

***‘Nifon Catange or Japon Fation’ –  
A Study of Cultural Interaction  
In the English Factory  
In Japan, 1613-1623***

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## *Abstract*

This thesis examines perceptions of the Japanese and cultural interaction between East India Company merchants and local people, recorded in the private documents of the trading factory in Hirado, Japan between 1613-1623. In contrast to the more frequently studied missionary sources for early modern Japan, the East India Company records shed light on a number of issues of cultural interest to the historian. Questions addressed in this study include the image of the Japanese in the Hirado sources, the attempts of British merchants to learn the Japanese language, relations with local servants, the type of food consumed and clothes worn in the factory, sexual relations with local consorts, perceptions of law and order in Japan and impressions of both Buddhism and Japanese Christian converts. Where appropriate, the themes covered in the Hirado letters are studied in the light of recent scholarship on domestic issues in England. This thesis challenges the assumption that overseas Europeans made little cultural adaptation to their new home, and points out the danger of judging Jacobean attitudes towards non-Europeans based on a small number of literary texts. Historians of the European presence in Japan during this period have continually noted the cultural-anthropological potential of the Hirado documents, yet until now they have only been the subject of narrative works.

The historiography examining European contacts with non-European peoples in this period concentrates overwhelmingly on colonial encounters in North America, in which Europeans lived segregated lives, and characteristically viewed the natives as barbarians. The situation in much of Asia was very different. Not only was Japan militarily powerful, it was clearly civilized according to the canons of contemporary geographical literature. Hence, the letters of transient merchants within a powerful Asian society reveal a far greater extent of cultural interaction than reports of European settlers in colonial societies.

*Cyflwynir yr osodiad hon er cof am fy mam-gu,  
Dilys Lewis (1917-1998) a'm tad-cu, Tommy Lewis Pengoilan  
(1905-2002); milwr, rhedegydd o fri, beiciwr ac yn bennaf oll  
un o'r werin sir Gâr ac un o'r goreuon hefyd.*

*Gwahanwyd yn rhy gynnar – y ddau grych  
Dros wedd grai ar wasgar  
Heno pell boed hun y pâr  
Un galon wedi'r galar*

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## Abbreviations

- BL British Library.
- CSPC William Noël Sainsbury (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series: East Indies, 1513-1634*, 5 vols (London, 1862-1892).
- Diary* Shiryō Hensan-jo (ed.), *Diary Kept by the Head of the English Factory in Japan: Dairy of Richard Cocks, 1615-1622*, Richard Cocks, 3 vols (Tokyo, 1978-80).
- EIC The English East India Company.
- Farrington Anthony Farrington (ed.), *The English Factory in Japan, 1613-1623*, 2 vols (London, 1991).
- IOR India Office Records.
- Letters Received* William Foster and Frederick Danvers (eds), *Letters Received by the East India Company from its Servants in the East*, 6 vols (London, 1896-1902).
- MN *Monumenta Nipponica*
- NS New Style.
- OED *The Oxford English Dictionary*.
- OS Old Style.
- Pilgrimes* Samuel Purchas (comp.), *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas his pilgrims, containing a history of the world in sea and lande travels by Englishmen and others*, 4 vols (London, 1624-25). Reprinted in *Hakluyt Society, Extra Series*, nos 14-33, 20 vols (Glasgow, 1905-07).

- Principal Navigations* Richard Hakluyt (comp.), *The Principal navigations, voyages, traffiques and discoveries of the English nation...*, 3 vols (London, 1598-1600). Reprinted by J. M. Dent & Sons, 8 vols (London, 1927).
- PRO Public Records Office.
- Relation* “Relation of Master Richard Cocks Cape Merchant, of what past in the Generals absence going to the Empoerours Court”, in *Pilgrimes*, vol. 3, pp. 519-48.
- TASJ* *Transaction of the Asiatic Society of Japan.*
- TJSL* *Transactions of the Japan Society of London.*
- World Elsewhere* Derek Massarella, *A World Elsewhere: Europe’s Encounter with Japan in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (New Haven and London, 1990).
- VOC *De Vereeniging Oostindische Compagnie – The Dutch East India Company.*
- Voyage* Ernest Mason Foster (ed.), *The Voyage of Captain John Saris to Japan, 1613, Hakluyt Society, Second Series, no. V* (1900).

## Glossary<sup>1</sup>

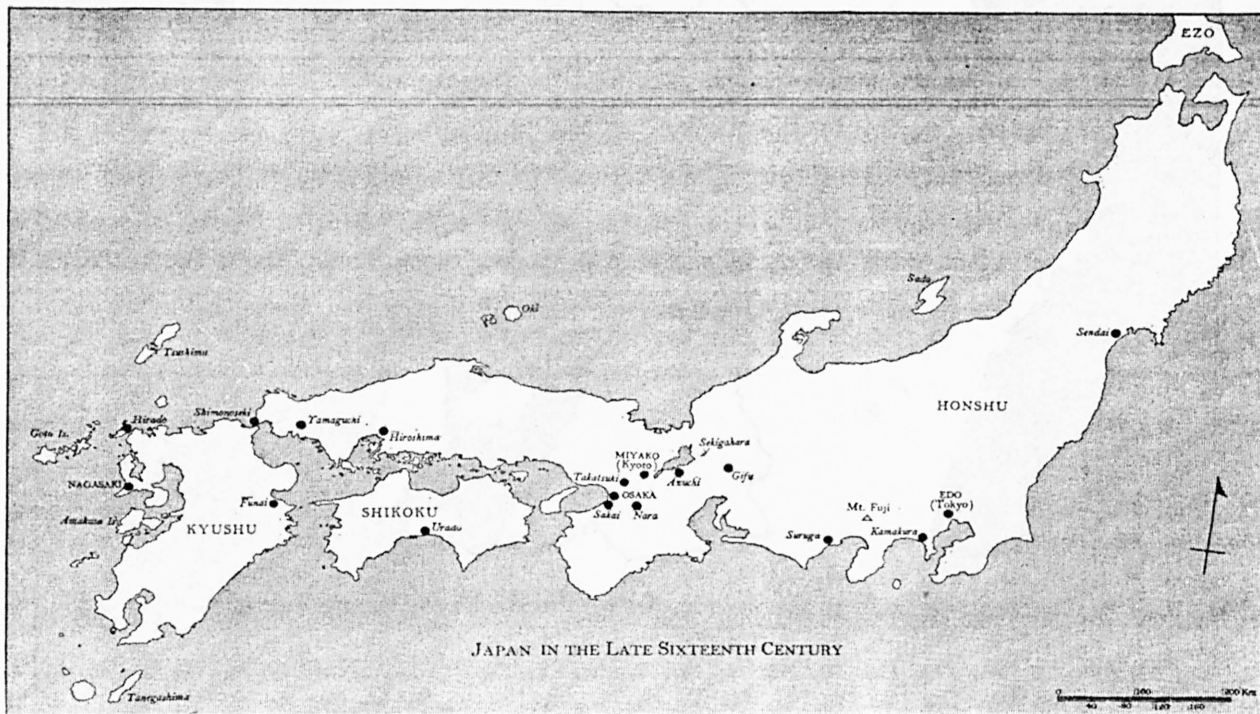
<i>Bakufu</i>	The shogunal administration. Literally “tent government”, evoking the battlefield tents and hence military origin of the rule.
<i>Bonze</i>	A Buddhist monk. Could also mean a doctor who also shaved his head to denote exemption from the Neo-Confucian caste system.
<i>Bugyō</i>	A magistrate, sometimes one of several attached to a city.
<i>Daikan</i>	The official shogunal representative in Nagasaki. His authority was somewhat ambiguous in relation to the <i>bugyōs</i> of the city.
<i>Daimyō</i>	Japanese feudal lord ruling with a great deal of autonomy over a province.
<i>Godown</i>	A warehouse.
<i>Jurebasso</i>	Malay-Javanese term for interpreter. Used throughout the E.I.C. sources.
<i>Kabuki</i>	A form of Japanese drama. In this period connected strongly to prostitution of the actresses.
<i>Kinai</i>	The economic belt of central Japan, encompassing Ōsaka, Kyōto and Fushimi.
<i>Opperhooft</i>	Dutch factory chief; equivalent to cape-merchant.
<i>Rōjū</i>	Senior councillors in the <i>bakufu</i> .
<i>Sengoku Jiai</i>	The period of warring states in Japan, beginning in 1467 and officially ending in 1603.

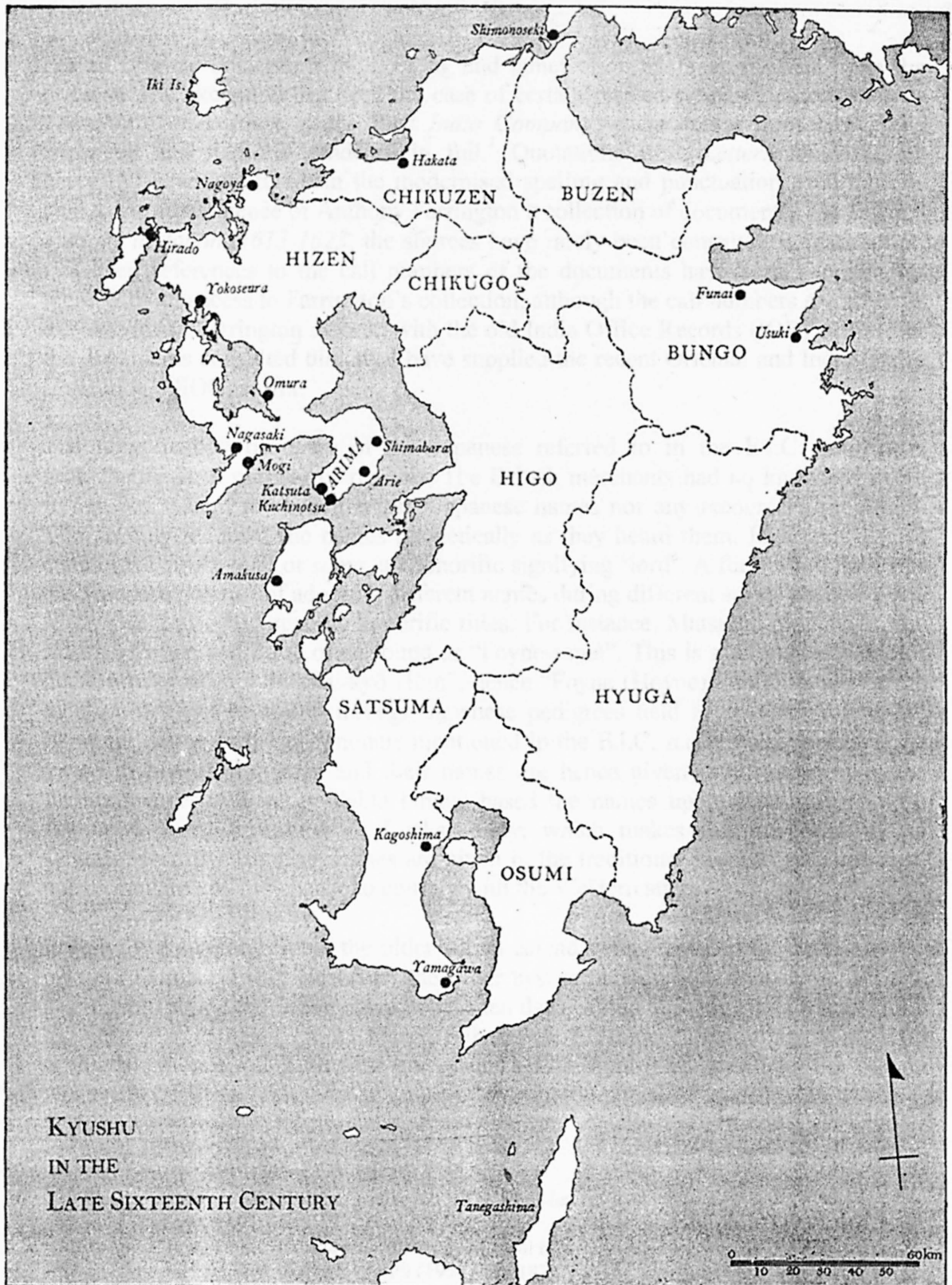
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<sup>1</sup> Glossaries of Japanese names can be found in George Elison (Jurgis Elisonas) and Bardwell L. Smith (eds), *Warlords, Artists, and Commoners: Japan in the Sixteenth Century* (Honolulu, 1981), pp. 339-343. Anthony Farrington, *The English Factory in Japan, 1613-1623*, 2 vols (London, 1991), vol. 2, pp. 1592-1607 provides a glossary of the weights, measurements and fabrics referred to in the Hirado documents. Specifically on weights and monies see C. R. Boxer, *The Great Ship from Amacon: Annals of Macao and the Old Japan Trade, 1555-1640* (Lisbon, 1960; 1963), pp. 335-342. The best general source, which contains quotations from many of the sources used in this thesis is still Henry Yule and A. C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson: The Anglo-Indian Dictionary* (London, 1886; 1996).

- Shuinjō* Literally 'vermillion seal'. Applied to documents bearing the official seal of the shogun. Licensed trading voyages to South East Asia were known as *shuinsen*.
- Tael* An ounce of silver, divided into 10 *mas*, 100 *canderin* and 1000 *cash*. The value of 1 *mas* was 6d sterling. The *tael* was both a unit of weight and account.
- Tono* Japanese suffix denoting 'lord', often mutated to *dono*. Frequently appended to personal names in the sources.

Map





## Notes on the Text

For all original documents the spelling and punctuation has been retained as in the original. The exception has been the case of certain printed primary sources such as *The First Letter Book of the East India Company* where contractions have been expanded and ligatures rendered in full.<sup>1</sup> Quotations from *Letters Received*, by necessity, have had to retain the modernised spelling and punctuation used therein. Due to the convenience of Anthony Farrington's collection of documents, *The English Factory in Japan, 1613-1623*, the sources have rarely been consulted in manuscript. However, references to the call numbers of the documents have been supplied for those without access to Farrington's collection, although the call numbers are given as they appear in Farrington's book, with the old India Office Records (IOR) suffix. For the documents consulted directly I have supplied the recent Oriental and India Office Collection (OIOC) suffix.

The identification of many of the Japanese referred to in the E.I.C. sources is problematic for a number of reasons. The British merchants had no knowledge of a formalised system for transliterating Japanese names nor any recognised precedent. They simply rendered the names phonetically as they heard them. Invariably names contain the suffix *tono* or *sama*, an honorific signifying 'lord'. A further problem was the Japanese practice of adopting different names during different stages of their lives. Many rulers also had specific honorific titles. For instance, Matsuura Shigenobu, the ruler of Hirado and Iki is often found as "Foyne-sama". This is a reference to one of his bestowed titles, "Shikibu-kyō Hōin", hence "Foyne (Hoyne) Sama". Many of the local nobles can be traced through Japanese pedigrees held in provincial records.<sup>2</sup> However, many of the commoners mentioned in the E.I.C. records simply cannot be traced to historical figures and their names are hence given as they appear in the British sources. Where available I have based the names upon those given in the *Historical Institute* edition of Cocks' diary, which makes full use of available Japanese records. Japanese names are given in the traditional manner, surname first, unless modern authors choose to comply with the Western style.

In Italy, Portugal and Spain the older Julian calendar was replaced by the Gregorian on 5/15 October 1582. However, the older system remained in Britain until 1752. During this period the Julian calendar was ten days behind continental dating and took the new year to begin on 25 March rather than 1 January. According to standard scholarly practice, all dates here are given in Old Style (O.S.) but take the year to

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<sup>1</sup> Sir George Birdwood and William Foster (ed.), *The First Letter Book of the East India Company, 160-1619* (London, 1893; 1965).

<sup>2</sup> See John Whitney Hall, "Materials for the study of local history in Japan: pre-meiji daimyō records", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 20 (1957), pp. 187-212. The archives of the Matsuura family are discussed in W. Z. Mulder, *Hollanders in Hirado, 1596-1641* (Haarlem, n.d. ?1985), p. 12 ff and Iwao Seiichi, "Li Tan, chief of the Chinese residents at Hirado, Japan, in the last days of the Ming dynasty", *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko*, no. 17 (1958), *passim*. Incidentally, the records contain virtually nothing of relevance to the English factory.

begin on 1 January.<sup>3</sup> Whenever dates from missionary or Dutch sources are given, they are marked New Style (N.S.). In his diary, Cocks sometimes complied with the concept of the new year beginning on 1 January.<sup>4</sup> The convention was also accepted to a certain extent by many Company servants. Richard Cocks wrote to the Company directors “Soe now may it please your wor’s to understand this last yeare, I mean reckoning before Christmas”.<sup>5</sup> John Saris also wrote to Edmund Camden on 31 December 1612, noting that he had no specific provisions with which to keep New Year’s Day.<sup>6</sup>

There is a lot of variation in the historiography on the factory as to whether the Hirado merchants are referred to as British or English. The older literature such as *Letters Received* simply referred to the whole E.I.C. presence in Asia as English.<sup>7</sup> Whilst the enterprise may be accurately described as English in terms of finance and the London-orientation of the Company, it is very unfair to describe the personnel as English. Many men clearly bear Welsh names or are directly referred to as Scots.<sup>8</sup> Hence more recent historiography has redressed the inaccuracy by using the term ‘British’ and ‘Britons’.<sup>9</sup> Yet on the other hand Nicholas Canny has argued that historians using terms such as ‘British’ and ‘empire’ in this period are using anachronistic concepts.<sup>10</sup> ‘Britain’ had little currency to the inhabitants of its present geographical limits in this period. The island was rather a social and linguistic patchwork. Canny notes that the union of the crowns in 1603 and its concept of composite monarchy was an important step but usage of the term ‘Britain’ was slow to filter down to the masses.<sup>11</sup> This view is supported in all the literature connected with the Company. For instance, Samuel Purchas uses the term ‘Brittons’ in *Pilgrimes* and refers to “Greate Brittain” in his will.<sup>12</sup> Yet the merchants on the ground such as Joseph Salbank referred to “our English”.<sup>13</sup> It may be that identity was labile. At an audience with the Dutch and local chiefs on Amboina, John Joudain “took witness by our Englishmen that weare present”, but didn’t see any incongruity in including a Spanish translator amongst

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<sup>3</sup> Some older works such as *Letters Received* retain both Old Style dating and the year as beginning on 25 March.

<sup>4</sup> New year’s gifts were given in January. Cocks continued to employ 1620 until 24 March (1621) but a marginal note of 1621 was written before the entry for 1 January, *Diary*, vol. 3, p. 22. This was also followed the next year, *Ibid.*, p. 223.

<sup>5</sup> IOR: E/3/7 no. 841; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 784.

<sup>6</sup> *Letters received*, vol. 1, p. 206.

<sup>7</sup> Also evident in titles such as Sir William Foster’s *England’s Quest for Eastern Trade* (London, 1933).

<sup>8</sup> Just in the case of the Hirado factory we find: John Jones, Rowland Thomas, Christopher Evans, John Williams, Thomas Jones, Morris Jones, William Edwards and Hugh Hughes and many more. Huw Williams is directly mentioned as a Welshman in IOR: E/3/7 no. 841. There were a number of Scots, such as ‘Jockey’, Robin, ‘Shankes’, John Porteus and the Rev. Patrick Copland.

<sup>9</sup> For Hirado see Lothar Knauth, *Confrontación Transpacífica: El Japan y el Nuevo Mundo Hispánico, 1543-1639* (Mexico City, 1972); Mulder, *Hollanders in Hirado*; William Corr, *Adams the Pilot: The Life and Times of Captain William Adams, 1564-1620* (London, 1995). In more general terms see Nabil Matar, *Turks, Moors and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery* (New York, 1999).

<sup>10</sup> Nicholas Canny, “The origins of empire: an introduction”, in Canny (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire, Volume 1 – The Origins of Empire: British Overseas Enterprise to the Close of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford and New York, 1998), p. 1.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* The historiography dealing with the nature of the united monarchy and its practical and theoretical applications is thoroughly analysed in David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 24-60.

<sup>12</sup> *Pilgrimes*, vol. 3, p. 81; vol. 1, p. xxxi (will).

<sup>13</sup> *Letters Received*, vol. 6, pp. 182-83.



their numbers.<sup>14</sup> Similarly, the Scottish preacher Patrick Copland, throughout his letter to the Dutch Adrian Jacobson Hulsebus refers to England as his nation and the English as “wee”.<sup>15</sup> Hence it may be that the group identity was paramount.

Many early seventeenth century works show an ambiguity between the individual nations of the British Isles and the concept of ‘Britain’. In his dedication to Prince Charles, Purchas refers to both “Great Britaine” and the representatives to be found in voyage accounts from England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales.<sup>16</sup> William Vaughan of Gelli Aur employs a curious admixture of terminology in his *Golden Fleece* (1626).<sup>17</sup> About the privateer Sir Thomas Button, he praises “*Cambria non tantum, sed et Anglia laudibus effert te, Buttone, suis; aequiparatque Drako*”. Vaughan’s own loose translation is: “[Brave Furbisher [sic], DAVIS, and bold HUDSON Sought out this way with the valiant Button.] Not onely Wales, but England rings his name, And with great Drake compares our Buttons fame”.<sup>18</sup> Vaughan also speaks of his “countreymen of Wales” and “my Country of Wales”.<sup>19</sup> An early Newfoundland settler, Captain Wyn, is described as a “Cambro-Britain”, a phrase Vaughan also uses to describe himself.<sup>20</sup> It is unclear if Vaughan was amalgamating identities or referring to the historical Britons, of which he was a descendent.

As for the merchants on the ground, they always referred to the ‘English house’ and described themselves as English rather than British.<sup>21</sup> It is certainly true that despite the varied nationalities of Company servants, the enterprise of Eastern trade was Anglo-centric. It was financed by and administered from London, which had a dominant position in the monopoly system. This dependence is also shown in the official contemporary title of the Company: “The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies”. Hence the term ‘English’ has been followed by historians such as Giles Milton.<sup>22</sup> Other historians, more sensitive to national identities, have rejected this as an inaccurate label. Farrington takes the middle ground by entitling an article, “Some other Englishmen in Japan”, but noting “I must, in deference to the British element, make it clear that the Celts to the west and north of England were also represented in Japan”.<sup>23</sup>

The decision in this thesis is to refer to the individuals involved as British whilst describing the overall venture as English. Hence, British merchants, sailors, and perceptions but English house, factory and trade. The sometimes-employed term

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<sup>14</sup> William Foster (ed.), *The Journal of John Jourdain, 1608-1617, Describing his Experiences in Arabia, India and the Malay Archipelago*, Hakluyt Society, Second Series, no. XVI (1905), p. 263.

<sup>15</sup> *A Second Courante of Newes from the East India in two letters...*, letters of Copland and Thomas Knowles (London, 1623), pp. 1-6.

<sup>16</sup> *Pilgrimes*, vol. 1, p. xxxviii.

<sup>17</sup> Orpheus Iunior (William Vaughan), *The Golden Fleece divided into three parts...transported from Cambrioll Colchis, out of...Newfoundland* (London, 1626). He sometimes refers to England and English ventures, Third Part, pp. 22, 23, 30, 36, 38, 41, 49, 52, 57; sometimes to Scots, *Ibid.*, pp. 35, 22; and sometimes to Britain, *Ibid.*, pp. 24, 25, 36, 37, 39, 40, 51, 55.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 50.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, Second Part, pp. 29, 31.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 20.

<sup>21</sup> E.g. *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 103; IOR: E/2/3 no. 321; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 358, IOR: E/3/5 no. 615; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 662, IOR: E/3/7 no. 839; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 775.

<sup>22</sup> Giles Milton, *Samurai William: The Adventurer who Unlocked Japan* (London, 2002).

<sup>23</sup> Anthony Farrington, “Some other Englishmen in Japan”, *TASJ*, Third Series, vol. 19 (1984), p. 2.

'British East India Company' has been rejected outright as an inaccurate use of a proper name.<sup>24</sup>

Familiar Japanese words, found in English language dictionaries, such as Shōgun and samurai, are not italicised and bear an English language plural. Unfamiliar words appear italicised and bearing the macron, according to the Hepburn system of Romanised Japanese. Unless it is a cause of confusion, all place names are given in the early modern guises rather than the modern form. Hence, Bantam (not Bantem), Malacca (not Melaka). In reference to early modern books, where the pagination is accurate I have used normal page references. However, where it is erratic and corrupt I have referred to the sigla.

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<sup>24</sup> See the usage in, for instance, Femme Gaastra, "The shifting balance of trade of the Dutch East India Company", in Leonard Blussé and Gaastra (eds), *Companies and Trade: Essays on Overseas Trading Companies During the Ancien Régime* (Leiden, 1981), p. 57; James Boon, *Other Tribes, Other Scribes: Symbolic Anthropology in the Comparative Study of Cultures, Histories, Religions and Texts* (Cambridge, 1982), p. 168 and Paul Rule, "Goa-Macao-Beijing: the Jesuits and Portugal' China connection", in Anthony Disney and Emily Booth (eds), *Vasco da Gama and the Linking of Europe and Asia* (New Delhi, 2000), p. 257n.

## Chronological Table

- 1467: The start of the Onin War in Japan, signifying the beginning of the *sengoku jidai* period or warring states.
- 1543: Arrival of the first Portuguese in Japan.
- 1549: Arrival of Francis Xavier and the beginning of missionary activity in Japan.
- 1567: Oda Nobunaga rules as hegemon in Japan. Steps are taken towards reunification of the country.
- 1582: Toyotomi Hideyoshi rules as hegemon, gradually extending his rule over Japan, either directly or through alliances.
- 1598: Tokugawa Ieyasu rules over a united Japan as hegemon but is only one amongst a council of regents.
- 1600: Arrival of *De Liefde* in Japan. The boat carries William Adams and the first known Northern Europeans to see Japan. In the same year, the battle of Sekigahara establishes Tokugawa Ieyasu as unchallenged hegemon over a united country.
- 1603: The Tokugawa shogunate is established on a formal footing.
- 1605: Officially power is transferred to Tokugawa Hidetadu, son of Ieyasu, in order to cement the succession. In reality Ieyasu continues to rule until his death.
- 1609: Arrival of the V.O.C. in Japan. Aided by Adams, a factory is established in Hirado.
- 1613: Arrival of the E.I.C. in Japan and establishment of a factory in Hirado.
- 1614: Proscription of Christianity in Japan. The edict is vigorously enforced unlike similar acts in 1597 and 1612.
- 1615: The English factory visited by the *Hozlander*.
- 1616: Death of Tokugawa Ieyasu, the genuine succession of Hidetada and a move towards a harsher attitude towards Christianity and less interest in trade with Europeans. Revision of trading privileges for the E.I.C. and V.O.C. curtail all trade to Hirado and Nagasaki. The English factory visited by the *Thomas* and the *Advice*.
- 1617: The *Advice* returns to Hirado but no other ship arrives from Bantam until 1620.
- 1620: Death of William Adams. Activities of the Fleet of Defence begin. A large number of Dutch and English ships arrive in Hirado, 1620-22.
- 1621: English and Dutch privileges curtailed again to prevent Japanese servants and weaponry leaving the country.
- 1623: Death of Tokugawa Hidetada and accession of Iemitsu. Due to economic failure the English factory in Hirado is closed in December 1623.
- 1624: Spanish expelled from Japan.
- 1639: Portuguese expelled along with wives and offspring of Japanese and Europeans.
- 1641: The Dutch, now the only European traders in Japan, ordered to move from Hirado to Deshima, a artificial island in Nagasaki harbour.

## Preface

The following preface is intended to provide a brief introduction to the circumstances that led up to the founding of the East India Company's Hirado factory in 1613. It also provides a chronology of the factory's decade-long life span and the salient points of Anglo-Japanese interaction. The first Europeans to arrive in Japan were three Portuguese traders blown off course on their way to Canton in 1543. They arrived in a country that was highly civilised and advanced but was torn by civil war and had little central authority. Following close on the heels of the early traders came the members of the recently formed Jesuit order, notably Saint Francis Xavier, who arrived in Japan in 1549. For the next fifty years the Jesuits held a monopoly on information about Japan available to the reading public. A small number of secular travellers did visit the island empire during this period but their reports were not published until many years later. In the five decades following the Portuguese discovery of Japan, the country was gradually unified under a succession of military hegemonies. The establishment of the Tokugawa shogunate in 1603 paved the way for 250 years of peace until the dynasty was finally dissolved and power returned to the emperor in the Meiji Reformation of 1867.

The history of England's interaction with Japan begins with the arrival of an English pilot, William Adams, in April 1600. Adams had left Rotterdam in 1598 as pilot on a Dutch flotilla seeking to trade in the East and generally attack and pillage Spanish shipping in the Pacific. Like the first Portuguese discoverers of Japan, Adams' ship *de Liefde* had not planned to sail to Japan but rather arrived there accidentally. Adams was one of only a handful of men from the original crew to survive the voyage to Japan. In the years between 1600 and 1613 Adams appears to have made a successful living as an independent trader and married a Japanese woman. He was clearly known to Ieyasu, the first Tokugawa Shōgun of Japan, and had several audiences with him, but modern historians cast doubt on the extent of Adams' importance and influence. Two survivors of *de Liefde* were able to leave Japan in 1605 and spread the news of their presence. Interest was shown by the Dutch East India Company (V.O.C), which was formed in 1602 after a succession of independent trading voyages to the East. Dutch ships finally arrived in 1609 and were aided by Adams in securing privileges to found a trading post in Hirado, in western Japan. Due to the Tokugawa peace the Japan into which Adams and later the E.I.C. merchants entered was a very different country to the war-torn land of earlier Portuguese traders and missionaries.

At the same time as Adams' arrival in Japan the East India Company was formed in London in order to take a share in the lucrative trade in the East in which it was clear that the Dutch were making substantial profits. Instead of privately-funded voyages by individuals, subscribers could pool their resources and share both vast profits and potential losses. East India Company voyages were given royal patents allowing commanders to set up 'factories', i.e. trading posts, that would continue trade in the East Indies after the departure of visiting ships from London. A small number of permanently resident merchants would live in these factories and supervise the sale of E.I.C. goods and the purchase of local commodities. Instead of trading directly between Europe and Asia, the most profitable trade was actually inter-Asian. The E.I.C. had originally hoped that they could sell a wide variety of English produce,

notably the heavy woollen broadcloth that was popular on the Continent. However, not surprisingly there was little interest in thick woollen cloths in the tropical and sub-tropical climates of the East Indies. The E.I.C. quickly found that Asians had little interest in the produce of Europe and that virtually the only desirable domestic commodity with which they could trade was bullion. The most effective trading pattern was to buy Indian fabrics in Gujarat, trade these for Indonesian spices and incense, exchange the latter for Chinese silks and finally sell silks for silver bullion in Japan. This was the ideal pattern, however only the Portuguese had a foothold in China which gave them direct access to large quantities of silk.

The most important base for East Indian trade was Bantam, a port close to present day Jakarta in Indonesia. From this base a number of subordinate factories were set up between 1601 and 1623. Also extremely important was the factory of Surat in the western Indian province of Gujarat, which administered trade with the Red Sea ports. At first the E.I.C. waited for fleets to return before despatching new voyages but soon began to send more regular ventures. It was the Eighth Voyage under 'General' John Saris that was destined to establish the E.I.C.'s trading post in Japan. Dispatched in 1611, one of the ships of the fleet, the *Clove*, was sent on from Bantam whilst the two remaining ships stayed behind. The *Clove* reached the western Japanese port of Hirado on 11 June 1613 whereupon formal relations were established with the local ruling family, the Matsuura. After a delay waiting for Adams to arrive from central Japan, Saris set off for the shogunal court accompanied by Adams and a small retinue, leaving Richard Cocks in charge of the nascent factory. Notable during the absence of Saris was the desertion of a number of mariners to Iberian shipping. Cocks suspected the involvement of local missionaries and the event held bad tidings for future relations between the British and the Jesuits. With Adams' help Saris secured permission to found a factory, and to trade throughout Japan. Saris set sail aboard the *Clove* for Bantam on 5 December 1613, leaving behind seven merchants – Richard Cocks, Tempest Peacock, Richard Wickham, William Eaton, Walter Carwarden, Edmund Sayers and William Nealson. It is clear that Japanese translators and British sailors were also left to the use of the factory. Adams was contracted as an employee until 1616 and continued to aid the factory over a number of years, despite family ties in central Japan. A second E.I.C. ship, the *Hozlander*, arrived in Hirado in 1615 and left behind the merchant John Osterwick, the boy Richard Hudson and the cook John Cocora as new members of the factory. The *Thomas* and the *Advice* arrived the following year, with the latter returning in 1617. Once again each ship left a small number of personnel to assist at the factory.

Immediately attempting to branch out from Hirado, Cocks sent Eaton and Wickham to establish regional factories in Ōsaka and Edo. Sayers was sent to open trade with Korea through Tsushima Island and Peacock and Carwarden sailed for Cochin China in a Japanese junk. During the factory's history several voyages were made to South East Asia, where more desirable products than English broadcloth could be obtained. Particularly popular in Japan were Chinese silks, to which only the Portuguese amongst the Europeans had direct access, as well as deer hides, dye woods, ray skins and incense. Due to a history of Japanese piracy, in this period all Chinese were forbidden from trading to Japan by the Chinese emperor. However, they were still able to sell their wares in South East Asia. Hence, small quantities of silks could be obtained by the Europeans in these locations. However, as local rulers bought up most of the stock, the amount available could in no way compare with the Portuguese trade

to Japan directed from Macao. Out of nine factory voyages four ended in disaster. The first voyage to Cochin China was particularly unfortunate in that it claimed the lives of both Peacock and Carwarden.

