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The Japanese Diaspora of the 17th century and the Southeast Asian World

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0. Introduction

The first aim of this study is to develop and explore the materials suitable for the lessons of combined “Japanese History” and “World History” in the Japanese senior high school curriculum. The second aim is to encourage the students who attend these lessons to be intellectually interested in the subject “History” and to have a global point of view.

We focus on ‘the Massacre of Amboyna in 1623’ which occurred in February, 1623. There are two reasons for focusing on this incident.

Firstly, we can see the following important perspective on Japan.

Nine Japanese mercenaries were executed by the Dutch in this massacre. In addition, it has been unearthed that they were all from the Kyushu region in Japan and they were all hired soldiers.

Why did the Japanese expand their activities as far as the Amboyna Island, in the present Indonesia?

I want to point out that the answer to this question is closely connected with the social changes in Japan between the end of the 16th century and the first half of the 17th century.

I want to consider them a diaspora of people who were eager to seek a new world of activity abroad at the turning point when the united government of Japan was formed after the age of civil strife which had continued for more than 100 years. They were refugees who escaped from both social instability and religious oppression in Japan at that time.

Recent research has uncovered that the East Asia area was also affected by ‘the Little Ice Age’, which brought several famines in Japan. 【1】 These famines are considered a cause of a lot of Japanese migrating to the Southeast Asian world.

Next, In Japan, ‘the Massacre of Amboyna’ is usually taught as a symbolic event in the hegemonic struggles between the English and the Dutch in the Southeast Asian world. And in Japan, we are accustomed to thinking of this event as making the English withdraw from the Southeast Asian World and eager to concentrate on managing colonial India. 【2】 In fact, in university entrance examinations for both “Japanese History” and “World History”, there have appeared questions regarding this incident that are consistent with this understanding.

However, recent research and several studies point out that after the massacre the English vessels which launched from the Makassar trading post and ‘Pulau Run’ in the Banda Sea, often assaulted Dutch vessels. 【3】

In fact, it has been said that after the Peace Treaty of Breda of 1667, as the result of the second Anglo-Dutch War, the foundation of the Dutch East Indies was formed. This Peace Treaty settled that both countries recognize the maintenance of each other’s position at that time. So, ‘Manhattan Island’, today’s New York City, was handed over to the English because it had been captured by the English army three years before. On the other hand, the Dutch gained ‘Pulau Run’ and ‘Pulau Ai’. This exchange enabled the Dutch to achieve dominance in the Dutch East Indies.

Furthermore, recent research points out that the great demand for beaver pelts in the European

Continent in the coldest period of ‘the Little Ice Age’ stimulated the colonial activities by the Dutch, the English, the French and the Swedish in the North American Continent. 【4】 In fact, we can find a sailor and a windmill, which stand for the Dutch and two beavers on the emblem of New York City. 【5】

In this report, I will show the following three points.

- 1, There was a deep connection between Japanese social change and the Southeast Asian World
- 2, Fierce rivalry between the Dutch and the English in the Southeast Asian World led to deeper connections with the native powers.
- 3, The gain of ‘Pulau Run’ by the Dutch was the foundation for the establishment of the Dutch East Indies and the gain of ‘Manhattan Island’ by the English was the start of the European advance in the North American Continent.

In this way, we can show the students that concrete historical facts are sufficiently connected that they can be relevant to in both “Japanese History” and “World History”.

1. ‘the Massacre of Amboyna in 1623’ 【6】

Amboyna was a joint entrepôt in which both the English and the Dutch had trading posts.

In February, 1623, a Japanese mercenary who was eagerly trying to find out the state of the Dutch fort in Amboyna was arrested by the Dutch.

The Dutch tortured all concerned with water and fabricated a story that people from the English post planned to assault the Dutch post. The Dutch executed all concerned. The victims consisted of ten English, nine Japanese mercenaries, and one Portuguese.

