

## Swift's Japan in *His Gulliver's Travels*

Kaoru Katsuta

When Jonathan Swift sent Gulliver to Japan in 1709, the final decree of self-isolation was seventy years old and it was enjoying a period of political stability unknown for the past five centuries. The only real country that Gulliver visited was Japan and the choice is relevant for Swift's whole scheme for two reasons. First, like other imaginary countries in the *Travels*, Japan was a self-sufficient nation with a definite civilization. Second, it offered Swift an opportunity to make a trenchant satire on the Dutch.

Swift's attack began almost immediately when Gulliver set out on his third voyage. His ship ran across the pirates among whom there was a Dutchman "who seemed to be of some Authority." Realizing the victims to be English, the rascal tried very hard to persuade his seniors to throw them into the sea. The heathen Japanese turned out more humane in refusing the Dutchman's cruel proposal. Seeing that Gulliver was spared his life and put in a canoe with some provisions, the infuriated Dutchman, "standing upon the Deck, loaded [Gulliver] with all the Curses and injurious Terms his Language could afford."<sup>(1)</sup> The moral pretension and barbarity of the Dutch were exposed again in more explicit terms at the closing passage of the section. Gulliver sought for the imperial audience on his arrival on Japan. A man with a special penchant for power, he showed perfect deference to His Majesty. He pretended to be a Dutchman and yet managed to avoid the ceremony of tramping upon the crucifix imposed on foreigners by the Japanese authority. When the Emperor heard his request;

... he seemed a little surprised; and said, he believed I was the first of my Countrymen who ever made any Scruple in this Point; and that he began to doubt whether I were a real *Hollander* or no; but rather suspected I must be a Christian. However... he would comply with the *singularity* of my Humour; but the Affair must be managed with Dexterity, and his Officers should be commanded to let me pass as it were by Forgetfulness. For he assured me, that if the Secret should be discovered by my Countrymen, the Dutch, they would cut my throat in the Voyage.<sup>(2)</sup>

What Swift is saying here is that a nation which sacrificed its religious integrity for the sole purpose of trade was no Christian at all. Behind his hostility lies the aristocratic contempt, characteristically English, toward a nation essentially plebian in its taste and lifestyle. Also there is an animus for a chief rival in the maritime trade. Finally, the religious toleration of the Dutch outraged his deepest political conviction. An inveterate Anglican, he believed in the religious uniformity as a sound basis of political stability of a nation.<sup>(3)</sup>

Thus, Japanese persecution of Christianity served as a convenient vehicle for Swift's personal and historical bias on one particular nation. The over-riding emphasis is on the rapacity and heartlessness of the Dutch in their single-minded pursuit of wealth. Yet the Japanese episode has its by-products. Placed in a larger context, it reveals a process of misunderstanding working in Europe on this remote empire. My objective, then, is not to prove the centrality of Japanese episode but to admit its secondary place and yet to show Swift's glimpse of Japan was a part of European myth-making processes. Gulliver's passing relationship with Japan will be examined in connection with various reports on Japan by the Europeans from three aspects: the map, the custom duty of treading upon the picture (Ye-fumi), and the image of the emperor.

In the map which Swift's publisher printed in the text, Nangasac (Nagasaki) where Gulliver's central experience in Japan took place was, from whatever whimsical reasons, just off the map—the tiny corner of Northeast Kyūshū cut off. The imperial residence Yedo (Edo) slid much in northeast direction while Iesso (Ezo or Hokkaido) was represented almost as large as other three islands combined.<sup>(4)</sup> The map itself may be unimportant, for it was inserted to pretend at an oriental versimilitude. What is interesting, however, is that map—with blank space in northern Japan—reflected the scarcity of information on these areas at that time. Through a series of self-isolating decrees issued by 1639, a few Dutch and Chinese merchants were the only foreigners allowed to remain in Japan except the occasional Korean embassies. In 1641, the Dutch factory was removed from Hirado, an island in Northern Kyūshū, to a man-made islet, Deshima, in Nagasaki Bay. There they were carefully separated from the Japanese daily life and were under the constant supervision of governmental interpreters whose real office was to act as spies and to give them as little information as possible. The Dutch—the only informants to Europe—led an isolated life on the prison-like island. The only occasions to observe other areas were several walks allowed in a year on the mainland seashore and the annual embassies to the shogunate in Edo.<sup>(5)</sup> Accordingly, they were vague about the conditions of northern Japan. The various maps in the European travel books of the eighteenth century reflected this fact. For example, in the map Awnsham and John Churchill printed in their collection in 1704, northern Japan just vanished into the air! This situation, however, somehow improved by the time of publication of Moll's world map. In northern Japan,