During these years the Europeans faced a number of setbacks in Japan. In 1614 the shōgun, Ieyasu Tokugawa placed a conclusive ban on Christianity, following several poorly enforced edicts over the previous two decades. The 1614 edict, which was renewed in 1616, forced the expulsion of foreign missionaries and launched an increasingly determined persecution of native converts. In 1616 Ieyasu was succeeded by his son Hidetada, who was less interested in overseas contacts and more anti-Christian than his father. As a result of concern about missionaries entering Japan disguised as merchants, both the Dutch and the British had their privileges curtailed in 1616. They were forced to withdraw their far-flung network of regional trading posts and to confine their trade to Hirado and Nagasaki. The years between 1618 and 1620 saw the English factory isolated from contact with the regional headquarters of Bantam, and also experiencing open hostility with the Dutch in Hirado. This was followed by a dramatic change in policy as peace in Europe during the summer of 1619 led to the formation of an Anglo-Dutch Fleet of Defence in the Indies. Despite its title, the alliance was aimed at attacking Spanish and Portuguese shipping in the East. One of the three fleets used Hirado as a base for operations between Macao and the Philippines. The period 1620-22 was the liveliest in the factory's history as several shiploads of Dutch and British sailors filled the small fishing town of Hirado. However, the Japanese authorities were both embarrassed that the Northern Europeans were using Japan as a base for international piracy and disturbed that the far more valuable Portuguese trade with Japan was being disrupted. Both Companies were rebuked and their trading privileges further curtailed.

From an early stage it seemed obvious to most of the British merchants that if they couldn't get access to the Asian goods desired by the Japanese, principally silk, the factory had no future. The E.I.C. wanted to rely on English native products, principally broadcloth, rather than exporting silver bullion to the Indies, a practice which was heavily criticised by contemporaries. However, Japanese fashions were very fickle and the delays of a sea voyage from Europe couldn't keep up with contemporary tastes in cloths and colour. Largely on Saris' advice, English ships continually arrived with unvendible commodities. These were either unsaleable due to Dutch competition driving prices down on cloths, or because there was genuinely no market for the products in Japan. Hence, ships arrived with no money but plenty of mundane items more suitable for primitive tribes, such as knives, scissors, spectacles, notebooks, prints, paintings and pots. Although the piracy of the Fleet of Defence boosted profits, the Hirado factory was an overwhelming economic failure. The situation was made particularly acute by the huge sums of money borrowed by the ruling family and invested by Cocks in local Chinese merchants in a futile attempt to open trade with China. In December 1621 the governing powers suggested that the factory should be closed. The final act came in December 1623 when the *Bull* collected Cocks and his staff and formally closed the Hirado factory after ten and a half years.

A point stressed throughout this thesis is that the English factory in Hirado provides far more than a record of a decade of unsuccessful trade. The enormous amount of correspondence, accounts, memoranda and journals contain a record of both

perceptions of and interaction with the local Japanese. As Japan was evidently a civilised and powerful country, impressions were bound to be quite different from the case of New England, the most commonly studied arena of English cultural interaction in the early modern period. The factors had consorts, children, pursued their own legal actions, employed servants, reported executions and witnessed the persecution of native Christians. Hence the uniquely voluminous archive allows a window into the psychology of the overseas Jacobean who was not arriving as a colonist but rather dealing with a powerful and respected Asian culture.

## Chapter 1- Introduction and Historiography

### Introduction

This introductory chapter sets out the aims and objectives of this thesis and discusses the unique value of the Hirado letters in comparison with the more frequently used missionary sources on Japan. It also makes a detailed examination of the current state of the historiography on the Hirado factory and its notable flaws. Particular attention is paid to Derek Massarella's *A World Elsewhere*, the most thorough study of the English factory to date. Lastly, the case is made for exactly why the Hirado sources are so rich in cultural material, in addition to examining how and why historians have neglected this aspect of the archives.

As examined at further length in chapters 3 and 5 there is a considerable amount of historical writing on relations between Europeans and the rest of the world in the early modern period. Attention has been paid to the two key themes in this thesis, namely perceptions of non-Europeans and cultural interactions between Europe and the rest of the world. However, the existing historiography concentrates overwhelmingly on the encounters that took place in New England.<sup>1</sup> From the point of view of a cultural historian the problem is that New England was an arena of colonial interaction. The Europeans held the balance of power through superior military technology and lived a life largely segregated from the indigenous population.<sup>2</sup> In the case of the English at least, they did not intermarry or practice concubinage to a large extent.<sup>3</sup> Aside from physical dominance, the Europeans also had a strong pre-determined belief, evident in contemporary published literature, that cast the Native Americans as utter barbarians.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The literature is vast and ever growing. See Stephen Greenblatt, *Learning to Curse: Essays in Early Modern Culture* (London, 1990) and *Marvellous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Oxford, 1991); Anthony Pagden, *European Encounters with the New World: From Renaissance to Romanticism* (New Haven and London, 1993); Mary Fuller, *Voyages in Print: English Travels in America, 1576-1624* (Cambridge, 1995); John F. Moffit, *O Brave New People: The European Invention of the American Indian* (Albuquerque, 1996); Thomas Scanlan, *Colonial Writing and the New World, 1583-1671: Allegories of Desire* (Cambridge, 1999); Benjamin Schmidt, *Innocence Abroad: The Dutch Imagination and the New World* (Cambridge, 2002). See chapter 3 for further discussion.

<sup>2</sup> However, see K. O. Kupperman's arguments for greater integration between English colonists and Indians, at least prior to the Virginia Massacre of 1622, *Settling with the Indians: The Meeting of English and Indian Cultures in America, 1580-1640* (Totowa, 1980).

<sup>3</sup> Michael Zuckerman, "Identity in British America: unease in Eden", in N. Canny and A. Pagden (eds), *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World, 1500-1800* (Princeton, 1987), pp. 145-47. This was not the case with the Spanish settlers of Yucatan, Inga Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquests: Maya and Spaniard in Yucatan, 1517-1570* (Cambridge, 1987), p. 44, although see the argument of Anthony Pagden in "Identity formation in Spanish America", in Canny and Pagden (eds), *Colonial Identity*, pp. 67-68.

<sup>4</sup> See Loren E. Pennington, "The Amerindian in English promotional literature, 1575-1625", in K. R. Andrews, N. P. Canny and P. E. H. Hair (eds), *The Westward Enterprise: English Activities in Ireland, the Atlantic and America, 1480-1650* (Detroit, 1979), pp. 175-94; Anthony Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man: The American Indians and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology* (Cambridge, 1982; 1988); Tzvetan Todorov, *The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other*, trans Richard Howard (New York, 1984; Norman, 1999); James Axtell, *The Invasion Within: The Conquest of Cultures in Colonial North America* (New York and Oxford, 1985); Moffit, *O Brave New People*; Rebecca Ann Bach,



Colonists were acutely aware of the superiority of their own civilisation and culture. Historians and literary scholars have devoted a great deal of attention to the language of colonial discourse that continually pitted the ‘civil’ (European) against the ‘savage’ other (Native American).<sup>5</sup> Hence the very nature of the sources lend themselves to the consideration of dichotomies and the development of a sense of ‘self’ and ‘other’.

The situation in many parts of Asia, including Japan, was very different. The great civilisations of China and Japan presented a powerful and potentially very positive image to early modern Europeans. They were militarily strong and possessed ancient societies that in many ways were as advanced, if not more so than contemporary Europe.<sup>6</sup> However, early modern Europeans did not subscribe to much later notions of ‘Orientalism’, in which they cast the Orient as a hazy undifferentiated area that was luxuriant, indolent, effeminate and corrupt.<sup>7</sup> Hence, the contacts between small numbers of transient European merchants and powerful, ‘civilised’ Asian societies was fundamentally very different in character from colonial New England.<sup>8</sup> As the accounts of these merchants’ experiences don’t fit neatly into the polarised ‘civil’/‘savage’ colonial discourses beloved of literary critics and cultural anthropologists, they seem to have been virtually ignored.<sup>9</sup> Contacts between the British merchants and local Japanese in Hirado clearly took place in a non-colonial environment in which the Europeans were able to freely interact with natives of a powerful and respected culture.<sup>10</sup> Hence, there is no sense in the correspondence, diaries and papers of the factors of a polarity between civil and savage so

*Colonial Transformations: The Cultural Production of the New Atlantic World, 1580-1640* (New York, 2000). See also the relevant section in ch. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Later developments in this field have shown how a similar ideological lexicon was used to describe the Irish and Near Eastern Muslims. On Ireland, see Nicholas Canny, “The ideology of English colonisation: from Ireland to America”, *William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, vol. 30, no. 4 (1973), pp. 575-98, reprinted in David Armitage (ed.), *Theories of Empire, 1450-1800* (Aldershot, 1998), pp. 179-202; Canny, *The Elizabethan Conquest of Ireland: A Pattern Established, 1565-1576* (Hassocks, 1976). On transposition of imagery to the Muslims see Nabil Matar, *Turks, Moors and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery* (New York, 1999).

<sup>6</sup> However, a key point to remember is that the military technology of Europe was more advanced than Asia. See Geoffrey Parker, *The Military Revolution*. The image of Asia in early modern publications is discussed in ch. 3.

<sup>7</sup> The historiography on Orientalism is discussed in further detail in ch. 3. The theory was most influentially put across by Edward Said in *Orientalism* (New York, 1978) and has generated continual debate amongst post-colonialist historians ever since. For critiques of Said see Bart Moore-Gilbert, *Post-Colonial Theory: Context, Practices, Politics* (London and New York, 1997; 2000), pp.34-73 and Leela Gandhi, *Postcolonial Theory: A Critical Introduction* (Edinburgh, 1998), pp. 64-80. A. L. Macfie’s *Orientalism* (London, 2002) sums up the relevant literature.

<sup>8</sup> Admittedly, the different nature of this interaction has been appreciated for a long time by historians and anthropologists. See for instance, D. K. Bassett, “Early English trade and settlement in Asia, 1602-1690”, in J. S. Bromley and E. H. Kossmann (eds), *Britain and the Netherlands in Europe and Asia* (Lodnon, 1968), p. 84; Eric R. Wolf, *Europe and the People without History* (Berkeley and London, 1982; 1990), pp. 232-33; Urs Bitterli, *Cultures in Conflict: Encounters between European and Non-European Cultures, 1492-1800*, trans Ritchie Robertson (München, 1986; London, 1989), pp. 44, 63. However, Kenneth Parker has recently argued that early modern Europeans has at least some sense of cultural superiority over Asians, Parker (ed.), *Early Modern Tales of Orient: A Critical Anthology* (London and New York, 1999), introduction.

<sup>9</sup> Kenneth Parker notes the dilemma that the best literary/cultural criticism on cross-cultural encounters either makes no reference to the Asia or ignores the early modern period, *Ibid.*, p. 9 and references in pp. 32-33n.

<sup>10</sup> For the possible influences of contemporary published descriptions of Japan on the factors see ch. 3.

characteristic of the Atlantic colonial encounters. A case study of the activities of E.I.C. merchants in Hirado would hence fill a major gap in the historiography of interactions between Europeans and non-Europeans in the early modern period.

## 1. The Deficiencies of the Missionary Sources

Before considering the value of the particular social interactions evident in the Company sources it is worth paying attention to the attributes of the other European sources for contemporary Japan. Traditionally there has been a heavy reliance on missionary sources in order to understand European perceptions of the Japanese during the early modern period.<sup>11</sup> From the mid-sixteenth century onwards Europeans scholars have seen missionary reports as the source *par excellence* for the study of non-European cultures.<sup>12</sup> Of course, it would be foolish to deny the importance of these materials as sources of information. Missionaries often spent decades in Japan and made determined efforts to understand Japanese culture and master the language.<sup>13</sup> The Jesuit João Rodrigues noted that from their first arrival in Japan they sought out information on the country's history, both from oral and written sources.<sup>14</sup> Indeed certain works show such an intimate understanding of Japanese life that they amaze modern Japanese readers and historians.<sup>15</sup> It is also true that the Jesuits describe phenomena such as the *cha-no-yu* - the tea ceremony, and Japanese poetry

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<sup>11</sup> E.g. C. R. Boxer, "Some aspects of Western historical writings on the Far East" in W. G. Beasley and F. G. Pulleyblank (eds), *Historians of China and Japan* (London, 1961), pp. 307-08, 316-21. D. F. Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, multiple volumes, ongoing, (Chicago, 1965-), vol. 3, Book 1, p. 726. They also form the bulk of Michael Cooper's anthology, *They Came to Japan: An Anthology of European Reports on Japan, 1543-1640* (London, 1965).

<sup>12</sup> Hence, Giles Milton's comment that the history of the Catholic missions to Japan remains understudied is puzzling, *Samurai William: The Adventurer who Unlocked Japan* (London, 2002), p. 373. See Bitterli, *Cultures in Conflict*, p. 154. All of ch. 4 on French Canada is based on Jesuit reports, pp. 87-108.

<sup>13</sup> Mastery of local languages was almost always cited in the past as a prerequisite for being able to 'observe' foreign societies. See for instance, Georg Schurhammer's preface to John Correia-Afonso, *Jesuit Letters and Indian History, 1542-1773* (Bombay, 1955; 1969), pp. xvii-xviii. The latter work is the most detailed treatment of the subject but inevitably shows its age. According to Correia-Afonso, the letter writers were free of mendacity because they were "men of good breeding", *Ibid.*, p. 80. See also Jonathan Spence, *The Chan's Great Continent: China in Western Minds* (London, 1998), p. 20.

<sup>14</sup> Michael Cooper trans and (ed.), *This Island of Japan: João Rodrigues' Account of Sixteenth Century Japan* (Tokyo, 1973), p. 72. As a point of convenience the missionary sources will henceforth be referred to as Jesuit sources. It should be noted, however, that Franciscans, Augustinians and Dominicans also proselytised for a limited period in Japan and left a small corpus of material. However, the sources are not particularly reliable and even historians of the respective religious orders issue caveats regarding their usage, A Mathias Mundaden, "Church and missionary works in Indo-Portuguese history", in John Correia-Afonso (ed.), *Indo-Portuguese History: Sources and Problems* (Oxford, 1981), pp. 2-3, 4-5 and Michael Cooper, "Japan described" in Cooper (ed.), *The Southern Barbarians: The First Europeans in Japan* (Tokyo, 1971), p. 100. D. F. Lach points out that in the early sixteenth century the mendicant orders dispatched reports and information back to Europe. However, it was not until the Jesuits that a comprehensive system for routine dissemination was inaugurated, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 1, Book 1, p. 314. On the Augustinians see Arnulf Hartman, "The Augustinians in seventeenth century Japan", *Augustiniana*, vols 14 and 15 (1964), pp. 315-377. The Jesuits had a far longer presence in Japan and produced much material than the other orders.

<sup>15</sup> George Elison (Jurgis Elisonas), notes how the Jesuit Luis Frois' sketches of Momoyama personalities are the liveliest and most dramatic available. There is no equivalent in Japanese contemporary documents, "The cross and the sword: patterns of Momoyama history", in George Elison and Bardwell L. Smith (eds), *Warlords, Artists and Commoners: Japan in the Sixteenth Century* (Honolulu, 1981), pp. 66-67.

and painting that are never mentioned in the English factory records. However, many of the more personal and intimate aspects of the Euro-Japanese encounter are rarely touched upon in the missionary sources.

It is important for historians of early modern Japan to realise and appreciate the textual limitations of the Jesuit sources. All Jesuit writings are heavily constrained by stylistic discourse and are often guilty of adopting a tendentious angle. The founder of the Society of Jesus, Ignacius Loyola, implemented the process of requiring regular correspondence from Society members. His advice was that general information should be thoughtfully compiled in a main letter, whilst private matters were dealt with on a separate sheet, known as a *hijuela*.<sup>16</sup> For Japanese and European scholars in the field, the most commonly used sources today are Jesuit histories of foreign countries and histories of the mission, alongside the annual letters sent back to the Society head quarters in Rome.<sup>17</sup> By the late sixteenth century the Jesuit annual letter had become heavily formulaic and, of particular importance, the writers were conscious of wider public readership.<sup>18</sup> Hence the historian is not necessarily able to read the unadulterated feelings of a missionary in the field. All Jesuit published letter books are highly derivative due to the missionaries' ability to examine the diocesan archives and their access to the printed and manuscript works of their fellow brothers.<sup>19</sup> Hence in the Jesuit material it is often impossible to distinguish between personal opinions and unacknowledged borrowings taken from other missionary sources which may be no longer extant. In the case of the Japanese mission the annual

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<sup>16</sup> This initially caused problems, as indiscreet members were apt to include personal material in the main letter. Minute instructions on the format and content of the letters were published, which can be found in Ignacio Iparraguirre and Cándido de Dalmases (eds), *Obras Completas de San Ignacio de Loyola* (Madrid, 1952), pp. 686-89. The origin and development of the Jesuit letter format is analysed in Correia-Afonso, *Jesuit Letters*, pp. 1-10.

<sup>17</sup> The term 'annual letter' shouldn't be taken too literally. Sometimes several years elapsed between epistles, Joseph Wicki, "Archives and libraries in Rome concerning Portuguese India", in Correia-Afonso, *Indo-Portuguese History*, p. 37. For historians of Japan and the 'Namban Interlude' a particularly popular source is the letter compilation, *Cartas que os padres e irmãos de Companhia de Jesus escreverao dos reynos de Iapão e China* 2 vols (Evora, 1598). See the volumes of D. F. Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe* for listings of various editions, translations and versions of the annual letters. There is some disagreement on who inaugurated the first annual letter. Lach favours Xavier, *Ibid.*, vol. 1, Book 1, p. 315; Correia-Afonso has Frois in 1552, *Jesuit Letters*, pp. 12, 17; J. F. Moran chooses Alessandro Valignano, *Japanese and the Jesuits: Alessandro Valignano in Sixteenth Century Japan* (London and New York, 1993), p. 35

<sup>18</sup> In a letter to Father N. Bobadilla, Loyola notes "Many of our friends, when they know that we have received letters from someone of the society, wish to see them and enjoy them", quoted in Correia-Afonso, *Jesuit Letters*, p. 3. By the later sixteenth century, letters arrived in Coimbra, in Portugal, and were subsequently copied and redistributed. In addition to being sent to Rome and Europe, Eastern letters were dispatched to missionary outposts in Brazil and North America, Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, Vol. 1, Book 1, p. 314. Diego Mirón, Provincial of Portugal, also complained that fathers in India were sending their letters to people outside of the Society, *Ibid.*, p. 317.

<sup>19</sup> José de Acosta mentions several Jesuit letters from Japan in Clements R. Markham (ed.), *The Natural and Moral History of the Indies*, 2 vols, *Hakluyt Society*, First Series, nos LX, LXI, vol. 2, pp. 332-35, 339, 363, 369. The compiler of the annual letter of 1614 refers to Luiz de Guzman and his history of Japan, anon, *A Briefe Relation of the Persecution lately made against the Catholike Christians, in the Kingdom of Iaponia*, trans W. Wright (St Omer, 1619), p. 46. This was a reference to Guzman's seminal two volume work, *Historia de las misiones...en la India Oriental...China y Iapón* (Alcalá de Henares, 1601). Literary borrowing was also practiced by missionaries in the field. Much of Valignano's *Principio y Progressa* (1601) was derived from Frois' manuscript *História*, Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, p. 75. Lach argues unconvincingly that Frois' work had a very restricted early readership, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 3, Book 1, p. 686.

letters were compiled from reports gathered in Macao and subsequently welded together into a coherent narrative.<sup>20</sup> The compiler/editor may never have actually visited Japan and thus included information based on a universal concept of what would constitute interesting subject matter.<sup>21</sup> Hence, due to the confused pedigree of information and authorship the Jesuit sources are not ideal vehicles through which to pursue a cultural study of European personal attitudes to non-European peoples.

Much of historians' praise of Jesuit sources has derived from the fact that the reporters were often well-educated and informed observers.<sup>22</sup> However, this should not be accepted unquestioningly, as argued below. Despite their training and grounding in classical logic and rhetoric it is important to recognise that reports were not 'rational' in the modern sense. Jesuits characteristically reported miracles and not just the religious kind. For instance, João Rodrigues mentions a 700 year old man in Japan as well as relating the popular tale of a 300 year old Bengali.<sup>23</sup> All of this is depicted as fact rather than rumour or tale. Rodrigues also includes descriptions of the metamorphosis of species, for instance a shell fish into a bird or a yam into a snake.<sup>24</sup> Even in less obviously fabulous subjects Jesuit sources cannot be automatically taken at face value. Rodrigues referred in great detail to the gridiron layout of Japanese cities, following Chinese models. However, in fact, apart from Kyōto, few Japanese cities followed this astrologically aligned plan.<sup>25</sup>

The Jesuits may perhaps have been more erudite commentators than merchants (but see the argument below) but their method of transmitting the information to Europe, and thus preserving it for posterity, had many failings. There is always a certain distance and retrospection in their writings. For example, Rodrigues *began* his history of the mission ten years after his exile from Japan in 1610 and seems to have worked on it for a further 13 years.<sup>26</sup> Cooper notes that although Rodrigues was a writer *par excellence* on Japanese culture, he concedes that Rodrigues had little to say on contemporary events. The feeling of abstraction and detachment from their subject gives the flavour of a scholar writing from Europe rather than in the field. The Jesuits invariably sought a panoramic picture of the human spirit in Japan. There was little room for personal idiosyncrasies and we are often left with vast sweeping statements about the Japanese character, both positive and negative, but little about the individual men and women of the land. Rodrigues claimed that the Japanese charmed European visitors with their modesty and deportment but were altogether without integrity of

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<sup>20</sup> Until 1571 each Jesuit house within a province sent an annual report to Rome. However, owing to expansion and the mass of correspondence this had to be reduced to a provincial annual report, which summarised account of various houses, Correia-Afonso, *Jesuit Letters*, p. 6. Loyola's secretary, Juan de Polanco, noted in his biography of Loyola, that a certain Jesuit was so disillusioned by the misleading editing of published letters that he wrote a book exposing and criticising their handling. However, he was eventually persuaded to destroy the tome, *Ibid.*, pp. 15, 102.

<sup>21</sup> The provision of interesting subject matter is detailed in Rubiés, *Travel and Ethnology*, *passim*.

<sup>22</sup> Rubiés, *Travel and Ethnology*, p. 2.

<sup>23</sup> Cooper (ed.), *This Island*, pp. 50-51.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 60-62.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 82-83.

<sup>26</sup> Correia-Afonso's statement that Jesuit letters were written soon after the events described seems out of step with the postal system dictated by the monsoons, *Jesuit Letters*, pp. 73, 76. There was usually only one post a year so missionaries were forced to sum up events dating back many months.

faith and apostasy came easily to them.<sup>27</sup> On the general character of the Japanese Rodrigues wrote that they “always seek contemplation and nostalgia in everything”.<sup>28</sup> The Japanese had a high opinion of their race and country and hid their emotions whenever possible.<sup>29</sup> Writing of the Japanese attention to formalities, Rodrigues commented that “they pride themselves more than any other nation in not deviating from convention”.<sup>30</sup> One of the early Jesuits, Cosme de Torres described the Japanese as similar to the ancient Romans: having a proud and bellicose nature; resolute; courageous; venerating their ancestors; being ready to arms; possessing both a good word and general morality.<sup>31</sup> The exception to these generalisations concern the three great unifiers of Japan, Oda Nobunaga, Toyotomi Hideyoshi and Tokugawa Ieyasu. However, with their extremes of wealth and power, these are hardly representative of the ‘average’ person.<sup>32</sup> Jesuit commentators looked towards the wider picture and consciously sought to smooth over variables in character and behaviour. The missionaries were first and foremost men of God and it would be wrong to compare them with modern anthropologists, despite their acknowledged erudition.<sup>33</sup> Of course, this charge may also be levelled at the secular merchant writers but the point of this section is to redress the special regard with which missionary reports are held by historians due to the Jesuits’ apparent integration into Japanese culture.<sup>34</sup>

In respect of intellectual talents, it must be first pointed out that not all missionaries were erudite by any means. Many joined the orders in the East as a means of escaping naval discipline and squalor. One of the main figures in European writing on Japan, João Rodrigues, left rural Portugal as a teenager, having received virtually no education.<sup>35</sup> He was never an intellectual colossus and his *Historia*, although admittedly only a draft, has little style, much repetition and poor organisation.<sup>36</sup> In addition, Rodrigues misquotes scripture and Latin epigrams and it appears that his

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<sup>27</sup> C. R. Boxer, “Padre João Rodrigues Tçuzu, S. J., and his Japanese Grammars of 1604 and 1620”, *Boletim de Filologia*, vol. XI (195), pp. 338-363, reprinted in Boxer (ed.), *Portuguese Merchants and Missionaries in Feudal Japan, 1543-1640* (London, 1986), ch. V, p. 342.

<sup>28</sup> Cooper (ed.), *This Island*, p. 99. See also pp. 303, 304.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 64-66, 69.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 171.

<sup>31</sup> Quoted in Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 1, book 2, p. 677. Many of the moral ‘errors’ of the Japanese were explained by comparing them with the practices of the pagan Romans, Moran, *Japan and the Jesuits*, p. 101. The paralleling of non-European man with the ancient Greeks and Romans was a common theme in contemporary ethnography, Sabine MacCormack, “Limits of understanding: perceptions of Greco-Roman and American paganism in early modern Europe”, in K. O. Kupperman (ed.), *America in European Consciousness, 1493-1750* (Chapel Hill and London, 1995), pp. 79-129. In the first volume of Theodore De Bry’s *America* (1590), the Roanoke Indians were compared with the ancient Picts, Fuller, *Voyages in Print*, p. 40.

<sup>32</sup> See Elison, “The cross and the sword”, pp. 66-67. See also Ana Pinto Fernandez, “Japanese elites seen by Jesuit missionaries: perceptions of social and political inequality amongst the elite”, *Bulletin of Japanese/Portuguese Studies*, vol. 1 (2000), pp. 29-43.

<sup>33</sup> Learning is used as a reason to praise Jesuit sources in Rubiés, *Travel and Ethnology*, p. 2.

<sup>34</sup> Isabel Pinto, “The Jesuit missions in Japan and China: two distinct realities – cultural adaption and the assimilation of natives”, in *Ibid.*, pp. 59-76.

<sup>35</sup> 14 was the minimal age for entrance to the Society, Boxer, *Christian Century*, p. 47. Rodrigues’ lack of education is mentioned in Cooper, *Rodrigues the Interpreter*, pp. 197, 297. The recent biography of Rodrigues, Jacques Bésineau, *Au Japon avec João Rodrigues, 1580-1620* (Lisbon and Paris, 1998) is little more than an abridgement of Cooper, *Rodrigues the Interpreter* and has not been well received. See the review by Valdemar Coutinho in *Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies*, vol. 1, (2000), pp. 136-39.

<sup>36</sup> Commented upon in J. F. Moran, “The well of Japanese undẽfiled: João Rodrigues’ Advice on how to study Japanese”, *MN*, vol. XXX, no. 3 (1975), p. 281.

classical knowledge was based upon primers rather than genuine texts. Valignano noted that most European-born Portuguese who wished to join the Order were pages and soldiers, who often had to be taught to read and write during their noviciate.<sup>37</sup> Indeed, education was a particular problem for the novices who had to receive their training in Japan. The importance of language studies dictated that they did not receive the same general level of schooling as their contemporaries in Europe.<sup>38</sup> Although the Japan mission was an organ of the *Padroado*, state patronage, its professed ranks were dominated by non-Portuguese. Writing in 1601, Valignano wrote that there were four Italian and three Spanish professed Jesuits in Japan but only one Portuguese. Michael Cooper opines that various Visitors were motivated to promote Portuguese of only modest intellect in order to redress the national balance.<sup>39</sup> The encomium accorded missionaries and their role in the East was part of the movement which first coined the term 'Christian Century'. It was previously believed that the early modern Europeans had an enormous impact upon contemporary Japan. However as early as 1974 Father Michael Cooper pointed out the incongruity of naming an epoch the 'Christian Century' when Europeans are almost completely absent from contemporary Japanese sources.<sup>40</sup> Rodrigues was a confidant of Hideyoshi and Ieyasu and published the first grammar of Japanese, yet left virtually nothing to tell of his existence from Japanese sources.

The potent didactic nature of Jesuit accounts also has to be taken into account. Support in Europe for the often impoverished mission was bolstered by success stories and positive portraits. The annual letters were the key medium which acquainted potential recruits with the missionary field.<sup>41</sup> It was hence in the Society's interests to try and make Japan appear as attractive as possible. Michael Cooper cites an example of a man joining the Society of Jesus and dedicating his entire fortune to the founding of a college in Japan after reading an annual letter.<sup>42</sup> Valignano, familiar with Jesuit letters on Japan before his arrival, found the contrast between literary image and reality "like the difference between black and white".<sup>43</sup> The published letters were optimistic about the Japanese character and behaviour to the point of frank deception. Indeed, praise of Japanese willingness to accept Christianity or a portrayal of their laudable character led to Japan being by far the most popular missionary field for attracting members to the Society.<sup>44</sup> The Jesuit sources also lean towards descriptions of castles, major figures, battles and what may be described as

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<sup>37</sup> C. R. Boxer, *Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire, 1415-1825* (Oxford, 1963), pp. 62-63.

<sup>38</sup> Cooper *Rodrigues the Interpreter*, pp. 59-60.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 197-99. To be 'professed' meant to take an extra vow of loyalty to the pope. J. F. Moran notes that to be 'professed', intellectual accomplishments were, or should have been, paramount, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, p. 22. Historians have come to view the alleged foreign dominance of the Portuguese *Padroado* as far-fetched. Much of the support for this view is drawn from French sources of the eighteenth century that sought to denigrate Portuguese achievement following the Rites Controversy. For the case of the Chinese mission in particular, see Paul Rule, "Goa-Macao-Beijing: the Jesuits and Portugal's China connection", in Disney and Booth (eds), *Vasco da Gama*, pp. 248-60.

<sup>40</sup> Cooper, *Rodrigues the Interpreter*, pp. 10-11.

<sup>41</sup> This was one of the 20 reasons listed for diligent correspondence by Juan de Polanco, Loyola's secretary. Quoted in Correia-Afonso, *Jesuit Letters*, p. 3-4.

<sup>42</sup> Michael Cooper, *Rodrigues the Interpreter: An Early Jesuit in Japan and China* (New York and Tokyo, 1974; 1994), p. 164.

<sup>43</sup> Quoted in Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, p. 35.

<sup>44</sup> C. R. Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan, 1549-1650* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1951; 1974), p. 80.

the foreground of Japanese society.<sup>45</sup> The seamy underbelly of life is left respectfully untouched. Typical letter contents can be illustrated by the information provided in Valignano's first three letters from Japan. These represent as far as possible his initial impressions of the country. However, the letters predominantly deal with the mission, finances, the pros and cons of Japanese Jesuits, the need for a bishop and administration and communication problems. In fact, only the first letter of 2 December 1579 (N.S.) contains any details about the Japanese character.<sup>46</sup> Indeed, Moran concludes that Valignano's letters reinforce the view that he was a Christian evangelist and Jesuit superior first, and an observer of Japan second.<sup>47</sup> Joan-Pau Rubiés argues that although Jesuits had studied classical ethnography and often learned languages, giving them access to indigenous literary traditions, their very condition as missionaries constrained their attitudes to foreign cultures. Whilst respecting the sophistication of Jesuit reports, Rubiés notes how most cultural historians tend to now concentrate on secular writers.<sup>48</sup> I would certainly argue that the importance and reliability of the Jesuit material has been exaggerated as a result of misconceptions of their motives and abilities.

## 2. Historiography on Hirado

At first glance there appears to be a sizeable body of secondary literature relating to the Hirado factory.<sup>49</sup> However none of these works has exploited the essential value of the British material over its Jesuit counterparts. Much of the historical writing connected to the Hirado factory comes from the period dating from the late nineteenth century to the Second World War, unsurprisingly due to the flood of primary source publications in that period.<sup>50</sup> Initial interest in the factory seems to have been prompted by the 1855 publication of American Richard Hildreth's *Japan as it was and is*.<sup>51</sup> Hildreth's work appealed to the growing European community in Japan and fortuitously coincided with the publication of a number of William Adams' letters in a volume of the *Hakluyt Society*.<sup>52</sup> From a historical perspective the publication of William Dalton's novel, *Will Adams, the First Englishman in Japan: a Romantic Biography* in 1861 would also seem to be important. However, it is unclear how popular the novel was at the time.<sup>53</sup> Although modern historiography has broken away

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<sup>45</sup> The key works for Japan are Luis Frois' *História de Japam*, ed., Joseph Wicki, 5 vols (Lisbon, 1976-84), various works of Alessandro Valignano and João Rodrigues' *Historia da Igreja do Japão*, translated as Cooper (ed.), *This Island of Japan*.

<sup>46</sup> The three letters are translated and summarised in J. F. Moran, "Letters from a visitor to Japan, 1579", *Proceedings of the British Association for Japanese Studies*, vol. 4, part 1 (1979), pp. 1-9. The first letter is translated, pp. 4-5.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>48</sup> Rubiés, *Travel and Ethnology*, p. 2.

<sup>49</sup> See my own bibliography and that listed in Farrington, vol. 2, which contains more articles of relevance to William Adams.

<sup>50</sup> See the following chapter. There is also a clear connection between the publication of the complete edition of Cocks' diary in 1978-1980 and the articles on the factory in the 1980s. It can be similarly observed that the publication of Farrington's collection was followed by books by William Corr and Giles Milton.

<sup>51</sup> Richard Hildreth, *Japan as it was and is: A Handbook of Old Japan*, 2 vols (Boston, 1855). William Adams is mentioned, pp. 169-78 and the English factory described, pp. 206-50.

<sup>52</sup> Thomas Rundall (ed.), *Memorials of the Empire of Japon: In the XVI and XVII Centuries, Hakluyt Society*, First Series, no. VIII (1850).

