

# Japanese Merchants in 17th Century Guadalajara\*

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**Abstract** In the 17th Century, New Spain transpacific relations were more intense than is commonly supposed. Trade in goods and migration of people from both shores of the Pacific Ocean were boosted by the *Nao of China* voyage that each year linked the Mexican port of Acapulco and the Asiatic port of Manila, capital of Philippines which at that time was an Spanish colony administered from New Spain. It was through these contacts that were woven many stories of Asian migrants in Mexico. This article reports on one such story: that of two Japanese entrepreneurs who joined the Guadalajara society. One of them advanced to the highest rungs of that society to become the administrator, for two decades, of the tributes that Catholic Church collected in the region named New Galicia. We present here the results of a thoroughly research which supposed scrutinizing each day of that century in the historical archives of the city.

**Key words** Transpacific relations, History, Japanese migration, New Spain

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본 학술지는 라틴아메리카연구소 주최 국제학술대회나 해외 학회세미나에서 발표한 논문을 기고한 경우, 혹은 라틴아메리카연구소 주최 대학논문상 수상작으로 당선된 경우에, '특별논문' 형식으로 해당 논문을 게재하고 있습니다.

In 1983, French historian Thomas Calvo, a specialist in the study of colonial Guadalajara, published an article in the Spanish journal *Revista de Indias*, about a group of “white-collar” Japanese people who lived in 17<sup>th</sup> Century Guadalajara. Two characters stood out in this group, their converted names were: Luis de Encío and Juan de Páez. The article in question ended up in the hands of the Japanese Ambassador in Spain, Eikichi Hayashiya, who had been in Mexico previously as his country’s cultural attaché. Out of all of Calvo’s findings, the one which attracted Hayashiya’s attention more powerfully was the signature in Japanese characters that one of the Japanese men had left stamped on one of the documents of the time.

Upon returning to Japan, Hayashiya had the signature examined. In *kanji* ideographic letters, it represented the man’s name in Japanese: Fukuchi Soemon or Hyoemon and in hiragana phonetic letters, it indicated his name in Spanish: Luis de Encío. With this information, Hayashiya began to follow Fukuchi’s trail and in his research, he arrived at the conclusion that the man probably came from the town with this very same name: Fukuchi, near the city of Sendai, to the north of present-day Tokyo. This finding by Hayashiya was important in order to determine how Fukuchi had arrived in New Spain, since in 1613 he may had left from Sendai in the famous Hasekura mission sent by the Sendai *Damiyô*, Date Masamune.

In 2002 Hayashiya traveled to Guadalajara in order to deliver a lecture at the Guadalajara University: **“The Japanese who stayed in Mexico in the 17th Century. About a Samurai in Guadalajara”**. That was our first encounter with these white-collar Japanese. Four years later, we started a formal research about the two most outstanding Japanese men in the group found by Calvo: Luis de Encío and Juan de Páez. Our objective with this project was to rescue, with the help of a minute examination of

the historical documents of the time, and of course, with the support of Calvo's seminal work, the story of these two Japanese in colonial Guadalajara. Three years after the process had started; we published the results of our research in the book **"El japonés que conquistó Guadalajara. La historia de Juan de Páez en la Guadalajara del siglo XVII"**. (The Japanese who conquered Guadalajara. The story of Juan de Páez in 17th Century Guadalajara).

The paper we present here is an extract from that book where we underscore the role Páez and Encío played as merchants in the Guadalajara of the time. This work is divided into four sections. The first section is a glimpse into the background in which the earliest contacts between new Hispanics and the Japanese took place; it is followed by a second section where we present our hypothesis about how these Japanese might have arrived in Guadalajara, and it is still but a hypothesis because we have not been able to prove it on the basis of the documents consulted. In the third and fourth sections we deal with the role played by Luis de Encío and Juan de Páez respectively as a merchant the former and as a business man and financier the latter. The text finishes with a review of our findings and pending matters on the topic.

### **The first New Hispanic contacts with Asia**

For us this story begins with the first contacts between Spain and Asia, which took place through New Spain, (present-day Mexico) in the 16th Century. In 1527, by order of King Carlos I, Conqueror Hernán Cortés sent Álvaro de Saavedra Cerón to explore the Pacific Ocean; he sailed from the Zihuatanejo Harbor, which is today a beautiful tourist destination in the Mexican Pacific Coast, and three months later he arrived in the archipelago the Spaniards christened with the name of the Philippines.

Several missions followed this one, but none were able to find a return route to New Spain. It was not until 1564, on the transpacific voyage undertaken by Miguel López de Legaspi and Basque Friar Andrés de Urdaneta, who had a lot of experience in previous expeditions on the Pacific, that this route was discovered.

Legaspi and Urdaneta, who had sailed from the Puerto de Navidad (to the south of Jalisco), arrived in the Philippines in February of 1565 and by the middle of the year, Urdaneta had found the route back when he took a northerly course, towards the Japanese archipelago, and from there he followed the Siwo Stream, which would take them to the California coasts and then bordering the coast, he would arrive in Acapulco. Legaspi, in turn, stayed behind in the Philippines, and founded Manila as the archipelago's capital in 1571 and became its first governor. From that moment on, it was frequent for Chinese vessels to arrive in Manila in order to establish trade with the Spaniards. In 1573, the first batch of Chinese articles formally arrived in Acapulco, after docking in the Puerto de Navidad.<sup>1)</sup> This transpacific trade influenced on the relations with Japan, since that country would eventually become a supplier for the galleons and a necessary stopover in the long return voyage across the great Pacific Ocean.

It was in the last decade of the 16th Century when the first contacts were established between Hispanic and Japanese diplomats.<sup>2)</sup> The first was in 1592, when Toyotomi Hideyoshi (one of the three unifiers of

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1) Calderón, Francisco R (1995 [1988]), *Historia Económica de la Nueva España en tiempos de los Austrias*, México, DF: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1<sup>a</sup>. Reprint of the 1st . edition, p. 565, Also: Antonio M. Molina(1992), *América en Filipinas*, Madrid: Ed. MAPFRE, pp. 102-103.

2) Not including the “Embassy of the Youth”, formed by four teenage Japanese members of the Kyushu island feudal nobility who arrived in Europe in 1584 guided by Jesuits (see: Judith Brown and Adriana Boscaro)

Japan, along with Oda Nobunaga and Ieyasu Tokugawa), sent an envoy to Manila to demand that the Hispanics become their tributaries. The then Spanish governor in the Philippines, Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas was able to handle the situation well diplomatically and managed to appease, to a certain extent, Hideyoshi's menacing tone.

For the following seventeen years, an intermittent diplomatic exchange continued to take place between Japan and Manila with its respective ups and downs, but in general, no substantial progress was attained in the relations. The main reason was that each party's interests were different: while Japan was interested in the issue of commercial exchange, aware of the growing importance of the trade of Asian goods being freighted from Manila to New Spain; the Spanish party's paramount objective was Christian evangelization.

Japan's Christianization had begun in 1549 with the arrival of Jesuit Francisco Javier to Japan, and for more than forty years, the Jesuits were the only Christian order in those lands and they focused their evangelizing work mainly on the Nippon archipelago's feudal elites.<sup>3)</sup> It was in the decade of the 1590's that the first Franciscans arrived and their attitude contrary to the central Japanese authority led to the first executions of Catholics in Japan, in the Nagasaki Harbor; the event happened in the year 1597 and almost all the people executed were Franciscans, except for three Japanese converted by Jesuits.