Ezo had been the object of special interest for the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century European travellers. Matsumae, a castle town situated on the southernmost tip of the island, had a large market which controlled all trades in Ezo. It was also the only link with the central government in Edo. Several attempts to explore Ezo's limit by the Tokugawa Shogunate had always been abortive because of the vast mountainous terrain which defied exploration. So the great issue was whether Ezo was a part of mainland Asia or an island. The issue was settled wholly through European effort. As early as 1618 and 1620, two Jesuits penetrated fairly deep into the interior. Their reports dispatched to India and Europe, however, sometimes contained conflicting information.<sup>(6)</sup> The merchants also showed interest in Ezo. The Netherlands and England were still continuing their search for a northeast or northwest passage: Ezo seemed to open the possibility to reach it.<sup>(7)</sup> William Adams, for example, thought that the northwest passage could be found in northward direction beyond Ezo.<sup>(8)</sup> Also, Ezo could be a potential market. In the early 1610s, the Dutch and English cargoes were often makeshifts. Some of the chief items, such as pepper, were not suitable for the Japanese market. Sales were neither very rapid nor very profitable. The Dutch, however, was soon able to improve the situation; they managed to supply Chinese wares and silk which were so much in demand by capturing Portuguese galleons from Macao and Chinese junks on the high seas. English merchants fared worse (and their trade had never been lucrative throughout their activity in Japan): their chief item was woolen which was not suitable for the warm Japanese climate and their upper-class customers wanted silk, which was the favored material for their bedding and clothing, but the domestic product was insufficient for the national demand.<sup>(9)</sup> The merchants wished to dispose the fabric in Ezo in exchange for silver and sand gold. They came to know that the barbarous inhabitants had primitive notion of measure and weight and were badly in need of food and clothes.<sup>(10)</sup> The Ezo was an island was finally confirmed by the coast exploration by the Dutch on *Castricum* in 1643. The captain discovered and took possession of Kuriles, Iturup, and Urup on behalf of the Dutch East India Company. Swift's map recorded the Company's Land though the archipelagoes were supposed to be a single big island. It is easy to know why confusion of this kind happened. The languages were different: the Dutch factors recorded the names as they heard the Japanese pronounce them. Information went unchecked to Europe in face of extremely uncooperative Japanese officials. Thus the maps produced in this period had innumerable spelling variants and mistakes. Moreover, the informants tended to make an indiscriminate use of earlier materials.<sup>(11)</sup> Their writings cultivated the popular image of Japan and sometimes a personal or national bias distorted the image. The notable example of this is the popular belief that the Dutch traders were performing Ye-fumi to make themselves acceptable to the Japanese government. This problem is my next concern.