<sup>53</sup> See Henry Smith, "James Clavell and the legend of the British samurai", in Smith (ed.), *Learning from Shōgun: Japanese History and Western Fantasy* (1980), pp. 7-9. Derek Massarella, "William

from the prismatic figure of Adams and now recognises the myths that surround his persona, for a long period the historiography of the English factory was the historiography of William Adams. In his preface to *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial: East Indies*, W. Noël Salisbury wrote of how the trade with Japan began through “a series of adventures as romantic as the history of Robinson Crusoe”.<sup>54</sup> Unfortunately, this opinion was shared by many early historians. In his introduction to *The First Letter Book of the East India Company* George Birdwood, rejoicing over the plethora of source material for the E.I.C., implored a certain Walter Besant to lend his creative powers to writing an historical novel. Birdwood extolled the pleasing combination of authentic history and “even suggestions of the love story” that could be found in the E.I.C. sources.<sup>55</sup> Such comments are illustrative of the seamless blend of archival work with narrative fantasy that characterised the period.

The moderately large host of articles which cluster around the turn of the twentieth century are really a reflection, firstly of James Walters’ ‘discovery’ of William Adams’ grave in 1872,<sup>56</sup> and secondly of the Anglo-Japanese naval alliance of 1902.<sup>57</sup> They are almost without exception short introductory articles intended to raise awareness of the ‘pioneer of the British navy’, William Adams. As early as 1929 C. R. Boxer was able to comment on the abundance of articles concerning Adams.<sup>58</sup> All articles are highly cannibalistic, with the post 1898 articles relying exclusively upon the Ludwig Riess article (described below), with a complete absence of any original research.<sup>59</sup> Aside from the repetition and lack of original thinking, scholarship on Adams was often written by amateur admirers or diplomats, rather than *bona fide* historians. Only two works essentially broke away from the prismatic role of Adams as a window into the English factory. The first was Ludwig Riess’ pioneering lengthy article of 1898, which proved to be seminal and was not improved upon until the late

Adams/Miura Anjin: man/myth”, *London School of Economics and Political Science Discussion Paper Series: International Studies* 15/00/394 (July, 2000), pp. 1-25 relates the development of the Adams cult. Prior to the publication of James Clavell’s *Shōgun*, whose protagonist is based on Adams, in 1975, there had been at least six identifiable novelisations of Adams’ story. The number shows that none were particularly popular, a claim supported by the fact that there have been no more novels following Clavell’s success.

<sup>54</sup> *CSPC*, vol. 1, pp. vii-viii.

<sup>55</sup> Birdwood, *First Letter Book*, pp. xviii-xix.

<sup>56</sup> See Ludwig Riess, *William Adams und Sein ‘Grab’ in Hemimura* (Toyko, 1900); Massarella, “William Adams”, pp. 1-25.

<sup>57</sup> In a similar way, the Iwakawa mission of 1873 prompted a series of mostly German and Italian studies on the first Japanese embassy to Europe in 1582-90, Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 1, book 2, p. 690n. A list of memorial and official ceremonies for Adams can be found in Derek Massarella, “Anglo-Japanese relations, 1600-1858” in Ian Nish and Yoichi Kibata (eds), *The History of Anglo-Japanese Relations, Volume 1: The Political-diplomatic Dimension, 1600-1930* (London, 2000), pp. 3-4. Contemporaries were fond of stressing Adams’ role as the first link between the modern island empires. For the contemporary relations between Britain and Japan see Marashima Shigeru, “The opening of the twentieth century and the Anglo-Japanese alliance, 1895-1923”, in *Ibid.*, pp. 159-196 and David Steeds, “Anglo-Japanese relations, 1902-23: a marriage of convenience”, in *Ibid.*, pp. 197-223.

<sup>58</sup> C. R. Boxer, “The affair of the *Madre de Deus*”, reprinted in C.R. Boxer (ed), *Portuguese Merchants and Missionaries in Feudal Japan, 1543-1640* (London, 1986), p. 6n. Similarly, in 1915 C. J. Purnell commented that Adams’ letters had been reprinted many times, “The log-book of William Adams, 1614-19”, *TJSL*, vol. XIII (1914-1915), p. 157.

<sup>59</sup> See for example, Arthur Diósy, “In memory of Will Adams, the first Englishman in Japan”, *TJSL*, vol., VI (1903), pp. 325-353; Charles William Hillary, *England’s Earliest Intercourse with Japan: The First Englishmen in Japan, 1600-1620* (London and Felling-on-Tyne, 1905); Lord Redesdale, “Three hundred years ago”, *TJSL*, vol., VIII (1907-08), pp. 3-21.



twentieth century.<sup>60</sup> Riess concentrated on the factory archives and told their story rather than eulogising Adams.

As a student of Leopold von Ranke, Riess was steeped in the necessity of going back to examine the actual historical archives rather than relying on accumulated secondary writing.<sup>61</sup> However, the problem was that he was only able to study the E.I.C. archives for a month.<sup>62</sup> As the relevant sources comprised 400 letters, a number of lengthy shipping journals and the 1000+-page manuscript of quotations and paraphrases of the Hirado sources made by Peter Pratt in the 1820s, there was obviously a limit to what could have been achieved within a month.<sup>63</sup> It should also be remembered that as a German, English was a second language to Riess.<sup>64</sup> In many cases Riess used W. Noël Salisbury's *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series: East Indies, 1516-1634* without checking the original letters in the India Office archives and the PRO.<sup>65</sup> His research was also undertaken too early to take advantage of the six-volume *Letters Received by the East India Company from its Servants in the East*, which made available many of the Hirado factory letters down to 1617.<sup>66</sup> John Saris' journal was also not published by the *Hakluyt Society* until two years after Riess's article appeared.<sup>67</sup> He was, however, able to use Edward Maunde Thompson's edition of Cocks' diary but as discussed in the next chapter, the publication omitted large chunks of "superfluous material".<sup>68</sup> Hence, Riess's study is thorough and scholarly but constrained by the materials available to him. It is ironic that research that was

<sup>60</sup> Ludwig Riess, "History of the English factory at Hirado (1613-1623)", *TASJ*, vol. XXVI (December, 1898), pp. 1-114, 162-218, minutes of the meeting: xxviii-xlix. On Riess' pioneering role in bringing scientific historical methods to Japanese universities see John S. Brownlee, *Japanese Historians and the National Myths, 1600-1945: The Age of Gods and the Emperor Jimmu* (Tokyo, 1997), pp. 73-80. Although Riess concentrates on the factory and not just on Adams, he was essentially responsible for elevating Adams' image from the Jack Tar caricature of earlier articles. Riess stressed the fact that he was a pilot and not a common mariner, had influential friends such as Thomas Best, and acted as shōgunal advisor, "History of the English factory", pp. xxxiii-xxxiv.

<sup>61</sup> Leonard Blussé, "Japanese historiography and European sources", in P. C. Emmer and H. I. Wesseling (eds), *Reappraisals in Overseas History* (Den Haag, 1979), p. 200; Numata Jiro, "Shigeno Yasutsugu and the modern Tokyo tradition of historical writing", in *Ibid.*, pp. 278-79 and John S. Brownlee, *Japanese Historians and the National Myths, 1600-1945: The Age of Gods and Emperor Jimmu* (Tokyo, 1997), pp. 73-80. The German scholastic tradition was particularly admired in Meiji Japan, Numata Jiro, "Shigeno Yasutsugu", p. 278.

<sup>62</sup> Riess, "History of the English factory", p. i.

<sup>63</sup> See ch. 2 for details on the relevant sources. Farrington's compilation, despite its strict parameters of relevance to the factory and the fact that a number of sources are reproduced only in extract, still covers 1537 pages of print.

<sup>64</sup> However, he must have been reasonably fluent in English as his 1887 doctoral thesis was entitled, "Geschichte des Wahlrechts zum Englischen Parlament" and obviously required reading knowledge of early modern English documents. He also delivered his lecture courses in English whilst in Japan, Numata Jiro, "Shigeno Yasutsugu", pp. 278-79.

<sup>65</sup> 5 vols (London, 1862-1892).

<sup>66</sup> William Foster and Frederick Charles Danvers (eds), *Letters Received by the East India Company from its Servants in the East*, 6 vols (London, 1896-1902). Riess' research in the I.O.R. seems to have been undertaken when Riess returned to Europe to transcribe material on Japan in the Hague and other archives in 1893, Numata Jiro, "Shigeno Yasutsugu", pp. 278-79.

<sup>67</sup> Sir Ernest Mason Satow (ed.), *The Voyage of Captain John Saris to Japan, 1613, Hakluyt Society, Second Series*, no. V (1900). Riess did, however, transcribe some of the journal in the first appendix of his study, "History", pp. 168-93. Worryingly, this differs quite considerably from Satow's later edition.

<sup>68</sup> Edward Maunde Thompson (ed.), *Diary of Richard Cocks, Cape-merchant in the English Factory in Japan, 1615-1622, with Correspondence*, 2 vols, *Hakluyt Society, First Series*, nos LXVI, LXVII (1883).

produced on the back of von Ranke's theory of going straight to the source of information would become in itself the fount of knowledge for later writers to the neglect of archives.

The other noteworthy study is Montague Paske-Smith's, *A Glympse of the 'English House' and English Life at Hirado, 1613-1623*.<sup>69</sup> Little more than a pamphlet, Paske-Smith's book adds little to the Riess article but is notable as one of the few works that attempted to handle the factory as more than an occasional backdrop to Adams' adventures.<sup>70</sup> With relevance to this thesis, Paske-Smith pays more attention than Riess to the social side of the English factory. Although not particularly probing in his interpretations, he does draw attention to consorts, children, clothes and Japanese pastimes such as steam baths. However, much of the anachronistic assumptions made in Paske-Smith's work are criticised in the course of this thesis.

More recently a number of biographies of Adams have been written that contain some discussion of the Hirado factory but with little attempt at original scholarship.<sup>71</sup> Reading uncritically from the published sources, P. G. Rogers describes an overly harmonious picture of the nascent European presence in Japan. The Jesuits (it is claimed) respected Adams and learned to live with him. The impression is given that primary sources have not been used for facts but rather to add colour to Rogers' exotic adventure story.<sup>72</sup> Although written in 1981, Richard Tames' *Servant of the Shogun* relies on the narrative scholarship of the early twentieth century, with no effort to update progress made in fields such as the general overseas expansion and contemporary mentalities.<sup>73</sup>

For most of the later twentieth century, the Hirado factory usually received little more than an isolated sentence or paragraph in works dealing with the early E.I.C., European expansion or the European presence in Japan.<sup>74</sup> Hence the Hirado factory was not unknown by historians of European expansion but was definitely marginalized. Even a historian of Adams and the Hirado factory recently portrayed the trading enterprise as a "fascinating if relatively unimportant footnote" in Anglo-Japanese interaction.<sup>75</sup> In 1993 Philip Lawson noted the general tendency to treat the first 60 years of the Company's activities as an aside, a trend evident in recent studies of the E.I.C..<sup>76</sup> Whilst there are a score of factual mistakes in popular literature

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<sup>69</sup> (Kobe, 1927).

<sup>70</sup> Paske-Smith was British consul in Ōsaka. Although he was familiar with Japanese culture he was not an academic.

<sup>71</sup> Philip G. Rogers, *The First Englishman in Japan: The Story of Will Adams* (London, 1956); Richard Tames, *Servant of the Shogun: Being the True Story of William Adams, Pilot and Samurai, the First Englishman in Japan* (Kent, 1981); William Corr, *Adams the Pilot: the Life and Times of Captain William Adams, 1564-1620* (London, 1995).

<sup>72</sup> Rogers, *First Englishman in Japan*.

<sup>73</sup> Tames, *Servant of the Shogun*.

<sup>74</sup> See, *inter alia*, C. R. Boxer, *Christian Century*; Conrad Totman, *Tokugawa Ieyasu: Shogun* (San Francisco, 1983); John Keay, *The Honourable Company: A History of the English East India Company* (Glasgow, 1991), pp. 53-60, 64-66; Philip Lawson, *The East India Company*. W. Z. Mulder notes that in the same way the Dutch presence at Hirado is normally a footnote to their longer and better documented abode on Deshima, *Hollanders in Hirado*, p. ix.

<sup>75</sup> Corr, *Adams the Pilot*, p. 2

<sup>76</sup> Lawson, *East India Company*, p. 18. See for instance Antony Wild, *The East India Company: Trade and Conquest from 1600* (London, 1999). However, more attention is given to the early period in Huw Bowen (ed.), *The Worlds of the East India Company* (London, 2002).

regarding the Hirado factory the main problem is simply the lack of original thinking.<sup>77</sup> The factory has often been considered within a geographical vacuum, either looking at Japanese society from the deck of the ship or analysing the British role (or lack of it) in the old 'Christian Century' concept.<sup>78</sup> Broadly speaking the European historians of overseas expansion have ignored the merchant accounts for Japan.<sup>79</sup> On the other hand, whilst Japanese specialists have been aware of the encounter they have brought little knowledge of the Jacobean background.<sup>80</sup> For instance, Conrad Totman's *Tokugawa Ieyasu: Shogun* contains detailed descriptions of the factory but rather unprofessionally mocks King James I's prolix letters and imaginative spelling.<sup>81</sup> Even ostensibly cultural histories such as Grant K. Goodman's *Japan and the Dutch, 1600-1853* are Japanocentric and don't consider the impression that Japan made on Dutch visitors.<sup>82</sup> From the perspective of Japanese specialists, what has been written about the Hirado factory is synthesis rather than analysis.<sup>83</sup> There has been little attention to the European/Jacobean crucible in which the merchants' mental outlooks were formed. This is perhaps not surprising as the overwhelming attention to the factory has come from Japanese specialists, rather than historians familiar with early modern Europe.

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<sup>77</sup> Aloysius Chang has the British remaining in Japan until 1639, "The Chinese community of Nagasaki in the first century of the Tokugawa period, 1603-1688", St John's University, Ph.D (1970), p. 48. The wrong date for the establishment of the factory is given in Yao Keisuke, "The VOC and Japanese rice in the early seventeenth century", *Itinerario*, vol. XIX, no. 1 (1995), p. 34. Lesley B. Cormack describes how the factory was established in the 1590s (which was actually before the E.I.C. itself was founded), *Charting an Empire: Geography at the English Universities, 1580-1620* (Chicago and London, 1997), p. 147. Rebecca Catz provides the wrong date for its closure in Catz trans and (ed.), *The Travels of Mendes Pinto* (Chicago and London, 1989) p. 570n. There are too many mistakes to mention in John Bruce, *The Annals of the Honourable East-India Company*, 3 vols (London, 1810). Nabil Matar, *Turks, Moors and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery* (New York, 1999) has the British driven out by "the shoguns", p. 11.

<sup>78</sup> The term 'Christian Century' came to be used following the publication of C. R. Boxer's influential *The Christian Century in Japan, 1549-1650* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1951; 1974). The phraseology is representative of a Euro-centric view of history that grossly overestimated the impact of European visitors on Japanese society. However, Boxer himself was well versed in both European and Japanese sources for the period, and it was his publisher that chose the title 'Christian Century'. Boxer himself was not particularly fond of the choice, Dauril Alden, "An enduring affair: Charles R. Boxer's fascination with Japan", *Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies*, vol. 1 (2000), p. 154n.

<sup>79</sup> E.g. Robert Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution: Commercial Change, Political Conflict, and London's Overseas Traders, 1550-1653* (Cambridge, 1993). There are paragraphs on Hirado in Boies Penrose, *Travel and Discovery in the Renaissance, 1420-1620* (Harvard, 1952; 1975), p. 205. C. G. F. Simkin, *The Traditional Trade of Asia* (London, 1968), p. 204; Lawson, *The East India Company*, p. 26. However, a slim grasp of the E.I.C. trade in the Jacobean period is shown by Steven Pincus's reference to Amboina as the site of a "spectacular massacre of the English by the Dutch", *Protestantism and Patriotism: Ideologies and the Making of an English Foreign Policy, 1650-1668* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 23n. English contemporaries were furious by the Dutch behaviour and it continued to be a sore point until the 1650s, but as only a small number of men were executed it was hardly a "spectacular massacre".

<sup>80</sup> E.g. Chozo Muto, *A Short History of Anglo-Japanese Relations* (Tokyo, 1936), *passim*; Paske-Smith, *Western Barbarians*, pp. 17-64; Yetaro Kinoshita, *The Past and Present of Japanese Commerce* (New York, 1902; 1968), pp. 68-71 (where King James I is described as a Catholic).

<sup>81</sup> Conrad Totman, *Tokugawa Ieyasu: Shogun* (San Francisco, 1983), p. 138.

<sup>82</sup> (Richmond, 2000).

<sup>83</sup> E.g., Kato Eiichi, "Aspects of early Anglo-Japanese relations", in Nish and Yoichi Kibata (eds), *History of Anglo-Japanese Relations*, pp. 31-59.

Of course, a key flaw in much of the historiography is simply the fact that it is dated and shows its age in its handling (or non-handling) of the sources.<sup>84</sup> For instance, Ludwig Riess believed that Saris' later additions to his journal as printed by Purchas greatly enhanced his contributions, without considering the distorting influence of unacknowledged retrospective comments.<sup>85</sup> It is not such much that primary sources have not been used but rather that material such as Saris' journal and Cocks' diary have been scoured for economic and geographical information, to the general exclusion of the wealth of cultural details that they provide. Despite the fact that the sources are an intimate record of early modern Europeans' survival in a culturally alien environment, the salient points to seize upon for Ludwig Riess were the differences between the Japanese and English versions of trading privileges.<sup>86</sup> What was important to historians a century ago is often not what concerns contemporary scholars. For instance, in 1899 William Foster commented on the value to historians of Sir Thomas Roe's journal of an embassy to India. The immediate value that he saw lay in the provision of character portraits of the emperors Jahangir and Shah Jahan. The work also cast light on wars in the Deccan, the rise of the Khurram family and the troubles regarding royal succession. Absolutely no attention is paid to the socio-cultural information provided by Roe's journal nor, indeed, its record of a European's impressions of Indians in a pre-imperial age.<sup>87</sup> The main problem of the historiography is that most of it is simply cannibalistic use of previous material, working on an unambitious agenda. There is often little sense that documents have been re-examined but merely that the author has perused works such as Riess's and added a dusting of quotations from Cocks' diary. These also tend to be stock-in-trade quotations which are repeated *ad nauseum* in the literature. Although Massarella's study (see below) cannot be accused of this, it has to be said that the factory records have failed to attract imaginative historians.

The Hirado factory was eventually rescued from obscurity by Derek Massarella in his monograph of 1990 and various articles of the 1980s and 1990s, which are really spin-offs from his main work.<sup>88</sup> Massarella's studies represent the first essentially scholarly work on the subject since Riess and were certainly needed by historians of European expansion.<sup>89</sup> As discussed above, early scholars tended to study the Hirado documents in isolation. Massarella's main achievement is integrating the English sources with Dutch, Iberian and Japanese accounts to create a balanced and informed work. The study is also set in secure foundations of scholarship on both European expansion and contemporary Japan, elements not found together in previous studies.

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<sup>84</sup> P. G. Rogers also thought nothing of writing of how Adams was greeted by "strange, nimble little yellow men", *The First Englishman in Japan*, p. 11. The book offers an impressive array of sneaky avaricious Iberian stereotypes. Of course, whenever Adams is less than truthful he is merely "artful".

<sup>85</sup> Riess, "History of the English factory", p. 168.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 166. Massarella, *World Elsewhere*, *passim* has also shown that many of Riess's figures for the economy of the factory are wrong.

<sup>87</sup> William Foster (ed.), *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to the Court of the Great Mogul, 1615-1619, as Narrated in his Journal and Correspondence*, 2 vols, Hakluyt Society, Second Series, nos 1 and 2 (1899), vol. 1, pp. xlv-xlvi.

<sup>88</sup> Derek Massarella, *A World Elsewhere: Europe's Encounter with Japan in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (New Haven and London, 1990); "The early career of Richard Cocks (1566-1624), head of the English East India Company's factory in Japan (1613-1623)", *TASJ*, Third Series, 20 (1985), pp. 1-46; "James I and Japan", *MN*, vol., XXXVIII, no. 4 (1983), pp. 377-386.

<sup>89</sup> Massarella, *World Elsewhere* was almost universally well received on its release. William Corr describes it as both "magisterial" and "magisterial and definitive", *Adams the Pilot*, pp. 221, 40. Giles Milton similarly describes it as "superb", *Samurai William*, p. 373.

However, despite full use of published and archival material and secondary sources in several languages, Massarella strictly adheres to a narrative approach. There is a telling phrase in the introduction to the book. Massarella notes that the factory's story "has never been *told* adequately or completely".<sup>90</sup> There is no discussion of the problems of documents, prejudices or discrepancies between versions. Rather, he uses the primary sources as a vending machine of narrative information, without any thought as to *why* Saris, for example, shows hostility towards Adams or is angered by the Japanese in the early months in Hirado. The interpretation is shallow, with the sources only read critically for inaccuracies rather than nuances of personal opinion. There is not a single example of Massarella questioning the implications of a divergence between the manuscript copy and the *Pilgrimes* version of Saris' journal.<sup>91</sup> Yet there are cases of important divergences. For example, as related in chapter 7, the Hirado sources characterise executions of criminals caught in the act as being performed by bystanders and neighbours. This provides evidence that the factors associated the Japanese legal system with both communal participation in executions and the absence of trials, two elements sacrosanct in the Jacobean belief system. However, in describing a triple execution, the *Pilgrimes* version provides the additional detail that the judgement of the local *daimyō* was first sought before the offenders were beheaded.<sup>92</sup> Although the execution was still obviously different from familiar practice for the merchants, the *Pilgrimes* version changes the summary nature of the whole incident. It also introduces a figure of authority and does not leave the execution to the whims of the public. Hence, this single incident reveals a lot about the problems of genre in the source material.

In fairness to Massarella, he declares his methods and aims in this introduction as "[a]n examination of the unfolding of events, rather than an analysis of their outcome judged with the benefit of hindsight".<sup>93</sup> He does insist that analysis has not been neglected but rather weaved into the discussion "[f]or one is writing a history not a pathology".<sup>94</sup> However, the absence of an active voice makes it difficult to ascertain the difference between Massarella's own analysis and established facts drawn directly from the sources. Whenever arguments and theories do emerge from the narrative, such as ideas of prestige, image or the doctoring of accounts for Hakluyt and Purchas, there is the sense that Massarella presents the evidence in a simplistic fashion and avoids undue speculation in the interest of telling the bare bones of the Hirado factory story. It was this sort of handling of sources material that prompted J. E. Wills to judge the work to contain "a great deal of detailed and unfocussed summary of English documents [i.e. the Hirado archive]".<sup>95</sup> The work seems to be concerned more with updating scholarship on the factory than breaking new ground. It is bound to the model of discovering European microcosms in the antipodes. *World Elsewhere* navigates between the salient points of the factory experience: trading voyages; arrival of English ships; revision of trading privileges. The seamier underbelly of the

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<sup>90</sup> Massarella, *World Elsewhere*, p. 4. My emphasis.

<sup>91</sup> The existence of three versions of the journal is briefly discussed in an endnote, *Ibid.*, p. 389n. For more details see ch. 2.

<sup>92</sup> *Pilgrimes*, vol. 3, p. 450. The incident is described differently in the India Office version of the journal, *Voyage*, pp. 100-101.

<sup>93</sup> Massarella, *World Elsewhere*, p. 5.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, quoting R. H. Tawney.

<sup>95</sup> J. E. Wills, "Maritime Asia, 1500-1800: the interactive emergence of European domination", *The American Historical Review*, vol. 98, no. 1 (1993), p. 104.

encounter is left virtually untouched.<sup>96</sup> Whilst Massarella concentrates on the major figures such as Cocks, Dutch *opperhoofd* Spexc and the Matsuura, this thesis also explores the role of lesser known figures such as the servants, *jurebassos* and the merchants' women.

Postulation of theories and hermeneutic analysis is kept to a minimum in *World Elsewhere*. Massarella unfortunately tends to treat anthropological analysis— such as the symbolic value of cloth export as a panacea to savage nakedness – in a cursory fashion before quickly returning to the economic clichés of earlier studies.<sup>97</sup> One gets the sense of a missed opportunity. Instead of focussing upon the fresh and unstudied socio-cultural interaction between British and Japanese, Massarella concentrates upon the economics of voyages to South East Asia or internecine conflicts and accusations. Chapter 6, entitled “Living and surviving in Hirado”, although seeming by its title to analyse some of the many fascinating social incidents related in the sources, concentrates mostly on the private trade of factors and the degree to which it was tolerated in London.<sup>98</sup> It was this sort of focus that caused J. E. Wills to describe the book as “an odd throwback to a Eurocentric approach”.<sup>99</sup> Whilst *World Elsewhere* is not Euro centric and colonial in approach, it is striking that whilst contemporaries were studying cross-cultural contacts, Massarella chose to focus on how the factors related to each other and the distant Company.<sup>100</sup> There is little engagement with the theories of cultural history that were emerging in the 1980s.<sup>101</sup> For instance, while Massarella broaches an interesting discussion of the connection between civility, nobility and success, and the ethics of exploitation, which draws in arguments about the American Indians and the Irish, Massarella limits himself to little more than a brief delineation of his theory.<sup>102</sup>

Massarella effectively ignores the rich mine of cultural material contained in the Hirado letters. Again this goes against the grain of what Japanese specialists such as Michael Cooper have identified as the main strength of the Hirado sources.<sup>103</sup> There is no detailed analysis of what lies beneath the surface of the documentation. Symbolism and cultural issues are treated as peripheral scholarly pursuits which are briefly mopped up by references in the endnotes. This is Massarella's chosen sphere and not necessarily a fault, although it does leave the gates open for a fresh study. However, it does seem that since *World Elsewhere* Massarella has shown more interest in cultural

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<sup>96</sup> There is some brief discussion of relations with women and other social matter in ch. 6 “Living and surviving in Hirado”, pp. 217-42.

<sup>97</sup> Massarella, *World Elsewhere*, pp. 388-89n.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 217-66.

<sup>99</sup> Wills, “Maritime Asia”, p. 104.

<sup>100</sup> Examples of such contemporary works are Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians* (1980); P. J. Marshall and Glyndwr Williams, *The Great Map of Mankind: Perceptions of New Worlds in the Age of Enlightenment* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982); Nicholas Canny and Anthony Pagden (eds), *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World, 1500-1800* (Princeton, 1987); Inga Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquests: Maya and Spaniards in Yucatan, 1517-1570* (Cambridge, 1987); Mary B. Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Travel Writing, 400-1600* (Ithaca and London, 1988); Stephen J. Greenblatt, *Learning to Curse: Essays in Early Modern Culture* (New York and London, 1991), *inter alia*.

<sup>101</sup> On the development of cultural history see Peter Burke, *Varieties of Cultural History* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 1-22.

<sup>102</sup> *World Elsewhere*, pp. 70-71.

<sup>103</sup> See the next section.

history although he has largely abandoned the English house as a subject.<sup>104</sup> *World Elsewhere* is an impressive work of synthesis and seamlessly weaves together both primary and secondary sources. However, this is achieved to the neglect of historiographical debate and textual criticism. The broad range of cultural histories produced in the 1990s has substantially enlarged the field within which to view the Anglo-Japanese encounter. Massarella's work now looks quite dated through its lack of engagement with relevant debates. The aim of this thesis is not to offer a revision of Massarella's work, as I broadly agree with the economic analysis.<sup>105</sup> Rather, the thesis approaches the Hirado sources from a totally different angle. For instance, the 10 surviving letters written between Cocks and the factors aboard the *Sea Adventure* in Kawachi reveal a great deal about how the British treated and viewed their Japanese employees.<sup>106</sup> Yet they are not mentioned at all in Massarella's discussion of the preparations for the voyage.<sup>107</sup> Instead of looking at the major turning-points in the economic history of the factory, this thesis examines the marginalia and peripheries of cross-cultural contact.

Also worth mentioning is the recent study by Giles Milton, *Samurai William*. Although the title would suggest that it is yet another retelling of the Adams tale, the focus of the work is actually the events surrounding the English factory. As a work of popular history it does not engage with the complexities of historiographical debates but in a number of ways it has an advantage over Massarella's more prestigious work. Milton highlights many of the culturally interesting themes handled in this thesis, such as the Japanese consorts, reports of executions and the degree of cultural osmosis. Milton was also able to take advantage of the easy and convenient accessibility of all the relevant documents in Farrington's collection, in addition to the full version of Cocks' diary. Nevertheless, a number of Milton's comments are based more upon an active imagination than documentary evidence. The work is gratingly anachronistic at times, such as in its suggestions that the factors engaged in partner swapping and that Saris was an ardent collector of pornography.<sup>108</sup>

### 3. The Nature of the Company Sources

As this thesis is dependent upon a centralised body of material from the E.I.C. archives, the main individual sources are discussed in detail in the following chapter. This is necessary as a number of sources survive in differing versions or have been published in varying stages of completeness. Of course, the deficiencies of published

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<sup>104</sup> See in particular Derek Massarella, "Some reflections on identity formation in East Asia in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries", in Donald Denoon *et al* (eds), *Multicultural Japan: Palaeolithic to Postmodern* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 135-52. His recent article, "'Ticklish points': the English East India Company and Japan, 1621", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Series 3, vol. 11, no. 1 (2001), pp. 43-50 returns to the English factory but was prompted by his discovery of a new factory letter. See the next chapter for more details.

<sup>105</sup> As further delineated in ch. 3, this thesis also agrees with Massarella's low opinion of the polarised theories of cultural anthropologists and literary critics, Massarella, "Anglo-Japanese relations, 1600-1858" in Nish and Yoichi Kibata (eds), *The History of Anglo-Japanese Relations*, vol. 1, p. 5.

<sup>106</sup> Farrington, vol. 1, pp. 242-44, 267-75. See ch. 5.

<sup>107</sup> Massarella, *World Elsewhere*, pp. 157-60.

<sup>108</sup> The 'partner swapping' is discussed in ch. 6. The charges of pornography are based on the Company's seizure and public burning of various 'obscene' books and pictures that Saris bought in Japan, IOR: B/5, pp. 303-04; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 239. It is also perhaps a bit unfair to describe Saris' painting of the nude Venus as part of his pornography collection, Milton, *Samurai William*, pp. 168, 177.

source material has a bearing on how historians have interpreted the Anglo-Japanese encounter. The current chapter argues that the Hirado documents contain a rich and largely unexplored body of cultural material. For a start, the Hirado factory contains the fullest archive of letters and documents of any East India factory in this period.<sup>109</sup> The nearest equivalent is the Tonking factory in the late seventeenth century.<sup>110</sup> The Hirado archive comprises over 400 individual letters, various shipping journals, account books and perhaps the jewel in the crown, the voluminous diary of the cape-merchant Richard Cocks. The latter source has been praised by Michael Cooper as the longest eyewitness report of Japan by a European at that time.<sup>111</sup> Although there are periods in which material is thin on the ground, the sources are fairly well distributed across the ten and a half years of the factory's existence. As discussed in greater detail in the next chapter, all the material for the Hirado factory was gathered, transcribed, and published in two volumes by I.O.R. archivist Anthony Farrington in 1991.<sup>112</sup> This enormous labour represents over a decade of work and it is unlikely that substantial further material will turn up.<sup>113</sup> Comprising letters, diaries, logs, accounts, commissions and memoranda, the collection traverses a range of genres and personalities. Yet despite being a treasure trove of cultural information, it has not yet been put to effective scholarly use.<sup>114</sup> Wherever appropriate, this thesis draws attention to the available information from other E.I.C. factories. However, as a general point, the Hirado factory was uniquely fortunate in that much more information survives from its archives than the other contemporary factories.

In this period at least (the early seventeenth century), the English factory boasts the cream of the secular sources for European involvement in Japan. Although there are also merchant accounts from the Dutch East India Company (V.O.C.) in Hirado, historians acknowledge a number of drawbacks to these sources.<sup>115</sup> The V.O.C. documents are far more mercantilist in tone than their British counterparts and are largely lacking the type of intimate personal details essential for a socio-cultural study.<sup>116</sup> The archive is also less voluminous than the English factory's for the period,

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<sup>109</sup> Anthony Farrington has attributed the survival to the Company's desire to understand the factory's failure and hopes of trade renewal, "The English factory in Japan, 1613-1623", *TJSL*, 118 (1991), p. 10. The theory tends to rather grate against the acknowledged E.I.C. laxity in preserving its records, as explored in the following chapter.

<sup>110</sup> Derek Massarella, "A World Elsewhere: aspects of the overseas expansionist mood of the 1650s", in Colin Jones *et al* (eds), *Politics and People in Revolutionary England* (Oxford, 1986), p. 149.

<sup>111</sup> Michael Cooper, "Review of *Diary of Richard Cocks*", *MN*, vol. 37, no. 2 (1982), p. 267.

<sup>112</sup> Anthony Farrington (ed.), *The English Factory in Japan, 1613-1623*, 2 vols (London, 1991).

<sup>113</sup> Ch. 2 examines the destruction of much of the E.I.C.'s archive in the nineteenth century. However, in the 1990s, Derek Massarella did discover a previously unknown letter from 1621 in the Cotton collection of the British Library, BL: Cotton Titus B. VIII, ff. 235-36v. The letter is transcribed in Derek Massarella, "'Ticklish Points': The English East India Company and Japan, 1621", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Series 3, vol. 11, no. 1 (2001), pp. 43-50. Hence, it is possible that occasional individual letters may be discovered but they are unlikely to alter the general understanding of the encounter.

<sup>114</sup> See ch. 2 for more detailed information.