However, in 1598, after Hideyoshi's death, internal political instability vying for control of power, combined with the support of powerful Daimyô to Catholic missions, served notoriously to propagate Christianity in Japan. Jesuits knew how to take advantage of this situation

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3) Boxer, C.R. (1951), *The Christian Century in Japan 1549-1650*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

by increasing the number of their residencies from four to thirty between 1599 and 1600, when seventy thousand conversions were recorded in this period, according to Jesuit sources.<sup>4)</sup>

The beginning of the new century witnessed the rise of Ieyasu Tokugawa and though he did not approve of the missionaries' evangelizing work, the latter lived a period of apparent calm for their evangelization purposes when even some other religious orders arrived such as the Dominics and the Augustines. Nevertheless, political reasons would lead to the fact that the Japanese government ordered the Christian churches to close down in 1612 and the missionaries were dispossessed of their properties and residencies. By 1613, an edict had been issued decreeing the expulsion of the religious people,<sup>5)</sup> which came into effect in 1614, beginning a systematic eradication of Christendom in Japan.

It is important that we speak here about the Japanese community that settled down in Manila. From the year 1585 on, Japanese ships started arriving in this harbor with commercial purposes. Many of the Japanese who traveled on those ships started to settle in Manila, gradually forming a relatively numerous community, and other Japanese who had already been living in other parts of the Philippines increased this number by joining them in the capital for different reasons.

As the years passed by, the Japanese colony continued to grow

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4) According to Joao Paulo Oliveira e Costa, in 1600 there were around 300 000 Japanese who practiced catholicism in Japan, many of them noble people, of whom at least fourteen daimyō had been baptized. Oliveira e Costa, João Paulo (2003), "Tokugawa Ieyasu and the Christian daimyō during the crisis of 1600", *Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies*, December 2003, año/vol. 7, Lisboa, Portugal: Universidade Nova de Lisboa, p. 56.

5) Borao, José Eugenio (2005), "La colonia de japoneses en Manila en el marco de las relaciones de Filipinas y Japón en los siglos XVI y XVII", *Cuadernos CANELA: Actas de la Confederación Académica Nipona, Española y Latinoamericana*, Vol. XVII, p. 13. Available at: <http://www.canela.org.es>

gradually, though it had some decrease lapses, as it happened in the year 1597, when after the events involving the Nagasaki Martyrs and the confiscation of the goods carried on the Spanish galleon San Felipe which docked in Japan, the Spaniards in The Philippines decided to deport most of the Japanese living in Manila. In contrast, from 1612 on, with the beginning of the anti-Christian promulgations in Japan, that Nippon community grew considerably. It seems that in a ten-year period (1613-1623) it doubled in size: in 1615 it amounted to fifteen hundred, by 1623 they were already three thousand.<sup>6)</sup>

### **About how the Japanese might have made it to Guadalajara**

In addition to the aforementioned facts, the political power relations in Japan were undergoing adjustments. After Hideyoshi's death in 1598, two sides were formed that seek to grab a hold of central power in Japan: those supporting Hideyoshi's heir against those supporting Tokugawa Ieyasu, who was a feudal lord with a lot of political, military and economic clout. In the year 1600 the final battle against the two parties took place, it is known today as the Sekigahara Battle, in which the Tokugawa followers were the victors.

Fifteen years later, Ieyasu Tokugawa did not feel that his lineage had a secure grip on power with the existence of Hideyoshi's son, Toyotomi Hideyori, who by that year of 1615 was already 25 years old. During that time, the heir had taken refuge in the Osaka castle, which Ieyasu Tokugawa attacked to put an end to the lineage once and for all. This episode is known as the Osaka Siege and it meant the last brooch that secured the final permanence of the Tokugawa clan in power (for

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6) Ibidem, pp. 13-17.

approximately two hundred years). Two decades later, Japan would close itself to the outer world for over two centuries.

We know that our two Japanese men were born around those years and in such unstable circumstances: Luis de Encío, probably around the year 1595 and Juan de Páez, in 1608. On the basis of this information, we speculate that Encío and Páez might have come to New Spain in one of the following voyages: Rodrigo de Vivero y Velasco's return trip from Japan in 1609; Sebastián Vizcaíno's return trip from Japan which accompanied forcibly the Hasekura mission; Friar Diego de Santa Catalina's return trip from Japan, and the annual voyage of the galleon from Manila to Acapulco. Let's take a closer look at these possibilities.

Rodrigo de Vivero y Velasco had been the interim governor of The Philippines in 1608. On his return voyage to New Spain in 1609, having sailed away from Manila in three galleons, the *Santa Ana*, the *Santiago* and the *San Francisco*, the fact is known that the ships ran into bad weather and the *San Francisco*, aboard which Vivero was traveling, was wrecked in front of Japan's coasts. The fishermen from the *Onjuku* village in Chiba, rescued the shipwrecked people. Rodrigo de Vivero took advantage of the opportunity to introduce himself as the king's ambassador to Ieyasu Tokugawa. After performing some diplomatic actions, Vivero y Velasco sailed from the Uruga Harbor, in Tokio Bay, towards New Spain in August 1610, on board the *San Buenaventura*, a ship built at the request of the Japanese government. Several authors agree in their assertion that twenty-three Japanese from Osaka were also on board, who were apparently traders who had been under Tanaka Shôsuke's command.<sup>7)</sup> Their arrival to New Spanish coasts took place at the end of October of that same year

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7) Mathes, W. Michel (2006), "A Quarter Century of Trans-Pacific Diplomacy: New Spain and Japan, 1592-1617", Mark Caprio and Matsuda Koichiro (ed.), *Japan and the Pacific, 1540-1920*, Aldershot, GB: Ashgate, Variorum, p. 11. Y, Mathes, W.

and they stopped at Matanchén (in the present-day state of Nayarit),<sup>8)</sup> the place from which Vivero sent a letter addressed to the King of Spain where he presented the results of his embassy to Japan, including the advantages of trading with this country and the importance of missionary work as the vanguard of the conquest.

Sebastián Vizcaíno in turn, was appointed by the New Spanish authorities to carry out a new diplomatic embassy in Japan, as a follow-up of the actions already undertaken by Vivero. Vizcaíno was commissioned with returning the twenty-three Japanese (the Náhuatl chronicler, Chimalpahin, asserted that only seventeen returned),<sup>9)</sup> presenting his credentials as Ambassador to Hidetada (Ieyasu's son and successor) and before Ieyasu, paying four thousand pesos they had lent Vivero for his return, asking for permission to sound and delimit the Japanese coast so as to update the geographical charts that they had and finally looking for the mythical islands of Rica de Oro and Rica de Plata, which were supposed to be to the east of Japan.

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Michel (1973), *Sebastián Vizcaíno y la expansión hispánica en el Océano Pacífico*, México, DF: Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, UNAM, p. 96. Also: Knauth, Lothar (1972), *Confrontación transpacífica: El Japón y el nuevo mundo hispánico: 1542-1639*, México, DF: Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, UNAM, P. 198.

- 8) About their arrival in Matanchén: it was common practice for the galleons to make this stopover, it was usually at the Puerto de Navidad or on the coasts of Colima, anyhow, we could generalize a geographic area between the coasts of present-day Nayarit and Colima. The reason why they made these stopovers on the way to Acapulco, was that they dispatched an officer with news and correspondence for the viceroy and on some occasions for the King as well. See: Francisco R. Calderón, op. cit, p. 574. Y, Olveda, Jaime (1995), “El Puerto de La Navidad: Perlas, comercio y filipinos”, Jaime Olveda (coord.), *III Coloquio La Cuenca Hispana del Pacífico: Pasado y Futuro*, Guadalajara: Sociedad de Geografía y Estadística del Estado de Jalisco, pp. 70-72.
- 9) León Portilla, Miguel (1992), “La embajada de los japoneses en México: El testimonio en náhuatl del cronista Chimalpahin”, Javier Wimer (coord.), *El Galeón del Pacífico, Acapulco-Manila 1565-1815*, México, DF: Instituto Guerrerense de Cultura, Gobierno del Estado de Guerrero, pp. 145-146.