The massacre made the diplomatic relations between the English and the Dutch worse. During the three Anglo-Dutch Wars, and their aftermath, this incident hurt the feelings of the two peoples. For example, the English poet John Dryden wrote a play called “Amboyna: A Tragedy” in 1672. This play created an impression in the English people of the Dutch as being brutal. 【7】 Jonathan Swift named the boat which Gulliver was one of passengers on from Japan bound for England ‘Amboyna’ in his masterpiece “Gulliver’s Travels”. 【8】 I imagine the English remembered the name ‘Amboyna’ as having something to do with Japan.

Japanese educators of history have recognized this massacre as a turning point after which the English concentrated their energy on managing their colonies in India, instead of advancing in the Southeast Asian World. Furthermore, some university entrance examinations questions claim that the English quit trading with Japan partly because the English lost the important trading post ‘Amboyna’.

Recent research and several studies have given different views as follows.

- a. The English relied on the spices which the native Malaysian merchants and the Portuguese smugglers brought because the English themselves could not make profits in the spice trade before this massacre.
- b. It is not necessarily true that all the English concentrated their energy on managing their colonies to India. Rather, the quantity of English spice trading increased and the English East India Company in Banten controlled the agencies all around India. 【9】
- c. The Makassar trading post on Sulawesi Island and Run Island in the Banda Sea belonged to the English sphere of influence, and the English vessels often assaulted the Dutch merchant vessels. These islands belonging to the English stood in the Dutch way. 【9】

We have to teach the truth based on the latest research. We have to deny ‘the Massacre of Amboyna’ as a turning point representing a shift of power between the English and the Dutch in the Southeast Asian World. 【10】

2. The causes of the emergence of the Japanese Diaspora and their flow into Southeast Asian World

Why did the Japanese mercenaries play a role in the start of the massacre? Before the incident, the Dutch had driven the indigenous people in the East Indies very hard and slaughtered the people who resisted. The Dutch planned to monopolize the nutmeg and mace. Recent research points out that the Japanese were hired as mercenaries by the Dutch and they were deeply involved in these slaughters. 【11】 The Japanese mercenaries were expected to be brave and use brutal force, which helped solve the struggles and conflicts with and between native governments. 【12】

The Japanese, including mercenaries and traders, who built the ‘Nihon Machi’, Japanese settlements, in the Southeast Asian World emerged from Japanese society as follows. 【13】

- a. At the end of the 16th Century, there had been more than 100 years of war in Japan and Japanese society had a custom of solving of conflicts by force and violence at the time.
- b. After the large-scale fighting of the Sekigahara battle and the Osaka summer campaign ended, a lot of ‘Ronin’ who had lost their lords emerged.
- c. Since the Japanese Christians had been fiercely suppressed, they had had great difficulty living in Japan.
- d. The Japanese appreciated the value of goods from areas all over Asia. As a result, the number of people who wanted to take part in trading through the Tokugawa Shogunate approved ‘Shuin sen’ or Red Seal ships between Japan and Asia increased . In addition, Japan in those days produced a large amount of silver. The most striking example is the prosperity of the Iwami silver mine , as Mr.Kawato and Mr.Ohnishi have just presented.
- e. In the mainland China, the Ming Dynasty was in disordered in the face of serious disturbances, for example: the revolt of Li Zicheng(1627-1644) and Ming-Qing change. So the Japanese people who wanted to trade with China had no choice but go to the Southeast Asian World.

We can recognize that they eagerly wanted to find a means of escape and migrated to the Southeast Asian World. Furthermore, they had no assistance from the Japanese government which united the nation. Even the people who were supported by the Tokugawa Shogunate had no choice but to survive in the native societies after ‘Sakoku’ occurred in the latter half of the 17th Century, since they could not return to Japan. We can define them as the Japanese Diaspora.

On the other hand, the Southeast Asian World had room for accepting the Japanese Diaspora because of the following reasons.

