

American Protestant Missionaries in China and the Shipwrecked Japanese during the Tokugawa Period of Japan (1837-1844): Exile and Reunite



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清朝時代の中国にいたキリスト教の伝道団は、難破して流れ着いた日本の船員たちから鎖国時代の日本に関する貴重な情報を入手する一方、船員たちの祖国帰還に手を貸してもいた。その実態を文献から検証する。

Abstract

During the Tokugawa period of Japan, the isolation policy prohibited both Westerners from visiting Japan and the Japanese left the country without permission from the government. Against this background, although the connection between Japan and Western countries was limited, a few groups of people could still provide information about Japanese and Westerners to each other. In terms of this, the shipwrecked Japanese who encountered an unpredictable catastrophe and drifted to foreign lands, were regarded as one of the important groups for the Westerners to understand Japan outside the isolation system. In addition, those shipwrecked Japanese who succeeded in returning to their homeland also provided Western information for Japan to understand the World. This article is going to describe the relationship between American missionaries and shipwrecked Japanese, and how American missionaries were involved in the repatriation. Firstly, it illustrates the details of ABCFM's missionaries and the repatriation of shipwrecked Japanese with the case of the Morrison Incident in 1837 and the repatriation of *Eijū-maru*'s sailors. Secondly, it clarifies what ABCFM's missionaries hope to acquire from repatriating the shipwrecked Japanese. Lastly, it elucidates the influence of shipwrecked Japanese towards the early Japan-US relations as a case study.

Keywords ABCFM, American missionaries, Shipwrecked Japanese, Tokugawa Japan

Introduction

During the Tokugawa period, since the Rebellion of Shimabara-Amakusa (島原・天草の乱) in 1637 and 1638, the Tokugawa Shogunate expelled all the Portuguese from Japan and launched “the isolation policy”, or *Sakoku* (鎖国). This behavior not only limited commerce and exchange with Western countries (except for the Dutch), but also prohibited the Japanese from embarking for foreign lands and trading with foreigners in private.

Against this background, although the connection between Japanese and Westerners was limited, a few groups of people could still provide knowledge about Japanese and Westerners to both sides. Even though that information sometimes came along with prejudice and

misunderstanding. In terms of this, the shipwrecked Japanese who encountered an unpredictable catastrophe and drifted to foreign lands, were regarded as one of the important groups for Westerners to understand Japan outside the isolation system. In addition, those shipwrecked Japanese who succeeded in returning to Japan also provided information for Japan to understand the World.¹ However, due to the proclamation of the “Edict to Repel Foreign Vessels” (異国船打払令) in 1825, the Tokugawa Shogunate further strengthened the isolation policy, and allowed their armies to attack all unpermitted foreign vessels which tried to approach the shore of Japan.

The launch of the Edict, indeed, caused some inevitable

problems, especially in terms of the repatriation of Japanese by Westerners. For example, “the Morrison Incident in 1837” was a case in which the American merchant vessel *Morrison* tried to repatriate seven shipwrecked Japanese to Japan. Due to the Edict, however, *Morrison* was inevitably attacked offshore in Uraga (浦賀) and Kagoshima (鹿児島) and failed the repatriation of shipwrecked Japanese. Due to this reason, these seven shipwrecked Japanese went into exile from Japan and gave up on returning to their homeland.

Indeed, because of the isolation policy, since some shipwrecked Japanese were unable to return to Japan through “the unpermitted foreign vessels”, then naturally, some of them were able to return to their homeland through “the permitted foreign vessels”. In the Tokugawa period, there was “the castaways return system” (漂流民送還体制) between Japan-China, Japan-Korean, and Japan-Ryukyu.² That is, if the shipwrecked sailors drifted to these four countries, there were the official or private windows for these countries to repatriate the shipwrecked sailors to their homeland.³ For example, the sailors of vessel *Eijū-maru* (永住丸) wrecked in 1841 and drifted to Mexico. After the salvage, they were sent to Macao, transferred to Zhapu (乍浦)⁴, and successfully returned to Japan by travelling the Chinese vessels in 1844 and 1845.