<sup>115</sup> Massarella, *World*, p. 431; W. Z. Mulder, *Hollanders in Hirado, 1597-1641* (Haarlem, n.d.?1985), p. 117.

<sup>116</sup> The relevant V.O.C. sources are housed in the *Algemeen Rijksarchief, Koloniale Archieven, Den Haag*. Much of the published source material is a century old and modern Dutch historians have complained that the indices were compiled by historians which agenda fundamentally different to those of today, Leonard Blussé, *Strange Company: Chinese Settlers, Mestizo Women and the Dutch in V.O.C. Batavia* (Dordrecht, 1986), p. 2. See H. T. Colenbrander and W. Ph. Coolhass (eds), *Jan Pietersz. Coen: Beshieden Omtrent zijn Bedrijf in Indie* 7 vols (Den Haag, 1896-1902). The



1613-1623.<sup>117</sup> W. Z. Mulder notices that apart from one or two brief references there is virtual nothing in the Dutch sources to testify that an English factory existed in Japan. All the information for Anglo-Dutch relations has to come from Cocks' diary. The other secular sources for Japan in this period are also limited in number.<sup>118</sup>

Although specialists have occasionally noted the potential of the Hirado documents, they have never been the subject of a cultural study.<sup>119</sup> Reviewing Farrington's collection, Edward E. Pratt commented how "[t]he documents contain much information on topics of interest to students of Japan's internal development, especially in the areas of culture, society and the economy. It is hoped that the raw material they [the sources] provide on gift exchange alone will spur social historians into this much neglected area of Japanese history".<sup>120</sup> Similarly, Michael Cooper concluded his review of the complete version of Cocks' diary by stating that "[w]ith the full text of Cocks' diary now available, it remains for someone to bring out a cultural-anthropological study on the Englishman's experiences in Japan".<sup>121</sup> Perhaps the absence of such studies is not overly surprising as socio-cultural work of this sort is largely a phenomenon of the 1980s and 1990s and as we have seen, most of the historiography on the factory is very old.<sup>122</sup> However, even in 1971 Michael Cooper realised the latent cultural value of the E.I.C. accounts. Rather than just providing historical information, he argued that they chronicled an encounter between peoples of different religions, systems of thought, culture, tradition and outlook. They

*Linschoten-Vereeniging*, is the Dutch counterpart of the British *Hakluyt Society* and has published many of the early Dutch voyages to the East Indies. Dutch letters are contained in the *General Missiven van Gounerneurs Generaal en Raden aan Heren XVII der Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*, 7 vols (Den Haag, 1960-79) which feature a number of documents from Japan. However, there is no printed edition of specifically Japanese correspondence to rival the Farrington collection. The most relevant letter that cover the period of the English factory can be found in F. C. Weider (ed.), *De Reis van Mahu en de Cordes door de Straat van Magalhães naar Zuid-Amerika en Japan, 1598-1600*, 3 vols, *De Linschoten-Vereeniging*, nos 21, 23, 24 ('s-Gravenhaag, 1923-25), vol. 3, pp.81-117. 200 pages of documents for the whole of the seventeenth century are transcribed in German translation in the appendix of Oskar Nachod, *Die Beziehungen der Niederländischen Ostindischen Kompagnie zu Japan in Siebzehnten Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1897).

<sup>117</sup> For listings of the documents in the Dutch factory see M. P. H. Roessingh, *Het Archief van de Nederlandse Factorij in Japan, 1609-1860* ('s-Gravenhage, 1964). Details of individual letters can be found in Shiryō Hensan-jo (ed.), *Historical Documents relating to Japan in Foreign Countries: An Inventory of Micro Film Acquisitions in the Library of the Historiographical Institute, the University of Tokyo*, 14 vols (Tokyo, 1963-1969), vols, 1-4.

<sup>118</sup> There is the report of Rodrigo Vivero y Velasco in Roberto Ferrando (ed.), *Relaciones de Camboya y el Japón* (Madrid, 1988) and Sebastian Vizcaino's, "Relation del viaje hecho para el descubrimiento de las islas llamadas *Ricas de Oro y Plata*, situadas en el Japon", in Joaquín Francisco Pacheco (ed.), *Collección de Documentos Inéditos Relativos al Descubrimiento, Conquista a Colonización de las Posesiones Espanoles en América y Oceanía*, 42 vols (Madrid, 1864-84), vol. 8, pp. 101-199. The above are both Iberian but see also the chapter on Japan in the travels of Florentine Francesco Carletti, Herbert Weinstock trans and (ed.), *My Voyage around the World by Francesco Carletti a 16<sup>th</sup> Century Florentine Merchant* (London, 1965), pp. 95-135.

<sup>119</sup> Michael Cooper, "The first meeting between East and West", in Peter Milward (ed.), *The Mutual Encounter of East and West* (Tokyo, 1991), p. 4; Cooper, "Review of *Diary of Richard Cocks*", p. 267; Cooper, "Japan described", p. 100; Michael Cooper, "The Brits in Japan", *MN*, vol. 47, no. 4 (1992), p. 265.

<sup>120</sup> Edward E. Pratt, "Review of *The English factory in Japan*", *Journal of Asian History*, vol. 51 (1992), pp. 669-70.

<sup>121</sup> Cooper, "Review of the *Diary of Richard Cocks*", p. 267.

<sup>122</sup> The relevant historiography on perceptions and cultural interactions is discussed in depth in chs 3 and 5.

recorded mutual prejudices and misunderstandings.<sup>123</sup> It may be noted, that Dutch-held Batavia of the seventeenth century has inspired a series of cultural investigations.<sup>124</sup> However, the dated nature of much of the historiography does not explain the neglect of the Hirado factory's cultural material by recent historians such as Massarella and William Corr.<sup>125</sup> I would suggest that the lack of penetrating or anthropological study of the Hirado documents may be blamed on fundamental misconceptions concerning the degree of interaction between Europeans and Japanese.<sup>126</sup> For instance, C. R. Boxer characterises secular personnel in Japan as being confined to coastal towns and claims that interaction was limited to "opposite numbers', the officials, coolies, and whores of the ports".<sup>127</sup> It is true that the Iberian merchants resided in Nagasaki for perhaps four months and then returned to Macao. The poor contemporary postal service and the short tenure of the stay meant that there was little point in sending letters back to Europe.<sup>128</sup> There were no Portuguese trade factories or warehouses in Nagasaki; all trade was carried out aboard the anchored carrack. Historians tend to favour the view that due to their brief stay and ship-bound trade the Iberian merchants had a shallow understanding of Japan and relied on Jesuit advice and mediation.<sup>129</sup> Giuliano Bertuccioli goes so far as to state that the interior of Japan was closed to foreigners.<sup>130</sup> However, unlike the Iberians, the British operated an extended factory system with branches, and hence residences, all over the country, such as Nagasaki, Edo, Ōsaka, Kyōto, Sakai and Fushimi. The implication of this is that they witnessed a wider diversity of culture and society than they could have in Hirado or Nagasaki. The latter city in particular was atypical of Japan, being cosmopolitan, European-influenced and the Christian spiritual capital.<sup>131</sup> Portuguese was widely spoken in Nagasaki and the E.I.C. documents reveal that it was the place where the Company servants would send their clocks for repair or purchase European banqueting tid-bits.<sup>132</sup> In addition to being broadly settled around the main arteries of the country, the British factory servants were obliged to undertake an annual journey

<sup>123</sup> Cooper, "Japan described", p. 100.

<sup>124</sup> See for example, Jean G. Taylor, *The Social World of Batavia: European and Eurasian in Dutch Asia* (Madison, 1983); Blussé, *Strange Company*.

<sup>125</sup> As argued above, Giles Milton actually addresses many socio-cultural issues explored in thesis in *Samurai William*. However, as the book is a lightweight work of popular history there is no attempt to engage with historiographical debate or relate the Hirado factory to broader studies.

<sup>126</sup> Unfounded negative opinions of merchant sources are expressed in Donald F. Lach & Theodore Nicholas, "Images of Asia and Asians in European Fiction, 1500-1800", in Robin W. Winks and J. James (eds), *Asia in Western Fiction* (Manchester, 1990), p. 15. Based only upon the accounts that appeared in *Pilgrimes*, Michael Huissen dismisses Saris and Cocks as describing only business matters, "England encounters Japan: English knowledge of Japan in the seventeenth century", *Terrae Incognitae*, vol. V (1973), p. 50.

<sup>127</sup> Boxer, "Some aspects", p. 307. Boxer's quotes seem directed more towards the Iberians and Dutch.

<sup>128</sup> This point is raised in Michael Cooper, "The Brits in Japan", p.265.

<sup>129</sup> Eichii Kato, "Unification and adaptation, the early Shogunate and Dutch trade policies", in Leonard Blussé & Femme Gaastra (eds), *Companies and Trade: Essays on Overseas Trading Companies during the Ancien Régime*, (Leiden, 1981), p.214. The differences between the Portuguese *Armacão* or *Companhia* systems and the later V.O.C. and E.I.C. models are sketched in *Ibid.*, pp. 214-15 and Lorraine White, "Faction, administrative control, and the failure of the Portuguese India Company, 1628-33", in Disney and Booth (eds), *Vasco da Gama*, pp. 471-83.

<sup>130</sup> Giuliano Bertuccioli, "Francesco Carletti: a Florentine merchant in Japan and China in the years, 1597-99", in Bertuccioli, *Travels to Real and Imaginary Lands: Two Lectures on East Asia*, Instituto Italiano di Cultura Schola di Studi, Sull'Asia Orientale (Kyōto, 1990), p. 9. Huissen, "England encounters", p. 50 also has the factors unable to travel the country apart from the annual court journeys.

<sup>131</sup> See Alexandra Curvelo, "Nagasaki: an European artistic city in early modern Japan", *Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies*, vol. 2 (2001), pp. 23-35.

<sup>132</sup> *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 16, 23 (clock), 42, 63, 81; vol. 2, p. 40.

to the Tokugawa courts in Edo and Shizuoka. They passed along the celebrated Tokkaido road, the trunk route of early modern Japan which took them through the main urban centres. All the merchants made the court journey at least once, with many repeating it over the years. It was an obligatory journey for the newly arrived captain of an E.I.C. vessel put in at Hirado and involved lodging with local merchants and households during the extensive journey. Aside from the annual embassy, the documents also record regular travel back and forth from Hirado to the provincial outposts, usually to bring back coin or carry fresh commodities. It is often forgotten that for each *Shuinjō*, or licensed trading voyage, the pass had to be collected from court and returned after use.<sup>133</sup> Indeed the peripatetic nature of the factors dictated that letters had to be addressed to a number of possible locations. Even after the curtailing of regional factories in 1616, the British found time for frequent commercial pauses during the annual journey and kept up correspondence with their Japanese hosts.<sup>134</sup> Again, in contrast to their Iberian counterparts, many British merchants resided in Japan for a full decade, allowing them to amass a considerable body of experience which rivalled that of many Jesuits. Thus it would be very misleading to assume that the E.I.C.'s long-term residence in Japan shared the disadvantages accorded Iberian merchant accounts.

Derek Massarella characterises the British merchants as being almost without exception intellectually unequipped for cerebral analysis of their 'encounter'.<sup>135</sup> His opinion is probably derived from Sir Thomas Wilson's description of Richard Cocks as unlettered in a note to King James I.<sup>136</sup> To set this remark in context, Wilson was a man who had obtained his B.A. and M.A. from Cambridge and had additionally studied law at the Inns of Court before entering state service as a foreign consul.<sup>137</sup> Cocks' mental ineptitude had not prevented Wilson utilising him as a Crown 'intelligenser' in Bayonne between 1603-1608, a career actually elucidated by Massarella himself.<sup>138</sup> By detracting from the value of Cocks' letters, Wilson was

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<sup>133</sup> BL: Cart. Cotton III. 13. XXVI. 28, f. 15; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 627. A license had to be secured for ships rather than individuals. Adams offered to sell the *Sea Adventure* together with its *Shuinjō*, *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 199.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 172, 185; vol., 3, p. 24. For the circumstances of the curtailing of privileges see chps 6 and 8. Of course, there were some limitations to knowledge. Writing c. 1631, the Dutch *opperhoofd* François Caron freely admitted that "The Countries belonging to the Kings and great Lords, are not much travelled by our Nation, so that we have no knowledge of them; only I am informed that they have mighty Towns and Castles", C. R. Boxer (ed.), *A True Description of the Mighty Kingdoms of Japan and Siam* (London, 1935), p. 36.

<sup>135</sup> Massarella, *World Elsewhere*, p. 241.

<sup>136</sup> PRO: S.P. 14/111 no. 123, f. 201; Farrington, vol. 2, p. 857. However, the value of merchants' reports was not always lost on contemporaries. In his address to the reader, Samuel Purchas remarked "I mention Authors sometimes, of meane qualitie, for the meanest have sense to observe that which themselves see, more certainly then the contumptions and *Theory* of the more learned", *Purchas his Pilgrimage, or Relations of the world and religion observed in al ages and Places discovered...* (London, 1613).

<sup>137</sup> See *Dictionary of National Biography*, sub Thomas Wilson.

<sup>138</sup> Massarella, "The early career of Richard Cocks", pp. 1-46. Earlier writers had been aware of his presence in Bayonne but not of his intelligence activities, Edward Maunde Thompson (ed.), *Diary of Richard Cocks, Cape-Merchant in the English Factory in Japan, 1615-1622, with Correspondence*, 2 vols, *Hakluyt Society*, nos LXVI, LXVII (1883), vol. 1, p. xiii; Riess, "History of the English factory", pp. 37-38; Montague Paske-Smith, *Western Barbarians in Japan and Formosa in Tokugawa Days, 1603-1868* (Kobe, 1930), p. 57. The early historians were probably alerted to the Bayonne letters by the mention of some of them in *CSPC*, vol. 1. The letters do not contain the same quality of social observation as Cocks' later Hirado dispatches.

effectively covering himself against King James' possible dissatisfaction upon reading Cocks' descriptions of Japan. Thus it is certainly true that men such as Cocks had meagre talents when compared to the great polymaths of the age but this is not to suggest that they were incapable of noting and describing their physical and social surroundings. Negative opinions regarding secular merchant accounts denigrate the latter based on the criteria of an ability to write retrospectively and elegantly about the most intimate details of Japanese life. Hence they are compared to their disadvantage with Frois and Rodrigues.<sup>139</sup> However, the merchants neither had the opportunity nor stimulus to compose detailed tracts on Japan, nor, as previously discussed, is this a desirable genre for the study of social interaction on a day-to-day basis. The lack of education has also been somewhat exaggerated and needs to be set in context. A close study of the Hirado letters and journals reveal that the merchants were both reading and borrowing books, including Suetonius, St Augustine's *City of God* and Sir Walter Raleigh's *History of the World*.<sup>140</sup> An inventory of Richard Wickham's goods included 58 books "great & small" as well as "1 chest of bookes, nott opened".<sup>141</sup> Cocks also mentions several books in his diary, including a Dutch chronicle and a Spanish bible.<sup>142</sup> Many of Cocks' letters and diary references reveal a solid knowledge of Japanese history, both ancient and modern.<sup>143</sup> It is difficult to prove but this knowledge may be linked to his purchase of 54 printed Japanese books "of their antiquities & cronicles from their first begyning".<sup>144</sup> Internal clues suggest that the books were for Cocks' own use rather than resale. The sale of Japanese books had no precedent in the financial accounts of the Hirado factory. Of course, Cocks could not read Japanese but he may well have had servants read and translate appropriate passages for him, a method later utilised by Engelbert Kaempfer.<sup>145</sup> Hence the merchants were not lettered in the sense of possessing a university education, but they were not simplistic Jack Tar caricatures and were clearly curious and observant regarding Japanese culture.

The Company records provide much more than a bare record of a decade of trade. They appear to be an ideal vehicle for the study of cultural contacts between European and non-European, outside of the colonial encounters that are usually studied. As argued at the beginning of the chapter, British and Japanese met as equals and the Europeans were neither able to nor sought to impose authority on the Japanese.<sup>146</sup> The various letters and journals from Hirado are completely spontaneous and record the ephemera of day-to-day contact so conspicuously absent from the rather stilted Jesuit sources. Cocks frequently asserted that he wished the men to note at length any news,

<sup>139</sup> E.g. Massarella *World Elsewhere* p. 241.

<sup>140</sup> IOR: E/3/2 no. 140; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 145, IOR: G/12/15 p. 9; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 174, IOR: E/3/4 no. 418; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 538, IOR: E/3/5 no. 584; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 652; *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 194. The history of reading and its cultural contexts has arisen as a separate discipline in the 1980s and 1990s. The books are occasionally mentioned in the early literature, e.g., Paske-Smith, *A Glympse*, p. 59.

<sup>141</sup> IOR: G/40/23 ff.4-7; Farrington, vol. 1, pp. 729-736. The collection is described by Farrington as the largest English travelling library in Asia, "Some other Englishmen", p. 5.

<sup>142</sup> *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 104; vol. 2, p. 86.

<sup>143</sup> See in particular, PRO: CO 77/1 no. 42; Farrington, vol. 1, pp. 256-261.

<sup>144</sup> *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 343.

<sup>145</sup> Beatrice M. Bodart-Bailey trans and (ed.), *Kaempfer's Japan: Tokugawa Culture Observed*, (Honolulu, 1999), p. 11. The literacy of servants is handled in ch. 3. See the latter chapter for an alternate theory of the use of the books for the education of one of the factory boys.

<sup>146</sup> The historiography surrounding various types of encounters is discussed in ch. 3.

whatever its likely veracity.<sup>147</sup> Whilst on one level the letters were intended to convey economic information and reports on the success of regional factories, the desire to transmit news and gossip was never far from the surface. In a letter to Eaton, Wickham concluded "Other newes we have not any worth wrightinge, but as occasion shall offer I will not fayle to advize you".<sup>148</sup> Letters such as this and many others contain no business information whatsoever and are simply opportunities to relate local news, rumours, advice, opinions and impressions of Japan.<sup>149</sup> The dispersal of factors probably contributed to the large number of documents from the factory, as loneliness inevitably provoked frequent correspondence. It should be noted that such letters were not only limited to the casualness of domestic correspondence. There are many letters to Bantam, Ayyuthaya and Patani that are similarly deficient of economic content and concentrate on gossip.<sup>150</sup> The tone of these particular documents was not lost on contemporaries. Referring to a now lost letter from the President at Bantam, George Ball, Cocks comments "You also replie tuching our trad of Japan, Syam & Cochin China that you shall bee abell to judg therof in p'using over my accounts than by reading of my letters".<sup>151</sup> In an often quoted rebuke of Cocks' letters, Ball referred to them as "copiuse but not compendiose; large, but stufed with idell & nedles matter ill-beeseming one of your place yeres & experience".<sup>152</sup> Of course, it is just this sort of trivial information that is particularly useful to cultural historians. The Hirado collection features an abundance of gossip, slander, and prejudice and is far from uniform in tone, opinion or genre. There is a great deal of room for idiosyncrasies and individual opinions. By any standards, the sources are culturally rich and there is no theological taint or doctrinal angle which might have dictated an overview or carefully balanced perspective of society, as found in the Jesuit letters.

On a broader note, the merchant sources can offer new angles not found in the familiar Jesuit material. This is particularly true of sexual relations. Being bound by a vow of chastity, if the missionaries did indulge in sexual activity, they certainly did not record it for posterity. In contrast, during this period the E.I.C. had no policy regarding relationships with native women.<sup>153</sup> There is simply no mention in voyage commissions of standards of appropriate behaviour towards local people beyond common civility.<sup>154</sup> The rare secular observer such as Carletti was able to describe the seasonal concubinage that took place in Nagasaki.<sup>155</sup> However, Portuguese merchants would leave with the next monsoon and therefore could not build up long-term relationships. Hence the English E.I.C. sources are quite unique in detailing close relationships which spanned a number of years and produced several Anglo-Japanese

<sup>147</sup> E.g., IOR: E/3/4 no. 358; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 409.

<sup>148</sup> IOR: G/12/15, p. 16; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 295.

<sup>149</sup> See also for instance, IOR: G/12/15, p. 33; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 412.

<sup>150</sup> E.g., IOR: E/3/3 no. 289; Farrington, vol. 1, pp. 303-04.

<sup>151</sup> IOR: E/3/5 no. 616; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 679.

<sup>152</sup> IOR: E/3/5 no. 511; Farrington, vol. 1, pp. 618-19. Cocks defended the contents of his letters in IOR: E/3/5 no. 615; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 669.

<sup>153</sup> Such relations are handled in full in ch. 6.

<sup>154</sup> See for example IOR: B/2 ff.140-48; Farrington, vol. 2, pp. 974-84 and IOR: G/40/25 pp. 25-30; Farrington, vol. 2, p.1029.

<sup>155</sup> Weinstock (ed.), *My Voyage* pp. 145. As early as 1932, in his introduction to Mark Napier Trollope's translation of Carletti, A. J. Sington noted the value of the Florentine's secular account in a field dominated by missionary sources, "The Carletti discourse: a contemporary Italian account of a visit to Japan in 1597-98", *TASJ*, Second Series, vol. IX (1932), p. 3.

children.<sup>156</sup> We are even fortunate enough to have a small number of letters from Japanese servants and mistresses to the E.I.C. factors, which reveal that the relationships were taken seriously by both partners.<sup>157</sup> It is unique personal touches such as these which elevate the merchant accounts above the detached Jesuit documents in the field of social relations. In fact the genre dictated that missionaries often chronicled events in such an abstract manner that it is often impossible to gauge personal attitudes and beliefs, as argued above.

In many ways it can be argued that the E.I.C. servants fulfil the qualities that historians have praised in the authors of the best missionary accounts. They were men who had lived in the East for several years. They occupied positions of responsibility and had ample opportunity to observe local people.<sup>158</sup> Historians have set out conditions by which contemporary observers were 'qualified' to write of a foreign land.<sup>159</sup> C. R. Boxer includes in his criteria mastery of language, study of local written records and a sincere effort to understand the indigenous culture.<sup>160</sup> Lach and Foss even insist that subjects found in Jesuit letterbooks such as social customs and indigenous religions, are untreated in travel accounts.<sup>161</sup> However, this thesis is not particularly concerned with accuracy of information, but rather with expressed opinions and perceptions of Japanese culture.<sup>162</sup> The study takes the view that even if inaccurate, as proved by the weight of contradictory evidence, remarks are revealing in themselves. The Hirado documents strike a pleasant balance between informed veterans, who were able to pool knowledge and experience, and the verdant curiosity of new arrivals who commented upon matters bypassed by the old-hands. To this we can add a wide geographical spread across Kyūshū and Honshu and its implications of a cosmopolitan viewpoint. The Company documents also relate a remarkably wide canvas of social interaction ranging from humble household servants to the shogun and encompassing merchants, Buddhist priests, local governors, bureaucrats and regional *daimyo* to name but a few. It is wholly plausible to assume that the letters and journals were plainly and honestly written, without any obvious conscious political or theological agenda. Although there was a precedent of merchants and captains perusing letters and logbooks prior to undertaking voyages, as will be subsequently discussed, there were very few examples of these sources being

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<sup>156</sup> Michael Cooper contrasts the openness of Cocks, who was writing a private journal, with the restraint of Frois in his annual letters, who was well-aware of his readership and cultivated an impersonal style, "Japan described", p. 114. As argued in ch. 6, E.I.C. merchants also had relationships with women elsewhere in the East but the Hirado factory is unique in leaving a much better documented record of sexual relationships.

<sup>157</sup> B.L. Cart. Cotton III. 13. XXVI. 28, ff. 47-50, 53-54, 63; Farrington, vol. 2, pp. 954-57.

<sup>158</sup> For praise along these lines see Mundaden, "Church and missionary works", p. 4.

<sup>159</sup> For instance experience, position, grasp of local language. See Jonathan Spence, *The Chan's Great Continent: China in Western Minds* (London, 1998), p. 20 and the essays in Correia-Afonso (ed.), *Indo-Portuguese History*.

<sup>160</sup> C. R. Boxer, "Some aspect of Western historical writings on the Far East, 1500-1800", in W. G. Beasley and E. G. Pulleyblank (eds), *Historians of China and Japan* (London, 1961), p. 307. For other criteria see Rubiés, *Travel and Ethnology*, pp. 2, 207; Schurhammer's preface to Correia-Afonso, *Jesuit Letters*, pp. xvii-xviii; Nabil Matar, *Turks, Moors and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery* (New York, 1999), p. 7.

<sup>161</sup> Donald F. Lach and Theodore Nicholas Foss, "Images of Asia and Asians in European Fiction, 1500-1800" in Robin W. Winks and James J. Rush (eds), *Asia in Western Fiction* (Manchester, 1990), p. 15.

<sup>162</sup> In contrast, Valignano specifically criticised letters based on first impressions and lacking deeper knowledge, Correia-Afonso, *Jesuit Letters*, p. 16.

published. Hence they were not consciously written in expectation of a wider audience, as was the case with Jesuit letters. The relatively short time span of the Hirado documents allows a certain cohesion and continuity of personality, rather than featuring a multitude of different observers all bringing their own personal characteristics to their letters. Hence the historian possesses a detailed snapshot of interaction between European and Asian in a pre-colonial epoch.

## Chapter 2- The Primary Sources

### Introduction

The existence of certain material in several recensions and published editions of varying completeness and accuracy merits preliminary discussion prior to free quotation of the sources. Hence, this introduction is intended to elucidate the traps into which previous historians have fallen, sometimes through use of incomplete material. The present section will also serve to elaborate themes touched upon in the previous chapter concerning the nature of the E.I.C. material. The Hirado sources will, where appropriate, be explored in the context of other E.I.C. papers and general European material on Japan.<sup>1</sup> The present study focuses upon perceptions of Japan and the Japanese as revealed in the letters and diaries of the Hirado factory. However, the factory cannot be decontextualised from the other East Indian factories which operated at this time. A thorough knowledge of the early Company is essential to understand the mental framework of its servants. It would also be a mistake to study the factory material without consistent reference to the sources of the other factories in the East. In the same vein, it is also prudent to be aware of the movements of the Dutch and Iberians in early seventeenth-century Japan. However, as stated in the previous chapter, this study is not a composite comparison between all available European accounts. Instead, European sources have been used to supplement the voluminous E.I.C. Hirado material, illustrating instances of both agreement and contrast. The approach has essentially been analytical, favouring detailed analysis of key features rather than balancing all E.I.C. references against appropriate Dutch, Spanish and Portuguese material.<sup>2</sup> It should also be noted that the most prominent texts have never received a detailed discussion of their provenance and nature.

### 1. General E.I.C. Material

The records of the E.I.C. are now housed in the Oriental and India Office Collection, administratively part of the British Library since 1982.<sup>3</sup> A variety of sources are available which cover various areas of Company administration. Copies and original charters from the Crown concerning the founding of the Company and privileges granted provide an insight into relations with the sovereign and Privy Council. The Court Minutes recount domestic decisions and are essential for the study of provisioning of ships, employment of merchants and crews, and, obliquely, the

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<sup>1</sup> The various early modern printed sources on Japan, which began appearing in the mid-sixteenth century, are discussed in ch. 3.

<sup>2</sup> For the methodology see the previous chapter.

<sup>3</sup> The best modern introduction to the records is Martin Moir, *A General Guide to the India Office Records* (London, 1988). The internal guides are required for a more detailed study of the records. Essential to understanding the neglect of the archive are George Birdwood (ed.), *Report on the Old Records of the India Office* (London, 1879) and William Foster, *A Guide to the India Office records, 1600-1858* (London, 1919). The wanton neglect of records within the context of the Hirado factory is analysed in Derek Massarella, "The loudest lies": knowledge of Japan in seventeenth century England", in Ian Nish (ed.), *Contemporary European Writing on Japan: Scholarly Views from Eastern and Western Europe* (Kent, 1988), pp. 31-33, 37-38.



attitudes of the directors. Individual voyage commissions are also to be found copied into the court minutes and the "Miscellaneous Court Book".<sup>4</sup> Unfortunately a number of volumes are missing from the early years, including the period of the dispatch of the *Clove*, the first E.I.C. ship to reach Japan. The old "Original Correspondence" series was created c. 1832 by chronologically arranging letters previously held under a variety of categories. This series is of primary importance for cultural studies as it contains letters sent by factors in the East Indies to London. However, many letters are contained in individual factory records, copy letter books and other diverse locations such as copies found at the end of journals. Hence, one cannot gain a full appreciation of the sources without moving beyond the Original Correspondence series. The letters from the Company to its factors are contained in the Home Miscellaneous Series. There are also individual factory records and a miscellaneous collection that contains relevant letters, account books, jottings and other material. To this should be added the numerous journals of voyages which survive from this period in the "Marine Records". The logbooks tell of life aboard E.I.C. vessels but also reveal impressions of the various non-European peoples encountered during the voyage.<sup>5</sup> In addition, logbooks characteristically continue during the land stay of a ship and are thus comparable to diaries although they are not necessarily day-by-day accounts. A broad range of sources is essential to an accurate appreciation of the Company's activities. However this particular study, being cultural and analytical rather than comprehensive and narrative, has concentrated upon the letters and journals rather than the Court Minutes and financial accounts.

The richness of the Hirado archive, in direct contrast to other factories, has been remarked upon on a number of occasions by specialists.<sup>6</sup> Derek Massarella remarks that there is no comparable archive from the early seventeenth century and one would have to wait until the late seventeenth century before finding a comparable archive in the records of the Tonking factory.<sup>7</sup> Anthony Farrington has attributed the abundance of documentation to the Company's desire to understand the factory's failure and hopes of trade renewal after the factory's closure.<sup>8</sup> However, this surprising theory rather grates against both the typical E.I.C. laxity in preserving its records and also what is known about the lack of effort devoted to researching trading ventures in Japan prior to the return voyage of 1671.<sup>9</sup> Despite its depth of coverage, there are

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<sup>4</sup> The latter is published as George Birdwood, assisted by William Foster (eds), *The First Letter Book of the East India Company, 1600-1619* (London, 1893; 1965).

<sup>5</sup> Some journals of direct relevance to Japan had been ignored prior to the 1980s according to Anthony Farrington, "Some other Englishmen in Japan", *TASJ*, Third Series, 19 (1984), p. 10. However it should be noted that William Foster was aware of BL: Egerton Ms 2121 (the precise journal referred to by Farrington) and also John Hunt's journal (IOR: L/MAR/A/XXIII) in Foster (ed.), *The Voyage of Thomas Best to the East Indies, 1613-14*, *Hakluyt Society*, Second Series, no. LXXV (1934), p. xln. There are also even earlier references to these journals from the turn of the twentieth century in *Letters Received*, vol. 3, pp. 312-313n; vol. 4, p. 58n.

<sup>6</sup> Ludwig Riess, "History of the English factory at Hirado (1613-1622 [sic])", *TASJ*, vol. XXVI (1898), pp. xxviii-xxix (minutes of the meeting). Michael Cooper, "The first meeting between Japan and the West", in Peter Milward (ed.), *The Mutual Encounter of East and West, 1492-1992* (Tokyo, 1992), p. 4. Michael Cooper, "The Brits in Japan", *MN*, vol. 47, no. 4 (1992), p. 265. The latter articles both compare the archive favourably with Iberian sources.

<sup>7</sup> Derek Massarella, "'A world elsewhere': aspects of the overseas expansionist mood of the 1650s", in Colin Jones, Malyn Newit and Stephen Roberts (eds), *Politics and People in Revolutionary England* (Oxford, 1986), p. 149.

<sup>8</sup> Anthony Farrington, "The English factory in Japan, 1613-1623", *TJSL*, vol. 118 (1991), p. 10.

<sup>9</sup> See below.

certain important gaps in the Hirado collection. For instance there is a virtually no correspondence between factors and the local *daimyo*, *byugōs* or shogun. Yet we know from abundant references that such letters were composed and translated into Japanese.<sup>10</sup> By contrast the Portuguese archives in Goa contain 22 volumes entitled “Reis Visinhos” covering the period 1619-1842, which contain dispatches between the viceroyalty of Goa and various Indian rulers.<sup>11</sup> Certainly, depersonalised standard royal letters survive and there is the odd chance survival of correspondence between factory and *daimyō*.<sup>12</sup> However, royal letters tell us little about factors’ relations with local rulers, being constrained to the point of detachment by stylistic trammels. Without doubt the loss of core materials for relations with local rulers is a serious deficiency in the Hirado archive. There does exist, however, much supplementary evidence which enables tentative reconstruction of relations.

It should also be noted at this early stage that only a fraction of the original Hirado material has survived down to this day. This can be graphically illustrated by a sample of correspondence sent between June 1615 and September 1615. There are three extant letters within these months yet references, particularly from Cocks’ diary, suggests that at least a staggering 175 letters were sent during this period. Even this figure is undoubtedly an underestimate as, relying on Cocks’ diary, most of the tally concerns the cape-merchant’s correspondence. It may be expected that many letters sent between other factors would have escaped mention. Even without the detail provided by Cocks’ daily record the loss is substantial. Again, there are 62 extant letters from 1614. However, relying merely on internal references there is mention of a further 65 documents from the same year now lost to history. Some details of the nature of the lost material is provided further on, however it will be opportune now to sketch the chronology of loss and explain the high proportion of missing items.<sup>13</sup>

The *Laws and Standing Orders* of the Company specified that the Surat and Bantam factories should keep copy books of all letters sent between factories, to be sent annually back to London.<sup>14</sup> Despite such commands there was undoubtedly a considerable loss of material very shortly after its composition.<sup>15</sup> Evidence from letters and Cocks’ diary suggest that the contemporary practice of taking copies of

<sup>10</sup> For further details see ch. 4 on “Linguistic Considerations”.

<sup>11</sup> V. T. Gune, “Source material from the Goa archives”, in John Correia-Afonso (ed.), *Indo-Portuguese History: Sources and Problems* (Oxford, 1981), p. 23.