1. In the Southeast Asian World, both conflicts with and between native governments and the struggles between the English and the Dutch continued.
2. The slave trade was conducted in the Southeast Asian World. As a result, laborers, warriors, and interpreters were required irrespective of their nationality or religion. As far as the native governments were concerned, there were no ethnic barriers. They hired the most skilled men for each job. 【14】

3. The shift of power between the Dutch and the English

At the outset of this report, I pointed out that the Dutch, the English, the French, and the Swedish advanced and settled in the North American Continent due to the demand for beaver pelts, which became life commodities in the European Continent, as it was facing 'the Little Ice Age'.

The Dutch 'purchased' the south end of Manhattan Island as a trading post for beaver pelts with the indigenous people at 60 guilders and they built a city named 'New Amsterdam' and the colony 'New Netherland'. 【15】 One year before the second Anglo-Dutch War broke out, the English occupied this city by force. Some researchers point out that the outbreak of the second Anglo-Dutch War itself was closely connected with the struggles for hegemony over the native governments which took part in the trading and distribution of spices in the sea area of 'the East Indies'. 【16】

According to article 7 of the Peace Treaty of Breda, both countries agreed that the remote areas including 'the East Indies' sea area, 'Manhattan Island' and 'Suriname' belonged to the country which possessed them at the time.

Therefore, the Dutch gained 'Pulau Run', which was famous for nutmeg and mace, in the Banda Sea in the Eastern Hemisphere. 【17】 On the other hand, the English gained 'Manhattan Island' which was part of the present New York City in the Western Hemisphere.

The acquisition of 'Pulau Run' by the Dutch meant that the Dutch more powerfully controlled the trading and distribution in the sea areas. But studies of the documents of the English post in Makassar uncovered that the Dutch indirectly controlled the area at most. 【18】

It is said that the English King Charles II joyfully proposed to name it 'New York', when the news of the surrender of 'Manhattan Island' reached him. 【19】

The English generally maintained it as a foothold while at times experiencing conflicts and at other times coexisting with the native Americans. Their experience was the same as that of the Dutch who had colonized 'New Netherland' for 40 years. Furthermore, the English started to manage the colonies in the North American Continent alternating between conflict and coexistence with a lot of immigrants from throughout Europe. 【20】 I believe that in a broad perspective, we have to reexamine the historical facts and realize that both the Eastern Hemisphere and the Western Hemisphere make one world.

4. Conclusion

In this paper, I pointed out that the social changes in Japan had a close relation to events in Southeast Asian World. I tried to describe a global view encompassing the activities of both the Eastern Hemisphere and the Western Hemisphere. I believe such a view can make young people interested in history.

For educators in Japan, our main job is to bridge the gap between the latest research and our students' daily classroom. I deeply acknowledge the real attraction of history lies in finding facts by reading original documents or by researching archeological materials. However, daily history lessons involving this fundamental activity are extremely boring for the majority of students. They just try to memorize the names of people, events, places, and books. In fact, there are university entrance examinations which reflect this common way of thinking. Students hate to study history which requires simple memorization.

To improve these lessons, it is important that we try to describe global views of the world like the one I have presented. The aim of studying history at school is to make students think about many problems all around the world. I hope that the students are amazed when finding the value of historical facts and the vastness of the world.

Finally, let me say some words of caution. However broadly we can describe history, it is no use to make our students learn by heart the contents we teach. We will only repeat the same mistake. I emphasize that we have to improve the methods of teaching lessons very carefully. In particular, concerning the important issues —the causes of the emergence of the Japanese Diaspora, the activities of the native governments in the Southeast Asian World, the relationship between climate change and human society, the significance of the exchange of ‘Pulau Run’ and ‘Manhattan Island’—we have to guide our students to think and to debate.