Ye-fumi is treading upon the paper pictures of Jesus Christ, Virgin Mary, and Mother and Child. During the persecution of Christianity of 1620s, the Tokugawa Shogunate demanded the Japanese apostates to perform Ye-fumi in order to confirm their conversion. Soon the government extended the duty to every citizen to detect the underground Christians. Paper pictures were soon worn out, and wooden slabs were substituted around 1629. In 1669, there appeared the bronze plates which were made of metals confiscated from the arrested Christians. The origin of this practice remains unknown, though there have been various conjectures. The least likely among them is Léon Pagés' assertion in his *Histoire de la Religion Chrétienne au Japon* (1869–1870). He held Christovão Ferreira, the Jesuit Vice-Provincial who apostatized in 1633, responsible for this device. "This apostate," he says, "put the crucifix on the threshold of his temple to find the Christians."<sup>(12)</sup> *Nagasaki Minatogusa* (Grass at Nagasaki Port), a Japanese material of the Edo Period, says that Ye-fumi began in 1628. Other Japanese materials, though the dates vary between 1626 and 1629, agree it began in the 1620s. Ferreira's apostasy was in 1633 so Pagés' conjecture seems unsupported. More persuasive is the argument that a governor of Kyōto suggested Ye-fumi to Hideyoshi Toyokomi, the first Kampaku (regent) that had succeeded in unifying the entire country, when he was thinking of instituting a general persecution in 1597.<sup>(13)</sup> As no general persecution was then instituted, the device was not adopted: but certain Japanese scholars assert that a governor of Nagasaki put this suggestion into practice in 1628 under the general persecution instituted by the central government. The practice was made known in Europe in late seventeenth century by various books on Japanese Christianity like Jean Crasset's *The History of the Church of Japan* (1689). A conjecture among the mass that it was the Dutch who suggested the device to the Tokugawa Shogunate seems to have floated to Europe. It was against this rumour that the Jesuit historian, Pierre Charlevoix emphatically spoke in his *Histoire et Description General du Japon* (1736):

... Among the various methods which the Devil had inspired the shōguns to root out Christianity among the Japanese, nothing seems to be so effective as that horrible sacrilegious ceremony called Ye-fumi.

I am very happy to inform my readers that there has been no evidence in support of the accusation that the Dutch were its inventors...<sup>(14)</sup>

He goes on to point out that Engelbert Kaempfer, a Westphalian physician who worked for the Dutch factory in Deshima from 1690 to 1692, had not mentioned Ye-fumi in connection with the Dutch in his posthumous book, *The History of Japan* (1727) which remained in Europe a standard book on Japan well into the nineteenth century. Closely connected with this dubious rumour is another popular belief among

the Europeans in the eighteenth century that the Dutch traders were actually performing the ceremony. Swift seized the opportunity to expose the cowardly mercenary Dutch who allegedly acquiesced in the anti-Christian policies of the Tokugawa Shogunate. The accusation, however, seems to be unfair in the light of historical materials. After the expulsion of the Portuguese merchants in 1639, the Protestant Dutch were the only Europeans who were permitted to remain in Japan. Since there was an understanding between Holland and Japan that they could remain only as long as they would keep clean of Catholic connections, they tried to avoid religious discussions with the natives on any occasion. Admittedly, they willingly looked for the smuggling missionaries and sent them to the Japanese officials in the heat of rivalry for trading privileges. They sometimes even lent themselves to inflict physical tortures on the captured missionaries placed in their custody.<sup>(15)</sup> It was also true that the Chinese and Dutch traders who came to Nagasaki were required to perform the ceremony during the early period of the institution. While the Chinese had to comply the rule as late as 1715, the Dutch crews and merchants who lawfully entered the port on normal business seem to have been exempted from the duty sometime between 1628 and 1704. Already in 1689, the French abbé Jean Crasset noted on the issue:

... Foreigners had been required to perform Ye-fumi. The Dutch strongly resented the ceremony and the trade naturally began to wane. The Japanese government, seeing this, exempted them from the obligation.<sup>(16)</sup>

A Japanese material called *Okinagusa* (Old Man's Grass) seems to confirm this statement:

... The foreigners who come to Japan for the first time are forced to tread upon the image. But those who come regularly are not required to do so. Only the Dutch are exempt from this duty.<sup>(17)</sup>

The implication is that at the beginning of the eighteenth century only the foreign castaways had to perform the ceremony. There is a conflicting statement in the Japanese official material *Nagasaki Sambyakunen-kan* (History of Nagasaki for Three Hundred Years) which reads thus:

... The Dutch were required to perform the ceremony and continued to do so until 1858.<sup>(18)</sup>