Vizcaíno and his party left Acapulco in March of 1611 and they arrived in the Japanese port of Uruga two months and a half later. A few days after his arrival, he had an interview with the highest Japanese authorities. By the end of October of that same year, explorations of the demarcation started. During his exploration journey, he took the opportunity to stop and visit several noble people from the coastal villages near which he was passing, his visit to Date Masamune, the Sendai *Daimyô* was one of the most important.

This feudal lord was a highly influential character in the Tokugawa court, due to his family relation with Ieyasu's children. Date Masamune was very interested in having Catholic missions set up in his territory, perhaps as much so as the *daimyô*, in order to attract European traders. Date had an interview with Friar Luis Sotelo, a Franciscan who had already been in Japan for a while and had joined Sebastián Vizcaíno's delegation.

Vizcaíno would stay in Japan for two more years and in this time he witnessed an increase in Christian persecution. To top it all off, his ship broke down in his quest for the mythical islands Rica de Oro and Rica de Plata. Thus, in 1613, Vizcaíno accepted Date Masamune's offer to join the embassy led by Hasekura Tsunenaga Rokuyemon, a samurai at Date's service whose mission was to introduce himself to the Spanish court in Madrid and the Pope in Rome. Vizcaíno and his men, along with Friar Luis Sotelo, Hasekura and some one hundred and fifty or one hundred and eighty additional Japanese sailed for Acapulco at the end of October of 1613 aboard the *San Juan Bautista*, the name with which Masamune's ship was christened. Once on ocean waters, Luis Sotelo, with the support of the Japanese, commandeered the ship and confined Vizcaíno to his cabin as a simple passenger. Three months after having sailed off, they landed at the New Spanish coast of Colima, and a few days later they

arrived at the Acapulco port (at the end of January of 1614). Vizcaíno's health was in precarious conditions when they arrived.

Hasekura and Sotelo headed for Mexico City with approximately eighty Japanese and the rest stayed behind in Acapulco waiting for Hasekura's return. The Japanese were in Mexico for several months and they were all baptized there except for Hasekura who would wait to follow suit in Madrid. Hasekura sailed from Mexico with a small group of Japanese, some thirty in all, while the rest had orders to return to Acapulco. Hasekura sailed from Veracruz to Spain in June of 1614. Once in Europe, after going through Seville, he arrived in Madrid, where he was baptized. In November of 1615, he was received by the Pope Paul V and he returned to New Spain in 1617. Once in New Spain, after tracing all his steps back to Acapulco, Hasekura found out that many, if not the majority, of the Japanese had already returned to Asia, others already had a wife and children right there in the port, still some others went deep into New Spain in search of a new life (perhaps because they had been converted and because they knew how difficult the situation was for Christianity in Japan. The Manila galleon, besides the goods she carried, she brought news from those lands). In addition to the above, it must be said that approximately a dozen Japanese stayed in Spain.<sup>10)</sup>

In April of 1618, Hasekura and a few Japanese set sail towards Manila. They had to wait in that city until 1620 to return to Japan due to the fierce anti-Christian persecution. Of course Hasekura had to renounce his Christian faith in order to be able to enter Japan again.

As to Friar Diego de Santa Catalina's embassy, it was sent by the Spanish

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10) Valencia Japón, Víctor ([no year]), *De Japón a Roma pasando por Coria, 1614-1620*, Coria del Río, España: Official Web site of the Coria del Río Townhall. <http://www.coriadelrio.es/apelljap.htm>

King and the Council of the Indies to answer a letter that Ieyasu Tokugawa had sent to the King with Alonso Muñoz, who had traveled in 1610 with Vivero on his return voyage to New Spain. In that letter, Ieyasu requested expert miners to be sent to Japan and access to transpacific navigation, which was dominated by the Spanish. Diego de Santa Catalina sailed from Acapulco in 1615 and he found a convulsed Japan after the Osaka battle. On the other hand, Diego de Santa Catalina, who was carrying the bad news of the King's refusal to grant the Japanese the transpacific route, in addition to being accompanied by an embassy of religious Franciscans, was not welcomed in Japan and was sent back to New Spain under Japanese custody. The latter took the opportunity to load their vessel with goods to trade in Acapulco and Mexico City.

Friar Diego de Santa Catalina actually had orders not to bring anymore Japanese traders on the return trip but he could not avoid that. To top it all off, said return voyage aboard the *San Juan Bautista* was involved with natural calamities. They finally managed to make an intermediate stopover on the Colima coasts at the end of February of 1617, Diego de Santa Catalina sent a letter from there reporting what had happened on their mission; said letter went first through the Guadalajara Real Audiencia (the Royal Court), to later reach Marqués de Guadalcázar (the New Spain Viceroy), who finally remitted information on what had happened to the King of Spain. No doubt that was the end of the relations between both parties, which would have to wait for better times to come.

Finally, the other opportunity the Japanese may have had to travel to New Spain was offered by the *Nao of China*, that is, the Manila Galleon. If we consider that in Manila, Philippines, there was a numerous Japanese colony, it is likely for some of them to have traveled aboard the Manila Galleon to New Spain and to have stayed. Let's remember that the galleons going from Manila to Acapulco and vice-versa, made a voyage a

year. We must also keep in mind that before the galleon arrived in Acapulco, it made a stopover on the coasts covered by the present-day states of Nayarit, Jalisco and Colima, which we find important to point out due to its proximity to Guadalajara. Moreover, between 1612 and 1623, a large number of Christian Japanese fled their country and many of them ended up in Manila. To add more information to this argument, it is worthwhile quoting José Eugenio Borao here, who shows solid facts about the number of vessels that made the voyage from Japan to Manila, all of them crowded with Japanese (most of them were Christians fleeing anti-Christian persecution): then we know that in 1615 there were five ships, in 1617 one, in 1618 three more and in 1619 one again.<sup>11)</sup> Of course he is referring to ships with an official license, that is, he is not including here those that sailed without permission from the Japanese government.

If the above case were to apply to our Japanese men, it means that they first traveled from Japan to Manila, and once there, they embarked on the Manila Galleon on their way to New Spain, and they arrived specifically in Nueva Galicia, on a possible intermediate stopover on the coast of the present-day State of Nayarit.

## **Luis de Encío**

It is then time to tell the specific story of one of the Japanese that arrived in Guadalajara within the historical framework described above. We refer to Luis de Encío. Thanks to the documents consulted, we know for sure that Luis de Encío first settled in Guadalajara at least in the year 1634. We also know that Encío married a native woman by the name of Catalina de Silva and that their only daughter, Margarita, in turn married Juan de

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11) Borao, José Eugenio, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

Páez, probably in 1636. Now, when did Encío arrive in this territory? So far we do not know for sure, but Calvo and some records consulted give us some clues that allow for us to suppose that Encío had been in the town of Ahuacatlán, near Bahía de Banderas, at least since 1620.

And here's another question, how did Luis de Encío and Juan de Páez meet? On a first assumption, it could be thought that they arrived together, but we have information that set them apart: it seems that Juan de Páez lived in Guadalajara since he arrived in New Spain,<sup>12)</sup> while it seems that it took Luis de Encío more than ten years to settle in this city, where it is likely that they met.

We believe that Luis de Encío, while working as a traveling salesman during one of his temporary stays in Guadalajara in the early 1630's, perhaps met Juan de Páez, who we suppose was a young man of around twenty years of age;<sup>13)</sup> probably racial affinity -referring to their common physical features- must have been a factor that led to their meeting each other, above all when they found out that they were both from faraway Japan.