Notes

【1】●田家康（たんげ・やすし）『気候文明史』（日本経済新聞出版社、2010）217頁。

Tange Yasushi “Kikobunmeishi” (Nihonkeizaishinbun press, 2010) p. 217.

「16世紀から日本人の東南アジアへの移民が歴史的に活況になり、鎖国前の1600年から1630年にかけて移民者数は10万人規模になった。タイのアユタヤやヴェトナムのホイアンなど、各地に日本人町が建設されている。もともと、その地の日本人は土着したというよりも華僑に雇われた傭兵や貿易商といったところで、山田長政もタイのソンタム国王の傭兵隊長といった身分でしかなかった。飢饉で離農した農民が自主的に移民したか、あるいは奴隷として売られたというのが実情であろう」

“The number of the Japanese emigrants to the Southeast Asian World had increased since the 16th century, and it rose to around 100,000 between 1600 and 1630, before the “Sakoku” period began. They built “Nihon Machi” or Japanese settlements in Ayudhaya, Thailand and in Hoian, Vietnam. The Japanese in these areas were mercenaries whom were hired by the Chinese or traders rather than settlers. Yamada Nagamasa was also no more than a mercenary captain hired by King Sontam of Thailand. Farmers who had given up farming because of famines either emigrated voluntarily or were sold as slaves.”

【2】●東京書籍『世界史B』（2013）219頁。

Textbook “sekaishi B=World History B” (Tokyo shoseki press, 2013) p. 219.

「16世紀末にスペインから独立したオランダでは、オランダ東インド会社がただちに東南アジア海域に進出した。1619年にジャワのバタヴィアに要塞を築いて東南アジア交易の根拠地とすると、1623年のアンボイナ事件を機に、この地域からイギリスの勢力を駆逐し、マラッカ、スリランカをポルトガルから奪った」

“In the Netherlands, which became independent from Spain at the end of the 16th Century, the Dutch East Indian Company=De Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC) right away began to trade in the Southeast Asian sea area. The VOC built a fort in Batavia on Java Island and made it a powerful trading post with the Southeast Asian traders. Taking ‘the Massacre of Amboyna in 1623’ as an opportunity, the Dutch drove the English away from this area and took Malacca and Sri Lanka from Portugal.”

●帝国書院『明解新世界史 A』(2013) 86 頁。

Textbook “Meikai ShinSekaishi A” (Teikokushoin press, 2013) p. 86.

「オランダはアンボイナ事件によってイギリス勢力をインドネシアから追い出し、のちのオランダ領東インドのもとを形成した。このためイギリスは進出先をインドに転換し、3 度のオランダとの戦争（イギリス＝オランダ戦争 1652～54、1665～67、1672～74）に勝って、17 世紀末にはアジア貿易の主導権をにぎるようになった」

“The Dutch expelled the English from the sphere of the present Indonesia and formed the foundation of the Dutch East Indies after ‘the Massacre of Amboyna in 1623’. This incident drove the English to focus on advancing in India. Later, the English defeated the Dutch through the three English-Dutch Wars and gained hegemony in the trade with Asia at the end of the 17th century.”

【3】●Varekamp,JC “The Historic Fur Trade and Climate Change” in “EOS” Vol,87.No,52, 26 December 2006 American Geophysical Union,2006, p. 593. および早瀬晋三（はやせ・しんぞう）「イギリス東インド会社「マカッサル商館文書」（1613－67 年）の読み方」（大阪市立大学都市文化センター編『都市の歴史的形成と文化創造力』清文堂出版、2011 所収）。