The book, however, was published as late as 1902 (Meiji 35) and Meiji Restoration Government, which retrieved the edict banning Christianity reluctantly thirty years

ago, was still hostile to the open avowal of the faith. Considering its prejudice toward Christianity, privately compiled documents that were actually written in the Edo Period like *Okinagusa* could be more disinterested. Moreover, the recorded date could be a confusion with that of the first suggestion to abolish the practice presented to the governor of Nagasaki by Donker Curtius, the director of the Dutch factory, on the eve of Japan's reopening to the world. It is easy how the misunderstanding on the Dutch's performing Ye-fumi had spread in Europe. In 1704, a shipwrecked band of two Scotchmen, two Dutchmen, a Fleming, and an Englishman, stranded on the Satsuma coast, was sent to Nagasaki and was constrained to comply with the formality.<sup>(19)</sup> The director of the Dutch factory witnessed the performance but it was the first time, he asserted, that he had ever seen the ceremony.<sup>(20)</sup> The event seems to confirm the before-mentioned assumption that the general rule had been well established by this time that only foreign castaways were required to perform Ye-fumi. The rumour of this event floated back to Europe and, unfortunately, impressed Europeans on the continuing ceremony.<sup>(21)</sup> It is fairly easy to overlook the fact that the foreigner's Ye-fumi had become somewhat irregular by this time especially when the earlier reports on the actual performance of the Dutch had already shaped the unfavorable opinion of the Dutch's behavior in Japan. The rumor, it seems, lingered well into the late eighteenth century. For example, in 1795 Carl Thunberg, the Swedish scientist who stayed at Deshima in 1775 and 1776 denied the accusation as others had done before him:

...I had wished so much to know about this diabolical ceremony. I met only one Dutch who had an opportunity to observe it when I visited the governor in preparation for our embassy to Edo. This fact clearly repudiates a few writers' laughable and incorrect assertion that the Christians are not permitted to enter into Japan until they have treaded upon the images most sacred to them. Let me repeat the point: the Dutch are not required [to perform] any ceremony which surprises most timid conscience. The ceremony in question is imposed on every Japanese in the areas where Christianity took root formerly.<sup>(22)</sup>

Swift's hostility toward the Dutch found its first expression in a series of pamphlets he undertook for the Tory campaign during the early 1710s to convince the public that the worst enemy of England was its continental allies. His attitude, it seems, hardened at the passage of time as expressed in his outburst in *Gulliver's Travels* in 1726. An accusation of one particular nation seems to be an direct contradiction of his declared purpose to expose the universality of human folly. As we have seen, Swift made use of the prevailing belief in Europe in the matter of Ye-fumi which must have easily incorporated the shocking event of the castaways in

1704. It may be relevant to examine the general atmosphere in England in the first quarter of the eighteenth century. The necessity to curb French ambition had united England with her old enemy, the Netherlands in the defensive alliance in 1678. But the recent memory of treacherous conduct of Charles II to have initiated the third Dutch war in spite of Triple Alliance must have made this alliance precarious from the first.<sup>(23)</sup> And there is the problem of the actual conduct of the Dutch during the war of the Spanish Succession (1702-1713). Admittedly, they were less than blameless like when they entered a secret negotiation with France in 1708. And during the course of peace negotiation beginning in 1710, the Dutch put forth claims like the closing of Antwerp port to avoid foreign competition which were disadvantageous to English interest. Finally, there was a constant falling short in military and naval quotas stipulated in the treaty. Though the Dutch public finances were then in collapse and this last default was due to actual inability to pay, all these made the war-weary English people to think the Dutch was dragging England in an expensive war which benefited only continental allies in accordance to the treaty which England had no obligation to keep. This resentment lay behind English coldness at the time of Treaty of Utrecht toward its allies: before the treaty England had already decided the terms with France which poorly provided for the allies. When Swift shaped his opinion on the Dutch in the 1710s, 'the old grievances and the suspicious of the previous generation' were still parts of the current of public sentiment at the time.<sup>(24)</sup> Moreover, there was always the problem of trade. The old rivalry between England and the Netherlands was continuing in the East Indies, in North America, and in the west coast of Africa. In the East Indies, by 1678 the Dutch had lost its dominant position of the 1620s in the spice trade. Though the English factory at Bantam was destroyed by the Dutch in 1682 and England had lost the opportunity to encroach on the Malay Archipelago, redistribution of territories in all other parts was in process among England, France, and the Netherlands. The chief competitors were France and England. During 1660s, the English held a factory side by side with the Dutch in Surat, the principal city of the west coast of India. The obstruction came not so much from the Dutch as from the rebellious Indians: in fact, they entered into a treaty of defence against the natives with the Dutch supplying the arms. Spanish claims on the Caribbean Sea no longer held any relevance and England established themselves in Barbados and in the heart of the Caribbean. To counteract the Dutch control over slave trade, the English African Company had been established. When the Dutch exhausted her national resources in the war of 1672 and further aggression became impossible, it allied itself with England against common threat from France. The English overseas trade was prosperous whereas that of the Dutch was declining. The two countries were supposed to establish a good relationship. But the feeling that the Dutch trade was profitable at the cost of the English was still strong in the early eighteenth century.