Despite previous research focusing on the process of shipwrecking and repatriation, the role of Westerners in repatriating shipwrecked Japanese still needed to be determined. Especially those shipwrecked Japanese mentioned above were all once taken care of by Samuel Wells Williams (1812-1884)⁵, a prominent American missionary in Canton, but repatriated in different ways; one failed and one succeeded. However, the details of different methods used to repatriate the Japanese, the comparison study of the different experiences of “the exiled Japanese” and “the returnee of Japanese”, and how these experiences impacted Westerner’s attitude and knowledge towards the Tokugawa Japan, were still indistinctness.

This article is going to describe the relationship between American missionaries and shipwrecked Japanese, and how American missionaries were involved

in the repatriation. Firstly, it illustrates the details of ABCFM’s missionaries and the repatriation of shipwrecked Japanese with the case of the Morrison Incident in 1837 and the repatriation of *Eiju-maru*’s sailors. Secondly, it clarifies what ABCFM’s missionaries hope to acquire from repatriating the shipwrecked Japanese. Lastly, it elucidates the influence of shipwrecked Japanese towards the early Japan-US relations as a case study.

ABCFM’s missionaries and the Morrison Incident in 1837

In 1830, ABCFM⁶ sent their missionaries to Canton, China, for the purpose of converting all the Chinese. However, due to the Qing Government’s policy on the prohibition of Christianity, ABCFM’s Mission in China did not come with the expected results. Therefore, ABCFM turned their sight from China to the Sinosphere, the countries which used Chinese characters as one of their writing languages, especially Japan, Korea, and the countries in Southeast Asia. ABCFM expected that, if the conversion of people in the Sinosphere came to a successful conclusion, those converted people could then have an impact on China from outside, which was supposed to lead to the Christianization of China eventually. In terms of Japan, due to the isolation policy of Tokugawa Shogunate, ABCFM’s missionaries had no choice but to wait until 1837, when they tried to accomplish their aims by repatriating seven shipwrecked Japanese to Japan.

These seven shipwrecked Japanese belonged to two different groups of castaways.⁷ The first group was shipwrecked during the sailing from Toba to Edo in 1832. Through 14 months of drifting, only three of them, named Otokichi (音吉), Iwakichi (岩吉), and Kyukichi (久吉), survived and drifted onshore in the Columbia River, on the West Coast of America. After being rescued by the Hudson’s Bay Company, they were sent to Macao from New York through Europe. In October 1834, after arriving in Macao, their repatriation was left for the Superintendents of British Trade in China. During their stay in Macao, they were taken care of under Karl Gützlaff (1803-1851), a German missionary who served the British Trade in China as an interpreter,

taught Gützlaff the Japanese language, and assisted Gützlaff in translating Gospels into Japanese.⁸ However, the Superintendents of British Trade in China did not participate actively in repatriating them to Japan. Otokichi and the rest could only wait before the British took them home.

The second group was shipwrecked during the sailing from Nagasaki to Amakusa in 1834. Through 35 days of drifting, only four of them, named Shōzō (庄蔵), Jusaburō (寿三郎), Rikimatsu (力松), and Kumatarō (熊太郎), survived and drifted onshore on the island of Luzon in the Philippines. Later, they were protected by the Spanish, and sent to Macao. After they arrived in Macao in March 1837, they were also left for Gützlaff for the repatriation.

In 1837, after seven shipwrecked Japanese gathered in Macao, notwithstanding the Superintendents of British Trade in China was still without any action, Charles W. King (?-?), one of the American merchants in Canton, deemed the repatriation was a chance to build up a business relationship with Japan. Therefore, he prepared the vessel *Morrison*,⁹ and planned to return seven shipwrecked Japanese to their homeland, accompanied by Gützlaff as an interpreter, as well as ABCFM's missionaries Peter Parker (1804-1888) and Samuel W. Williams.