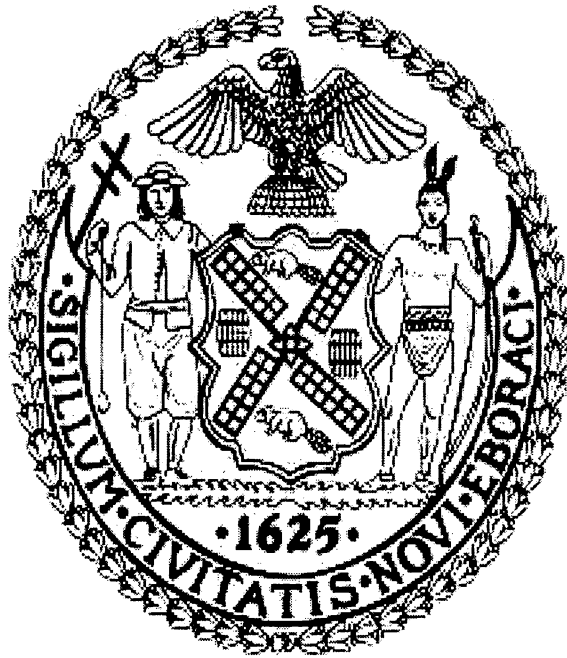
“The Dutch settled on Manhattan, along the Hudson River, and on western Long Island, trading for beaver pelts, as did the French in Canada. The British, who settled in Plymouth (Massachusetts) in 1620, clashed with the Dutch in the Americas as well as in eastern Indonesia (Banda Islands), where the spice trade was of major importance to the Dutch trading empire. The British were dug in on the island of Run, and attacked the spice-laden ships that left from the Dutch Banda Islands. With the final version of the Treaty of Breda in 1667, the Dutch traded New Amsterdam and the New Netherlands colony to the British in exchange for full ownership of Banda Islands and Surinam in South America.”

【4】●Varekamp,JC, Ibid. , p. 596p.

“The coldest epoch of the Little Ice Age created a commercial incentive for the beaver fur trade in Europe, and as such may have guided the course of history. A glut of beaver furs and looming extinction of beavers may have led to the Dutch retreat from Americas, but disappearance of the beavers already had caused a dramatic local environmental change in landscape.”

●Varekamp,JC and Varekamp,DS “Adriaen Block, the discovery of Long Island Sound and the New Netherlands colony” in Wracklines 6, 2006.

“Why could Hudson never find a northern passage? Because the early 1600's were the coldest part of the Little Ice Age, a period from 1300 to 1800 known in Europe for its severe winters, and all northern waters were covered by ice. The motivation for the Dutch settlement in Americas was trading, but was it worth sailing many thousands of miles back and forth in small ships just to trade some beaver pelts? …… Fur-lined coats (especially beaver pelt) were well-suited to keep the middle and upper classes warm in winter and the beaver fur was more than a fashion statement —they were a bare necessity in the severely cold climate of the times.”



【6】 ●Adam Clulow “Unjust, Cruel and Barbarous Proceedings— Japanese Mercenaries and the Amboyna Incident of 1623” in “Interario” Vol.31,number1,2007

【7】 ●末廣幹 (すえひろ・みき) 「ブリタニアの胎動—反オランダ意識と海洋帝国ブリテンのイメージ」(小野功生 (おの・いさお) ほか編『〈帝国〉化するイギリス—17 世紀の商業社会と文化の様相』彩流社、2006 所収)

【8】 ●島高行 (しま・たかゆき) 『『ガリヴァー旅行記』における日本』(『実践女子大学文学部紀要』第 52 集、2010 所収)

【9】 ●早瀬晋三 (はやせ・しんぞう) 「イギリス東インド会社「マカッサル商館文書」(1613—67 年)の読み方」(大阪市立大学都市文化センター編『都市の歴史的形成と文化創造力』清文堂出版、2011 所収)。

John Villiers “One of the Especiallest Flowers in Our Garden : The English Factory at Makassar,1613-1667” in “Archipel” Vol.39,1990.