Thomas Calvo supposes that Luis de Encío started his commercial career in these lands as a peddler, an activity that must have brought him to Guadalajara after procuring contacts that capitalized him and undertaking a new stage in his life in Nueva Galicia. It was in 1634 when he signed a contract as partner of the New Spanish merchant Francisco de Reinoso, by which he promised to tend to a shop in Guadalajara, an event that could have determined Encío's settling down in this city permanently.

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12) Arag, Ramo Civil, Caja 2, exp. 18 (C-12-18), "Autos en razón de lo que la ciudad pretende serca de que aya Alhondiga..."; fojas 14v.-15r.

13) idem.

## Luis de Encío in 17<sup>th</sup> Century Tapatía society

A first impression, upon hearing about this topic, could be to think how odd it would be to meet a Japanese person in 17<sup>th</sup> Century Guadalajara, but the reality was a different one: it was quite common to see a person with racial features characteristics of Eastern Asia in Guadalajara. For example, in the Guadalajara Sagrario Metropolitano's sacramental records dating back to the 17<sup>th</sup> Century, we have found over twenty people with this racial description.

Moreover, as Thomas Calvo points out, “this pioneering society was not xenophobic”<sup>14)</sup> and professional success was recognized above all else, as it happens today, no matter the people's origins, as long as they showed veritable adaptation attitudes. Luis de Encío must have had several difficulties in this respect, beginning by the language and later on his writing skills-, the food and the way of life in general. We estimate that by 1620, when he is thought to have arrived in the town of Ahuacatlán, he must have been twenty-five years old; we believe that he may have even been a *samurai* in Japan, according to Hayashiya. Nevertheless he tried hard to fit in fully in this society, where he managed to play leading roles at times, like when he took over the monopoly of the coconut and mescal wine sales in 1643,<sup>15)</sup> or when he became the supplier of some delicacies that the president of the Real Audiencia bought for his wife.<sup>16)</sup>

It is true that his economic growth was not big enough for people to forget his origin; one of the documentary records consulted makes us

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14) Calvo, Thomas (1992), *Guadalajara y su región en el siglo XVII: Población y Economía*, Guadalajara: Centro de Estudios Mexicanos y Centroamericanos, H. Ayuntamiento de Guadalajara, p. 161.

15) *Ibid.*, pp. 284-285.

16) *Ibid.*, p. 424.

think he was known as “Luis the Chinaman” in his daily life.<sup>17)</sup> Though it may have been an everyday alias, we do not doubt the fact that the term “Chinaman” was occasionally used pejoratively and his has to do with the fact that for several decades the Manila galleon had been bringing Filipino slaves, who were commonly referred to as “Chinamen”; so the pejection in the epithet derive from economic factors rather than racial ones. In the case of Encío, as in so many others where the ethnic origin is involved, perhaps traces of envy may have led them to use the racial description in a pejorative manner.

It was in the 1640’s when Encío’s economic curve peaked at the highest point (to then take a nose dive), when he was a fortyish gentleman, better adapted, having learned to spell his name in Spanish. He had arrived in Guadalajara by the mid 1630’s as a minor partner of a shop whose only contribution was to tend it,<sup>18)</sup> a little over ten years later things had changed and it was he who was contributing capital to set up a shop.<sup>19)</sup> The peak in Encío’s economic curve coincides with the peak in his becoming the godfather of “children of the church” (orphaned or abandoned children), which he did with his wife Catalina, and according to our records they amount to nine, they probably took care of the children’s upbringing, and we know well that in order to support that many children you needed a certain economic wealth.

It is important for us to give in this text the exact location of Luis de Encío’s shop and house, which he rented from the church. The property was located in the proximities of the Plaza Mayor (the Arms Square),

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17) AHAG, Sección: Gobierno, Serie: Parroquias, Catedral: Caja 1 [s. n. exp.] (1640), “Cuentas que da el Sr. Racionero Don Andrés por la fabrica como tesorero...”, foja 9r.

18) Calvo, Thomas, *Guadalajara y su región en el siglo XVII...*, op. cit, p. 381.

19) AIPJ; Notarios: Diego Pérez de Rivera, Libro 3ro. (1646-1647), ff. 149v.-151r.

specifically, according to our sources, we believe that it was on the corner of the streets named at present Pedro Moreno and Av. 16 de Septiembre, on the sidewalk across from the Arms Square. Luis de Encío began to rent the premises in 1640<sup>20)</sup> and he maintained his residence and business there until 1655. He paid an annual rent of 84 pesos and he was part of a group of lessees to whom the church rented property.<sup>21)</sup>

In 1647 Encío signed, also with merchant Francisco de Castilla, a partnership to set up a shop of “goods and simple foods”. The shop was actually the same that Luis de Encío had, it seems that the contract was about a resupply with investment by the Japanese of 1,340 pesos, plus 203 pesos that Castilla contributed; the latter had to tend to it, and Encío was the majority partner, although at the end the profits were shared equally. It is worth speaking about Francisco de Castilla in detail. There is a record of a burial (in the Archives of the Guadalajara Sagrario Metropolitano) in the year 1661, of a Francisco de Castilla “a Chinaman”, is it Encío’s partner? If it is, we might say he underwent an economic improvement similar to Encío’s, that is, one with the same formula. We assert this, because in said record it is registered that Castilla left a chaplaincy fund for 2,000 pesos taxed on his properties. In this respect, our attention is also attracted by a 1658 burial record of a María de Silva “the Chinese woman married to Francisco del Castillo”, the same question is posed again: is it Francisco de Castilla or is it just a coincidence of an almost homonym?

But the most important element for our study is what Thomas Calvo has to say with regards to pointing at Luis de Encío as the “center of the whole Asian nucleus in Nueva Galicia”,<sup>22)</sup> therefore, thinking about the

20) AHAG, op. cit, fojas 1r., 3v.-4r.

21) AHAG (1644), Sección: Gobierno, Serie: Parroquias, Catedral: Caja 1 [s. n. exp.], “Cuentas de la fabrica desta iglesia que dio el Br. d. Pedro de Useta Bracamonte”, 9 fojas.

apparent Asian origin of Encío's partner, in addition to his business relation with Francisco de Castilla, "the Chinaman", and with his Japanese son-in-law Juan de Páez, at least two more cases are known of Encío's association with Asians: the first of them is revealed by Agustín López de la Cruz's burial record (1642), where it is stated that his "nation was Japan", and he left "Luis de Encío Japón" as his executor. The other case would be the one that Calvo makes reference to, that of a certain Juan de la Cruz, "of Chinese nation" from the town of Sayula, who in 1643 gave Encío a letter of power of attorney.<sup>23)</sup> If we add the case of Francisco de Castilla, Calvo's argumentation solidifies even more.

In order to close here the subject of Luis de Encío, the Japanese, we would like to perform an imaginative exercise in the moment this man arrived in New Spain, being as he was a determined person, with a strong character, possibly with a samurai past, located all of a sudden in a place totally unknown to him in every aspect, struggling to adapt and fit in, he then earned his living as a merchant, his drive made him take an economic first step placing him in the city with the most commercial dynamism in the region: Guadalajara. From then on his ascent did not stop, until old age made him fall on hard times.

Luis de Encío died in 1666, he was a widower of around seventy-one years old; in his will he bitterly complains about being broke, as the result of bad business decisions and bad handling of money; he points out that

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22) CALVO, Thomas (1989), "Japoneses en Guadalajara: 'Blancos de Honor' durante el Seiscientos mexicano", *La Nueva Galicia en los siglos XVI y XVII*, Guadalajara, México: El Colegio de Jalisco, Centro de Estudios Mexicanos y Centroamericanos, p. 162.