In terms of the repatriation aims, King, as an American merchant, hoped to break the status quo of the Dutch monopoly on trading with Japan. For the missionaries, Gützlaff, Parker, and Williams wished to respread Christianity in Japan, which had been already prohibited since “the Edict Banning Christianity” (禁教令) in 1612, by returning these seven shipwrecked Japanese. In the letter that Parker wrote to his family, “I am resolved on taking my lot in this somewhat hazard[ous] expedition, whose direct and ostensible object is to restore 7 shipwrecked Japanese to their country, and for its ultimate end the Glory of God in the Salvation of 35,000,000 of souls.”¹⁰ To ensure the success of the repatriation and in consideration of the well-known isolation policy of the Tokugawa Shogunate, they brought neither weapons nor the Bible (except a few Chinese Tracts).¹¹ Instead, they brought only an assortment of

goods, which they believed the Japanese would find acceptable, to show that this repatriation came with peace. After that, King, the missionaries, and seven shipwrecked Japanese embarked *Morrison* for Edo on 2nd July 1837.

Despite King and the missionaries coming without malice, after they appeared in the port of Uruga, they were still inevitably fired on from onshore because of the “Edict to Repel Foreign Vessels”. Later, even though they turned their destination and tried to re-repatriate shipwrecked Japanese in Yamagawa (山川) in Satsuma Domain (now Kagoshima), they were fired on from onshore again. Fortunately, nobody was harmed by the attack. However, due to the repelling by the Tokugawa Shogunate, King and the missionaries could only give up the repatriation and sailed *Morrison* back to Macao. There, these seven shipwrecked Japanese were transferred to Williams' house and taken care of by him for a while. Furthermore, because of the rejection from the Tokugawa Shogunate, most of these shipwrecked Japanese gave up on returning to Japan and intended to live overseas as exiles for the rest of their life.

However, not all of them held the same idea and decided never to step on the land of Japan again. As Otokichi said, “We will try again”.¹² At least, he had been coming to Japan along with the British Royal Navy as an interpreter in 1849 and 1854. Nevertheless, he finally left with the British Royal Navy after the job was done, and he did not choose to return to his home country.¹³

American missionaries and the repatriation of *Eijū-maru*'s sailors in 1844 and 1845

In Japan, the Morrison Incident caused some Japanese, like Watanabe Kazan (渡辺崋山, 1793-1841) and Takano Chōei (高野長英, 1804-1850), to suspect the necessity of repelling the foreign vessels, which finally led to the problems of “The Bansa no goku” (蛮社の獄). Due to internal pressure, the Tokugawa Shogunate shifted its isolation policy. In other words, the Morrison Incident eventually indirectly impacted the Tokugawa Shogunate's withdrawal of the “Edict to Repel Foreign Vessels”.¹⁴ After that, the Shogunate proclaimed the

“Order for the Provision of Firewood and Water” (薪水給与令) in 1842, which allowed firewood and water provision for foreign vessels that drifted or came to Japan. Still, it did not improve the Tokugawa Shogunate’s focus on resolving the shipwrecking problems, like easing the limitation on building ships and making international salvage laws with foreign countries. The shipwrecking problems still regularly happened.

In 1841, a cargo vessel, *Eijū-maru*,¹⁵ wrecked on the way from Hyogo to Ōshū. After five months of drifting, a Spanish vessel, which sailed from Manila to Mexico on trading, found the wrecked *Eijū-maru* in the Pacific Ocean, and saved Hatsutarō (初太郎), Taikichi (太吉), and 11 other Japanese sailors. However, the Spanish did not save those shipwrecked Japanese for the reason of restoring them to their homeland. The Spanish took over all the remaining goods from the wrecked *Eijū-maru*. Although they allowed the shipwrecked Japanese to embark their ship, they did not even give the basic provisions for those shipwrecked Japanese. Moreover, after the Spanish vessel arrived in Mexico, they forced Hatsutarō, Taikichi, and the other five to get onshore, and brought the rest of the six to the north. Besides Hatsutarō, Taikichi, and the other five sailors, there was no news of the rest of the six anymore.

