.

7. If there are any Southern Barbarians (Westerners) who propagate the teachings of padres, or otherwise commit crimes, they may be incarcerated in the prison maintained by the Ōmura domain, as was done previously.

8. All incoming ships must be carefully searched for the followers of padres.

9. No single trading city [see 12 below] shall be permitted to purchase all the merchandise brought by foreign ships.

10. Samurai are not permitted to purchase any goods originating from foreign ships directly from Chinese merchants in Nagasaki.

11. After a list of merchandise brought by foreign ships is sent to Edo, as

before you may order that commercial dealings may take place without waiting for a reply from Edo.

12. After setting the price, all white yarns (raw silk) brought by foreign ships shall be allocated to the five trading cities and other quarters as stipulated.

13. After settling the price of white yarns (raw silk), other merchandise [brought by foreign ships] may be traded freely between the [licensed] dealers. However, in view of the fact that Chinese ships are small and cannot bring large consignments, you may issue orders of sale at your discretion. Additionally, payment for goods purchased must be made within twenty days after the price is set.

14. The date of departure homeward of foreign ships shall not be later than the twentieth day of the ninth month. Any ships arriving in Japan later than usual shall depart within fifty days of their arrival. As to the departure of Chinese ships, you may use your discretion to order their departure after the departure of the Portuguese galeota (galleon).

15. The goods brought by foreign ships which remained unsold may not be deposited or accepted for deposit.

16. The arrival in Nagasaki of representatives of the five trading cities shall not be later than the fifth day of the seventh month. Anyone arriving later than the date shall lose the quota assigned to his city.

17. Ships arriving in Hirado must sell their raw silk at the price set in Nagasaki, and are not permitted to engage in business transactions until after the price is established in Nagasaki.

You are hereby required to act in accordance with the provisions set above. It is so ordered.

Kaga no-kami Hotta Masamori et al., seals.

To: Sakakibara Hida no-kami, Sengoku Yamato no-kami

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14. Completion of the Exclusion, 1639

1. The matter relating to the proscription of Christianity is known [to the Portuguese], however, heretofore they have secretly transported those who are going to propagate that religion.

2. If those who believe in that religion band together in an attempt to do evil things, they must be subjected to punishment.

3. While those who believe in the preaching of padres are in hiding, there are incidents in which that country (Portugal) has sent gifts to them for their sustenance.

In view of the above, hereafter entry by the Portuguese galeota is forbidden. If they insist on coming to Japan, the ships must be destroyed and anyone aboard those ships must be beheaded. We have received the above order and are thus transmitting it to you accordingly.

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15. The Fate of the Embassy from Macao, 1640, by Antonio Cardim, S.J.

Because many serious crimes have been committed over a number of years by the propagation of the Christian religion in defiance of his decree, the shōgun last year forbade under grave penalties all voyages from Macao to Japan, laying down that if any ship were to come to Japan despite this prohibition, the vessel would be burnt and the sailors and merchants executed. This edict was promulgated both summarily and in detail. Nevertheless, these men have blatantly violated the aforesaid decree by their voyage and are seriously at fault. Furthermore, in spite of their assertion that on no account will they send hereafter ministers of the Christian religion to Japan, the ambassadorial letters from Macao are silent on this point. Since, therefore, the shōgun has prohibited such voyages on account of the Christian religion and since no mention of this matter is made in these letters, it is quite evident that the entire legation is but a pretense. For this reason, all who have come hither in this ship are to pay the extreme penalty.

It has accordingly been decided that the ship shall be consumed by flames and that the principal ambassadors shall be put to death along with their companions so that nothing may remain of this harbinger of evil. Thus the example which the shōgun has made of them will be noticed abroad in Macao and the home country; as a consequence, all will learn to respect the rights of Princes and Kings. We nevertheless desire that the rabble among the crew be spared and sent back to Macao. But should any other ship come hither by force of adverse circumstances or for any other reason whatsoever, let it be known that, in whatsoever port it may call, one and all will be put to death.

Given on the 3rd day of the 6th moon of the 17th year of the Kanei era, that is, the 25th day of July in the year 1640.

At the same time they also asked what they would say about this punishment

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18Ibid., pp. 129–130.