23) Sobre el registro de Agustín López de la Cruz: AHAG, Microfilmes: Libros de registros sacramentales del ASMG [Rollo: 1511], Libro 3ro. Mixto (Entierros: 1641-1647), folio 2r. Sobre Juan de la Cruz "de nación chino": Thomas Calvo; "Japoneses en Guadalajara...", *ibíd.*

he survives in his last few days thanks to the assistance rendered by his son-in-law Juan de Páez, whom he fondly calls “son”. It is inevitable to imagine Luis de Encío in his death bed accompanied by his daughter, by his son-in-law Juan de Páez and by their children, that is, Encío’s grandchildren. We did not find a record of his burial, but on the basis of his will, we believe that he died either in the last days of September or the first days of October of 1666. As it was the custom of the time, he was buried in the cathedral.

### **Juan de Páez. The family circle**

Let’s now go to Juan de Páez’s case. The sources consulted revealed many records related with Juan de Páez from the year 1637 on. In that year, the Japanese must have been around twenty-nine and that was when his first son was born, and he and his wife Margarita baptized him with the name Luis: like his grandfather Luis de Encío. We suppose that Margarita de Encío and Juan de Páez perhaps got married between 1635 and 1636. Margarita -we speculate- must have been at least fifteen years old. It is highly probable that Luis de Encío felt pleased to hand over his only daughter to a man who shared with him the same place of origin, who in addition had a solid formation, which could be looked upon as a guarantee of future security and happiness for his beloved child. At least, in what respects economic prosperity, Luis de Encío was not wrong.

Juan de Páez and his wife Margarita founded a large family on the solid base of a marriage that was only broken when the former passed away in 1675. In four decades of marriage, Margarita and Juan procreated nine children. Most of them were women, six in all: María was the third sibbling and the first daughter, her younger sisters were Josepha, Juana, Petrona, Francisca and Margarita (eventually they all would procreate

Juan's and Margarita's grandchildren that were a total of thirteen; some of them were born after their grandfather Juan had passed away). Their sons were Luis, the first-born, Andrés and Juan. Of these three, only Andrés survived, Luis and Juan probably met an early death for they are not mentioned by their parents in their wills.

The Páez-Encío family was part of the privileged core of the Tapatía society of the time. The fact that Juan de Páez obtained the stewardship of the cathedral was probably the effective means -along with the executorships - that he found to rub shoulders with the high society, the clergy and the colonial authorities in Nueva Galicia. The members of the Páez-Encío family appear many times in the baptismal records as the godparents of the legitimate children of Tapatía families and many times too, we find Juan de Páez as the executor of the estates of prominent men. Páez's sagacity in business, while it helped the church prosper with an astute management of the tithe, also supplied him with the means and contacts to amass a considerable fortune.

How did the Páez-Encío fit in the Tapatía society? As it has been pointed out, Páez's activities make him one of the richest merchants in town. The information available indicates that the Páez-Encío' house was on the city's first block, on San Agustín Street, probably occupying a quarter of a block, which was later subdivided as it was customary at the time. By the records and blueprints consulted, we know that the Páez-Encío' house was located from the San Agustín convent to the west in the next block, that is, at present it would be on Morelos Street between the San Agustín Temple and the Governor's Palace. We do not know when Páez purchased that lot, but it probably coincided with the Japanese's period of greatest economic boom.

## Juan de Páez's stewardships

Although Juan de Páez always appears in the documents with the denomination of “merchant”, in fact his professional practice depicts him specifically as a services provider in the administration of assets, money lending, speculation, purchase-sale of silver, buying and selling property and the lease of estates or property to third parties (cattle, land, buildings, slaves, etc.), collection of money, as well as the legal representation of his clients, in particular in what respects bureaucratic procedures.

Páez's self-assurance and mastery in the performance of these services could be described as outstanding. His technical knowledge as a businessman is undeniable, and a fundamental evidence of this is the fact that a remarkable number of people appointed him executor in their wills.

Basically, an executor administers a deceased person's estate for the period of time in which it was being legally distributed; once it is distributed, the executor had to account for the administration of said estate. It was also his job to pay and collect the debts inherited by the deceased. In the days immediately following the passing away, the executor had to take care of the funeral arrangements, from which expenses emanated such as the funeral mass service, the burial, the payment of posthumous masses, the payment of will expenses and fees and others; and in order to cover these expenses, he would take twenty percent (one fifth) of the estate left in inheritance. It is easy to see that the executors appointed had to be completely reliable people, a decision that was based to a certain extent on whether the persons chosen had the required technical capacity to undertake such dispositions.

Now, why was it convenient to be a will executor? The executorship position was more often than not a strategy to attain social/patrimonial

promotion. As explained by Thomas Calvo in the case of 17<sup>th</sup> Century Guadalajara, executorship was “one of the most efficient resources” used by businessmen “to expand their power over the most important layers of society”, since we are referring to their access to “managing fortunes that were often considerable, for the benefit of the heirs, but also for the executor’s, whose economic and moral clout became reinforced”.<sup>24)</sup>

The above statement is precisely notorious in the case of Juan de Páez, where it is possible to see how in the 1640’s, he made an important public relations work that would catapult him to the highest spheres of the Tapatía society in the future. We can see then that in 1643 he appears as an executor for the first time, by testamentary disposition of Juan Jiménez,<sup>25)</sup> probably a city merchant. In that same decade, Páez would receive the same commission on three additional occasions, two of whom were natural neighbors of Spain: Merchant Juan de Arce, and Don Julián de Cárdenas y Monreal; the other one was Don Mateo Ramírez de Alarcón, Dean of the Ecclesiastic Town Council; the latter probably stands out among the rest mentioned so far, because he was the first member of the clergy to appoint Juan de Páez his executor.

The 1650’s were for the Japanese-Tapatío the time in which he started harvesting his efforts of the previous decade, and the evidence to that is precisely the increase in the number of appointments he received as executor in those years: between 1650 and 1658 he was appointed nine times as testamentary executor; seven of them by members of the clergy in Guadalajara. The other two concerned Catalina Bravo (a widow), and Alonso Núñez,<sup>26)</sup> who was for many years the apothecary and nurse at the

24) Calvo, Thomas, *Guadalajara y su región en el siglo XVII...*, op. cit, p. 387.

25) AHAG, Microfilms: Libros de registros sacramentales del ASMG, [rollo: 1511] Libro 3ro. Mixto (Entierros: 1641-1657), f. 4v.

26) Apothecary Alonso Núñez’s fortune must not have been a minor matter since in just

San Miguel Hospital and he also played an important role in hospital administration.

In addition to the previous cases, there were others in the following years and until 1674 (a year before Páez's demise), fifteen more appointments, among which there were still more members of the clergy, although the case that stands out the most may be that of a civilian authority: Don Jerónimo de Aldas y Hernández, a judge of the Guadalajara Real Audiencia, who passed away in July of 1663.<sup>27)</sup>

Going back to the issue of the members of the clergy, it is worth-noticing that almost 50% of Juan de Páez's executorships come precisely from members of the Tapatío clergy. In this respect, Thomas Calvo gives us a clear explanation:

“[The possibility of undertaking executorships] is frequent, in a century and in a society where many of the fortunes were ecclesiastical, that is, coming from people without direct heirs who would take over immediate succession [...]. Merchants were the right people to undertake the role of executors and they were usually smart businessmen, sometimes they were men in whom the owners of large fortunes and institutions trusted completely.”<sup>28)</sup>

We have no question that Juan de Páez was the man who earned the trust of the Guadalajara clergy the most in the time Páez was active as a businessman. In fact, his appointment as executor is the most recurrent in

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one notary record from 1647, we find that he lends Juan de Páez the amount of 2,200 pesos to be repaid in a year's time. On interpreting this record, we can also determine how much Núñez trusted the Japanese since he lent the latter this amount without requiring guarantor or voucher. See: AIPJ; Notaries: Diego Pérez de Rivera, Libro 3ro, fs. 153v.-154r.