Fortunately, Hatsutarō, Taikichi, and the other five sailors were protected separately by the local people in Mexico, and sent to Macao for repatriation in two different groups.

The first group were two people, including Hatsutarō. According to Hatsutarō’s Narrative, after they arrived in Macao in February 1843, they could only converse with the Chinese by writing Chinese characters because they could speak neither Chinese nor Portuguese nor English. “Ware Nihonjin” (我日本人)¹⁶, Hatsutarō wrote only four characters on the sand. The local people, probably the Chinese, soon understood his meaning, and brought him to an American house. As mentioned before, this house belonged to Williams. There, Hatsutarō also met the shipwrecked Japanese in the Morrison Incident. During their temporary stay, Williams provided them with basic provisions, clothes and money for daily necessities. After 90 days, Williams sent them to Zhapu.

In Zhapu, Hatsutarō was soon able to travel on the Chinese vessel to Nagasaki, and safely returned to their home in January 1844.

On the other hand, the second group were the rest of the five people, including Taikichi. According to Taikichi’s Narrative, after he arrived in Macao in May 1844, he was brought to a Portuguese merchant house. There, he was told that, “there was an American Church in the north, he must restore you to Japan”.¹⁷ That is, this American Church was the house of Williams. In Williams’ house, Taikichi also received the same treatment as well as Hatsutarō. After 30 days stay, they were first sent through Zhoushan to Ningpo. In Ningpo, Taikichi mentioned that, he was taken care of by a British, called “Robbata” (ロツバタ). According to a letter sent to Williams, this man was Robert Thom (1807-1846), a British diplomat in Ningpo. In the letter, Thom noticed that Taikichi was living with him. However, due to the long waiting for the periodical vessel sailed for Nagasaki, “he seems to have given up all thoughts of ever going back to his country again, and is dressed quite as a sailor of the West”.¹⁸ After the Monsoon season came, the Chinese vessels were able to sail for Nagasaki. Then, Taikichi was transferred to Chapu, and finally returned to Japan in safe by the Chinese vessel in July 1845.

Aims of support and repatriation for shipwrecked Japanese and their influences

As mentioned above, ABCFM’s missionaries were not only involved in the repatriation, but they also participated in caring for the shipwrecked Japanese. Especially, for example, they took care of the seven shipwrecked Japanese after the Morrison Incident for a while and took care of *Eijū-maru*’s sailors before sending those sailors to Zhapu.

As the title of missionary suggests, their ultimate purpose is to convert all the non-Christian nations. In terms of converting the Japanese, ABCFM’s missionaries, especially Samuel W. Williams, believed that, by improving their understanding of the Japanese, they could prepare enough to process the prior preparation

for converting Japan in the future.

After the *Morrison* was repelled by Japan and safely returned to Macao in August 1837, Williams and his colleagues passed a resolution in their regular conference,

“That if he [Williams] can arrange it satisfactorily to himself, Mr. W[illiams] receive into his house one or more of the seven Japanese, and maintain them at the expense of the study of the Japanese language.

The considerations which have induced this measure are: 1st. The expectation that our Board [ABCFM] or the [American] Bible Society, or both, will soon have occasion to employ one of these men; 2d. That by attending to the language a few months, he will be enabled to procure a font of Japanese type; 3d. The indigent state of the men demands that we endeavor to provide for them.”¹⁹

Soon after the resolution, Williams employed two Japanese in ABCFM’s Canton Mission Press. Usually, these two Japanese were considered as Shōzō and Jusaburō.²⁰ According to the records, Williams provided three dollars per month for their living in the first year, and seven dollars per month for the second year.²¹ Besides the missionary works, Williams “spent an hour or two each day in studying Japanese”²², and continued the study about seven years after 1837. However, there were neither grammar books nor easy lessons for Williams to study Japanese at that time. He could only depend on the former study of Japanese, which were written by Westerners,²³ and those Japanese whom he employed. Notwithstanding the difficulties of studying Japanese, Williams contributed some articles about Japan to *The Chinese Repository*.²⁴ Furthermore, through the assistance of the Japanese, Williams also translated *the Genesis* and *the Gospels of Matthew* into Japanese, and is regarded as the first Protestant missionary to translate these two scriptures into Japanese.