<sup>12</sup> See e.g. IOR: B/2 f. 150; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 62. IOR: B/2 f. 149; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 63.

University of James Ford Bell Collection; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 75, transcribed along with a facsimile and historical context in David Harris Wilson (ed.), *A Royal Request for Trade: A Letter of King James I to the Emperor of Japan Placed in its Historical Setting* (no place or date of publication). The Japanese replies to King James I can be found in *Voyage*, p. 137; Farrington, vol. 1, pp. 91-92. *Voyage*, p. 195; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 93. A few isolated letters from the factors to the local *daimyō* and shogun during the closing weeks of the factory were entered into the consultations for dissolving the E.I.C. presence, IOR: E/3/10 no. 1115; Farrington, vol. 2, pp. 931-941.

<sup>13</sup> The neglect of the Company records is discussed in Massarella, *World Elsewhere*, pp. 335-36, 340 and in greater detail in Derek Massarella, “The loudest lies”.

<sup>14</sup> East India Company, *Laws and Standing Orders of the East India Company* (London, 1621), p. 52. See also the commission for a voyage to Persia in 1616 that states that copies of all letters were to be sent annually to Bantam, *Letters Received*, vol. 4, p. 224. There are references to copybooks in *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 110, 136, 243-44; vol. 5, pp. 112, 113, 114, 118, 122, 160; vol. 6, pp. 123, 283. The documents were evidently quite extensive. There is reference to a Surat copybook containing 229 folios of ‘in’ letters and 124 folios of ‘out’ letters, *Ibid.*, vol. 5, p. 114.

<sup>15</sup> Large-scale loss at an early stage is supported by F. C. Danvers (ed.), *Letters Received*, vol. 1, p. xvi.

letters was practiced to some extent.<sup>16</sup> However, in virtual isolation for many years from the authorities at Bantam it is plausible that such practices slipped. Although we possess Richard Wickham's copy letter book which runs from 1614 to 1617, there are both internal and external references to his 'out' letters which fall within these dates yet are not included in the book of drafts.<sup>17</sup> In his final letter Wickham also mentions previous correspondence with friends and family in England, no trace of which can be found in the copybook.<sup>18</sup> It may well be the case that letters slanderous to other factory members or of an otherwise 'sensitive' nature may have been destroyed after reading. There is a precedent for this in a letter sent by William Nealson to Wickham in February 1614. After boasting of his conquest of Cocks' consort, Nealson asks Wickham to put all subsequent letters of his to "f[lu]x or the fire".<sup>19</sup> Unfortunately Wickham appears to have followed his instructions as no further letters between the two men survive. Robert Yourt's instructions for a voyage to Japan required all letters carried on English ships relating to private trade to be found and destroyed.<sup>20</sup> The level of private profiteering was heavy at the Hirado factory and such an order may again have taken its toll on the archive. In the years prior to the closing of regional trading outposts in 1616, constant travel between distant localities may also have led to the loss of material.<sup>21</sup>

Although there are several instances of the Company guarding its documents, this was purely a commercial consideration.<sup>22</sup> From its earliest history the E.I.C. was negligent towards the retention of its trading documents even if there was genuine commercial value to them.<sup>23</sup> Even if kept, there were stored in disarray and could not be readily located when needed. It has been noted by historians how the wealth of material from the Hirado factory was not consulted in preparation for a return voyage to Japan in 1671.<sup>24</sup> As the chief regional factory in South East Asia, much of the Hirado material was transferred to Bantam and Batavia prior to being shipped to London. It is clear that the now lost journal of Ralph Coppendale, cape-merchant of the *Hozlander*, was

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<sup>16</sup> PRO: CO 77/1 no. 43; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 264, IOR: E/3/5 no. 615; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 656, IOR: E/3/5 no. 616; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 677.

<sup>17</sup> The document is IOR: G/12/15 and consists of 35 folios, containing 68 letters. References to letters not found in the book are IOR: G/12/15, p. 35; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 430, IOR: E/3/4 no. 378A (a stray leaf from the copybook); Farrington, vol. 1, p. 452 and IOR: E/3/4 no. 386; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 457. For discussion of the document see Anthony Farrington, "The Japan letter book of Richard Wickham, 1614-1617", *India Office Library and Records Annual Report* (1979), pp. 35-45.

<sup>18</sup> IOR: G/12/15, p. 67; Farrington, vol. 1, pp. 613-14.

<sup>19</sup> IOR: E/3/2 no. 155A; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 132.

<sup>20</sup> IOR: G/40/25, p. 131; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 302.

<sup>21</sup> Many letters mention the loss of chests and personal belongings.

<sup>22</sup> *CSPC*, vol. 1, no. 831.

<sup>23</sup> This was also a feature of the Virginia Company. Private letters, as opposed to the court book and charters, were regarded as worthless. See Susan M. Kingsbury, *An Introduction to the Records of the Virginia Company of London, with a Bibliographical List of the Extant Documents* (Washington, 1905), p. 15. Kingsbury also suggests that the E.I.C. was more careful regarding its records than contemporary chartered companies.

<sup>24</sup> The circumstances of the voyage are discussed in Massarella, *World Elsewhere*, pp. 335-369. Japanese documents connected to the renewed trading venture are printed in the appendix of Naojiro Murakami (ed.), *Diary of Richard Cocks, Cape-Merchant in the English Factory in Japan, 1615-1622, with Correspondence: Japanese Edition with Additional Notes*, 2 vols (Tokyo, 1899), vol. 2. Relevant English and Japanese documentation can be found in Roger Machin (ed.), *Experiment and Return: Documents Concerning the Japan Voyage of the English East India Company, 1671-3* (Kyōto, 1978). Seventeenth-century knowledge and use of the Hirado documents is also discussed in Massarella *World Elsewhere*, pp. 335-369.

held at the Batavia presidency as late as 1664.<sup>25</sup> What Company neglect didn't destroy, the humid climate in Batavia probably finished off, as Massarella conjectures.<sup>26</sup> In other circumstances, fragile writing materials may be to blame. Adams Denton complained from Patani that the accounts had to be kept on Chinese rice paper, which was very susceptible to cockroaches.<sup>27</sup> The relocation of the presidency from Bantam to Batavia in 1620 may also have led to the loss of documents in transit. Being essentially a defunct economic interest, the records of the Japan factory were more or less completely neglected prior to the nineteenth century. The Company's huge documentation proved unwieldy and the mid-nineteenth century saw chunks of its vast archive sold off by the ton as waste paper.<sup>28</sup> Sadly, it was not long after these great destructive clearances that historians began to see the manuscripts as important historical sources and started to systematically calendar and publish them. Nevertheless, it is clear that much material had been already lost prior to the clearances.<sup>29</sup> For instance the present order of the "Original Correspondence" archive was settled c.1835 and was thus established and saved prior to the clearances.<sup>30</sup> Yet internal references reveal that the vast majority of letters are now missing. The "Occasional Correspondence" series was compiled from 17 separate collections, which had previously been kept without method or order.<sup>31</sup>

A lucid picture of the archive as it stood in the 1820s is provided by a collection of material gathered by Company archivist Peter Pratt.<sup>32</sup> Pratt's compilation, which supplements an earlier collection of materials on the China trade, comprises vast amounts of extracts, paraphrases and abstracts of all available documentation on the Hirado factory. Although Pratt mentions a couple of letters which no longer survive, it is clear that the most substantial loss was of the factory's economic accounts. As Pratt quotes from virtually every letter known today and there are only a handful of untraceable letters referred to, the conclusion must be that the majority of documents were lost at an earlier date. Although essential for economic history, the absence of fuller accounting records has not particularly hampered the present study.<sup>33</sup> Almost all

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<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 340. The journal was used by Company archivist Peter Pratt in the 1820s but has since disappeared, Montague Pasko Smith (ed.), *History of Japan Compiled from the Records of the English East India Company at the Instance of the Court of Directors* 2 vols (Kobe and London, 1931; 2 vols in 1, London, 1972), pp. 124-26, 134-37, 145-46. Massarella is mistaken in believing that the journal survives as IOR: L/MAR/A/XXIII, *World Elsewhere*, p. 425n. The latter document is the log book of John Hunt.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 340.

<sup>27</sup> *Letters Received*, vol. 2, pp. 129-30.

<sup>28</sup> The destruction can be traced in IOR: Home Miscellaneous, no. 722. In February 1860 300 tons of 'useless' records were sold and a further purge followed in 1861, Foster, *A Guide to the India Office Records*, p. vii-viii. Foster sees the destruction as prompted by Crown appropriation of the Company and the resulting drive for efficiency.

<sup>29</sup> This is attested by Pratt, *History of Japan*, p. v.

<sup>30</sup> However, several of the "Original Correspondence" series relating to Japan are now missing, e.g. nos 212, 347 and 570. A manuscript catalogue prepared in the 1830s lists dates and individuals but also notes the letters as missing at that time, IOR: H/711 (unfoliated). Hence the anonymous compiler of the guide was working from an older catalogue, perhaps prepared by William Barnett, who was employed to catalogue the old documents in 1771, Foster, *A Guide to the India Office Records*, p. ii.

<sup>31</sup> *Letters Received*, vol. 1, p. xv.

<sup>32</sup> IOR: G/12/9. Biographical details provided in Farrington, vol. 2, p. 1567.

<sup>33</sup> However, the surviving economic accounts are not as bland and dry as might be expected. They sometimes reveal details not testified to elsewhere. For instance, we know from Pratt's extracts of "Firando Ledger B" that Edmund Sayers was accompanied on a journey from Tsushima by his host and

superfluous naval journals were destroyed in the early nineteenth century, yet the survival of many in private hands (since purchased by the British Museum/Library), indicates that they left the Company papers at some point prior to the clearances.<sup>34</sup> The fact that Pratt did not have access to such journals, including that of John Saris, suggests that this dislocation was of some antiquity.<sup>35</sup> It is also clear that Cocks' diary (discussed below) only existed in a fragmentary state even in the 1820s and was not a victim of the clearances.

Anthony Farrington's *The English Factory in Japan* (discussed below) prints material which came to light in the 1970s and 1980s. Other materials may yet be discovered. For example, in 1991 Derek Massarella discovered a new letter in the Cotton collection in the British library. This is a letter between John Osterwick, a factor who arrived in 1615 and remained until the end in 1623, and Richard Fursland, president of the Fleet of Defence at Batavia.<sup>36</sup> Internal evidence points to a date in late September 1621, although the actual letter is undated and unsigned. Massarella's transcription of the letter notes its false categorisation as a letter from India, but makes no suggestions about how the letter came to be in the Cotton collection, or about the possible relationship between Osterwick and Sir Robert Cotton.<sup>37</sup> The letter adds some previously unknown details about the activities of the Anglo-Dutch Fleet of Defence, which operated from Hirado from 1620-1622. However, as may be expected, it offers nothing which radically reforms the picture of the English factory in Hirado.

### Published Sources

Despite the wilful destruction of its archive, the early years of the Company has been very well served by published source material. By the turn of the twentieth century both general E.I.C. material and documents related specifically to Hirado had been published. W. Noël Sainsbury's calendaring of material relating to the East Indies, from the sixteenth century down to 1634 is still indispensable.<sup>38</sup> It is widely used to

a money-changer and that Richard Wickham employed a cook in Edo, Farrington, vol. 2, pp. 1273, 1278.

<sup>34</sup> Foster, *A Guide to the India Office Records*, p. 106. The sometimes complex train of previous owners is recounted in Clements R. Markham, *A Memoir of the Indian Surveys* (London, 1871), p. 3 and Michael Strachan and Bois Penrose (eds), *The East India Company Journals of Captain William Keeling and Master Thomas Bonner, 1615-1617* (Minneapolis, 1971), pp. 13-15.

<sup>35</sup> Pratt attributed the loss to Purchas, based on his known removal of journals, testified to in IOR: B/7 pp. 348-49, Pratt, *History of Japan*, p. 35n. However, this belief goes against modern historiography which has highlighted the Company's own neglect of its records. See, for example the essays contained in L. E. Pennington (ed.), *The Purchas Handbook: Studies of the Life, Times and Writings of Samuel Purchas, 1577-1626*, 2 vols, *Hakluyt Society*, Second Series, nos 185, 186 (1997). Many journals were of course recovered from private collections decades after Pratt compiled his work.

<sup>36</sup> BL: Cotton Titus B VIII, ff. 235-236v. The letter is transcribed along with a brief scene setting in Derek Massarella, "'Ticklish Points': The English East India Company and Japan, 1621", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Series 3, vol. 11, no. 1 (2001), pp. 43-50.

<sup>37</sup> The possibilities of such a relationship are touched upon in Massarella, *World Elsewhere*, p. 423n. However, to date nothing has been added to such a notion although it is certainly intriguing.

<sup>38</sup> W. Noël Sainsbury (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, East Indies, 1513-1634*, 5 vols (London, 1862-1892). William Foster notes that this source was the primary introduction for historians to study the India Office Records, *Letters Received*, vol. 2, p. xxvi. The calendar was continued with more limited coverage by W. Noël Sainsbury's daughter, Ethel Bruce Sainsbury (ed.), *A Calendar of the Court Minutes of the East India Company, 1635-1679*, 11 vols (Oxford, 1907-1938).

this day and was utilised almost exclusively by early historians.<sup>39</sup> However, the limitations of this pioneering work have become apparent in more recent years. Purely in references to the Hirado factory it should be noted that among the items not calendared are Wickham's letter book, and large numbers of documents subsequently discovered in the British Library and Public Records Office. I would argue that Sainsbury's exclusion of Wickham's letter book has led even specialists to ignore a number of fascinating cultural observations which are found only in that source.<sup>40</sup> F. C. Danver's systematic classification of the India Office archive from 1884 onwards also led to the continual discovery of material. The defects of Sainsbury's calendar were noted by the Indian historian S. A. Khan in 1926.<sup>41</sup> Continued uncovering of documents prompted the publication of William Foster's *Supplementary Calendar*, which must be used in conjunction with the original catalogue.<sup>42</sup>

The turn of the century saw publication of fully transcribed documentation such as court minutes, the "Original Correspondence" series down to 1617 and various voyage commissions and patents.<sup>43</sup> Such publications allowed some sense of context and comparison with the Hirado material which was also published at the same time. Letters and journals from the Hirado factory were first published only two years after the factory's closure in the great travel collection of Samuel Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimes*.<sup>44</sup> Consultation of the letters and journals therein contained was greatly facilitated by the facsimile reprint of *Pilgrimes* in 1905-07, the original edition not being readily accessible.<sup>45</sup> Although Peter Pratt's invaluable collection of material was gathered in the 1820s it remained in manuscript until 1931, although it had been consulted by Ludwig Riess in 1898.<sup>46</sup> From the mid-nineteenth century the *Hakluyt Society* also published volumes of material relevant to the early Company in general

<sup>39</sup> For example, John Anderson, *English Intercourse with Siam in the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1890). Permission had to be obtained from the Secretary of State for India before delving into the archives, *CSPC*, vol. 1, p. vii, Riess, "History of the English factory", p. i.

<sup>40</sup> Farrington, "The Japan letter book", p. 35 notes that (in 1979) the only attention the document had received were brief extracts from 18 of its 68 letters which appeared as an appendix in C. J. Purnell (ed.), "The log book of William Adams, 1614-19", *TJSL*, vol. XIII (1913-14), pp. 156-302. However, this ignores references to the document by William Foster in *Letters Received*, vol. 3, 312-13n and vol. 6, p. 4n. Foster also transcribes a letter from the copy book in an appendix to *Ibid*, vol. 3, pp. 289-93. It is certainly true that the document has largely been ignored but it was studied by Pratt and Riess in the nineteenth century.

<sup>41</sup> S. A. Khan, *Sources for the History of British India in the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1926). In relation to the Hirado archive itself, similar defects had been pointed out in 1898 by Riess, "History of the English factory".

<sup>42</sup> William Foster, *A Supplementary Calendar of Documents in the India Office Relating to India or the Home Affairs of the East India Company, 1600-1640* (London, 1928). On Foster's great contribution to the archives see, C. F. Beckingham, "William Foster and the records of the India Office", in R. C. Bridges and P. E. Hair (eds), *Compassing the Vaste Globe of the Earth: Studies in the History of the Hakluyt Society, 1846-1996*, *Hakluyt Society*, Second Series, no. 183 (1996), pp. 191-199.

<sup>43</sup> Henry Stevens and George Birdwood (eds), *The Dawn of British Trade to the East Indies as Recorded in the Court Minutes of the East India Company* (London, 1886). Sir George Birdwood, assisted by William Foster (ed.), *The First Letter Book of the East India Company, 1600-1619* (London, 1893; 1965). William Foster and Frederick Charles Danvers (eds), *Letters Received by the East India Company from its Servants in the East*, 6 vols (London, 1896-1902).

<sup>44</sup> 4 vols (London, 1624-25).

<sup>45</sup> Samuel Purchas (comp.), *Hakuluytus Posthumus or Purchas his Pilgrimes... Hakluyt Society*, Extra Series, nos 14-33, 20 vols (Glasgow, 1905-07). The extracts relating to Japan were gathered by Cyril Wild and published as, *Purchas his Pilgrimes in Japan, Extracted from Hakluytus Posthumous or Purchas his Pilgrimes* (Kobe and London, 1938).

<sup>46</sup> Peter Pratt (comp.), *History of Japan*.

and a number of volumes specifically related to Japan.<sup>47</sup> Both E. M. Thompson's version of Cocks' diary and the Japanese edition prepared by Naojiro Murakami included extensive correspondence drawn from the India Office archives.<sup>48</sup> The first quarter of the twentieth century also saw the publication of further source material.<sup>49</sup>

It is evident that within a fairly confined period a great deal of source material for the Hirado factory was published. However, these early editions are unsatisfactory by modern scholarly standards. For instance, the *Letters Received* series features intrusive modernised spelling in addition to occasional omission of 'dull' and sexually explicit material.<sup>50</sup> In other editions, letters are presented only in extract or otherwise bowdlerised form. An indication of the rudimentary editorial conventions observed in such works is provided by the fact that the early *Hakluyt Society* editors were more likely to bear ambassadorial, military or aristocratic titles rather than academic credentials.<sup>51</sup> As will be further discussed below, E. M. Thompson's edition of Cocks' diary was far from comprehensive, being trimmed of c. 40 percent of its text, including sexual references. Poor indexing was also a regular feature of the early published sources.<sup>52</sup> Despite steady publication, as late as 1983 Massarella was able

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<sup>47</sup> Thomas Rundall (ed.), *Memorials of the Empire of Japan: in the XVI and XVII Centuries*, *Hakluyt Society*, First Series, no. VIII (1850) contains most of William Adams' letters and various supplementary material. The society also published Edward Maude Thompson (ed.), *Diary of Richard Cocks, Cape-Merchant of the English Factory in Japan, 1615-1622, with Correspondence*, 2 vols, *Hakluyt Society*, First Series, no. LXVI-LXVII (1883) and Ernest Satow (ed.), *The Voyage of Captain John Saris to Japan, 1613*, *Hakluyt Society*, Second Series, no. V (1900), works which will be handled in detail below. For a complete listing of the society's publications down to 1995 see P. E. H. Hair, "Publications of the Hakluyt Society, 1847-1995: A history compiled by P. E. H. Hair" in Bridges and Hair (eds), *Compassing the Vaste Globe of the Earth*, pp. 243-302.

<sup>48</sup> Naojiro Murakami (ed.), *Diary of Richard Cocks, Cape-merchant in the English Factory in Japan, 1615-1622, with Correspondence: Japanese Edition with Additional Notes*, 2 vols (Tokyo, 1899). Ludwig Riess, "The English factory" (1898) also included an appendix of transcribed documents.

<sup>49</sup> Naojiro Murakami and K. Murakawa (eds), *Letters Written by the English Residents in Japan, 1611-1623 with other Documents on the English Trading Settlement in Japan in the Seventeenth Century* (Tokyo, 1900). C. J. Purnell (ed.), "The log-book of William Adams, 1614-19". The latter also included fully and partly transcribed letters

<sup>50</sup> This was a feature of a number of early *Hakluyt Society* publications in edition to William Foster's editing of *Letters Received*, in particular the appendices of vols 4, 5 and 6. For the censorship of sexual material see also Mark Napier Trollope's translation of Francisco Carletti, "The Carletti discourse: a contemporary Italian account of a visit to Japan in 1597-98", *TASJ*, Second Series, vol. IX (1932), pp. 1-35.

<sup>51</sup> However, recent opinion has redeemed some of the early editors, if not their editorial practice. P. E. H. Hair has criticised G. R. Crone's comments in "Jewells of Antiquitie: The works of the Hakluyt Society", *Geographical Journal*, CXXVIII, part 3 (1962), p. 322, that editors were merely amateurs and antiquaries. Hair opines that such derogatory comments ignore the fact that many editors often had extensive travel and colonial administrative experience of the areas about which they wrote. They were familiar with the geography and people of those regions. See P. E. H. Hair, "The Hakluyt Society: from past to future", in Bridges and Hair (eds), *Compassing the Vast Globe of the Earth*, p. 25n.

<sup>52</sup> Of course, such a problem was not confined exclusively to English material. Leonard Blussé notes that sparse and robotic indexing of nineteenth century V.O.C. material has led many a historian to miss gems contained in the body of the text, "Introduction" in Blussé (ed.), *Strange Company: Chinese Settlers, Mestizo Women and the Dutch in V.O.C. Batavia* (Dordrecht, 1986), p. 2. There is often little alternative to ploughing through hundreds of pages of text. Another example is Louis Frois' *Historia*, which for many years was only available in its initial fascicle and in a German translation by the Jesuit Father Georg Schurhammer as, *Die Geschichte Japans* (Leipzig, 1926). Although written as a history of the Christian mission in Japan, it has long been valued as a source of information on sixteenth century Japanese life. However, the subject index refers merely to religious sub-headings. Hence we

to claim that not only had new material been discovered since these published editions but that much of the Hirado archive was still unused.<sup>53</sup>

It appears clear that up until the mid-twentieth century the factory sources were generously served by published editions.<sup>54</sup> However, the most evident feature of these publications is their scattered and dislocated nature, with documents often appearing as appendices in obscure works, while much important material remained untranscribed. However, the appearance of Anthony Farrington's *The English Factory In Japan* in 1991 solved these problems. Although the old published sources can still be read for their annotations, Farrington's collection largely supersedes all that has come before. It is has been an indispensable sourcebook for this particular study, gathering together 436 documents of relevance to the Hirado factory. Leonard Blussé has described Farrington as "the ultimate historian's archivist" and it is difficult to disagree with his encomium.<sup>55</sup> As assistant director of the India Office Library and Records, Farrington was in the ideal place to pursue such an undertaking. It is clear that it was a lengthy labour of love, representing over a decade of work.<sup>56</sup> As Farrington later stated, the volumes were conceived to complement the 1978-1980 complete edition of Cocks' dairy published by the *Shiryō Hensan-jo*.<sup>57</sup> The sheer convenience of having all relevant documents transcribed and bound in a single collection is beyond estimation to the historian. In addition to the correspondence, ships' journals, financial accounts and diaries, Farrington includes appendices featuring extensive biographical notes, shipping lists with crews, personnel and itineraries of the court journeys, glossary, bibliography and a 42 page index.<sup>58</sup> Seemingly using William Foster's *Letters Received* as a stylistic template, Farrington includes 97 previously unpublished letters, in addition to a further 76 which had only previously appeared in extract. Also included are several Japanese letters which had been transcribed in the appendix of the Japanese version of Cocks' diary but had never previously appeared in translation. In addition many of the remaining letters, such as those found in *Letters Received* had only appeared with radically altered spelling, punctuation and sometimes misleading annotations. Farrington includes precise references to the location of the original documents, physical description, details of any damage and references to appearances in published sources (if any).

Despite the enormous value of Farrington's collection there are still some limitations, either due to editorial oversight or the restrictions of space. A number of

find notices of festivals, prayers, churches, rites, crucifixes and baptisms but nothing on law, servants, nobles, women, executions etc.

<sup>53</sup> Massarella, "The Loudest Lies", p. 29.

<sup>54</sup> As early as 1915 C. J. Purnell commented that Adams' letters had often been reprinted, "The log book of William Adams, 1614-19", p. 157. Hence, in his recent book on Adams, Giles Milton is mistaken in suggesting that until recently only a handful of factory letters had been published, *Samurai William: the Adventurer who Unlocked Japan* (London, 2002), p. 372.

<sup>55</sup> Leonard Blussé, "Review of *A Bibliographical Index of East India Company Maritime Service officers, 1600-1834*", *Itinerario*, no. 3/4 (2000), p. 212.

<sup>56</sup> In 1982 Michael Cooper expressed expectations of the volume in the near future, "Review of *Diary of Richard Cocks*", p. 267. See also Michael Cooper, "The second Englishman", p. 153.

<sup>57</sup> Farrington, "The English factory in Japan", p. 10.

<sup>58</sup> The volumes have been unanimously praised in reviews. See for example, D. L. M. McFarlane, "Review of Anthony Farrington's *The English factory in Japan, 1613-1623*", *TJSL*, vol. 118 (1991), pp. 76-80, Edward, E. Pratt, "Review of *The English Factory in Japan*", *Journal of Asian History*, vol. 31 (1992), pp. 669-70, L. E. and G. Z. Pennington, "A secondary Purchas bibliography", in L. E. Pennington (ed.), *The Purchas Handbook* vol. 2, p. 734.



transcriptions of ships' journals and commissions in particular are incomplete.<sup>59</sup> The taking of extracts from lengthy works such as the journals of Peter Floris and John Jourdain is understandable but the use of only extracts from documents of the utmost relevance such as Saris' commission are less justified.<sup>60</sup> Although the omissions are minor and presumably necessary because of the sheer scale of the endeavour, such a move does have the flavour of the undesirable practices of past editors. Farrington has clearly kept to a mandate of only including material of the strictest relevance to the Hirado factory. For instance, Cocks' account book for the Eighth Voyage begins on 18 April 1611 but only the final two folios which cover his stay in Japan are transcribed.<sup>61</sup> Although the editor claims to acknowledge all previous published appearances of material, there are many unexpected omissions. For instance, the aforementioned commission to Saris does not note George Birdwood's *First Letter Book* as a reference.<sup>62</sup> Other notices are misleading in suggesting that certain letters first appear in Farrington's sourcebook. For instance a number of letters held in the Cotton manuscripts of the British Library and other locations were transcribed in the 1978-80 edition of Cocks' diary and yet are not acknowledged as such in Farrington's work.<sup>63</sup> The sourcebook has also been criticised for its sparse, if expertly researched, annotation.<sup>64</sup> There are also a couple of additional sources somehow missed by Farrington. For instance a letter of Thomas Knowles, factor aboard the *Bee* at Batavia in February 1621, appeared in a contemporary pamphlet and made mention of Japan and Hirado in particular.<sup>65</sup> The letter contains no radical new information but under the terms of Farrington's collection it should have been included in the work. There are also other sources which notice the *Clove* on its voyage between Japan and Bantam, such as the journals of John Jourdain and Walter Payton.<sup>66</sup>

Although Farrington's *The English Factory in Japan* largely supersedes all previous publications there is still a need to consult the original editions in a number of cases. In the 1820s Peter Pratt made extensive extracts and abstracts from a lost economic document called "Firando Ledger B". Farrington's centrifugal collation of the 37 folios scattered through 766 pages of Peter Pratt's rambling collection is both enormously convenient and economical. However, Pratt tells us many details which are not included in Farrington's gleanings. For instance, Pratt makes estimates of various factors' wages based on material not only now lost but also not directly extracted in his collection. He also explicitly states on occasions what Firando Ledger B *didn't* include. A study of Pratt's *The History of Japan* is also essential for an appreciation of the once fuller state of the archive. For the obvious reason that there

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<sup>59</sup> E.g. Document nos 402-408, 417, 420, 427 in volume 2.

<sup>60</sup> Saris' commission (IOR: B/2, ff. 140-48) is printed in vol. 2 pp. 974-984. The full version can be found in Birdwood (ed.), *First Letter Book*, pp. 396-420.

<sup>61</sup> IOR: L/MAR/C/6, ff. 25r-27v; Farrington, vol. 2, pp. 1260-68.

<sup>62</sup> Farrington, vol. 2, p. 974.

<sup>63</sup> *Diary*, vol. 3, pp. 267-325. Farrington, vol. 1, nos 301, 312, 313, 314, 324, 325, 326; vol. 2, no. 337. Farrington's transcriptions of these particular documents are to be preferred over the *Diary* attempts, which pass over many unclear words.

<sup>64</sup> L. E. and G. Z. Pennington, "A secondary Purchas bibliography", p. 734.

<sup>65</sup> *A Second Courante of Newes from the East India in two letters*, letters of Patrick Copland and Thomas Knowles (London, 1622). Patrick Copland also visited Japan but his letter contains nothing of relevance to Hirado. He did however publish a sermon in the same year which mentioned Hirado, *Virginia's God by Thanked, or a sermon of thanksgiving...* (London, 1622).

<sup>66</sup> Foster (ed.), *Journal of John Jourdain*, p. 314. Walter Peyton's journal is BL: Add Ms 19, 276. Extracts appear in *Pilgrimes*.

was already a satisfactory edition available, as well as its formidable length, Cocks' diary is not transcribed. Farrington's inclusion of Saris' journal is also unsatisfactory. He basically follows the same template as the journal's original editor, Sir Ernest Mason Satow, in 1900. Only the stay in Japan is included and the India Office manuscript is interspersed with additions from the *Pilgrimes* version of the journal. A better choice might perhaps have been to print the two versions side by side, giving the reader the chance to appreciate their intrinsic value. The various versions of Saris' journal are discussed below.

On the whole Farrington's work is a remarkable achievement and now allows historians to concentrate on the details of the documents. It facilitates rapid consultation of material side by side, a process which previously would have been cumbersome and time-consuming. All entries are ably indexed in order to facilitate rapid cross-referencing. However, due to limitations in scale, Farrington prints material of only the strictest relevance to the Hirado factory rather than all traceable mention of Japan in the E.I.C. sources. The present study has consulted a much broader range of materials in order to establish a fuller cultural context. I have also tried wherever possible to study journals and letters in their entirety in order to gain a flavour of individual sources. *The English Factory in Japan* is the anchor source of this thesis but is really only the tip of the iceberg of relevant material.

## **2. John Saris' Journal**

Although covering only roughly six months of the factory's existence, the journal of General John Saris is important as the chief source for the establishment of the Hirado factory in 1613. It is, however, a problematic source due to its survival in two manuscript versions in addition to a published version.<sup>67</sup> It should be noted that such an awkward provenance is entirely typical of E.I.C. journals. At least Saris' journal is one of the few that survives in a copy in the author's own hand. Peter Floris' journal was originally composed in Dutch but survives today in a rough but complete contemporary translation.<sup>68</sup> John Jourdain's journal exists in a contemporary copy in two different hands, none of which are Jourdain's.<sup>69</sup> Similarly, Sir Thomas Roe's journal has to be pieced together from incomplete versions. Like Saris' log, there are two manuscript versions and a bowdlerised *Pilgrimes* print, which despite its overall shortness is able to extend the narrative beyond the deficient manuscripts.<sup>70</sup>

This important but neglected source merits more detailed analysis.<sup>71</sup> The India Office manuscript is in Saris's own hand but is clearly not the original rough log, as

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<sup>67</sup> The India Office log is IOR: L/MAR/A/XIV. There is also a contemporary scribal copy of a version prepared for publication held in the Tōyō Bunkō library as D. Ser. 3.

<sup>68</sup> Moreland (ed.), *Peter Floris*, pp. lxii-lxviii. The journals has been identified as Dutch by solecisms in the text resulting from the literal translations of Dutch idioms such as "a mighty cake of wind".

<sup>69</sup> See introduction to Foster (ed.), *John Jourdain*, pp. x-xii.

<sup>70</sup> Foster (ed.), *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, pp. lix-lxviii.

<sup>71</sup> There is a modicum of discussion about the various embellishments found in the journal weaved into Massarella, *World Elsewhere*, pp. 89-130. The differing published versions are covered in *Ibid.*, p. 389n. Perhaps the most detailed discussion is to be found in Derek Massarella and Izumi K. Tytler, "The Japonian charters: the English and Dutch *shuinjō*", *MN*, 45, no. 2 (1990), pp. 189-205. The journal is only considered as an ancillary discussion in the latter article. See also Wild, *Purchas his Pilgrimes in Japan*, pp. 122-24.

demonstrated by the neat and uniform script throughout.<sup>72</sup> That it is not original is hardly surprising given numerous contemporary examples of captains and mariners keeping their own journals and preparing a presentation copy for the Company.<sup>73</sup> The title page of the Tōyō Bunko manuscript indicates that it was a version prepared by Saris for publication and dedicated to Sir Francis Bacon.<sup>74</sup> Although never apparently noticed by historians before, there is detailed reference to this version in the third edition of Samuel Purchas' *Purchas his Pilgrimage* (1617).<sup>75</sup> Saris is not listed amongst the authorities in the preface (although he is mentioned in a list of unpublished manuscripts), hence is easy to see how historians have missed this reference, buried as it is 670 pages into the third edition of a work which is largely ignored in favour of the better-known *Purchas his Pilgrimes* (1624-25).<sup>76</sup>

The third version of the journal appeared in Samuel Purchas's *Pilgrimes* and is by far the most heavily quoted version.<sup>77</sup> This is quite clearly a version prepared for a readership and contains much interesting material which is not to be found in the India Office manuscript. The mundane matters of trade are passed over in favour of gruesome executions and dancing courtesans. Although Purchas characteristically edited journals so as to highlight the most entertaining material he did not add to what already existed. Hence it was clearly Saris himself who modified his own journal. This is surely what is implied by Purchas' comment in *Pilgrimage* that "I have not seen any... of our Indian voyages better penn'd, with more necessary or fewer Needlesse Observations".<sup>78</sup> The problem facing historians is whether it was modified by reference to contemporary literature or simply as a result of a synthesis of Saris' accumulated knowledge about Japan. Did he really see and describe events from memory or were they 'lifted' from other accounts? These issues are dealt with in the

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<sup>72</sup> The final part of this version between Bantam and Japan has been printed as Sir Ernest Mason Satow (ed.), *The Voyage of John Saris to Japan*. This edition has recently been reprinted in facsimile as volume 6 of *The Collected Works of Ernest Mason Satow: Part 1, Major Works* (Bristol, Tokyo, 1998). Satow's lengthy introduction provides some details of the manuscript itself. A limited transcription of Saris' journal was also made by Ludwig Reiss whilst Satow was working on the manuscript, "History of the English factory", pp. 168-93. This transcription also found a reprint in Murakami and Murakawa (eds), *Letters Written by the English Residents*.