The secretary of state, Henry St. John, observes in 1710:

...our trade sinks and several channels of it, for want of the usual flex become choked, and will in time be lost; whilst in the meanwhile, the commerce of Holland extends itself, and flourishes to a great degree.<sup>(25)</sup>

This atmosphere of general distrust must have been congenial to Swift who had a strong sense of reward and punishment: and, to him, censure came more naturally than praise. My last concern is Swift's image of the "emperor" who was actually a Tokugawa shogūn. My main objective is to show how this confusion was a part of the European misunderstanding.

When the Western countries resumed the contact with Japan in the mid-nineteenth century, Japan was entering into a period of drastic change in its power structure which resulted in the Meiji Restoration in 1868. At that time Western representatives had a wrong notion of Japanese sovereignty; they thought there were two emperors in Japan—a political one in Edo (the Tokugawa Shogunate) and a religious one in Kyōtō (the emperor). In their version, the emperor in Kyōtō was a kind of 'hereditary pope' who supposedly had nothing to do with political decision making. True, this dual recognition is not entirely false. As the designation implies, the shogunate ('the commander-in-chief') was originally a military office appointed by the emperor to subdue the recalcitrant barons. It arose as a political institution in the twelfth century: the office became hereditary and drew to itself functions of the central government. The emperor came to have only the formal prerogative and kept religious and ceremonial observances. Still the emperor was theoretically the lawful sovereign from the beginning of the country and the shogunate was subordinate to him: the Japanese has always viewed the former as the source of national unity. But his sacred nature emphasized in his very name *tennō* ('heavenly emperor') makes it very hard to grasp his political function: his exact relationship with the shogunate during the Tokugawa Period has not been clear even to the Japanese scholars. Between 1780 and 1850, the Dutch factors in Deshima seem to have realized that the authority of the shogunate was delegated by the *Dairi* ('Inner Rear'—a reference to the position of the emperor's apartments in the imperial palace) and therefore he was the true Emperor.<sup>(26)</sup> But the knowledge of the supremacy of the *Mikado* ('Sacred Gate'—a popular usage for the emperor in late Tokugawa Period) was limited to the specialists on Japan. The popular image of the two emperors persisted until the 1870s in Europe.

The Jesuits who came to Japan in the sixteenth century knew the primacy of the emperor. As often has been pointed out, their reports are not the result of a direct observation. Since their primary interest was evangelism, they were contented with using hearsay from the first Japanese converts which reflected the lower-class

view. Their reports on such topics as Japanese religion and nobility are often very naive. But their empirical approach enabled them to pierce through the anarchy which was aptly called by the Japanese historians as "the Era of the Country at War", when the independent barons who would not recognize any efficient central government sought to subdue as many neighboring lords as treachery and force would permit. The Jesuits grasped the truth partly because of the missionary policy. Unlike the case of the other Asiatic countries, they did not put priority upon mass conversion. They thought that the future of Japanese Christianity lay in reconciliation with the ruling class. Because of this principle, they had always an eye on the changing rulers. They also tried to keep a good relationship with the rulers. "They have but one king," observed Francis Xavier, "although they have not obeyed him for more than 150 years, and for this reason these internal wars continue."<sup>(27)</sup> As the time went on, there emerged the Jesuits who had achieved fluency in the language and were able to gain first-hand information. They could consolidate the lores they had gathered and were able to reconstruct Japanese history from Western viewpoints. João Rodrigues, an interpreter for Hideyoshi and Ieyasu (the founder of the Tokugawa Shogunate) until 1612, rightly pointed out the derivative nature of the shogūn's power:

... For although they [the shogūns] had usurped the government and revenues they always recognised the king as the legitimate ruler, nor did any Shogūn dare to take the title of the king, but each one pretended that he governed in the name of the king, who against his will had to confirm the Shogūn in his office.<sup>(28)</sup>

However, in the role of historians, they were not very careful with their terms. For example, "the king" and "the emperor" were interchangeable terms. Moreover, in translating Japanese titles, the Jesuits borrowed the terminology of the medieval Western society rather than figuring out appropriate terms for Tokugawa Japan.