On the other hand, after the Morrison Incident, Williams became famous in Canton and Macao because of his acquaintance with the language of Japanese. As evidence, in the case of *Eijū-maru*’s Hatsutarō and Taikichi, even though they arrived in Macao in 1843 and

1844 separately, they were invariably told by the local people and the Portuguese that, Williams could repatriate them to Japan.

In Williams’ house, notwithstanding Hatsutarō did not describe his experience, in terms of Williams’ letter and Taikichi’s Narrative, there was more detail about how Williams conversed with the Japanese and what events he let the Japanese join.

When Williams first met Taikichi, Williams soon asked Taikichi, “Womahe ha dokokara kita?” (ワマヘハドコカラキタ), which means “Where do you come from.” Taikichi answered a city in Mexico. Williams then said “Womahe ha Nihonji wasuretake? Watashi niha Nihonji de hanasinasai.” (ワマヘハ日本辞忘レタカ ワタシニハ日本辞デハナシナサイ),²⁵ which means “Do you forget how to speak in Japanese? Please talk with me in Japanese.” That showed Williams was able to converse in Japanese without any obstacles.

In terms of the activities that Taikichi joined while he was staying in Williams’ house, according to Williams’ letter, Taikichi and other shipwrecked Japanese were all invited to join the Sabbath.²⁶ In addition, they also joined the Bible Class held by Williams. In Taikichi’s Narrative, they were told a marvelous story (奇話). However, even though Taikichi was interested in and able to understand what the story was talking about, he had no clue why Williams told him such a story. After that, Taikichi returned to Japan with the question and informed the Japanese officers of the story that Williams had told him.

According to Taikichi’s Narrative, it was able to know that the story came from *Genesis* 37-41, known as “Joseph’s Dream”.²⁷ Briefly, this story was about Joseph, the son of Jacob, who saw some visions in his dreams that were actually prophecies from God. And Joseph’s prophecies happened in real life after he told others about his dreams. This was a typical Christian story that showed the omnipotence of God, that God’s plan was much beyond human understanding, and that all human behavior was controlled by God.

There was not enough evidence to prove whether Williams told Taikichi other Christian stories or told “Joseph’s Dream” on purpose. However, this story, which was eventually recorded by the Japanese officers

and passed down today, reflected a problem why even though Taikichi told the Japanese officers a Christian story, he was not punished thereafter.

Since “the Edict Banning Christianity” was proclaimed in 1612, Christianity has been banned in Japan. If the Japanese tried to believe in Jesus Christ, they would all be sentenced to death by the Tokugawa Shogunate. However, because Williams was the first Protestant missionary who translated *Genesis* into Japanese, which meant his version was different from the Japanese Bible of the Catholic version. It suggests that, neither Taikichi nor any Japanese in that period understood that it was a Christian story, except those shipwrecked Japanese who assisted Williams in translating it. As a result, it is also the reason why even though Taikichi succeeded in returning to Japan, and told the Japanese officers about the Christian story, he did not receive any death penalty from the Tokugawa Shogunate.

In addition, it also showed that, even though it was impossible to promote Christianity during the *Sakoku* period, there were still some methods, for example, through the repatriation of shipwrecked Japanese, to spread Christianity in Tokugawa Japan, as well as Williams and his colleagues planned after the Morrison Incident. That is, as Williams noticed, “I am now [1843] engaged in the translation of the *Gospel of Matthew*, and if these new comers return to their homes, as there are some prospect, I shall endeavor to give them each copy of *Genesis* and *Matthew* to take with them.”²⁸

Conclusion

During the Tokugawa period, Japan had an isolation policy that limited the connection between Japan and the Western World. However, even though the regular interaction route between both sides was restricted, shipwrecked Japanese could still be regarded as a means to provide information to each other.