<sup>73</sup> On 14 January 1615 the directors ordered Saris to deliver his log to Captain William Keeling, IOR: B/5 p. 339; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 276. However, Keeling provides no reference to his use of the journal in his own log, Michael Strachan and Bois Penrose (eds), *The East India Company Journals of Captain William Keeling and Master Thomas Bonner, 1615-1617* (Minneapolis, 1971).

<sup>74</sup> This version has also been published in facsimile and transcription as Takanobu Otsuka (ed.), *The First Voyage of Captain John Saris to Japan, 1613*, 2 vols (Tokyo, 1940-41). The provenance of the manuscript is discussed along with a photo plate of the title page in Chozo Muto, *A Short History of Anglo-Japanese Relations* (Tokyo, 1936), pp. 40-44. Chozo Muto's discussion of Bacon's 'interest' in the Eighth Voyage and Japan is not substantiated by any evidence. Although Bacon's works mention Japan on a number of occasions, there are no references that suggest information from Saris' journal in James Spedding *et al* (eds), *The Works of Francis Bacon*, 14 vols (London, 1857-74). I have also been informed by Dr Alan Stewart that there are no references to Japan in his forthcoming edition of Bacon's complete letters. (Personal communication).

<sup>75</sup> Samuel Purchas (comp.), *Purchas his Pilgrimage, or Relations of the World and the religions observed in al ages and Places discovered...* (London, 1613) Third edition (1617), p. 670.

<sup>76</sup> Sig. A 8r. William Foster notes the obscurity of the work in *The Voyage of Nicholas Downton to the East Indies, 1614-15, as Recorded in Contemporary narratives and Letters*, Hakluyt Society, Second Series, No. LXXXII (1939), p. xxxv.

<sup>77</sup> For instance, although aware of both Satow and Takanobu's editions, Michael Cooper draws all his extracts from the *Pilgrimes* version in Cooper (ed.), *They Came to Japan: An Anthology of European Reports on Japan, 1543-1640* (London, 1965).

<sup>78</sup> *Purchas his Pilgrimage*, p. 670.

body of the dissertation, when and where they occur on an individual basis. The structure of the *Pilgrimes* version certainly distorts any analysis of initial impressions due to the contrived nature of the work. However, one has also to bear in mind to what extent the India Office manuscript was also recinded in this manner. As Massarella has noted, Takanobu Otsuka's argument that the *Pilgrimes* edition was based not on the Tōyō Bunkō manuscript but a third, now lost, version is implausible.<sup>79</sup> The two versions are almost identical apart from very minor variations, which may or may not be ascribed to Purchas. The Tōyō Bunkō version was quite evidently intended for a publication that never materialised, a fact backed up by the contemporary evidence of *Pilgrimage*. The death of Hakluyt in 1616 and presumably the inability of Saris to find a publisher evidently turned his attention to Purchas.<sup>80</sup> They had met in interview in 1617, where Purchas had commended Saris' reworked version but had been forbidden extensive usage due to its imminent independent publication.<sup>81</sup>

I would suggest that to some extent the impact of Saris' later interpolation of his journal has been overestimated. It is clear that he transposed the knowledge gleaned after a six-month stay in Japan to appear during the opening few days of his journal. However, this does not mean that he did not see or do what he claims to have seen and done. There is merely a chronological transplantation. Whilst it is not impossible that his account was supplemented by contemporary literature, a search of written materials available to Saris at the time has not revealed any obvious sources for his observations.<sup>82</sup> It is far more likely that in copying up his journal he added *bona fide* recollections that were either inappropriate or otiose for his business-like journal. As Beatrice Bodart-Bailey has demonstrated, this was exactly the pattern followed by the highly esteemed Engelbert Kaempfer, who visited Japan in the late seventeenth century. One can see subtle differences between Kaempfer's field notes and his manuscript prepared for publication, BL: Sloane MS 3064. Whilst the latter manuscript neglects some interesting material found in the rough notes, it also adds observations and detail not substantiated in Kaempfer's fieldwork, which were presumably drawn from memory.<sup>83</sup> To my knowledge, Kaempfer's work has received

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<sup>79</sup> Massarella, "The Japonian charter", p. 194. Also supported in Wild, *Purchas his Pilgrimes in Japan*, pp. 123-24.

<sup>80</sup> No entries either under Saris' name or bearing a plausible title can be found in the Stationer's Register for the years flanking 1617, Edward Arber (ed.), *Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers*, 5 vols (London, 1875-1894). Yet there is no doubt that in 1617 Saris intended to publish the manuscript. Purchas wrote that "the publishing thereof was intended" and gave it praise "to Vsher it into the common light", *Purchas his Pilgrimage*, p. 670. It should be noted that despite the evidence of the title page of the Tōyō Bunko manuscript, no connection with Hakluyt is mentioned in *Pilgrimage*. Hakluyt is also not listed as the source of Saris' journal in its full appearance in *Pilgrimes*.

<sup>81</sup> *Purchas his Pilgrimage*, p. 670.

<sup>82</sup> The Florentine traveller Francesco Carletti is also believed to have supplemented his account of Japan by reference to Jesuit letters after his return to Europe. However, modern scholars have similarly found it impossible to pinpoint sources. See Antonio Forte, "On Carletti's book with particular reference to his chapter concerning Japan", in Giuliano Bertuccioli (ed.), *Travels to Real and Imaginary Lands: Two Lectures on East Asia* (Kyōto, 1990), pp. 81-85.

<sup>83</sup> Beatrice Bodart-Bailey, "Preliminary report on the manuscripts of Engelbert Kaempfer in the British Library", in Yu-Ying Brown (ed.), *British Library Occasional Papers 11: Japanese Studies* (London, 1990), pp. 24-26. See *Ibid.*, p. 30 for the same process used in Kaempfer's description of Siam. Bodart-Bailey recently published the full translation of the manuscript known as "Heutiges Japans", which differs considerably from J. G. Scheuchzer's early eighteenth century translation familiar to Tokugawa historians, Bodart-Bailey, trans and (ed.), *Kaempfer's Japan: Tokugawa Culture Observed* (Honolulu,

no criticism for this approach. Unlike Cocks' diary (discussed below), Saris' journal was clearly a Company log book and not a private diary. Admittedly, a major problem is the absence of supplementary material with which to test Saris' claims.<sup>84</sup> Cocks supplies a *Relation... Of what past in the generals absence* but this deals with events in Hirado whilst Saris was at court in Edo and Shizuoka, and thus cannot be used to test the veracity of the general's remarks.<sup>85</sup>

There is still no definitive or even satisfactory edition of Saris' journal. The lengthy account of the fleet's voyage prior to sailing for Japan remains unpublished apart from the extracts in *Pilgrimes*. The trustees of the *Hakluyt Society* deemed full publication of the India Office manuscript to be unnecessary as it was not a pioneering voyage and added nothing to the geographical detail that was previously available.<sup>86</sup> However, a full account of the voyage is essential for a close study of Saris' later actions in Japan. The voyage reveals his perceptions and opinions of a variety of non-European peoples and hints at his views on discipline, law and order and religion. It also provides an insight into the personalities of subsequent factory members. A publication of the voyage is also important as no letters survive from the Eighth Voyage prior to arrival in Bantam in December 1612. Ideally, the *Pilgrimes* version would be published separately in the same volume in order to allow full comparison of the two accounts. The original editor, E. M. Satow, simply used the *Pilgrimes* account to enrich the India Office manuscript. Although the interlardings are indicated by square brackets, Satow's method gives little sense of the overall structure of the *Pilgrimes* version. The dislocated nature of the extracts provides no sense of continuity or style, or any sense of what the latter version *didn't* include.<sup>87</sup> As the Tōyō Bunko manuscript differs in only trivial details it would be necessary merely to collate it with the *Pilgrimes* account. As it stands, it is necessary to consult three separate publications, of which Takanobu Otsuka's *The First Voyage of John Saris to Japan* is extremely rare. The bulk of the India Office manuscript also remains unpublished.

### 3. Richard Cocks' Diary

Although without doubt richly supplemented by the c. 400 letters which survive from the Hirado factory, the diary of cape-merchant Richard Cocks remains the factory's

1999). For the history of Kaempfer's papers see the essays in Beatrice Bodart-Bailey and Derek Massarella (eds), *The Furthest Goal: Engelbert Kaempfer's Encounter with Tokugawa Japan* (Kent, 1995).

<sup>84</sup> The closest accounts are various letters sent by the factors to the Company in November and December 1613. These are not immediately contemporary with the journal but describe earlier events: IOR: E/3/1 nos 121, 122, 123, 123; Farrington, vol. 1, pp. 96-102, 103-109, 110-115, 116-118.

<sup>85</sup> *Pilgrimes*, vol. 3, pp. 519-48.

<sup>86</sup> *Voyage*, pp. xvii-xviii. However, Satow does provide a synopsis of events prior to arrival at Bantam in *Ibid.*, pp. xviii-xxv. For many years the publications of the Society were geared towards the armchair traveller and dilettante rather than the scholar. Hence scholarly considerations were sacrificed for entertainment value and excessive annotation was expressly avoided. See Hair, "The Hakluyt Society", pp. 7-48.

<sup>87</sup> Pace L. E. Pennington, who cites Satow's work as an excellent example of Purchas being used to supplement an extant manuscript, "Purchas through four centuries", in L. E. Pennington (ed.), *The Purchas Handbook: Studies of the Life, Times and Writings of Samuel Purchas, 1577-1626*, 2 vols, *Hakluyt Society*, Second Series, nos 185, 186 (1997), vol. 1, p. 53.

most fertile storehouse of cultural information.<sup>88</sup> For instance, as will be examined in due course, the factors' letters contain virtually nothing about factory relations with *kabuki* girls. All our information has to be gleaned from notices in Cocks' diary. The source also reveals a considerable amount about Cocks' knowledge of the Japanese language, a facet which is not immediately noticeable in his letters or indeed those of other members. As noted earlier the diary also dramatically sheds light on the extent of documents lost from the factory, the scale of which would have otherwise remained obscured. On the other hand one should realise the limitations of the diary. It unfortunately suffers from yawning gaps in its coverage, which are discussed below. Whilst it is certainly an intimate portrait of life in the English factory it is only the testimony of one man. It should also be borne in mind that as Cocks was the head of the factory, some of the more sordid goings-on by servants and junior may not have reached his ears. Of course, these are exactly the kind of details relished by social and cultural historians. That is not to say however, that the diary as it stands is not bereft of such material. Far from it. However, Cocks may have been the victim of what C. R. Boxer has written about the Jesuit missionaries in Japan. Whilst being in a superior position to oversee national events, the dignity of their position forbade the Jesuits from what Boxer calls "tavern talk" and "tea-house gossip".<sup>89</sup> Although Cocks was certainly not as restricted either sexually or morally as the Jesuit fathers, it may be expected that in the hierarchical Japanese society native employees would have been less than honest and open before the cape-merchant. Such considerations will be taken into account when and where applicable.

Cocks' diary is unique in being an extensive record of daily life at the English factory, which unlike Saris' journal or Cocks' own brief *Relation* in Purchas' *Pilgrimes*, stretches unbroken across a number of years. There is thus a certain continuity of narrative which allows the historian to observe long-term patterns which might have otherwise remained invisible due to fragmentary survival of correspondence. Although the factory letters are certainly not merely dry business news, the diary tells the social and cultural historian even more about the trivia and petty rivalries of everyday life. It has been decided that the importance of the source merits lengthy discussion of its provenance and unfortunate gaps.

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<sup>88</sup> For modern biographical sketches of Cocks see Michael Cooper, "The second Englishman in Japan: the trials and travails of Richard Cocks, 1613-1624", *TASJ*, Third Series, 17 (1982), pp. 121-159 and Derek Massarella, "The early career of Richard Cocks (1566-1624), head of the English East India Company's factory in Japan (1613-1623)", *TASJ*, Third Series, 20 (1985), pp. 1-46. The articles complement each other as dealing with Cocks' movements in Japan and prior to joining the E.I.C. respectively. See also Massarella, *World Elsewhere*, pp. 139-142 and Farrington, vol. 2, pp. 1549-52. Anthony Farrington's discovery of Cocks' baptismal records and will cemented a few details which remained uncertain in earlier biographical notices. The will is transcribed in *Diary*, vol. 3, pp. 263-266. Despite the publication of his diary in 1883, Cocks inexplicably received no mention in the first edition of *Dictionary of National Biography*, although he was referred to in the prosopographies of both Adams and Saris. Mention of Cocks' early activities in Bayonne went unacknowledged in the index of John Stoye, *English Travellers Abroad, 1604-1667: Their Influence in English Society and Politics* (London, 1952). This was noted and criticised by Massarella, "Early career", p. 11. However, Cocks' historical prestige had presumably swelled enough for him to receive notice and explanation of his final years in Japan in the 1989 revised version of Stoye's work (New Haven and London, 1989), pp. 60, 205n.

<sup>89</sup> C. R. Boxer (ed.), *A True Description of the Mighty Kingdoms of Japan and Siam* (London, 1935), p. CXXV. Although generally a supporter of Jesuit accounts, Boxer saw the value of the informal circles frequented by the merchants.

### Published Versions

Cocks' diary first appeared in a two-volume *Hakluyt Society* edition in 1883 under the editorship of British Museum palaeographer Edward Maunde Thompson. It is heavily annotated with reference to trade goods but the notes are particularly weak in reference to all things Japanese. At the date of publication Japanese studies were in their infancy, and as might be expected Thompson's lack of knowledge in this area severely limited his ability to edit a journal from early modern Japan. Despite this, Thompson's edition of the diary was very popular in its time as both an informative and entertaining piece of writing. The deficiencies of annotation and popular demand for the work prompted a republication in 1899 under the editorship of Japanese professor Naojiro Murakami.<sup>90</sup> This was essentially a re-editing of Thompson's transcription rather than a new edition and is usually referred to for bibliographical purposes as the Japanese edition of the *Hakluyt Society* work. Although the work is on the whole less heavily annotated than the 1883 original, the notes are far more accurate due to Murakami's specialist knowledge of Japanese sources and history. Although of limited availability, Murakami's edition was the version of choice prior to publication of the complete diary in 1978-80.

From a scholarly point of view Thompson's editing was seriously flawed. Most notable was his decision to exclude large chunks of text. Thompson does actually note this in his introduction, but his description of the absent material is misleading: "only those entries which have absolutely no interest, e.g. bare memoranda of sales and purchases have been omitted".<sup>91</sup> The "bare memoranda" often referred to gifts given to local nobility and are hence potentially very important. However, alongside Cocks' descriptions of weather conditions, Thompson omitted many notices of letters sent and received, minor local events and almost all of the extensive marginal notes. A number of Cocks' comments of a sexual nature were also replaced by rows of dots.<sup>92</sup> Censorship of this type is not unusual for the period and can be seen in many *Hakluyt Society* works in addition to the *Letters Received* under the editorship of Sir William Foster. Thompson's greatest disservice, however, was his claim that only uninteresting bare figures had been left out. The truth was far more complex. The *Shiryō Hensan-jo* who edited the full manuscript, estimate that as much as two fifths of the diary was left untranscribed.<sup>93</sup> However, despite the comments of the *Shiryō Hensan-jo*, there is actually little evidence that historians had "long awaited" a complete edition of the diary.<sup>94</sup> The omissions made by Thompson are sometimes mentioned in articles and books but his misleading description of the omitted sections seems to have satisfied most scholars. To my knowledge Michael Cooper is the only historian to have consulted the manuscript diary *in extenso*, and this was merely to examine the sexual references rather than pore through the hundreds of folios of other culturally relevant material.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> Murakami (ed.), *Diary of Richard Cocks*.

<sup>91</sup> Thompson (ed.), *Diary of Richard Cocks*, vol. 1, p. iii.

<sup>92</sup> The 'naughty bits' are to be found in uncensored in *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 331; vol. 2, pp. 34-35, 66, 115, 413. Although inconsistent with modern editorial methods, Milton, *Samurai William*, p. 372 is a little strong in suggesting that such comments were "heavily" expurgated.

<sup>93</sup> *Diary*, vol. 1, p. xiv.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>95</sup> Cooper, "Review of *Diary of Richard Cocks*, pp. 265-67.

In 1978-80 the *Shiryō Hensan-jo*, the Historiographical Department of Tōkyō University, published the complete version of the diary in three volumes. A Japanese translation was also published which contained relevant primary material in appendices.<sup>96</sup> For the first time all the entries and sexual material excised by Thompson was now available. The diary however received only a lukewarm reception from specialists, who criticised its inadequate introduction and particularly its very generalised index.<sup>97</sup> The large number of editorial mistakes listed on the errata pages for each volume has also been brought to notice.<sup>98</sup> Nonetheless, this is the version that has been chosen for this thesis.

### Company Document or Private Diary?

The question of whether Cocks' diary should be considered as a private diary or as a Company document is a problematic one to which the various historians who have studied the factory have generally given only cursory attention. While establishing the precise status of the document is difficult, an attempt at categorisation is vital in order to clarify the way in which the diary's contents should be read. The problem of classification is not created so much by a lack of evidence as by contradictory evidence.

There is some evidence which would suggest that the diary was a journal prepared for the E.I.C.. It should be remembered that on voyages both ship's officers and merchants were required to keep a journal of events.<sup>99</sup> Characteristically the returning officer/merchant would have a scribe prepare a neat copy for presentation to the Company, whilst presumably keeping the rough log for his personal use.<sup>100</sup> The Company valued navigational, mercantile and other useful information contained in such logs. It appears that both captains and merchants made efforts to acquaint themselves with letters and journals of earlier voyages by way of preparation.<sup>101</sup> That Cocks kept such a log would have been a Company requirement. There is also cogent evidence for its existence in Cocks' letter to the Company of January 1613 from

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<sup>96</sup> *Nihon Kankei Kaigai Shiryō: Igrisu Shōkancho Nikki*, 3 vols (Tokyo, 1979- 82). In the context of the *Hakluyt Society*, P. E. H. Hair's praise of, "Edited translations of English texts, in Japanese and edited by local scholars" can only refer to the *Diary*, "The Hakluyt Society", p. 38n.

<sup>97</sup> Cooper, "Review of *Diary of Richard Cocks*", pp. 265-67 and Anthony Farrington, "The Japan Base", p. 27n. There is a tendency to provide hundreds of page references for a particular individual without any subsections noting context.

<sup>98</sup> Cooper, "Review of *Diary of Richard Cocks*", pp. 266-67. This is of course unfortunate but nowhere near as bad as the first volume of the Dutch *daghregisters* produced under the *Shiryō Hensan-jo*'s editorship, *Diaries Kept by the Heads of the Dutch Factories in Japan: Daghregisters gehouden bij de Opperhoofden van het Nederlansche Factorij in Japan* (Tokyo, 1974). The errata pages of this single volume run to 12 tightly typed pages.

<sup>99</sup> Stated in Saris' commission in IOR: B/2 ff.140-48; Farrington, vol. 2, p. 976. This was very much a standard directive as seen in all the commissions printed in Birdwood (ed.), *First Letter Book*.

<sup>100</sup> All the well-known journals such as those of Peter Floris, John Jourdain, Sir Thomas Roe, Nicholas Downton, William Keeling and others only survive in scribal copies. John Saris' journal is unusual in being a copy from his own hand.

<sup>101</sup> Several of the "Original Correspondence" series are abstracts of logs or even entire journals, e.g. *Letters Received*, vol. 1, pp. 17-18, 42, 196-97; vol. 3 pp. 160-69. The court minutes frequently mention the delivery of logs to captains and fleet generals, CSPPC, vol. 1, no. 362. The evidence of individual journals also reveals a close study of previous logbooks and accounts, e.g. Foster (ed.), *Voyage of Thomas Best*, pp. 63, 70, 71, 177 and Foster (ed.), *Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, pp. 6, 9-10, 17, 26, 35-36, 37. In direct relation to the Hirado factory, Cocks records the receipt of a draft of Master John Hunt's voyage from Bantam to Japan, *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 177.



Bantam. Aside from the dates supplied for various ports of call, Cocks included an enclosure listing all deaths prior to 12 January 1613 complete with respective dates.<sup>102</sup> It appears impossible that Cocks was not aided by some form of record keeping, most obviously a log-book. It would be plausible to take this a step further and suggest that the journal-like account, known as Cocks' *Relation* which appeared in *Pilgrimes*, was the continuation at port of his naval logbook, which Saris brought back with him to London. Characteristically, such log books or journals were continued for the duration of the voyage and were not confined merely to navigational notations. However, for Purchas to have had access to the journal in 1624-25 it must have been brought back by Saris in 1614 and deposited with the Company.<sup>103</sup> There is no evidence that Purchas had access to the diary as we know it as it is unlikely that he would not have used such an interesting document. As a further point, Cocks' diary is written on Japanese paper which he can only be presumed to have acquired whilst in Japan.<sup>104</sup> Hence, Cocks' journal of the Eighth Voyage probably survives only as the *Pilgrimes* extract, *Relation of Master Cocks*, and is not one and the same as the *Diary*. The logbook was probably dispersed alongside other documents such as Saris' own log.<sup>105</sup> In the 1820s Peter Pratt evidently had no access to either document. Saris' log survived in private hands before being returned to the India Office archives. The fate of Cocks' log is unknown but it is unlikely to have survived undiscovered.<sup>106</sup>

Cocks' diary is littered with rhetorical remarks and apparent indications that he was writing with a potential readership in mind. Of course some of these statements are merely stylistic devices and should not in themselves be taken as proof that the diary was not a private document. Cocks often makes statements such as "I thought good to note down" and "For you must vnderstand".<sup>107</sup> However, there appear to be indications that the cape-merchant was writing for posterity. Regarding a disagreement with Adams he writes "& this much thought I good to note downe, that it may be extant whether I live or dye".<sup>108</sup> Cocks' style tends towards ambiguity and it is extremely difficult to conclude whether statements such as "you may believe it yf you please" are addressed to a readership or are simply stylistic. It should be noted that there are many examples of similar comments in contemporary journals. Examples can be drawn of both extremely private feelings and emotions and apparently active addresses to the reader. The only truly unambiguous evidence for a readership is a statement in relation to Dutch hostility in the Moluccas: "[T]his much I have noted downe, that, whether I live or dye yet I hope this my hand writing may

<sup>102</sup> *Letters Received*, vol. 1, pp. 222-224.

<sup>103</sup> Printing began on the 4 folio volumes in 1621, as stated by Purchas himself in *Pilgrimes*, vol. 1, p. xlv.

<sup>104</sup> Japanese paper was often given as a present by both locals and factors, *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 31, 37, 61, 62, 100, 180, 354, 362; vol. 2, pp. 38, 104. It is true that in the later years of the factory Cocks sent reams of paper to Siam and other factories, e.g. *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 137 and IOR: E/3/3 no. 319; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 350. See also Adam Denton's request from Patani, *Letters Received*, vol. 2, pp. 129-30. However, as the *Clove* was the pioneering voyage to Japan there would have been no prior source for Japanese paper in localities such as Bantam.

<sup>105</sup> The order for the destruction of all surplus journals where that of the captain survived was carried out in 1818, Foster, *A Guide to the India Office Records*, p. 106.

<sup>106</sup> As previously noted all 'non-essential' logs were pulped in the early nineteenth century. The survival of many logs by lower officers now in the British Library and elsewhere, where they were purchased from private collections, suggests that many such documents strayed from the Company archives before the destruction of the nineteenth century.

<sup>107</sup> *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 44, 47.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 46.

com to the handes of our honourable employers".<sup>109</sup> On the whole, however, the evidence to support the theory that the diary is a Company journal is confined to little more than isolated comments.

Despite occasional comments in the diary which imply that it is an official journal, there is in fact considerable evidence that points towards it being a private document. First of all, there was no official requirement for a lengthy daily record of the sort kept in Cocks' diary to be kept by the cape-merchant whilst *in situ*. Instructions in *Laws and Standing Orders* required detailed accounts, but did not specify a diary in the modern sense of the word. Analysis is complicated by ambiguous use of the term 'journal' in the early modern period. It did not necessarily mean a diary, but could rather refer to daily financial accounts.<sup>110</sup> That Cocks' diary was not an example of the various journals sent periodically to London is proved by his retention and annotation of the document over a number of years. It clearly was not posted to Bantam and thence London on an annual basis, as specified in the directive. We must also not take the directives of *Laws and Standing Orders* too seriously in this case. The *Laws* were published in 1621 and any attempts to implement their suggestions in the Eastern factories would have barely reached Cocks before the factory's closure.

Cocks clearly saw the diary as a practical tool and not merely a tiresome book-keeping exercise as he may have done with his accounts. He left gaps in the entries concerning weights, measures and proper names, which he intended to fill in later to compensate for temporary memory loss. The diary is also filled with retrospective marginal notes, presumably intended to guide him through the text. In this he was following contemporary practice in printed literature.<sup>111</sup> Certain aspects of this practice are evident in the printed edition of the diary. For instance the entry for 8 July 1615 is marked with "Extreme hot weather began", yet the subsequent entries portray the weather as merely dry, fair and windy. "Extreme hot weather" is not actually encountered until 15 July 1615, on the basis of daily entries, which suggests that the marginal note was retrospective.<sup>112</sup> However, the original manuscript has to be consulted to gain a full appreciation of the fact that the diary was a practical working tool and not merely a leisure activity. Although an improvement over past editions in terms of noting the marginal annotations, the *Shiryō Hensan-jo* edition does not transcribe or indicate all marks on the manuscript. There is abundant evidence of marginal figure being ticked and crossed.<sup>113</sup> There are also a large number of later entries made in pencil or a different colour ink, which are squeezed in between lines and the margins.<sup>114</sup> Certain passages are underlined, presumably to draw attention in later consultations.<sup>115</sup> Judging from the change of ink it appears that diary entries from as early as June 1615 were annotated after 13 October 1615 (f. 49), where the ink changes from blue to brown.

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<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 114.

<sup>110</sup> See *Letters Received*, vol. 1, p. 272; vol. 2, p. 141. We find phrases such as "One whole journal of all accounts passed in Atchein" and "One journal of business passed at Tecou in anno 1614", *Ibid.*, p. 147. John Jourdain dispatched a copy of his 'journal' to illustrate "the accounts and state of Bantam", *Ibid.*, p. 280.

<sup>111</sup> See for instance both Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations* and Purchas' *Purchas his Pilgrimes*.

<sup>112</sup> *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 32-36.

<sup>113</sup> BL Add. Ms 31, 300, ff. 2, 28, 42, 51, 52v, 48v, 49, *inter alia*.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 6v, 11v, 21, 26v, 29, 30, 31, 31v, 32, 36, 38, 56v.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 7v, 33v.

Of course, the practical value of Cocks' diary is not an argument in itself that it was not a Company journal. However, there is other evidence which points to the private nature of the journal. The diary contains several damning remarks about crews of visiting Company ships and Adams' relationship with the Dutch.<sup>116</sup> Although it was not unknown for merchants and naval officers to complain to the Company, the remarks were usually directed against whole crews rather than individual figures. An illustrative example are two letters between the factor Edward Pettus in Persia and the Company director, Robert Middleton. The first is very formal and was probably read before the general court of shareholders. However, the second is distinctly more intimate in tone and features extensive criticism of individual factors.<sup>117</sup> In a joint letter the Surat factors informed the Company that their men would rather chance private couriers than have their personal letters "laid open to the general censure".<sup>118</sup> Factors were also not averse to searching through the letters of their companions either in life or death. The Surat factor Thomas Kerrige was annoyed to discover slanderous statements against himself in the papers of Paul Canning.<sup>119</sup> These were presumably copies of private letters.

Potentially more damaging to Cocks himself is his open mention of his own private trading, something very unexpected in a Company journal.<sup>120</sup> Such offences were taken seriously by the Company and often cited as a cause for non-payment of wages upon return to London. There is also the evidence of discrepancies between the diary and letters from both Cocks and others regarding the return of the Manila voyage in 1621. Cocks' weakness in the face of mariners' demands, which is apparent in his diary, is distorted and ameliorated in the 'Company' version of events.<sup>121</sup> Hence there appears to be strong evidence that Cocks did not expect his diary to be seen by others, despite occasional comments that would suggest the opposite. I would argue that passages such as "you may believe it yf you please" and others could be interpreted merely as stylistic devices.<sup>122</sup> Even the seemingly unequivocal wish that "this my hand writing may com to the handes of our honorable employers", could be written in a moment of desperation or anger. On the other hand the evidence that Cocks' diary was private is far 'colder' in nature. He was unlikely to have accidentally noted down his private trade and admitted otherwise concealed weaknesses in a work which he knew other would read. There also appears to be neither Company instructions nor precedent for the keeping of a diary by a resident cape-merchant. Although the weight of evidence is balanced fairly evenly between the two theories, the notion of a private journal is ultimately more persuasive.<sup>123</sup>

<sup>116</sup> E.g. *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 74 (Adams), 80 (crews).

<sup>117</sup> *Letters Received*, vol. 5, pp. 286-94. That private letters could escape recitation before the directors (contrary to *Laws and Standing Orders*) is supported by Sir Thomas Roe's phrase that he was "loth to acquaint the Commities [directors]" with the contents of his letter, *Ibid.*, pp. 328-333.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 5, p. 119. The Company gave the option of carrying private letters unsealed so that their contents could be checked.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 110, 136, 243-44.

<sup>120</sup> See, *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 60; vol. 3, p. 10.

<sup>121</sup> IOR: E/3/8 no. 995; Farrington, vol. 2, pp. 853-54, IOR: G/21/6 ff 189v-91r; Farrington, vol. 2, p. 862, IOR: E/3/8 no. 988; Farrington, vol. 2, pp. 1226-27, IOR: G/21/6, ff. 193r-96r; Farrington, vol. 2, p. 875.

<sup>122</sup> *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 207.

<sup>123</sup> This is the conclusion also reached by Cooper, "The second Englishmen", who has similar problems with Cocks' declamatory style.

## **Conclusion**

This thesis combines the complete diary of Richard Cocks and the journal of John Saris with the letter book of Richard Wickham and the other E.I.C. letters. It therefore makes use of a body of material that cuts across different genres and audiences to provide a wide-ranging guide to cultural attitudes and interactions that does not suffer from the distortions and limitations of any single source.

## Chapter 3- Perceptions of the Japanese

### Introduction

The analysis of early modern perceptions of foreign peoples and nations has become a well-recognised and popular subject, beginning principally in the 1980s and continuing to attract scholarly attention.<sup>1</sup> Instead of studying the actions of overseas Europeans set against a foreign backdrop, historians have become more interested in the nature of the encounter between European and native. Hence, what may be described as colonial history has been increasingly replaced by cultural history.<sup>2</sup> David Kennedy describes how the domain of colonial history has been recently 'invaded' by anthropologists, area studies specialists, feminists and literary critics. The latter in particular have effectively "colonised colonial history".<sup>3</sup> Apart from the more immediately obvious aspects of overseas encounters, an important element in this new cultural history has been the examination of how Europeans perceived the natives of various parts of the world. However, as interaction took place with many different people under a variety of circumstance, it is inevitable that early modern European perceptions of native peoples would vary greatly. The historiography, particularly from the 1990s and more recently, is broad and rich and seems to provide ample opportunity for comparison and cross-analysis.<sup>4</sup> This is perhaps the area of the present thesis that has received the most historiographical attention. It certainly cannot be claimed that coverage is dated or narrative-based, as in many other areas. However, the most adventurous and interesting scholarship has been devoted

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<sup>1</sup> There are, however, early examples of such studies, e.g. Clarence Dana Rohilland, *The Turk in French History, Thought and Literature (1520-1660)* (Paris, 1940); Robert Schwoebel, *The Shadow of the Crescent: The Renaissance Image of the Turk, 1453-1517* (Nieuwkoop, 1957); Francesca Wilson, *Muscovy: Russia seen through Foreign Eyes, 1553-1900* (London, 1970); Benjamin Keen, *The Aztec Image in Western Thought* (New Brunswick, 1971); E. K. Shaw and C. J. Heywood, *English and Continental Views of the Ottoman Empire, 1500-1800* (Los Angeles, 1972). However, early works are far less subtle in their analyses than more recent works that draw on anthropology and literary criticism, as discussed below.

<sup>2</sup> D. K. Basset's "Early English trade and settlement in Asia, 1602-1690", in J. S. Bromley and E. H. Kossman (eds), *Britain and the Netherlands in Europe and Asia* (London, 1968), pp. 83-109, for example, concentrates exclusively on the activities of the Europeans and has nothing on socio-cultural relations with native peoples. On the development of cultural history see Peter Burke, *Varieties of Cultural History* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 1-22.

<sup>3</sup> David Kennedy, "Imperial history and post-colonial theory", *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, vol. 24, no. 3 (1996), pp. 345-46. Although focussing on the nineteenth century, the article discusses how literary studies have shaped the field.