The Dutch and English merchants of the seventeenth century were interested in the political factors gathering around their trade. They viewed the Tokugawa Shogunate as the *de facto* authority to sanction government and trade. The English factors like William Adams, John Sarris, and Richard Cocks called the shogūn as the emperor; but the reference is functional rather than categorical. For example, Richard Cocks, the director of English factory between 1613 and 1624 seems to have clearly understood the authority of the shogūn was dependent upon the supposedly powerless emperor in Kyōtō. On August 23, 1615, he notes, "Our scrivano of the junck tells me that Ogocho Samme [Ieyasu] sues to the Dyrio [Dairi] to have the name of Quambaco [Kampaku]... But he denied it till he know Fidaia Same [Hideyori] is dead."<sup>(29)</sup> But, like the Jesuits, his framework of reference was

medieval Europe: he calls the *Dairi* as “pope of Japan”. When the direct contact with Japanese society was lost, this kind of usage could be easily confused.

François Caron, a Frenchman who worked for the Dutch factory in Hirado from 1619 to 1641 in various capacities represented the last stage before the Japanese seclusion. Like his Dutch and English predecessor, he addresses the shogūn as the emperor, but he has no doubt of the ultimate sanction of the shogūn’s authority. His view reveals a close affinity with the earlier Jesuits’ writings. Like Cocks, he set a significant precedent: he explicitly compares the *Dairi* with the Pope:

... The Great Dairo fills, amongst all these [Ekō sect of Buddhism] priests, the same station as the Pope of Rome does with respect to the Roman Catholic clergy in the Christian world. It is on this account that the Emperor is obliged to pay a visit to him [at Kyōtō] ... In this visit the Dairo hands a beaker of wine to the Emperor, who, after drinking the wine, breaks the vessel, and joins the pieces again together; which is considered as a symbol of subjection.<sup>(30)</sup>

Up to this period, the designation of “the emperor” for the shogunate was a symbolic title of a clearly recognized function. The writers called the legitimate sovereign as the *Dairi* according to the popular usage and described him as sacred but powerless.

After Caron’s time, the direct contact was lost. The designation of “the emperor” came to be used with certain literalness: the Dutch factors, isolated in Deshima, could not check the context against their personal experiences as the previous generation had done. Swift’s image of “the emperor” belongs to the period of this growing misunderstanding. What emerged was the so-called “Dutch factory view” on Japanese power structure. It was articulated by Engelbert Kaempfer who set out to render Japanese titles in intelligible expressions of his own. Presumably relying upon Caron’s interpretation (his was then the acknowledged authority on Japan), he defined the *Mikado* as “Ecclesiastical Hereditary Emperor” and the shogunate as “Secular Monarch by Birth.”<sup>(31)</sup> Here, the *Mikado* was interpreted as a nominal ruler with entirely religious function. His version created the eighteenth century European image of the Japanese ruler which persisted well after the re-opening of Japan. The seed of the misunderstanding was in the flexible view of the Jesuits and merchants: the English traders’ reference to the shogūn as the emperor, for example, is not clear when the question is put whether it means *de facto* or *de jure* authority. Their materials had always allowed for alternative interpretations. They created a real problem when later generation referred to them after free communication with the Japanese society had ceased: the expressions were taken out of the social context in which they had relevance and took on new inflexible meanings.

When the foreigners used Japanese popular terms like *Dairi* and *Mikado* as the technical terms, the use tended to be highly arbitrary. Such terms, in turn, were re-interpreted in the imagination of the Dutch factors who had to depend upon the good-will of the shogunate for the maintenance of the factory. Thus, the misunderstanding grew during the early eighteenth century which was also the strictest period of self-isolation. Behind Swift's casual remark of "the emperor" lies this myth of the two emperors which had just begun to grow.