This article mainly focuses on the relationship between American missionaries and shipwrecked Japanese and how American missionaries were involved in the repatriation. Firstly, it describes the Morrison Incident in 1837, which shows how American missionaries were

involved in the repatriation of shipwrecked Japanese. Secondly, it discusses the repatriation of *Eiju-maru*'s sailors in 1844 and 1845, and how Williams repatriated them to Japan through the Chinese vessels of Zhapu. Thirdly, it notices the reason why American missionaries supported and repatriated shipwrecked Japanese, which was for the purpose of Christianizing Japan.

Williams was one of the prominent person in the history of Japan-US cultural exchange. He studied Japanese from the shipwrecked Japanese after the Morrison Incident in 1837. After that, Williams' Japanese abilities became well-known, therefore he was also regarded as the most important American Japanologist in the 1840s.²⁹ That is one of the reasons why, after the shipwrecked Japanese arrived in Macao, they were constantly introduced by both local people and foreigners to contact Williams. In addition, Williams' familiarity with Japan also led to his invitation as the chief interpreter of the Perry Expedition in 1853 and 1854, and affected the success of Perry's Opening Japan. In other words, it can also be said that the shipwrecked Japanese were one of the starting points for the United States to open Japan.

Lastly, the study of shipwrecked Japanese is crucial to gaining insight into how Japan and the Western World interacted against the background of the isolation policy. However, in addition to American missionaries, there is still a need to investigate the involvement of foreign individuals who assisted in repatriating shipwrecked Japanese. These issues will need to be addressed in future research.

Notes and References

- 1) Usually, the shipwrecked Japanese would be inquired twice times after returning to Japan. Firstly, they would be questioned by the Tokugawa Shogunate officers. Secondly, they would be asked by their hometown officers. Because most shipwrecked Japanese were illiterate or low educated, in addition to their overseas experience was usually recorded by scholars or intellectuals. It means that the accuracy of the foreign knowledge would inevitably influenced by the correctness of shipwrecked Japanese memory and the judgement of the scholars or intellectuals. See, Takayama Jun, *Minami Taiheiyo no minzokushi: Edo jidai Nihon Hyōryūmin no mita sekai* (Tokyo: Yūzankaku, 1991), p. 9. For further information about the interaction between Westerns and