<sup>4</sup> Many areas of the world have been studied. On the image of America see for instance, Mary Fuller, *Voyages in Print: English Travels in America, 1576-1624* (Cambridge, 1995). The Muslim World: David R. Blanks, *Images of the Other: Europe and the Muslim World before 1700* (Cairo, 1995); Nabil Matar, *Turks, Moors and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery* (New York, 1999). Africa: Adam Jones, *European Documents for Sub-Saharan Africa before 1900: Use and Abuse* (Stuttgart, 1987). China: Jonathan Spence, *The Chan's Great Continent: China in Western Minds* (London, 1998); Julia Ching and Willard G. Oxtoby, *Discovering China: European Interpretations in the Enlightenment* (Rochester, 1992). For a general perspective see the important collection, Stuart B. Schwartz (ed.), *Implicit Understandings: Observing, Reporting, and Reflecting on the Encounters between Europeans and Other Peoples in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge, 1994).

overwhelmingly to images of the New World or Ireland, encompassing both initial discovery (in the case of America) and subsequent colonial encounter.<sup>5</sup> That is not to say however that the Old World of Europe, Asia and Africa is bereft of cultural studies but merely that they are fewer and less original. However, this deficiency is currently being remedied by the recent appearance of works dealing with the early modern image of Asia and the East.<sup>6</sup>

Although the historian is now able to benefit from a wealth of cultural studies on European views of the non-European world, the relevant historiography has a number of weaknesses from a historian's perspective. Most of the work has been undertaken by scholars of English literature rather than history.<sup>7</sup> Published narrative sources are often used exclusively to gauge a standard early modern belief.<sup>8</sup> Not only is analysis concentrated on literary works but also upon an extremely narrow range of such works, which are continually read and reread in order to judge early modern mentalities. Typically, a selection will be drawn from popular travel accounts such as Herodotus, Ctesias, the anonymous early medieval *Wonders of the East*, Polo (and perhaps John of Plano Carpini and William of Rubruck), Mandeville, Columbus, Raleigh's narrative of his voyage to Guyana, and perhaps Fernão Mendes Pinto.<sup>9</sup> Many works are marred by an obsession with the theoretical premise that the concept

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<sup>5</sup> See in particular the works of Stephen Greenblatt: *Learning to Curse: Essays in Early Modern Culture* (London, 1990) and *Marvellous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Oxford, 1991) and Anthony Pagden: (and N. Canny (eds)), *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World, 1500-1800* (Princeton, 1987); *European Encounters with the New World: From Renaissance to Romanticism* (New Haven and London, 1993). On the discovery of America and its impact in Europe see Anthony Grafton, *New Worlds, Ancient Texts: The Power of Tradition and the Shock of Discovery* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992) and K. O. Kupperman (ed.), *America in European Consciousness, 1493-1750* (Chapel Hill and London, 1995). The trend is perhaps not surprising. Boies Penrose, *Travel and Discovery in the Renaissance, 1420-1620* (Harvard, 1952; 1975), p. 399 notes that whilst English ventures in the New World provided many literary classics of style and scale such as John Smith, *The Generall Historie of Virginia* (London, 1624), published accounts of expeditions to the East were trivial by comparison. This may be true of individual publications but Penrose's theory ignores the importance of the great voyage collections of Richard Hakluyt and Samuel Purchas.

<sup>6</sup> See for instance, Kenneth Parker (ed.), *Early Modern Tales of Orient: A Critical Anthology* (London, 1999) and Joan-Pau Rubiés, *Travel and Ethnology in the Renaissance: South India through European Eyes* (London, 2000). Cultural historians have also given attention to other areas of encounter, which were neither civil-savage dichotomies nor part of a powerful Orient, e.g. Kenneth Parker, "Telling tales: early modern English voyages and the Cape of Good Hope", *The Seventeenth Century*, vol. 10, no. 1 (1995), pp. 121-49 and Markus P. M. Vink, "Images and ideologies of Dutch-South Asian contact: cross-cultural encounters between the Nayaka state of Madurai and the Dutch East India Company in the seventeenth century", *Itinerario*, vol. XXI, no. 2 (1997), pp. 82-123.

<sup>7</sup> E.g. Stephen Greenblatt, Mary B. Campbell, Mary Fuller and Nabil Matar. Two recent theses on Richard Hakluyt were submitted under the aegis of the English Literature departments of the relevant universities. See Jason Patrick Finch, "Richard Hakluyt and the English nation", University of Oxford, M. Phil (1994) and Maria Kostaridou, "England's Travell: Empire and experience in Hakluyt's *Voyages*", University of York, D. Phil (1998). The most influential modern critique of Hakluyt's writings also takes a literary perspective, in the form of Richard Helgerson's "The voyages of a nation" in Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago and London, 1992), pp. 151-91. Fortunately, the studies in *Implicit Understandings* are mostly written by historians.

<sup>8</sup> See for example, Richard C. Cole, "Sixteenth-century travel books as a source of European attitudes towards non-white and non-Western culture", *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 116 (1972), pp. 59-67.

<sup>9</sup> Greenblatt, *Marvellous Possessions*; Mary B. Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Travel Writing, 400-1600* (Ithaca and London, 1988) and Mary Fuller, *Voyages in Print*. Although the pool is constricted, there are some variants. Greenblatt focuses on Jean de Lery's, *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil (1578)* in *Marvellous Possessions*.

of 'otherness' existed in the minds of every early modern visitor to a foreign country. Historians of the influential New Historicism school are effectively trapped into searching for binary oppositions: civil and savage; East and West; order and disorder.<sup>10</sup> This is not to say that themes and concepts of 'otherness' are not evident in contemporary writings on non-European and indeed domestic subjects. Catholicism was the 'other' of Protestantism; the Iberian was the 'other' of the Elizabethan Englishman.<sup>11</sup> The problem is that scholars often do not see beyond their theoretical agenda and interpret everything through a metaphorical framework. New Historicist scholars have adapted the anthropological theories of Clifford Geertz to their own medium.<sup>12</sup> Particularly popular is Geertz's method of "thick description", which is used by New Historicists to read and re-read anecdotes in order to analyse the minutiae that reveal behavioural codes within a whole society.<sup>13</sup> By using anecdotes as narratives of cultural weight, the readings of New Historicism attempt to bring marginal figures into history, who would otherwise have no significance in traditional historiography.<sup>14</sup> The problem is that New Historicists juxtapose the methods of heavily evidentially-based anthropology onto textual reading where the hard evidence is elusive at best. One can only welcome Thomas Scanlan's call for scholars such as Stephen Greenblatt "to historicize 'wonder', and transform it into a term with historical and cultural depth".<sup>15</sup>

In certain works whole theories are based on the restricted use of texts such as Hakluyt and Purchas.<sup>16</sup> The narrow reliance on a principal text is evident in James A. Boon's discussion of Jacobean ethnology in *Other Tribes, Other Scribes*. Boon sees Purchas as consolidating "symbols of exoticism" in both foreign monarchs and tribesmen. Hence, despite the ever growing range of European – non-European contacts in the early seventeenth century, "intercourse continued to be mediated by

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<sup>10</sup> See the criticism by Peter Lake, "From Troynouvant to Heliogabulus's Rome and back: 'order' and its others in the London of John Stow", in J. F. Merritt (ed.), *Imagining Early Modern London: Perceptions and Portrayals of the City from Stow to Strype, 1598-1720* (Cambridge, 2001), p. 219. For the theoretical standpoint of New Historicism (by principal practitioners) see Catherine Gallagher and Stephen Greenblatt, *Practicing New Historicism* (Chicago and London, 2000). See also H. Aram Veeseer (ed.), *The New Historicism* (London, 1989); Brook Thomas, *The New Historicism and Other Old Fashioned Topics* (Princeton, 1991); H. Aram Veeseer (ed.), *The New Historicism Reader* (New York and London, 1994); John Brannigan, *New Historicism and Cultural Materialism* (Basingstoke, 1998).

<sup>11</sup> See Peter Lake, "Antipopy: the structure of a prejudice" in R. Cust and A. Hughes (eds), *Conflict in Early Stuart London* (London, 1989).

<sup>12</sup> See Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York, 1973; London, 2000) and Geertz, *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology* (New York, 1983; 2000). For New Historicism's use of Geertz see Vincent P. Pecora, "The limits of local knowledge", in Veeseer (ed.), *The New Historicism*, pp. 243-76. On the use of symbolic anthropology see Roger Chartier, *Cultural History: Between Practices and Representations*, trans Lydia C. Cochrane (Ithaca, 1988), pp. 95-111. The coupling of anthropology with history is also evident in Eric R. Wolf, *Europe and the People without History* (Berkeley, L. A. and London, 1982; 1990). As usual, the latter work concentrates on colonial arguments and pays little attention early non-colonial interaction between European and non-European.

<sup>13</sup> Veeseer (ed.), *The New Historicism*, p. xi

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> Thomas Scanlan, *Colonial Writing and the New World, 1583-1671: Allegories of Desire* (Cambridge, 1999), p. 191.

<sup>16</sup> Of course this is not to suggest that the vast corpus of material published under the name of Hakluyt and Purchas is not in itself extremely heterogeneous. See Fuller, *Voyages in Print*, p. 173.

conventional expectations".<sup>17</sup> Many such narrowly-based studies have gained an influential status despite the often extremely hyperbolised generalisations contained within. In reference to the present thesis, the danger of reading such works in isolation is illustrated by two examples. As related in the previous chapter, the survival of both the *Pilgrimes* edition and the manuscript version of Saris' journal allows comparison of the texts. This illustrates how Saris inserted many retrospective comments years after the events from the distance of Europe. Although such accusations cannot be levelled at all of his additions, in some instances Saris undoubtedly wished to appeal to a readership.<sup>18</sup> If we did not have the manuscript version of the journal, there would be no way of telling the difference between contemporary observations and later interpolations. The second example concerns a letter written by the Rev. Arthur Hatch at the bequest of Purchas. Although Hatch had spent time in Japan, it is clear that he couldn't have gained such a detailed insight into the minutiae of Japanese culture. From other factory sources we know that Hatch spent most of his time aboard ship or away at sea.<sup>19</sup> It is clear that his report on Japan was taken from published literature, a fact made obvious not only by the depth of coverage but also the fact that specific details and overall arrangement of the account closely parallels known literary works. Again, if historians were not familiar with the private accounts of the Hirado factory, they may well take Hatch's report at face-value. They would hence gain no insight into Jacobean mentalities as Hatch's personal opinions are not reflected in his report. Rather the document repeats information ultimately derived from old continental Jesuit accounts.

Works of New Historicism and literary criticism have moved the discipline onwards in new directions as discussed above. However, their studies remain closely attached to literary texts. There is little attempt to analyse how the published accounts for overseas travel and expansion compare with letters and private journals.<sup>20</sup> Because the notion of European supremacy is expressed in many contemporary geographical works and tracts, it tends to be assumed that this was a part of the mental baggage carried by overseas Europeans. Because of this, any negative comments on non-Europeans are related to an assumed cultural superiority. The problem is that private documents rarely indicate this supposedly defining sense of superiority.<sup>21</sup> Overseas Europeans also don't often show *generic* negative characterisations of other races. Rather, criticism was levelled at specific practices and beliefs. Hence, by assuming that literary texts reflect Jacobean attitudes, historians gain a distorted view of contemporary mentalities.

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<sup>17</sup> James Boon, *Other Tribes, Other Scribes: Symbolic Anthropology in the Comparative Study of Cultures, Histories, Religions and Texts* (Cambridge, 1982), p. 154.

<sup>18</sup> For instance, although the Japanese would have had little conception of England prior to 1613, Saris describes how parents terrified their children the song of "the English Crofonia, shewing how the English doe take the Spanish ships", *Pilgrimes*, vol. 3, p. 448.

<sup>19</sup> For further details on Hatch's role in the Hirado factory see ch. 8.

<sup>20</sup> Naturally some texts lend themselves more towards being considered as literary works than others. Favourites include Sir Walter Raleigh's, *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich and Bewtiful Emphyre of Guiana* (London, 1596) and Sir Richard Hawkins, *The Observations of Sir Richard Hawkins in his Voiage into the South Seas, 1593* (London, 1622). The works are praised in Penrose, *Travel*, p. 398. The broad definition of travel writing in its many guises is given in Campbell, *Witness*, pp. 165-69.

<sup>21</sup> The exception is the European notion of Christianity, which was admittedly a key point in arguments for European precedence in literary works. See ch. 8.



Despite being superficially rich and broad, on closer examination the historiography of literary perceptions actually has little to offer to the analysis of Japan. Scholarship of perceptions of non-Europeans has concentrated overwhelmingly on the New World.<sup>22</sup> In the Americas the Europeans arrived as conquerors and colonists and were clearly more advanced and 'civilised' than most of the native inhabitants. As Patricia Seed has identified, Europeans claimed their authority and right to take the land of indigenes by elaborate 'ceremonies of possession'.<sup>23</sup> Hence the nature of perceptions was very different from other parts of the world where the natives were militarily powerful and 'civilised' by European criteria. Scholars have identified a rich vein of beliefs whereby the 'civilised' qualities of Europe were juxtaposed against the 'savagery' of the American Indians. Further developments from this have seen the Irish and later the Muslims as being assimilated with the traits of Native Americans.<sup>24</sup> Hence, a polarised model of self and other fits very well into the colonial experience in the Americas. This has led historians and literary scholars to virtually neglect that rest of the world, which was of course also visited by Europeans in this period. However, interestingly the opposite is the case with Dutch colonial scholars, who have lavished attention on interactions in Asia but have given scant notice to Dutch experiences in America.<sup>25</sup>

Surprisingly few studies handle the Middle East and the Islamic World, despite their richly ambiguous power status in relation to the West.<sup>26</sup> There have been a few studies of the Indian sub-continent but most are dated and uncritical of the sources.<sup>27</sup> Also neglected are early modern perceptions of Asia, in particular China and Japan, which presented a powerful and potentially positive image.<sup>28</sup> In the East, and Japan in particular, the relationship between Europeans and natives was very different from that in America. Apart from the European visitors being a fleeting, mercantile and

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<sup>22</sup> E.g. Tzvetan Todorov, *The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other*, trans Richard Howard (New York, 1984; Norman, 1999); James Axtell, *The Invasion Within: The Conquest of Cultures in Colonial North America* (New York and Oxford, 1985); Greenblatt, *Marvellous Possessions*; Pagden, *European Encounters*; B. Pastor, *The Armature of Conquest: Spanish Accounts of the Discovery of America, 1492-1589* (Stanford, 1992); John F. Moffitt, *O Brave New People: The European Invention of the American Indian* (Albuquerque, 1996); Rebecca Ann Bach, *Colonial Transformations: The Cultural Production of the New Atlantic World, 1580-1640* (New York, 2000); Benjamin Schmidt, *Innocence Abroad: The Dutch Imagination and the New World* (Cambridge, 2002).

<sup>23</sup> See Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492-1640* (Cambridge, 1995; 1999), *passim* and Bitterli, *Cultures in Conflict*, pp. 23-24.

<sup>24</sup> On the Irish imagery see Nicholas Canny, "The ideology of English colonisation: from Ireland to America", *William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, vol. 30, no. 4 (1973), pp. 575-98, reprinted in David Armitage (ed.), *Theories of Empire, 1450-1800* (Aldershot, 1998), pp. 179-202 and Canny, *The Elizabethan Conquest of Ireland: A Pattern Established* (Hassocks, 1976). On the Muslims see Paul Bappler, "The Barbary captive narrative in early America", *Early American Literature*, vol. 20 (1995), pp. 95-120 and Matar, *Turks, Moors and Englishmen*.

<sup>25</sup> Schmidt, *Innocence Abroad*, pp. 321-22n.

<sup>26</sup> Nabil Matar is virtually a lone figure in this field. See his *Islam in Britain, 1558-1685* (Cambridge, 1998) and *Turks, Moors and Englishmen*. For the problematic and potentially positive status of eastern powers see below. There has been some earlier work such as Chew, *The Crescent and the Rose* and Schwoebel, *Shadow of the Crescent*. However, the analysis is dated and concentrates overwhelmingly on literary sources and plays.

<sup>27</sup> E.g., Ram Chandra Prasad, *Early English Travellers in India: A Study of the Travel Literature of the Elizabethan and Jacobean Period, with Particular Reference to India* (Delhi, Patna and Varanasi, 1965). However, see the more recent work: M. Nanda, *European Travel Accounts Written during the Reigns of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb* (Kurukshetra, 1994); Kate Teltscher, *India Incribed: European and British Writing on India, 1600-1800* (Delhi, 1995); Rubiés, *Travel and Ethnology*.

<sup>28</sup> See the specific section on images of Asia below.

non-colonial presence, the Japanese clearly held the balance of power. In actuality the merchants were often not even part of an equal reciprocal relationship but rather were tolerated inferiors. Rulers made it clear that they did not need European trade, and natives largely rejected the way of life followed by European visitors.<sup>29</sup> It seems fair to suggest that cultural historians, literary critics and anthropologists have avoided European perceptions of Asians because the sources do not fit the premise of European superiority.<sup>30</sup> As explored in greater detail below, there is a lack of dichotomous images and binary opposition to be seized upon. Kenneth Parker has argued that the best literary and cultural criticism either avoids the Orient, usually in favour of North America, or by-passes the early modern period.<sup>31</sup> Early modern voyage accounts don't fit comfortably into the polarised coloniser/colonist cultural encounter theory. Historians have hence chosen to concentrate on encounters of "collision", to use Urs Bitterli's term, in which the Europeans came to colonise or exploit, and held the overwhelming power balance.<sup>32</sup>

In general, the historiography falls uncomfortably between two unsatisfactory extremes. Older works are detailed and thorough with respect to the wide range of geographical literature available in the early modern period.<sup>33</sup> However, the focus is overwhelmingly upon mapmaking and the evolution of geographical theory rather than the rich ethnographical content of the early literature. Donald Lach's multi-volume *Asia in the Making of Europe* contains a very detailed examination of the literature of many European countries, including those not directly involved in overseas expansion.<sup>34</sup> However, it is a work of synthesis and not analysis, being more concerned with constructing images of Asia and judging their validity rather than examining the mental process of arriving at perceptions.<sup>35</sup> Older studies are also prone to take a pan-European approach, in which the fledging and highly derivative English-language geographical literature receives limited attention. On the other hand, more recent studies are focussed upon the issues under consideration here and are often highly original and inter-disciplinary. However, almost without exception they focus on an extremely narrow range of sources which are subsequently trawled for motifs, signs and symbols.<sup>36</sup> They focus on encounters of 'collision' in which discoverers and explorers make initial contact with uncomprehending natives. Contacts were hence, in Bitterli's words "through sign language and pantomime instead of dialogue".<sup>37</sup> This is where cultural historians, literary critics and anthropologists make much of the exchange of baubles and the fact that, through learning words of Spanish,

<sup>29</sup> Bitterli, *Cultures in Conflict*, p. 44. However, there was a craze for Portuguese fads in Japan, as explored in ch. 5.

<sup>30</sup> See the criticism in Parker, *Early Modern Tales of Orient*, pp. 9, 32-33n. Bitterli fully acknowledges that European relations in Asia were very different from the 'collision' encounter of early explorers in the New World, *Cultures in Conflict*, p. 44.

<sup>31</sup> Parker, *Early Modern Tales of Orient*, p. 9. For instance, P. J. Marshall and Glyndwr Williams' valuable study *The Great Map of Mankind: Perceptions of New Worlds in the Age of Enlightenment* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), which deals with the eighteenth century.

<sup>32</sup> Bitterli, *Cultures in Conflict*, p. 44.

<sup>33</sup> E.g., E.G.R. Taylor, *Tudor Geography, 1485-1583* (London, 1930); E.G.R. Taylor, *Late Tudor and Early Stuart Geography, 1583-1650* (London, 1934); Penrose, *Travel and Discovery*.

<sup>34</sup> Multi-volume, ongoing (Chicago, 1965-). Volumes have appeared covering the fifteenth century and earlier, and the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

<sup>35</sup> See the criticism in Rubiés, *Travel and Ethnology*, p. xin.

<sup>36</sup> See for example James Boon's chapter on Jacobean ethnology in *Other Tribes, Other Scribes*, pp. 154-177.

<sup>37</sup> Bitterli, *Cultures in Conflict*, p. 21.

Columbus taught the Indians “to speak”, as if they had no communication prior to this.<sup>38</sup>

Japan has not, at the time of writing, received a full-length independent cultural study of its literary image in Western writing.<sup>39</sup> Early modern English published literature on Japan is, however, not without study, although previous attention has been cursory. Michael Huissen’s “England encounters Japan” covers a broader period than this chapter but merely compares and contrasts the published accounts with each other in no particular depth.<sup>40</sup> Walter Demel discusses themes arising in the image of Orientals, including Japanese, in European literature.<sup>41</sup> However, the relatively short length of the article and its pan-European coverage leaves a lot of room for additional treatment. Also worth mentioning is Rogério Miguel Puga’s study of the Macao section of Peter Mundy’s travels, which includes descriptions of overseas Japanese.<sup>42</sup> Derek Massarella also reviews the early published literature in considering the extent of knowledge of Japan prior to the *Clove’s* voyage in 1611.<sup>43</sup> Massarella’s conclusion is that the information was of uneven quality and hampered the formation of a clear picture of the country.<sup>44</sup> Although he extracts the key points from each source, the treatment is not particularly detailed and conclusions are, as I will suggest, debatable. By concluding his analysis in 1611 Massarella also avoids discussing a number of authors utilised in the present chapter such as Robert Stafforde, Peter Heylyn and Pierre d’Avity.<sup>45</sup> A number of minor sources even prior to 1611 are also neglected such as George Abbot’s *A Briefe Description of the whole worlde* (1599). In addition to providing a broader and more detailed coverage than that found in *World Elsewhere*, the present chapter also examines literary themes alongside information drawn directly from the Hirado archives, rather than studying literary works in isolation. As highlighted in chapter 1, the E.I.C. sources are far more than dry business letters. Many Company directives urged factors to include in their reports information on local climate, culture and religion.

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<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9. For similar analyses see Greenblatt, *Learning to Curse* and *Marvellous Possessions*.

<sup>39</sup> Japan is briefly mentioned in several general works. The massive narrative compilation, Peter Kapitza (ed.), *Japan in Europa: Texte und Bilddokumente zur Europäischen Japankenntnis von Marco Polo bis Wilhelm von Humboldt*, 3 vols (München, 1990) provides only a modicum of analysis. D. F. Lach’s *Japan in the Eyes of Europe: The Sixteenth Century* (Chicago, 1968) is an exact reprint of the relevant pages from *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 1.

<sup>40</sup> Michael J. Huissert, “England encounters Japan: English knowledge of Japan in the seventeenth century”, *Terrae Incognitae*, vol. V (1973), pp. 43-59.

<sup>41</sup> Walter Demel, “The image of the Japanese and the Chinese in early modern Europe: physical characteristics, customs and skills: a comparison of different approaches to the culture of the Far East”, *Itinerario*, vol. XXV, 3/4 (2001), pp. 34-53.

<sup>42</sup> Rogério Miguel Puga, “Images and representations of Japan and Macao in Peter Mundy’s *Travels* (1637)”, *Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies*, vol. 1 (2000), pp. 97-109. Mundy’s enormous travel diary remained in manuscript until the twentieth century so it cannot truly be considered as part of contemporary published geographical literature. The diary is discussed in Michael G. Brennan, “The literature of travel”, in John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie (eds), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain: Vol. IV, 1557-1695* (Cambridge, 2002), p. 259, where it inaccurately suggests that Mundy travelled to Japan.

<sup>43</sup> Massarella, *World Elsewhere*, pp. 65-71.

<sup>44</sup> This is also the conclusion of Huissen, “England encounters”, p. 43, who believes that reports were contradictory and inaccurate.

<sup>45</sup> Massarella does provide a brief discussion of later literature in the context of arguing that the Hirado sources had no influence on subsequent writers, *World Elsewhere*, pp. 329-335.

As previously stated, an examination of outsiders' images of a particular country has many recent and not so recent precedents. However, a fresh approach has been taken here in thematically contrasting the image of Japan in early modern literature with the picture of Japan drawn by the E.I.C. merchants resident in the country. In keeping with the Anglo-centric angle of this study, considerations have been made as to why particular themes such as agriculture, physical appearance and customs were of concern to Jacobeans.

## 1. The Jacobean Picture of the World

The aim of this section is not to provide an exhaustive history of travel and geographical literature available in Tudor and Jacobean England.<sup>46</sup> However, a detailed discussion of how Jacobeans divided their world (according to published sources) is an essential preliminary to understanding the literary image of Japan. This of course leads naturally to an analysis of how the experience of men on the ground agreed with or differed from the published image of Japan. Of course, it would be a mammoth task to attempt to cover all relevant published literature in English let alone foreign language publications that would have been available to scholars.<sup>47</sup> It is unclear to what extent foreign publications were available to British readers. Scholarly writers (and readers) certainly utilised continental material. Purchas refers to two of the Spanish jurist Francisco de Vitoria's Salamanca lecture courses given in the 1530s and published in 1557, *De Potestate Ecclesia* and *De Indis*. Purchas also refers to Thomas Aquinas' *Summa Theologica* (second half of the second part).<sup>48</sup> Some clues can be gained from the geographical literature itself. In 1609 Anthony Linton, "Parson of Worth, in the Countie of Sussex", addressed the subjects of King James I, noting "with what great contentment you reade the Reports of Iapon, and China, contained in the yearly letters and missives of the Iesuite Friers".<sup>49</sup> At that time the Jesuit annual reports were not available in English, therefore it must be presumed

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<sup>46</sup> For good general sources see Taylor, *Tudor Geography* and *Late Tudor and Early Stuart Geography*. Although old, these works are very thorough and include a bibliography of over 1900 English manuscripts and printed works. Taylor's works are also useful for details of books which are no longer extant but for which licences survive. See also Penrose, *Travel and Discovery*, pp. 340-405; Parks, *Books to Build an Empire*; Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe* and Brennan, "Literature of travel".

<sup>47</sup> Taylor's catalogue of the geographical content of the scholarly libraries of men such as John Dee and Sir Thomas Smith illustrates how English vernacular works formed a very small part of both manuscript and printed collections, *Tudor Geography*, pp. 193-243. However, studies such as these are criticised by Lesley B. Cormack as favouring exceptional bibliophiles, *Charting the Empire: Geography at the English Universities, 1580-1620* (Chicago and London, 1997), p. 34. The list of authorities in the preface of Samuel Purchas (comp.), *Purchas his Pilgrimage* (London, 1613 and various editions) also shows the breadth of reading of a polyglot university man. The content of gentry libraries is discussed in F. J. Levy, "How information spread among the gentry, 1550-1640", *Journal of British Studies*, vol. XXI, no. 2 (1982), pp. 11-34. Contemporary literature is discussed country by country in Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe* and in a more concise manner in Penrose, *Travel and Discovery*, pp. 340-405 and Brennan, "The literature of travel", pp. 246-75.

<sup>48</sup> *Pilgrimes*, vol. 1, pp. 42-43. Vitoria's texts can be found in Anthony Pagden and Jeremy Lawrence (eds), *Francisco de Vitoria: Political Writings* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 45-108 (First relation on the power of the Church), 109-151 (Second relation), 231-292 (On the American Indians). H. C. Porter also conjectures that Purchas may have read Vitoria's commentary on Aquinas, "Purchas as theological geographer", in L. E. Pennington (ed.), *The Purchas Handbook: Studies of the Life, Times and Writings of Samuel Purchas, 1577-1626, with Bibliographies of his Books and Works about Him*, 2 vols, *Hakluyt Society*, nos 185, 186, vol. 1, p. 185.

<sup>49</sup> Anthony Linton, *Newes of the complement of the Art of navigation and the mightie empire of Cataia* (London, 1609), Sig. A2.

that readers were buying continental editions. However, the extent to which Linton was directing his comments towards the gentleman scholar rather than the common reader is unclear.<sup>50</sup> Whilst utilising a wide range of early modern books, this section is not intended to be an exhaustive overview of all possible nuances in the literature.<sup>51</sup> The main sources of information are geographical descriptions of the whole world, rather than individual travel narratives from various countries.

The English had lagged behind continental Europeans in the production and distribution of geographical material in the first half of the sixteenth century.<sup>52</sup> However, by the second half of the century and the early seventeenth century a wide variety of travel narratives, geographical works, national and religious histories and early ethnographies were appearing on a regular basis.<sup>53</sup> Of course, the division between geographical literature and ethnography was always malleable. Very few sources could be described as purely geographical in interest. Descriptions of flora, fauna, peoples, customs and religions were entirely typical of the geographical theory of the age.<sup>54</sup> The trend, of course, followed classical precedents of describing the inhabitants of different regions.<sup>55</sup>

### Geographical Divisions

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<sup>50</sup> His work is specifically addressed to mathematicians, merchants, navigators and travellers, *ibid.* Jason Patrick Finch considers that Richard Hakluyt's audience would have been a combination of humanist courtiers able to read foreign reports in the original and merchants and seamen who required translations. However, Hakluyt evidently considered the mercantile and maritime section to be his core audience through his choice of English rather than Latin, which would have given him a continental audience. Consider the popularity of Camden's *Britannia* in its 1586 Latin garb compared to the continental obscurity of Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations* (1589); "Richard Hakluyt and the English nation", pp. 19-24.

<sup>51</sup> I would certainly agree with Jerry Brotton's opinion that late medieval and early modern geography was diverse and contradictory, and could not be described as a cohesive body of knowledge, *Trading Territories: Mapping the Early Modern World* (London, 1997), p. 28. In terms of medieval geography at least, this somewhat contradicts Anthony Grafton's picture of an safe, ordered world that could be enclosed within the weighty covers of an encyclopaedia, *New Worlds, Ancient Texts*, Chps 1 and 2.

<sup>52</sup> Penrose, *Travel and Discovery*, p. 388; Cormack, *Charting an Empire*, p. 40. Prior to 1510 contemporary discoveries were completely ignored in favour of classical and medieval reprints. See the chronological bibliography in Parker, *Books to Build an Empire*, pp. 243-44. The relevant titles are described in depth, pp. 14-18. By comparison, the presses of Strasbourg produced 17 works concerned with geography between 1500 and 1520, Brotton, *Trading Territories*, pp. 153-54.

<sup>53</sup> Of course the list of possible material is not confined to the aforementioned sources. Amongst the works to contain relevant anthropological descriptions were encyclopaedic works, colonial discourses and biographies. Taylor dates the end of reliance on foreign derivatives to the Spanish wars under Queen Elizabeth, *Late Tudor*, p. 1. French travel literature was also overwhelmingly derived from translations, Penrose, *Travel and Discovery*, pp. 380-81. For the social context of the development of geography as a subject see Cormack, *Charting an Empire*, pp. 1-16, 48-89.

<sup>54</sup> Compare the human detail found in the Spanish empire's *Relaciones Geográficas*. See Howard F. Cline, "The *Relaciones Geográficas* of the Spanish Indies, 1577-1586", *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 44 (1964), pp. 341-74. Examples of purely geographical works are Robert Recode, *The Castle of Knowledge* (London, 1556) and John Davies, *The World's Hydrographical Description* (London, 1595).

<sup>55</sup> Wilfried Nippel, "Fact and fiction: Greek ethnography and its legacy", *History and Anthropology*, vol. 9, nos 2-3 (1996), pp. 125-38. See also John Howland Rowe, "Ethnography and ethnology in the sixteenth century", *The Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers*, vol. 30 (1964), pp. 1-19; Cole, "Sixteenth-century travel books", pp. 59-67. The classical beginnings of such practices were of course maintained by medieval ethnological works such as those of Giraldu Cambrensis.

The majority of geographical works in this period still focussed upon the classical division of the world into the continents of Europe, Asia and Africa. There is every evidence to show that medieval geography inherited classical geography in its entirety: a spherical earth; temperature zones; three continents surrounded by a world ocean; peripheral monsters; an enclosed Indian Ocean and the possibility of an inhabited southern continent.<sup>56</sup> This Mediterranean-centred concept remained during the period under discussion, although earlier ideas such as the location of Jerusalem as the centre of the world seem to have fallen from favour.<sup>57</sup>

To Jacobean geographers the continents of North and South America were simply added as a fourth part to the traditional tripartite globe.<sup>58</sup> The marginal status can be seen in descriptions that sequentially treat Europe, Asia, Africa, the islands of the world and finally the Americas.<sup>59</sup> Some authorities also included a fifth part of the world, the unexplored southern continent.<sup>60</sup> Others conceded that large parts of the globe were still unknown, such as the Arctic regions and the Pacific Ocean.<sup>61</sup> Even before 1492 empirical evidence provided other challenges to the classical and medieval world picture. E. G. R. Taylor notes that an early indication that the tripartite world was not enclosed within a world ocean was provided by the fourteenth-century invasion of the Norse colony of Greenland by Eskimos from the north.<sup>62</sup> However, although the Danish geographer Claudius Clavius answered the problem with a postulated land bridge through the Polar regions between Finland and Greenland, in a map of 1427, the effects of the dilemma in mainstream Europe were probably not great.<sup>63</sup>

Greek geography, passed on through Roman literature and on to the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, divided the world into five climatic zones. These consisted of two frozen polar zones, an uninhabitable 'burning zone' at the equator and two ideal

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<sup>56</sup> Jonathan Lanman, "The religious symbolism of the T in T-O maps", *Cartographica*, vol. 18, no. 4 (1991), pp. 18-22; Seymour Phillips, "The outer world of the European middle ages", in Schwartz (ed.), *Implicit Understandings*, p. 31. See also John B. Friedman, "Cultural conflicts in medieval world maps", in Schwartz (ed.), *Implicit Understandings*, p. 64 for the belief that medieval maps were didactic works of art rather than shaky attempts to portray reality. In a mirror image of the West, the Muslim World located peripheral monsters off the Atlantic coast of northern Europe, Thabit Abdullah, "Arab views of Northern Europeans in medieval history and geography", in Blanks (ed.), *Images of the Other*, p. 79.