【10】 ●島田竜登 (しまだ・りゅうと) 「歴史学はすでに「国境」をこえつつある」(『パブリック・ヒストリー』8 号、2011) においても「アンボイナ事件を境に、オランダとイギリスが 17 世紀の段階でインドネシア諸島とインドで棲み分けを行ったと理解してはならない。17 世紀において、オランダはインドにおいてイギリスをはるかにしのぐ数の商館を設置し、イギリスと比ぶべくもない大規模で多額のインド貿易に従事していたのである」と力説されている。

Shimada Ryuto says the following in his essay “History is already crossing borders” (“Public History”8, 2011) “We must not understand ‘the Massacre of Amboyna in 1623’ as a point in the 17th century after which Dutch

and English activities were clearly divided between the Indonesian islands and India. The Dutch established far more trading posts in India than the English in the 17th century. The Dutch traded in India on such a large scale that there can be no comparison between them and the English.”

【11】●Vincent Loth “Pioneers and Perkeniers: The Banda Islands in the 17th century” in “Cakalele” Vol.5,1995. ほか、Peter V. Lape “Political dynamics and religious change in the late pre-colonial Banda Islands, Eastern Indonesia” in “World Archaeology” Vol.32-1,2001.

“What followed in the next few weeks is certainly one of the blackest pages in the history of Dutch overseas expansion. In a ruthless and bloody campaign Coen and his commanders tried to bring the main island of Lonthoir under Dutch occupation. After initial swift success by the Dutch, orangkaya turned to Coen to try to bargain for a new contract that would have given in completely to Dutch demands. Instead, the main leaders were captured and tried, and 48 of them were beheaded by the able Japanese executioners who had joined the Dutch as mercenaries.”

【12】●Cesare Polenghi “The Japanese in Ayudhaya in the First Half of the 17th Century” is available in <http://www.samurai-archives.com./jia.html>.

Vu Due Liem “Japanese Military Involvement in Ayuttaya, 1600-1630” is available in arcnthailand.com/documents/documentcenter/JAPAN...

Yoshiteru Iwamoto “Yamada Nagamasa and His Relations with Siam” in “Journal of the Siam Society” Vol.95, 2007.

【13】●Travis Seifman “Seals of Red and Letters of Gold” in “Explorations— a graduate student journal of southeast Asian studies” Vol.10, Spring 2010.

【14】●Dejanrah Couto “The Role of Interpreters of Linguas, in the Portuguese Empire During the 16th Century” in e-JPH Vol1, number 2, Winter, 2003.

【15】●Russel Shorto “The Island at the Center of the world” (Abacus, 2004) pp. 55-56. 但し、オランダ西インド会社の経営は必ずしも順調ではなく、その独占は 1640 年以降崩れ、ニューアムステルダムは事実上、「自由港」であった。

【16】●Su Fang Ng “Dutch Wars, Global Trade, and the Heroic Poem” in “Modern Philosophy” Vol.109-3, 2012, Chicago Journal.

【17】●Giles Milton “Nathaniel’s Nutmeg” (Penguin Books, 2000) p. 363.

【18】●早瀬晋三 (はやせ・しんぞう) 「イギリス東インド会社「マカッサル商館文書」(1613-67 年) の読み方」(大阪市立大学都市文化センター編『都市の歴史的形成と文化創造力』清文堂出版、2011 所収)。

【19】●Giles Milton, Ibid. p. 362.

【20】 ●Bernard Bailyn “(The peopling of British North America) The Barbarous Years—The conflict of Civilizations 1600-1675” (Vintage Books, 2013)

Appendices (Entrance exams of Universities in Japan) are omitted.

関連付録 Appendix : 大学入試問題省略。

- ①出典：2010 年度大学入試センター試験「世界史B」問題
- ②出典：2012 年度明治大学文学部入学試験「日本史B」問題
- ③出典：2013 年度慶應義塾大学商学部入学試験「世界史B」問題
- ④出典：2014 年度立教大学異文化コミュニケーション学部入学試験「世界史B」問題
- ⑤出典：2013 年度上智大学総合人間科学部・外国語学部・法学部入学試験「世界史」問題