- shipwrecked Japanese, and shipwrecked Japanese and the Tokugawa Shogunate, in addition to the textual studies and influence of the records of shipwrecked Japanese, see, Michael S. Wood, "Literary Subjects Adrift: A Cultural History of Early Modern Japanese Castaway Narratives, Ca. 1780-1880" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Oregon, 2009).
- 2) See, Arano Yasunori, "Kinsei Nihon no hyōryūmin soukan taisei to Higashi-ajia", *Rekishī hyōron* 400 (Aug. 1983), pp. 73-102; Haruna Tōru, "Kinsei Higashi-ajai niokeru hyōryūmin soukan taisei no keisei", *Chōfu Nihon bunka* 4 (Mar. 1994), pp. 1-26; Kasuya Masakazu, "19seiki Higashi-ajia hyōryūmin soukan taisei to Nihon", *Ibaraki daigaku jinbun gakubu kiyō* 11 (Sep. 2011), pp. 113-124.
 - 3) Besides the castaways return system between Japan-China, Japan-Korean, and Japan-Ryukyu, and the repatriation by Americans which is going to be described in this article, in terms of the repatriation by other Western countries, see, Kanezasi Shōzō, *Kinsei kainan kyūjo seido no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1968), pp. 373-379.
 - 4) Zhapu, a significant trading port on Japan-China trading relations, is located in the Zhejiang province of China. During the Tokugawa period, the Chinese merchant vessels from Zhapu were allowed to trade in Nagasaki. Notably, besides the purpose of commerce, these vessels also gave shipwrecked Japanese a ride on the journey to Japan and played a crucial role in the cast-away return system between Japan and China.
 - 5) Samuel Wells Williams was one of the prominent missionaries, diplomats, and sinologists in the 19th century. In terms of his relationship with Japan, after the Morrison Incident in 1837, he studied Japanese from shipwrecked Japanese, and became the only American Japanologist in the 1840s. After that, he was invited as the chief interpreter of the Perry Expedition in 1853 and 1854. He contributed to the conclusion of the Treaty of Kanagawa (the Japan-US Treaty of Peace and Amity), and the Convention between the Lew Chew Islands and the United States of America.
 - 6) The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the first Protestant Mission Board in America, was established in 1810. It was also the first American Protestant Mission Board which sent their missionary to China. They translated Western publications into Chinese and Japanese for China and Japan, and established various influential Hospitals and Christian Colleges in China and Japan. They were regarded as one of the critical organizations that transferred knowledge between the Eastern and Western worlds.
 - 7) For the details of the shipwrecking process of these seven Japanese, see, Samuel W. Williams, "Narrative of a Voyage of the Ship Morrison, Captain D. Ingersoll, to Lewchew and Japan, in the Months of July and August, 1837," *The Chinese Repository* 6, No. 5 (Sep. 1837), pp. 209-229; No. 8 (Dec. 1837), pp. 353-380; Peter Parker, *Journal of an Expedition from Sincapore to Japan, with a Visit to Loo-Choo*. (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1838); Charles W. King, *Notes of the Voyage of the Morrison from Canton to Japan* (New York: E. French, 1839).
 - 8) These Japanese Gospels were *the Gospel of John* and *the Epistles of John*. That is, Zentoku, *Yohane fukuin no den* (約翰福音之伝) (Singapore: Jian xia shuyuan, 1837); Zentoku, *Yohane jōchūge-sho* (約翰上中下書) (Singapore: Jian xia shuyuan, 1837).
 - 9) This vessel was named for the memorial of the first Protestant missionary to China, Robert Morrison (1782-1834). Because of its name, the repatriation was also named as the Morrison Incident.
 - 10) Peter Parker to His Family, Macao, 1837/06/30, "Peter Parker Collection" (Collected by Cushing/Whitney Medical Library, Yale University).
 - 11) However, according to the letter from the Singapore Mission of ABCFM, those tracts perhaps included the Japanese gospel, which Gutzlaff translated. See, Matthew B. Hope to Rufus Anderson, Singapore, 1837/07/01, "Papers of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions" (hereafter ABC), 16.2.4, Vol. 1.
 - 12) Samuel W. Williams, "Narrative of a Voyage of the Ship Morrison, Captain D. Ingersoll, to Lewchew and Japan, in the Months of July and August, 1837", *The Chinese Repository* 6, No. 8 (Dec. 1837), p. 379.
 - 13) Miyanaga, Takashi, "'Ottozon' to yobareta Nihon hyōryūmin", *Shakai sirin* 51, No. 1 (July 2004), p. 166.
 - 14) See, Kamisiraisi, Minoru, *Juukyuseiki nihon no taigai kankei: Kaikoku toiu gensou no kokufuku* (Tokyo: Yosikawa kōbunkan, 2021).
 - 15) For the wrecked process of *Eiju-maru*, see *Aboku Chikusi* (亜墨竹枝), ca. 1846 (Collected by Imadegawa Library, Doshisha University); *Hatsutarō Beikoku dan* (初太郎米国談), ca. 1844 (Collected by Sumida Collections, Kobe University Library); *Bokusika Shinwa* (墨之可新話), ca. 1847. (Collected by Hizen Matsudaira Collections, Shimabara Library).
 - 16) *Hatsutarō Beikoku dan*, Vol. 2, ca. 1844.
 - 17) *Bokusika Shinwa*, Vol. 7, ca. 1847.
 - 18) Robert Thom to Samuel W. Williams, Ningpo, 1844/12/07, in *Meiguo Yelu Daxue Tushuguan Cang Wei San Wei Weikan Wanglai Shuxinji*, Vol. 2, eds. by Miyazawa Shinichi, Gu Jun, (Guilin: Guangxi Shifan Daxue Chubanshe, 2012), pp. 500-501.
 - 19) "Records of the Mission of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Boston, In China. Organized March 6th, 1836.", ABC, 16.3.11, Vol. 1. (Collected by Houghton Library, Harvard College Library).
 - 20) In 1938, Haruhi Masaji (1878-1962), a Japanese linguist, discovered a handwritten Japanese *Gospel of Matthew*, which was translated by Williams but had already been regarded as a lost book before. In the content, there was a signature of Shōzō, which suggested that Shōzō supposed to assist and work for Williams for a while. In addition, Shōzō and Jusaburō had sent a letter to Japan together in 1841. For this reason, Jusaburō usually regarded the one who stayed with Shōzō, and worked for Williams. See, Haruhi, Masaji, "Sen hyaku go jū nen wayaku no Mataiden", *Bungaku kenkyū* 36 (March 1948), pp. 45-69; "Hyōkaku Jusaburō shukan", in *Hyōryū kidan zenshū*, edited by Ishii Minshi (Tokyo: Hakubun kan, 1958), pp. 866-878.
 - 21) Samuel W. Williams to Sir [ABCFM], Canton, 1838/03/10, ABC, 16.3.9, Vol. 1.; Samuel W. Williams to Sir [ABCFM], Canton, 1838/10/05, ABC, 16.3.9, Vol. 1. However, in another letter that was noticed on the same date and sent to the same person, the estimation for the second year, which provided money for the shipwrecked Japanese, was a total of 80 dollars.