27) AHAG, Microfilmes: Libros de registros sacramentales del ASMG, [rollo: 1512] Libro 5to. Mixto (Entierros: 1657-1667), folio 127r.

28) Calvo, Thomas, *Guadalajara y su región en el siglo XVII...*, op. cit.

the burial records in the Guadalajara Sagrario Metropolitano in the years from 1634 to 1674. According to the records consulted, twenty-eight people in all appointed Páez as their executor.

## **Juan de Páez: Steward of the Guadalajara Cathedral**

One of the most outstanding facets in Juan de Páez's professional life was that of being the steward of the "tithe incomes" in the Guadalajara Cathedral, for over a little more than twenty years. No doubt, this position catapulted him economically and further solidified his position and that of his family within the 17th Tapatía elite.

### **The tithe**

Before analyzing the role that Juan de Páez played as the Cathedral steward, it is necessary to sketch briefly how the tithe administration was organized.

Since the Middle Ages, the Catholic church's collecting the tithe became a fiscal rule in all the territories where the Christian Creed governed. As the Old English origin of the word indicates, the tithe consisted in handing over 10% of the incomes and/or profits earned legally by the parishioners; this fiscal burden served the purpose of maintaining the "machinery" that supplied the Christian cult.<sup>29)</sup>

At the end of 1501, Pope Alexander VI granted all the American tithes to the Spanish Crown, on the condition that it secured the incomes

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29) Iranzo, V. Sebastián (1991), "Diezmos y Primicias en la Historia Eclesiástica", *Enciclopedia GER* [Edición Web], Madrid: Ediciones Rialp, Canal Social, Montané Comunicación. Vínculo permanente: <http://www.canalsocial.net/GER/ficha GER.asp?id=8975&cat=historiaiglesia>

necessary for the functioning of the Church in the “New World”.<sup>30)</sup> This way the Spanish State established clear rules for the distribution of said collection (executed and administered by the Church’s ministers themselves, but under the due supervision of the royal authorities).

According to such rules, the money raised in each bishopdom was divided into two equal parts. One of these halves was in turn split into two parts: one was for the bishop and the other for the Ecclesiastic Town Council. The other 50%, was divided into nine parts (ninths): two ninths belonged to the Crown, one and a half was devoted to the construction and repair of Cathedrals and parish temples, another ninth to the establishment and maintenance of hospitals, and the four remaining ninths were meant for the payment of the remaining priests.<sup>31)</sup>

According to Historian Woodrow Borah, this tax was one of the most important ones collected in New Spain, being “the primordial source of income for the Church”.<sup>32)</sup> The goods and products subjected to tithe taxation were particularly the agricultural ones, including of course cattle, which was economically important in the case of Nueva Galicia.

### **The cathedral stewardship**

According to Historian Leticia Pérez Puente, it was the steward’s obligation to see to it that the debts owed to the Cathedral in the form of tithes and rents be paid in time; likewise, it was his responsibility to take the debtors to ecclesiastic justice. His appointment and reelection was

30) Borah, Woodrow (1986), “La recolección de diezmos en el obispado de Oaxaca”, A.J. Bauer (comp.), *La Iglesia en la economía de América Latina, siglos XVI al XIX*, México, DF: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, pp. 62-63.

31) *Ibid.*, p. 65. See also: CALVO, Thomas; *Guadalajara y su región...*, op. cit; pp. 244 y 262.

32) Borah, Woodrow, *ibid.*, p. 61.

made every three years. It was in fact, an executive arm within the administrative procedures of the church's collection of decimal incomes. There were two more components to carry out these functions, and the steward had to coordinate with them: the prebendary and the accountant.<sup>33)</sup>

The prebendaries made up the tithe court or "haceduría"; and they were two priests appointed by the Ecclesiastic Town Council. Their main function was to supervise "the collection and distribution of the tithe and to that end they arranged the contracts with the tenants, they checked the general accounts [as well as] those of the administrators and the tenants".<sup>34)</sup> The accountant, in turn, adjusted the accounts resulting from the tithe as well as the other incomes of the church and they had to present yearly reports to the Ecclesiastic Town Council in this respect and said reports also included the expenses incurred.

The above applied mainly in the Catedral Metropolitana of Mexico City, the seat of Mexico's Archbishopric, as well as in almost all the dioceses belonging to that Archbishopric. Nevertheless, for the case of Guadalajara (the seat of the Guadalajara Archbishopric, whose territory was the kingdom of Nueva Galicia), we suppose that at least in intention, they intended to adapt the same administrative order for the collection and management of the tithe and the other incomes, according to the records in this city.

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33) Pérez Puente, Leticia (2001), "Dos periodos de conflicto en torno a la administración del diezmo en el Arzobispado de México: 1653-1663 y 1664-1680", *Estudios de Historia Novohispana*, No. 25 (June-December 2001), Mexico, DF: Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, UNAM. P. 22.

34) ídem.

### About the election of Juan de Páez as steward

Juan de Páez's appointment as steward was the direct consequence of a fight between the Ecclesiastic Town Council and the bishop, who was Juan Ruiz Colmenero at that time. The problem originated by the fact that the bishop had possession of the so-called "three-key box", the box where the tithe money and the other incomes collected were kept. According to the documentary information consulted, the bishop of the moment had been the only person responsible for managing the tithe money since 1622 because no steward had been appointed. Thus, the Ecclesiastic Town Council complained that due to the fact that there was not a person permanently in charge of keeping the accounts in order, it was not possible to know the expenditures and incomes. In view of such situation, the Ecclesiastic Town Council decided to appoint a steward in June of 1648. It was then that Bishop Juan Ruiz Colmenero, opposed such resolution.

At this point, the case was taken before the Guadalajara Real Audiencia and the Council of the Indies. The years between 1651 and 1652 were characterized by a cut and thrust dispute. At the end, with the support of the 1653 royal letters patent, the Ecclesiastic Town Council won the dispute and they were allowed to appoint a steward. Thus, on October 24<sup>th</sup>, 1653, with Bishop Juan Ruiz Colmenero and the members of the Ecclesiastic Town Council present, it was ordered that edicts be issued to elect a steward among those nominated for the position. Eight months later the new steward of the Cathedral was finally appointed: on June 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1654, Juan de Páez was appointed steward of all the "tithe incomes" of the Guadalajara cathedral.

As recorded in the Ecclesiastic Town Council's minutes, Juan de Páez would be "in charge of all the money in the three-key box and of all the

income and expenditure papers since the moment that said Bishop [Juan Ruiz Colmenero] stopped being in charge of said box”<sup>35)</sup> As we can see, Páez would have broader responsibilities than indicated in the above description. But we are not to imagine a romantic appointment of Juan de Páez by the church, Páez’s appointment materialized due to the fact that he was the highest bidder. In fact, Páez offered to make a 10,000 pesos deposit to obtain the position.<sup>36)</sup> Although in addition to the money, we must keep in mind the good relations that he had with several members of the Guadalajara clergy, some of whom had already appointed him as their executor.<sup>37)</sup> On the other hand, the issue of the tithe incomes was not foreign to him at all: by the years 1651 and 1652 Páez had obtained the leasing of the Compostela tithes.<sup>38)</sup> The church used two methods to collect the tithes: one was direct collection and the other was leasing, the second choice allowed private citizens to collect such incomes paying the church an estimate of the money in advance.

### **Lessee of tithes**

We do not know to what extent Juan de Páez made a profit out of his position as a steward in what respects the lease of tithes, since before he occupied this position, he had access to this kind of business. However, once he had possession of the stewardship, he had access to privileged information, which could mean better decision making when it came to investing the collection of tithes.