#### Notes

- (1) Jonathan Swift, *Gulliver's Travels*. Vol. XI of *The Prose Works of Jonathan Swift*, ed. Herbert Davis (1941; rpt. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1965), p. 155.
- (2) *Ibid.*, pp. 216-17.
- (3) He once said "That which had corrupted Religion, is the Liberty unlimited of professing all Opinions." Quoted by J. Kent Clark, "Swift and the Dutch," *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 17 (1954), p. 348.
- (4) Critics have agreed that Herman Moll's world-map of 1719 was Swift's primary source; see, Frederick Bracher, "The Maps in *Gulliver's Travels*," *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 8 (1944), pp. 59-74; Arthur E. Case, "The Geography and Chronology of *Gulliver's Travels*," *Four Essays on Gulliver's Travels* (1945; rpt. Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1958), pp. 50-68.
- (5) Otis Cary, *A History of Christianity in Japan* (1909; rpt. Tokyo: Tuttle, 1976), I, p. 232.
- (6) One of them, Jeromini de Angelis wrote that Ezo was a part of Asia Continent. But he wrote to another correspondent that it was an island. Michael Cooper ed. *They Came to Japan: An Anthology of European Reports on Japan, 1543-1640* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965), p. 294.
- (7) Out of political reasons, they had chosen not to oppose the papal bills granting to Spain and Portugal the exclusive rights of navigation to new-found lands in the previous century, which led to the abortive maritime ventures to seek for a passage to the Far East other than that round the Cape of the Good Hope.
- (8) Cooper, p. 123.
- (9) See John Sarris' account of lucrative commodities to be brought to Japan, *Navigantium atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca*, ed. John Harris (London: 1705), I, p. 129. Also his episode of failure to sell woolen to the suspicious Japanese, *ibid.*, p. 125.
- (10) Harris, p. 127.
- (11) For example, Francois Caron in his *Ahcount of Japan* (1662) said that Ezo was a part of Japan which could be a southernmost tip of Asia Continent. He apparently took this view from his reading of the Jesuits' materials. *A General Collection of the Best and Most Interesting Voyages and Travels*, ed. John Pinkerton (London: 1811), VII, p. 412.
- (12) Quoted by Yakichi Kataoka, *Tramping upon Religious Pictures: A History of Persecution* (Tokyo: Nippon Hoso-shuppan Kyokai, 1969), p. 49.
- (11) James Murdoch, *A History of Japan*, ed. Joseph H. Longford (London: Trubner, 1926), III, pp. 302-303.
- (14) Quoted by Kataoka, p. 48.
- (15) Cary, I, pp. 200-201.

- (16) Quoted by Kataoka, p. 47.
- (17) Quoted by Kataoka, p. 48.
- (18) Quoted by Cary, I, p. 229.
- (19) Murdoch, III, p. 303.
- (20) Kataoka, pp. 47-48, pp. 162-63.
- (21) Kataoka says that one Wallentin wrote a book on this event which was published in 1724. He further suggests that Swift could read it while working on *Gulliver's Travels*. Since Swift was in the process of revising the third voyage as late as August, 1725 (See Case, p. 97), he may have known the book. But it is more likely that he heard the rumor of the event earlier, especially two of the castaways in question were English and Scotch. See Kataoka, pp. 162-63.
- (22) Quoted by Kataoka, p. 49.
- (23) Clark, Sir George, *The Later Stuarts: 1660-1714* (1934; rpt. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), p. 201.
- (24) Clark, p. 235.
- (25) Quoted by Clark, p. 235.
- (26) Cyril H. Powles, "The Myth of the Two Emperors: A Study in Misunderstanding," *Pacific Historical Review*, 37 (1968), p. 36.
- (27) Cooper, p. 41.
- (28) Cooper, p. 30.
- (29) Quoted by Powles, p. 38.
- (30) Pinkerton, VII, p. 630.
- (31) Keiichiro Kobori, *Philosophy of the Decree of Self-Isolation: Kaempfer's Significance in the World History* (Tokyo: Chuo Koron-sha, 1974), p. 86.