- 22) Samuel W. Williams to Rufus Anderson, Macao, 1840/07/01, ABC. 16.3.8., Vol. 1A.
- 23) For example, *An English and Japanese and Japanese and English Vocabulary* by W. H. Medhurst (1796-1857), published in Batavia in 1830, the Japanese studies from Philipp Franz von Siebold (1796-1866) and the European researchers.
- 24) *The Chinese Repository* (1832-1851), an English periodical Journal created by the missionaries of ABCFM's Canton Mission and edited by Williams, was regarded as one of the prominent sources for the study of East Asia, especially Imperial China, before and after the First Opium War.
- 25) *Bokusika Shinwa*, Vol. 7, ca. 1847.
- 26) Samuel W. Williams to Rufus Anderson, Macao, 1843/07/30, ABC. 16.3.8., Vol. 1A.
- 27) Furthermore, due to the reason that Williams' Japanese translation of *Genesis* had already been regarded as a lost book. The record in Taikichi's Narrative, despite it only recorded the part that Williams told Taikichi, was the only existing evidence of understanding how Williams translated Genesis into Japanese. See, Ebisawa Arimichi, "'S. W. Wiriamuzu no Yosefu monogatari'", *Wepisutora* 50 (June 1973), pp. 389-394.
- 28) Samuel W. Williams to Rufus Anderson, Macao, 1843/02/27, ABC. 16.3.8., Vol. 1A.
- 29) For example, "Mr. S. Wells Williams ... one of the first Chinese scholars of the age, has learned to speak and write the Japanese language under the instruction of natives of Japan at Canton, where he has resided about fifteen years." See, Aaron Haight Palmer, *Letter to the Hon. Jon M. Clayton* (Washington: Gideon & Co., 1849), p. 46; In addition, "One of the most successful of the few scholars who have as yet devoted themselves to this branch of [Japanese] study, is our distinguished fellow-member, Mr. S. Wells Williams, of Canton." See, William W. Turner, "Account of a Japanese Romance", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 2 (1851), p. 36.