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35) ACEG, Libro VII de Actas Capitulares del Cabildo Eclesiástico de Guadalajara (1651-1707), f. 41r.

36) ACEG, *ibidem*, ff. 84r.-84v.

37) AHAG, Microfilms: Libros de registros sacramentales del ASMG, [rollo: 1511] Libro 3ro. Mixto (Entierros: 1641-1657), ff. 9r., 16v., 19r. y 23r.

38) ACEG, *op. cit.* f. 10v.

The fact remains that just a year after his appointment as steward, he acquired the right to collect the tithes of the Tlaltenango Valley and the village of Jerez (located in the present-day state of Zacatecas). It seems that the leasing of these districts was in high demand since in 1656, even though Juan de Páez had the right over them, the Ecclesiastic Town Council informed him that there was an offer -probably one greater than his own - to have access to them. The amount offered was 1,400 pesos, and the steward responded by offering 1,405 pesos, a difference that was exaggeratedly small, but enough for the clergy to turn down the other offer. We see how even in the last years of his life he continued to have access to this kind of investment, administering the collection of tithes in the Jocotepec and Cuisillos haciendas corresponding to the years of 1674 and 1675.

### **Between ups and downs and mutual complicity**

It would be deceptive to think that, being as this was a position dealing with the handling of money, everything was a bed of roses for Juan de Páez as steward of the Cathedral. Shortly after he was appointed, Don Juan Serrato y Cañas became a member of the Ecclesiastic Town Council and prebendary of the tithe incomes. We suppose that the relation between the steward and the prebendary did not go entirely well, perhaps because there were disagreements respecting the matter of tithe administration. We infer the above from the protest by Canon Serrato before the other members of the Ecclesiastic Town Council on September 18<sup>th</sup>, 1657: he complained that Juan de Páez had not given them the 10,000-pesos deposit that he had to pay to occupy the position of steward.

It is curious that after said protest, the matter was not dealt with again or at least it was not recorded on the Ecclesiastic Town Council's minutes

anymore; nor did Juan Serrato even drop the complaint. Such silence may be due to a possible settlement outside the Council. What is certain is the fact that besides the 10,000 pesos, on being appointed steward, Páez promised to pay the prebendaries their salaries on time, whether there was money in the box for this purpose or not.

It seems that the new steward complied with these payments promptly, and the council members lost interest in demanding Páez's payment of the 10,000 pesos, and even acted in complicity with him in view of Father Serrato's complaint. Maybe it had something to do with the fact that Páez turned a blind eye when the members of the Council were late in paying their own debts to the three-key box.<sup>39)</sup>

In spite of such complicity, in 1662 Páez was asked to account for the money belonging to the Cathedral's factory (incomes and expenditures for the cathedral's construction and ornamentation), which he did reporting what he had done from June of 1654 to August of 1662, obtaining the Council's approval. It seems that from this moment on, the council members' trust in their steward would increase even more.

As to the 10,000 pesos, it is most certain that he never gave them any of it, although after twenty years of service as steward, the Ecclesiastic Town Council declared that with regards the Cathedral factory, they were indebted to the steward because he had kept it among his own expenses.<sup>40)</sup> And the fact is that during the time that Páez occupied this position, the Council made him repair the estates property of the church at his own expense and in theory, once the repairs were done, the Council would authorize payment of what Páez had paid out, but it is likely that it

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39) Ibid, [sobre la protesta de Juan Serrato y Cañas:] f. 84r.-84v, [sobre el pago de salarios:] f. 41r, [sobre deudas de los señores capitulares:] ff. 49v.-50r.

40) Ibid, f. 178r.-178v.

did not happen like this all the time.

It is a fact that the combination Páez-Church were keep on a balance: after fighting Serrato's complaints and the 1662 rendering of accounts, Páez requested in 1667 to be paid a salary for his almost thirteen years of service as a steward (knowing full well that the state of the ecclesiastic finances would permit it). We are talking about 300 pesos per year and it is a fact that he was paid this amount or that at least they reached an agreement, since we found a 1669 order to pay Páez's salary for the years 1667 and 1668, which means that the previous years had been settled and even more, he tried to keep the succeeding payments current.<sup>41)</sup>

This economic solvency coincides with the order given by the Guadalajara Real Audiencia in 1666, with regards that on the basis of the Council of the Indies' 1657 resolution, the secular clergy was in general favored to control everything concerning the tithes collected by the religious orders, banning the latter from continuing collecting them in the future and such sentence was applied to the Guadalajara bishopdom. The orders were even forced to deliver what had been collected since the year 1657.<sup>42)</sup> It is clear that Juan de Páez played an important role in this conjuncture.

### **Juan de Páez and his proven efficiency**

We have no question that Juan de Páez acted efficiently and efficaciously as a steward, proving his skills managing money. Imagine the impact such efficiency must have had, so that beyond the cathedral institution several clergymen trusted him as testamentary executor of their estates, that is, they recognized in him the ideal person to handle

41) Ibid, ff. 135r. y 147v.-148r.

42) Ibid, f. 128r.

their estates post mortem. Nine clergymen appointed Juan de Páez as their testamentary executor in the period he was steward of the cathedral, not including the ones we have mentioned before.

As Thomas Calvo puts it, Páez “would be called a finance expert today”;<sup>43)</sup> because he handled the accounts of the Tapatía Church, those of the clergymen listed before, his own and those of many others. In the case of the stewardship, we must point out that it is very likely that the merit for such good handling of the ecclesiastical finances is to be shared with his compadre and friend clergyman Francisco de Quijada, who was the accountant in the twenty years that Páez served as steward and let’s remember that the administration of the tithe incomes was handled by the prebendaries, the steward and the accountant.

It was the accountant who tallied the steward’s movements and in theory, he had to report to the Council with regards these matters. Therefore, Juan de Páez depended to a large extent on the accounting work done by Quijada, and fortunately, the latter depended on Páez’s doing an orderly, efficient job. No doubt that is how it happened. That is why when the Japanese died; Francisco de Quijada took over as steward because it was the most practical decision.

### **The Páez clan after the patriarch’s death**

Juan de Páez died at sixty-nine years old, on December 15<sup>th</sup>, 1675, and upon direct request and with the Guadalajara Ecclesiastical Town Council’s approval, he was buried at the foot of the Altar of the Santo Cristo that stood on the left lateral nave, between the temple’s fifth and sixth columns. He outlived by his wife Margarita and four daughters:

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43) Calvo, Thomas, “Japoneses en Guadalajara...”, op. cit, p. 167.

María, Juana, Francisca and Margarita.

It is in his last will and testament that Juan de Páez declares his Japanese origin pointing out that he is from Osaka. As the wealthy man he was, he left six thousand pesos in reales to be invested in “certain secure properties” with the objective of founding a chaplaincy. In addition, he left one thousand pesos in reales to be invested in “secure properties” and their income was to be destined to the church for the expenses of wax, wine and vestments of the Altar of the Santo Cristo.

Páez made his will before Public Scribe Don Thomas de Orendain, and he appointed as executors his wife and his friends church members: Licenciado Don Simón Conejero Ruiz, a Cathedral prebendary and Licenciado Francisco de Quijada, presbyter clergyman and secretary of the Ecclesiastic Town Council, accountant of the tithe incomes and Juan de Páez’s successor as steward; Páez finally left his wife and Francisco de Quijada as keeper of his assets or “what resulted from their sale”.

Margarita outlived her husband and became the family’s matriarch, as revealed by the parishioners’ register drawn by the cathedral parish in 1679. According to the records, Margarita de Encío’s extended family was made up of twenty-five people including family members, slaves and servants, most of whom were women. Among the family members mentioned in the register, there are two daughters: Juana and Margarita, as well as Francisca’s widower, Milián de Galarza and her granddaughter Rosa Sánchez. There were seventeen slaves at the service of the Páez-Encío: five black women, eleven mulatto women and Juan de Dios, whose racial origin is unknown to us. An Indian woman, María, completes the service staff. Juan de Páez managed to have a large sum invested in slaves; in the records consulted we found a total of twenty-seven slaves attributed to the Japanese.<sup>44)</sup> In Guadalajara black and mulatto slave women predominated above men slaves, most of them were involved in domestic

work at the service of the Tapatía elite.

Margarita de Encío died a year after this parochial register was completed and she was buried, like her husband in the Cathedral. Her daughter Juana then took over the reins of the clan for almost three more decades. Juana died in 1704 having appointed her brother-in-law Milian de Galarza executor of her estate and favoring the Sanctuary of Nuestra Señora de la Soledad with one of the houses she owned located on San Agustín Street. She was outlived by four children and seven nephews and nieces. What became of them? That is stuff for another research.

## Finding and pending tasks

To begin with, the big question in this research was and still is, even though now there are more clues to follow: How could Japanese people arrive to 17<sup>th</sup> Century Guadalajara? On our quest for the answer, we managed to at least delimit some hypotheses which are entirely connected with the history of the earliest Spanish-Japanese contacts, in which New Spain (present-day Mexico) played a leading role. A history that involves a combination of events where the Japanese rulers' interest in trading with the Europeans intervened, while the Spanish had a strong interest in evangelizing the inhabitants of the Nippon archipelago and we see the Jesuits undertaking an important missionary work in these parts (at first supported by the Portuguese Crown). Moreover, the conjunctures in that country's history help us understand better why thousands of Japanese fled in those years: we refer to the Battle of Sekigahara (1600), Tokugawa's

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44) Thomas Calvo reports that in 17th Century Guadalajara, it is after 1630 when slaves from Africa started being introduced in an important way by means of local traders in turn connected with Portuguese traders from Mexico City, most of the slaves came from Angola. Calvo, Thomas, *Guadalajara y su región*..., p. 146.

anti-Christian policies (1612) and the Osaka Siege (1615), where many Japanese who had converted to Christianity lived, under the influence of one of the Jesuit missions established there.

The resulting hypotheses, organized chronologically are the following: 1) Rodrigo de Vivero y Velasco's return voyage from Japan to New Spain in 1610; 2) Sebastián Vizcaíno's return voyage and the Hasekura Mission, which arrived in New Spain in 1614; 3) Friar Diego de Santa Catalina's return trip, who headed the last Spanish embassy to Japan in those times (1617). On these three transpacific voyages, dozens of Japanese came on board the ships either as crew members or passengers. 4) Finally, the Manila Galleon voyages to New Spain offered another possibility since there was a large Japanese colony in Manila and we consider that it is possible for some of them to have come in the Manila Galleon never to return, keeping in mind that the galleons that made the voyage from Manila to Acapulco and back made a journey a year.

About Encío, we know, thanks to Eikichi Hayashiya, that his Japanese family name was Fukuchi, that perhaps he had been a samurai, and perhaps he was originally from the north of Honshu (the main island in Japan). We suspect that he spent his earliest years in New Spain in the town of Ahuacatlán, the place where he probably married Catalina de Silva and their daughter was born, Margarita de Encío who in turn would later become Juan de Páez's wife.

What is more certain is that Encío and his family had settled in Guadalajara by the year 1634, or at least around that year, in the same year that the Encío family must have met and become related with Juan de Páez. It was absolutely necessary to deal with Luis de Encío's case in this study because as stated before, speaking about Juan de Páez leads us to speaking about Luis de Encío and vice-versa simply because Páez's descendents are Encío's as well.

As to how and when Juan de Páez arrived in Guadalajara, according to the sources consulted, we infer -although we have not been able to confirm it yet - that this Japanese arrived around the year 1618, when he was just a boy of approximately ten years of age. Since we did not find any trace of a parent, tutor or godparent, but we do know where he was born, we imagine that he was an orphan in the care of the Jesuits expelled from Japan and the clergymen brought the child along with them. We also believe that it was precisely the Jesuits who gave him that education that helped him stand out in the economic and social spheres in Nueva Galicia. But we have not been able to prove that yet. What we are totally sure of is, thanks to Juan de Páez himself, that he was born in the port city of Osaka.

We believe that it is unlikely for Páez to have arrived on board Rodrigo de Vivero y Velasco's return voyage in (1610), likewise in the Hasekura Mission (1614); we consider that it is more likely that he came on Friar Diego de Santa Catalina's return voyage in (1617); but the Manila route seems even more probable since it was the first destination city for the Catholics expelled from Japan, especially since 1614, as well as for those displaced by the Osaka Siege in 1615.

In piecing together Páez's biographical chronology, it was really helpful to have found the baptismal records of his first-born child dating back to 1637, a piece of information which, when combined with others available allowed for us to make close estimates as to when he married Margarita de Encío (1635 or 1636), confirm that he probably arrived as a minor in Guadalajara, among other details.

We know that Juan de Páez and his wife Margarita de Encío had nine children of whom only seven made it to adulthood and of these seven, only two (María and Juana) lived past their thirties; in spite of all this, Juan de Páez had thirteen grandchildren, although some of them were born

after 1675, the year in which the Osaka man died.

As with all men from the past, it is not convenient to idealize him, we must keep in mind that Juan de Páez was a man of his time, that he was one of the main slave owners -in his case, women slaves - in Guadalajara, that he was as well an active agent on behalf of third parties for the sale-purchase in this type of trade which was legal at the time.

Juan de Páez died in 1675; he was buried by the Santo Cristo Altar of the Cathedral. The patriarchy he represented became then a matriarchy when Margarita de Encío became the head of the Páez-Encío clan, accompanied in what respects the administration of the estate left by her husband by Father Francisco de Quijada, a man Juan de Páez and his whole family trusted fully. Margarita de Encío died five years after her husband and the matriarchal line continued under the command of her daughter Juana de Páez, who seemed to have inherited her father's talents.

In what respects public or labor life, Juan de Páez attained a high level of efficiency and effectiveness in his undertakings, which the society where he lived acknowledged and the best proof to that is the fact that his name is the most repeated as testamentary executor in the burial records in the city between the years 1634 and 1674, moreover, he was mayor of Zapopan, as well as steward of the Cathedral; and this position was probably the one that gave him greater relevance in the Guadalajara of his time, which adds significance to the present study of this city's colonial history.

He was the Cathedral's steward (co-administrator of the tithe incomes in the Guadalajara Bishopdom) since 1654, and he held those positions till the last day of his life, becoming the trusted man of the Tapatío clergy, thanks to his good performance as the businessman he was. We do not hesitate in nominating Juan de Páez, in general, as an outstanding character in 17<sup>th</sup> Century Guadalajara economic history, and maybe this

is an understatement, knowing full well that his business reached the New Spanish capital.

Thus, the important role played by this Japanese-Tapatío in the society and economy of a Guadalajara involved in a process of consolidation, shows, on the one hand, a flexible society that is able to give recognition to an enterprising genius, no matter what his racial origin is and on the other hand, the Japanese's capacity to rise to the top of this society and fit in with no other weapons but his own education. No doubt this is evidence that immigration is a source of creative energy from which the receptor society benefits.

Finally, we hope that the findings in this research can be used by other scholars of this topic to complete Juan de Páez's and Luis de Encío's story. We also hope to have contributed to the knowledge about the earliest relations among Spain, New Spain and Japan and the role played by Nueva Galicia and specifically Guadalajara, in this history.

## **DOCUMENTARY ARCHIVES CONSULTED**

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