<sup>57</sup> Brotton, *Trading Territories*, pp. 168-69 argues for an Atlantic-centred world towards the end of the sixteenth century, a theory that is refuted below. Centralisation of Jerusalem should not be seen as a 'Western' ethnocentrism comparable to China's concept of the Middle Kingdom. Jerusalem was a natural centre due to its Christian significance. However, Seymour Phillips points out that geographically speaking it was a convenient focus for the three continents of the Old World and was easily grafted onto the classical legacy of the *orbo terrarum*, "The outer world", p. 35n.

<sup>58</sup> They were usually classified as a single 'part' of the world rather than being thought of as separate entities. See for instance Robert Stafforde, *A Geographical and anthropological description of all the empires in the globe* (London, 1607), p. 7. The general argument of J. H. Elliott is that the New World had a very insignificant effect on the Old World, *The Old World and the New, 1492-1650* (Cambridge, 1970). See also Elliott's follow up article, "Final reflections: the Old World and the New revisited", in Kupperman, *America in European Consciousness*, pp. 391-408.

<sup>59</sup> See George Abbot, *A Briefe Description of the whole worlde* (London, 1599).

<sup>60</sup> Giovani Botero, *The Travellers Breviat, or an historical description of the most famous kingdoms*, trans Robert Johnson (London, 1601), p. 11.

<sup>61</sup> Stafforde, *A Geographical*, p. 7.

<sup>62</sup> Taylor, *Tudor Geography*, p. 79.

<sup>63</sup> Phillips, "The outer world", p. 27 argues that although Scandinavia had contacts with North America as late as the fourteenth century, there is very little evidence that the rest of Europe knew anything of the relationship.

temperate zones on either side of the 'burning zone'. Tying in with the classical concept of bodily humours that remained influential in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, various climates were believed to have strong effects on bodily constitution. Hence, climatic regions were responsible for both physical appearance and behavioural traits amongst the peoples of the world.<sup>64</sup> The effects of the climatic zones were also used in domestic European disputes. The predominantly Protestant Northern Europeans argued that their cool climate made them temperate, just, industrious and able to see the folly of Roman Catholicism, which remained entrenched in the hotter southern climes.<sup>65</sup> Spanish jurists and thinkers also used climate to explain the barbarity of the North American Indians, and hence excuse their own abuse of the natives.<sup>66</sup> Detailed descriptions of climate were an essential feature in early modern geographical reports of various countries. As we shall see, contemporary writers made substantial comments on the Japanese climate. However, by the turn of the seventeenth century these descriptions seem to be related more to fertility of land than as a determining factor in physiognomy and behaviour.<sup>67</sup> Although references to climatic zones and their effects on bodily humours continued to have faint echoes in geographical literature, their value for determining behavioural characteristics was undermined by empirical observation of first travellers and later missionaries, who were schooled in classical ethnology.<sup>68</sup> Not only did people look different and have different skin tones along the same latitudes (e.g. Africans, Malays and Native Americans) but even within the same broad ethnic groups, there were great variances in behaviour, character and civility.<sup>69</sup>

Throughout the sixteenth century maps became more and more accurate, culminating in the landmark world maps of Gerard Mercator and Abraham Ortelius, which appeared within a year of each other in 1569 and 1570.<sup>70</sup> However, geographical accounts did not necessarily take into account the accuracies of new scholarship and continued to reissue descriptions based on classical authors. There was no substantial reordering of the world to take into account that it was far larger than the ancients had conceived. In this respect the classical ideas of geography survived in terms of format and presentation of the world, albeit in modified form.<sup>71</sup> The problems of how Ptolemy's world picture was reconciled with America date from a much earlier period than the one under discussion.<sup>72</sup> The relationship with classical geography is often left

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<sup>64</sup> For classical ethnography see Margaret T. Hodgen, *Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Philadelphia, 1964), pp. 17-44.

<sup>65</sup> Cormack, *Charting an Empire*, p. 13.

<sup>66</sup> Todorov, *The Conquest of America*, pp. 239-40.

<sup>67</sup> For travellers' fascination with the Indian climate see Rubiés, *Travel and Ethnology*, pp. 59, 62, 76, 104, 174, 224.

<sup>68</sup> William Cunningham, *The Cosmographical Glasse* (London, 1559), p. 66; Bernadino de Escalante, *A Discourse of the navigation which the Portugales doe make to the Realme and provinces of the East...*, trans John Frampton (London, 1579), Sig. A2-A2v; Botero, *The Travelers Breviat*, p. 10.

<sup>69</sup> Cormack, *Charting an Empire*, pp. 133-34. For further details see below.

<sup>70</sup> On seventeenth century developments in Britain and the continent see Margarita Bowen, *Empiricism and Geographical Thought from Francis Bacon to Alexander von Humboldt* (Cambridge, 1981), pp. 58-90.

<sup>71</sup> See Jerry Brotton, "Terrestrial globalisation: mapping the globe in early modern Europe", in Denis Cogrove (ed), *Mappings* (London, 1999), pp. 71-89.

<sup>72</sup> The problems are well covered in Grafton, *New Worlds, Ancient Texts*, chps 1 and 2. At least on the continent the response was fairly rapid. Strasbourg printer Johannes Grüninger published a 12 sheet wood cut in 1507 entitled, *Universali Cosmographia Secundum Ptholomaei Traditionem et Americi*

as ambiguous in the literature. For instance, Giovanni Botero describes how the ancients divided the world into three parts and five temperature zones.<sup>73</sup> Although America is appended to the parts of the world, Botero makes no comment on how the supposedly uninhabitable burning zone of the ancients was proved by modern discoveries to be fertile and populated. The hostility of the burning zone was famously lambasted by José de Acosta, whose *Natural and Moral History of the Indies* was translated into English by Edward Grimstone in 1604.<sup>74</sup> Classical authorities are often left to speak for themselves rather than face critical commentary from the early modern writer.

It is quite clear that some writers concentrated overwhelmingly on the ancients whilst others were committed to giving the latest information. The title page of William Cunningham's *Cosmographical Glasse* (1559) features a border of heavenly banks of clouds where "*musica*" and "*geometria*" lay alongside Ptolemy, Marinus and Strabo.<sup>75</sup> In an interesting angle on the temperature zones mentioned above, Cunningham, in the form of a dialogue between master and pupil, defines the concept but notes Ptolemy's error with regard to the uninhabitability of the burning zone.<sup>76</sup> Although the geographical theory that prefaces the description of the world is entirely classical in orientation, Cunningham explains that the regions of the earth will be described according to modern observers.<sup>77</sup> John Parker has argued that a medieval mindset still pervaded English consciousness in the Jacobean period. This, he claims, left the nation with the paradox of "toiling towards the future but weighed down with the authority of the past".<sup>78</sup> However, modern historiography argues that even what appears to be the most classically-based geographies actually incorporate elements of the new discoveries. Jerry Brotton sees the continual reprinting of Ptolemy's *Geographica* not as a stubborn refusal to overturn the wisdom of the ancients in the light of modern discoveries but rather as a reconciliation between the two bodies of knowledge. A careful reading of sixteenth-century editions of Ptolemy illustrates how they were actually palimpsests of the original second century A.D. document. The focus may have been on the Greek *oikoumene*, the known world, but Portuguese knowledge, particularly of West Africa, was constantly integrated.<sup>79</sup>

Race categorisations in this period reached their apogee of sophistication in the writings of Jesuits, who had both the theoretical background through classical and medieval ethnography, and the opportunity to observe native societies first-hand.<sup>80</sup>

*Vespucii aliorumquē Lustrationes* (A map of the world according to the tradition of Ptolemy and the voyages of Amerigo Vespucci and others), Brotton, *Trading Territories*, p. 154.

<sup>73</sup> Botero, *The Travellers Breviat*, p. 10. Mention of a "cold zone" also occurs in Escalante's *A Discourse of the navigation*, Sig. A2-A2v.

<sup>74</sup> Acosta's work was one of the most widely read and influential books of the time, Rowe, "Ethnography", p. 9. Translations were published in Spanish, Italian, French, Dutch, German and English.

<sup>75</sup> This title page was also used for John Dee's edition of *The Mathematical preface to the elements of geometrie of Euclid of Magara* (London, 1579) and John Foxe's *Pandecte Locorum Communicum* (London, 1572), Cormack, *Charting an Empire*, p. 32.

<sup>76</sup> Cunningham, *The Cosmographical Glasse*, p. 66.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 179-202.

<sup>78</sup> Parker, *Books to Build an Empire*, p. 237.

<sup>79</sup> Brotton, *Trading Territories*, p. 41.

<sup>80</sup> On the theoretical Aristotelian background to race categorisation and the question of barbarism see Anthony Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man: The American Indians and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology* (Cambridge, 1982; 1988); Pagden, "The savage critic: some European images of the



Prominent missionaries in this field were Alessandro Valignano (who made several visits to Japan) and José de Acosta. They placed the 'white' Chinese and Japanese at the top of their pyramid and progressively listed less 'civilised' peoples lower down. The theory is most potently expressed in Acosta's *De Procuranda Indorum Salute* (How to procure the salvation of the Indians), which unlike his later *Natural and Moral History of the Indies* was not translated into English.<sup>81</sup> Although more sophisticated than previous categorisations of race based on religion, the new categories nevertheless were explicitly linked to the *prospect* of Christianisation amongst heathen peoples.<sup>82</sup> Hence, the Chinese and Japanese were more rational than the darker Indians and therefore more likely to convert to Christianity. The plan had a practical role in deciding different missionary strategies for different levels of civility amongst target populations. Hence, a hierarchical pyramid of civilisation was proposed for non-European non-Christians. The definitions and justifications behind them proposed by men such as Valignano and Acosta were well-reasoned and aided by familiarity with many of the classes of people under discussion. However, other attempts, such as that of Jesuit Alonso de Sandoval, were more confused and arbitrary in their divisions.<sup>83</sup> Alonso grouped all dark skinned people together as 'negroes' (but in the text he uses the even more imprecise 'Ethiopians'), including actual negroes but also the natives of New Guinea and the otherwise 'civilised' South Indians and Filipinos.<sup>84</sup> The new categorisation was also more sophisticated than the previous climatic/humoral classifications discussed above, in that they addressed (but did not explain) varieties of civility within a single temperature zone.<sup>85</sup>

Although many works gave a detailed nation-by-nation description of the world, the broader structure of division and geographical classification was extremely important to Jacobean.<sup>86</sup> Even relatively slim books such as Robert Stafforde's *A Geographical and anthropological description of all the empires in the globe* opened with a description of how the world was divided.<sup>87</sup> Giovanni Botero devoted

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primitive", *The Yearbook of English Studies*, vol. 13 (1983), pp. 32-45. The works of Lewis Hanke are still valuable: *The Spanish Struggle for Justice in the Conquest of the America* (Philadelphia, 1949) and *Aristotle and the American Indians* (London, 1959).

<sup>81</sup> The introduction to *De Procuranda Indorum Salute*, which proposes categories of barbarians is translated from the Latin in Rowe, "Ethnography", p. 17. For the original see *De Procuranda Indorum Salute* in L. Pereña *et al* (eds), *Corpus Hispanorum de Pace* (Madrid, 1984), vol. 23, p. 60.

<sup>82</sup> For missionaries' role development of ethnographical theory see Rowe, "Ethnography", pp. 1-19; Hodgen, *Early Anthropology*, pp. 78-107; F. N. Vogel, *A History of Ethnology* (New York, 1975).

<sup>83</sup> Sadoval's ideas are set out in "Un Tratado sobre la Esclaritud", a 1627 treatise on the salvation of the 'Ethiopians' (the Africans slave with whom he was familiar in the America).

<sup>84</sup> Discussed in Rubiés, *Travel and Ethnography*, pp. 174-75. Rubiés shows how Sandobal arrived at his unusual categorisation by indiscriminately using a hotchpotch of source material on dark skinned people. These included traditional anecdotal references on the apostolate of Saint Thomas, Polo's description of 'Maabar' (not Malabar, which was on the opposite coast of India) and information on Zanzibar, which he seemed to believe was in India.

<sup>85</sup> Differences between latitudes across the world could be explained by primeval differences between the descendent of the sons of Noah, who were believed to have populated the world. However, the biblical explanation did not answer why there was a vast difference in civility between the Inca and the Brazilian hunter-gatherers, who were presumably descended from the same source, Rubiés, *Travel and Ethnology*, p. 174.

<sup>86</sup> Despite a common set of divisions, Margarita Bowen sees the early seventeenth century geographic treatises such as Abbott's *Briefe Description* as having no pretence to systematic organisation at all, *Empiricism and Geographical Thought*, p. 65.

<sup>87</sup> Stafforde's book ran to only 66 pages in the first edition of 1607. By contrast many of the other works such as Peter Heylyn's *Microcosmus or a little description of the Great Worlde* (Oxford, 1621);

thirteen pages to the preliminary taxonomy of the globe.<sup>88</sup> In an extreme example, William Cunningham devoted the first 178 pages of his work to geographical theory in the broadest sense.<sup>89</sup> The divisions are worth considering in detail as they form the basis for notions of European superiority and the relative inferiority of various other peoples of the globe.<sup>90</sup> Typically, countries were divided by logical continental classification, with islands being considered last. They were not divided alphabetically or necessarily in order of civility. Although contemporary literature judged the civility of nations according to a detailed set of criteria, the basic classical and biblical groundings of prejudice remained.<sup>91</sup> The world was always divided into Europe, Asia, Africa and America; almost without exception in that order, which represented a descending table of civility and importance.<sup>92</sup> The prevailing view of the world is graphically illustrated on the frontispiece of Abraham Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (Antwerp, 1570).<sup>93</sup> Female embodiments of the four parts of the world are arranged around a pillared classical façade. An enthroned Europe sits on top, flanked by two globes and clutching a crossed orb. Beneath her, on either side of the temple, are Asia and Africa, bearing their exotic produce as tribute. Lying prone, head downcast, on the floor beneath all is America, personified as a naked savage

Pierre d'Avity's, *The Estates, Empires and principalities of the world*, trans Edward GriMStone (London, 1615); Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations* (1598-1600) and Purchas's *Purchas his Pilgrimage, or Relations of the world and the religion observed in al ages and Places discovered...* (London, 1613) approached and exceeded 1000 pages. Stafforde also provides explanations of various geographical terms, replete with false etymologies ('island' = 'eye of land'), *A Geographical*, p. 3.

<sup>88</sup> Botero, pp. 1-13.

<sup>89</sup> Cunningham, *Cosmographical Glasse*. A number of works focussed on the Ptolemeic mathematical basis of geography, e.g. Robert Recorde's *The Castle of knowledge*. They were basically elaborating on the continental works of Peter Apian and Gemma Phrysius, Cormack, *Charting an Empire*, pp. 90-128. The details are not of concern to the present study. However, a second tradition followed Strabo's *De Situa Orbis* in favouring an exhaustive description of the world, its fauna and flora, and was represented on the continent by Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia Universalis* (Basil, 1544), Cormack, *Charting an Empire*, pp. 129-62. The separation became known as scientific and political geography respectively.

<sup>90</sup> The importance of the impact of geographical description on a confident pan European self-image is stressed in Brotton, *Trading Territories*.

<sup>91</sup> The question of the peopling of the world by the Sons of Noah and the concept of the Curse of Ham is tangled and often misunderstood. For the background see Hodgen, *Early Anthropology*, pp. 207-51. Medieval T-O maps and later maps adapted from Ptolemy's *Geography* paired the three sons with their respective traditional continents. See the illustrations in Grafton, *New Worlds, Ancient Texts*, pp. 20, 68. However, Benjamin Braude concludes that the Curse of Ham was not an ancient prejudice. Throughout late antiquity, the Middle Ages and the Renaissance there was much geographical variation for the location of the sons of Noah and their progeny. Numerous personifications on maps also reveal that Ham was often not depicted as having black skin. Braude's convincing theory is that as Europe began to exploit Africa and the New World, the cursed Hamitic-Canaanite-slave identity was applied to likely candidates for slavery, "The Sons of Noah and the construction of ethnic and geographical identities in the medieval and early modern periods", *William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, vol. LIV, no. 1 (1997), pp. 103-42. This point is not considered by Seymour Phillips, "The outer world", p. 44. For a recent discussion of early modern perceptions of black skin, albeit based on poetry, masques and stage plays, see Kim F. Hall, *Things of Darkness: Economies of Race and Gender in Early Modern England* (Ithaca and London, 1995).

<sup>92</sup> William Cunningham confusingly places Africa second in his description of the world, *Cosmographical Glasse*, p. 186, a heterodoxy also found in Gerard Mercator, *Historia Mundi, or Mercators Atlas*, trans W. Saltonstall (London, 1635) and John Davis' *The World's Hydrographical Description*. The power relationship between Africa and the Americas was ambiguous. The common ordering of the Americas following Africa merely reflects its parvenu status in world geography rather than a true inferiority to Africa.

<sup>93</sup> Reproduced in Brotton, *Trading Territories*, p. 39. The 1606 English publication loses this image.

holding a decapitated head, replete with bow and arrows.<sup>94</sup> The significance of the ordering of accounts to early modern Europeans should not be underestimated.<sup>95</sup> For instance, Richard Willes/ Richard Eden's prefixing of descriptions of the North West Passage to accounts of China and Japan is believed to have reinforced the perceived plausibility of a northern route to the Indies.<sup>96</sup> The following section analyses how early modern Europeans perceived each continent of the world and the character of its inhabitants. Particular attention is paid to Asia, as the societies of that continent effectively threw a spanner in the works of the image of European superiority.

## Europe

There was absolutely no doubt in the minds of Jacobean Englishmen that Europe was the principal division of the world in a variety of respects.<sup>97</sup> According to Mercator it had a trinity of excellent soil, proud achievements and fine people.<sup>98</sup> It was always described first and the inadequacies of the other divisions and nations measured against it. To Stafforde "The people or inhabitants of it doth farre surpass the residue of the other parts, in Religion, learning, Artes, valor and civilitie".<sup>99</sup> To Cunningham the people were more civil, wise, friendly and learned than their peers in Africa and Asia.<sup>100</sup> Indeed, there was apparently nothing for the rest of the world to teach Europe, because it already excelled in every thing. A common observation was that not only did it exceed all other parts of the globe in nobility, magnificence, might and renown, but the achievement was all the more laudable because Europe was the smallest division of the world.<sup>101</sup> Whilst some of the stated attributes of Europe were undeniably true in the period, others are puzzling and often later contradicted by writers in the same works. Whilst the aim here is not a value judgement of whether opinions were fair or not, it is legitimate to note how writers, consciously or otherwise, ignored features that complicated their hierarchy of continents. Botero lists Europe's high population as an aspect of her superiority to the rest of the world, yet populations in Asia consistently astounded travellers.<sup>102</sup> The assertion of European

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<sup>94</sup> A similar but perhaps less polarised picture adorns the frontispiece of the first English edition of Mercator in 1635. It also bears the doggerel verse of M. S.: "By that faire Europe views the Asian shore, and Wilde Americke courts the sunburnt Moore". The implications of nakedness are studied in Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians*, pp. 39-41. References to 'nakedness' should often not be taken literally. It rather meant that subjects wore fewer and simpler clothes than the Europeans. This reinforced poverty and had many meanings besides the literal absence of clothes; that the people were poor, wretched and defenceless. 'Nakedness' appealed to both English woollen exports and military conquest. Indeed, many writers mention 'naked' Indians after elaborately describing their clothes. Kupperman also shows that this sophisticated concept of 'nakedness' in eye-witness reports was often truncated to literal nakedness in compilations such as Purchas's *Pilgrimes*, *ibid.*, p. 40.

<sup>95</sup> For the significance of Hakluyt's divisions of *Principall Navigations* (1589) see Finch, "Richard Hakluyt and the English nation", p. 16.

<sup>96</sup> Parker, *Books to Build an Empire*, pp. 79-80; Taylor, *Tudor Geography*, p. 117; Penrose, *Travel and Discovery*, p. 390.

<sup>97</sup> On the geographical boundaries and changing perceptions of Europe see Anthony Pagden (ed.), *The Idea of Europe: From Antiquity to the European Union* (Cambridge, 2001).

<sup>98</sup> Mercator, *Historia Mundi*, p. 11.

<sup>99</sup> Stafforde, *A Geographical*, p. 7.

<sup>100</sup> Cunningham, *Cosmographical Glasse*, p. 171.

<sup>101</sup> Botero, *The Travellers Breviat*, p. 10, Mercator, *Historia Mundi*, p. 8.

<sup>102</sup> Botero, *The Travellers Breviat*, p. 10. See William Foster (ed.), *The Journal of John Jourdain, 1608-1617, Describing his Experiences in Arabia, India and the Malay Archipelago*, Hakluyt Society, Second Series, no. XVI (1905), pp. 81-88, 162. Edward Connock and Thomas Barker noted that several cities in Persia were, "exceeding great and populous", *Letters Received*, vol. 5, p. 61.

superiority in might was also difficult to reconcile with the huge armies of China for instance.<sup>103</sup> It also did not occur to writers that the renown of Europe's personages, both ancient and more recent, rarely extended beyond Europe's borders.<sup>104</sup> Nor was it considered that famous historical figures in countries such as India, China and Japan were similarly unknown in Europe.

No doubt an important factor in the superiority attributed to Europe was the fact that Europe, alone of all the continents in this period, was a wholly Christian body. The frontispiece of Mercator has an enthroned Europe with a church in the background.<sup>105</sup> Of course, there were native Christians in Africa and Asia, and converts all over the world but the only place in which they were in a majority was in Europe.<sup>106</sup> The hallmarks of Europe's predominance are listed by Mercator and fall within the standard canon of civility used to judge races: justice and laws; the dignity of Christianity; magnificent buildings; strength of arms and wise men.<sup>107</sup> Whilst Mercator believed that Europe's virtues were too great to list, individual countries had their own particular national vices. The French were foolish, rude and vehement. The Bavarians were prodigal and gluttonous. The Greeks were 'light', garrulous and braggers. Spanish were haughty, wise and covetous ('wise' presumably has an alternate meaning in this instance).<sup>108</sup>

National pride was also a cogent feature of geographical accounts. In sketching Britain, the English Stafforde describes, "[t]his rich Diamond set the ring of the world, nurce of the most valiant, wise, and victorious men, doth almost with all things flourish".<sup>109</sup> To George Abbot "Albion" or "Britannia" was the most renowned island in the world.<sup>110</sup> Similar sentiments are echoed by William Cunningham, who describes, "England the most famous and plentifull Iland in all the earth".<sup>111</sup> Despite such obvious partisan sketches, the descriptions of the world were meant to be read as *bone fide* accounts and not poetic invention.

A proto-colonial attitude is also redolent in many of the early published sources on geography. Describing Europe, Botero declared that "nature hath created this people fit to rule and governe others, as men far surpassing all other nations in wisdom, courage and industrie".<sup>112</sup> Bernadino de Escalante also observes that the duty of man

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<sup>103</sup> A map brought back by Cavendish and printed in the first edition of Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* (1589), p. 813-25 gives the strikingly precise estimate of China's military strength as 7,923,785 men. It was China's perceived military greatness, coupled with stability and civility that caused so much debate about how the country was conquered by a relatively small number of barbarian horsemen by 1644. See Spence, *The Chan's Great Continent*, p. 36 and Edwin van Kley, "An alternate muse: the Manchu conquest of China in the literature of seventeenth century Northern Europe", *European Studies Review*, vol. 6, no. 1 (1976).

<sup>104</sup> Renown of literary figures, warriors, kings and explorers was an integral feature of Europe's superiority in contemporary literature.

<sup>105</sup> 1635 English edition.

<sup>106</sup> Stafforde does note astutely, however, that there were exceptions in the far north of Scandinavia and parts of the Ottoman Balkans, *A Geographical*, p. 7.

<sup>107</sup> Mercator, *Historia Mundi*, pp. 1-12.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.

<sup>109</sup> Stafforde, *A Geographical*, p. 31. The picture of Europe as the, "nurce of the world" is also found in Davis, *The World's Hydrographical Description*, Sig. B7v.

<sup>110</sup> Abbot, *Briefe Description* Sig. Dv.

<sup>111</sup> Cunningham, *The Cosmographical Glasse*, p. 172.

<sup>112</sup> Botero, *The Travellers Breviat*, p. 11.

(presumably European) was to labour “to bring the barbarous to civilitie, the Rude to knowledge”.<sup>113</sup> However, a key point of this thesis is that with few exceptions, the private documents of Europeans in the East show that they did not look down on non-Europeans. They certainly felt a moral pride as Christians but there is little real sense that they belonged to a united all-powerful confraternity. However, it is undeniable that early modern geographical literature promoted the idea of a civilised and important Europe that triumphed above lesser civilisations and nations. Jerry Brotton has argued that Gerard Mercator’s world map of 1569 constituted a defining act of Eurocentricism by scaling down the landmasses of Asia, Africa and the Americas whilst centralising Europe as the focus of the map.<sup>114</sup> In a wider sense Brotton’s thesis relates to the concept of ‘orientalism’ and the marginalisation of the East and is dealt with in greater detail below. However, it may be briefly noted here that although influential, Mercator’s map was superseded the following year by the even more influential *Theatrum Orbis Therarum* of Ortelius.<sup>115</sup> Although locating Europe and the Atlantic at the centre of his world map, Ortelius redressed the inaccuracies of continental size differentials evident in Mercator’s projection.<sup>116</sup> Although Brotton develops a complex theory about the centring of the Atlantic (and marginalisation of the East), the choice for both geographers was probably far more pragmatic. Ptolemy had taken the Canary Islands as a primary meridian. The line of demarcation between Portuguese and Spanish imperial ventures was also drawn west of the Azores, in the Atlantic (the act of which and its subsequent bearing on the right to the antipodal Moluccas is discussed at length by Brotton). In conclusion, there was no disagreement between sources that Europe was the primary continent in the world.

### Africa

Early modern writers usually had little positive to say about Africa, as the continent apparently lacked the accustomed hallmarks of civilisation. William Cunningham, like Mercator and John Davis, takes the confusing measure of describing Africa second in his scheme. The people were, “black, savage, monstrous & rude”. However, those who inhabited the ports frequented by Europeans were more civil.<sup>117</sup> Although Cunningham characterises any civilising influence as deriving from Europeans, he does not specifically associate black skin with barbarism. Neither, as previously mentioned, is the curse of Ham cited in this context. To Stafforde the people were also black, rude and uncivil.<sup>118</sup> He also provides uncivil anecdotes such as the fact that Ethiopians never used tables, cloths or napkins whilst eating.<sup>119</sup> Stafforde doesn’t explicitly connect the savagery of Africa with skin colour but reveals a clear prejudice by describing the mythical Prester John as white whilst all his subjects were black.<sup>120</sup> Mercator provides no generic description of the inhabitants. However, he notes that the continent was geographically disadvantaged. Most of the land was desert and despite the size of the continent it was not well peopled. Another problem was that

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<sup>113</sup> Escalante, *A Discourse*, Sig. A2v.

<sup>114</sup> Brotton, *Trading Territories*, p. 168. The map is reproduced on pp. 164-65.

<sup>115</sup> Incidentally, Ortelius’ work was among the books presented to the first Japanese embassy to Europe which left Japan in 1582, Alexandra Curvelo, “Nagasaki: An European artistic city in early modern Japan”, *Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies*, vol. 2 (2001), p. 28.

<sup>116</sup> The map is reproduced in Brotton, *Trading Territories*, pp. 172-73.

<sup>117</sup> Cunningham, p. 186.

<sup>118</sup> Stafforde, *A Geographical*, p. 37.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*

fact that it was 'troubled' with wild beasts.<sup>121</sup> To writers, Africa had little variety in terms of culture and hence an inherent lack of appeal. With Egypt being considered as part of Asia, the African continent also failed to attract those interested in classical and biblical precedents. It therefore did not receive lengthy attention in most works.

### The New World

Descriptions of the New World have been the main focus of modern historiography on images and perceptions of the Other. Recent writing is voluminous and has seen collaboration between historians, literary scholars, linguists and anthropologists. However, there is no space here to delve deeply into the broad range of proto-colonial theories. Just as Jacobean readers would have been assured of Europe's predominance on the world stage, and England/Britain's place at the zenith of this elite, they were certain of the pitiful status of the New World. The writings of Francisco Vitoria are very important for providing the basis of much of the subsequent theoretical underpinnings of ethnographical writing on the American Indians.<sup>122</sup> Spanish thinkers such as Bartolomé de Las Casas and Francisco de Vitoria may have argued for the humanity and legal rights of the Native Americans, but in early modern geographical literature their image was nothing but base. America (both continents) was always described last in the parts of the world, which probably owed its origins to its absence from the traditional tri-partite world order but certainly suited its lowly status.<sup>123</sup> To Mercator the continent was climatically fruitful and enjoyed a great variety of produce. It was well provided with mineral deposits and contained interesting fauna including lions and tigers.<sup>124</sup> However, to William Cunningham the natives were naked, primitive, cannibals (without exception) and had no laws concerning wedlock. He also adds that "They be filthy at meate and in all secrete actes of nature, comparable to brute beastes". However, despite such condemnation, they were good swimmers.<sup>125</sup> Some of the features condemned by Cunningham, such as the allegation that the Indians fought not for riches but revenge, were actually being lauded in contemporary continental Europe in an early manifestation of the 'noble savage' imagery.<sup>126</sup> The cult was based upon the rediscovery and publication of Tacitus' *Germania*, which favourably contrasted the noble simplicity of the Germanic barbarians with the dissolution, greed and immorality of civilised Rome.<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> Mercator, *Historia Mundi*, p. 14. Africa is poorly served by British first hand accounts of travel in this period. Most accounts appeared in travel collections although there is Richard Jobson's *The Golden Trade* (London, 1623), a narrative of enterprise on the Gambia.

<sup>122</sup> Pagden and Lawrence (eds), *Francisco Vitoria*, p. xxviii. For the sixteenth century context of Vitoria see Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man*.

<sup>123</sup> Earlier works simply appended America but by the time of the 1635 English edition of Mercator the continent was being treated as a fourth part of the world, p. 20.

<sup>124</sup> Mercator, *Historia Mundi*, pp. 24, 25.

<sup>125</sup> Cunningham, *The Cosmographical Glasse*, p. 201.

<sup>126</sup> At the same time, in his description of Guiana, Raleigh encouraged that "[t]he common soldier shal here fight for gold, and pay himselfe in steede of pence, with plates of halfe a foote brode", Neil L. Whitehead (ed.), *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich, and Bewtiful Empyre of Guiana* (Manchester, 1997), p. 194.

<sup>127</sup> See Grafton, *New Worlds, Ancient Texts*, ch. 1. Naturally Tacitus was particularly popular amongst German intellectuals. To a less favourable degree Herodotus' descriptions of the Scythians also fitted the 'noble savage' template.

To Stafforde the inhabitants of America were very barbarous, sometimes cannibals, unlearned and illiterate. They had no use of iron implements and did not value gold.<sup>128</sup> The presence of monumental buildings was probably the main reason for Acosta's inclusion of the Aztecs and Inca as the closest people to civilisation in the New World.<sup>129</sup> Brief notices of Aztec architecture as comparable to Europe are found in Mercator.<sup>130</sup> However, in general the achievements of New World architecture were conveniently ignored in published literature.<sup>131</sup>

The general geographical literature contained little of the sophisticated notions found in unpublished studies by missionaries and jurists. For instance, to the learned, aspects of Indian existence created a troubling ambiguity to the notion of a savage. The nakedness of the Tainos of Hispaniola placed them at the same time as just above beasts but also virtually as inhabitants of Eden in their primitive purity.<sup>132</sup> There is also evidently a chronological variation in views to be found in geographical literature. This may be graphically illustrated by comparing the frontispieces of Ortelius' atlas of 1570 with the English edition of Mercator in 1635. Ortelius' work depicts a prone, downcast, naked savage with his primitive weapons scattered on the floor.<sup>133</sup> Although still an exotic figure, Mercator's frontispiece of fifty years later has the American Indian as a vigorous 'noble savage', carrying his bow and arrows and ready to strike with a tomahawk.<sup>134</sup>

As we have seen, the Native Americans had a base image in early modern geographical and ethnographical literature. However, there is another side to early modern English writing on the New World. As K. O. Kupperman has demonstrated, most of the historiography on attitudes to North America that characterises the English as dismissing the Indians and their culture as worthless relies on the reports of non-eyewitnesses.<sup>135</sup> This base image is certainly backed up by the literature studied in this chapter. However, the Indians and their culture were described as praiseworthy to an extent in accounts of men who had seen them firsthand, such as Thomas Hariot, James Rosier, John Smith and others. Of course, some eye-witnesses violently objected to aspects of the Indian way of life, but they did not necessarily dismiss the people as beyond the bounds of civility. They were not considered as sub-human brutes fit to be exploited, as they were by armchair geographers.

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<sup>128</sup> Stafforde, *A Geographical* pp. 56-57, 59.

<sup>129</sup> Clements R. Markham (ed.), *The Natural and Moral History of the Indies*, 2 vols, Hakluyt Society, First Series, nos LX, LXI (1880), vol. 2, p. 411.

<sup>130</sup> Mercator, *Historia Mundi*, p. 26.

<sup>131</sup> Most of the more favourable descriptions of New World civilisation lay in manuscript until the nineteenth century.

<sup>132</sup> Bitterli, *Cultures in Conflict*, pp. 75-76. Bitterli notes how Spanish authors praised nakedness as an open invitation to sexual intercourse, *ibid.*, p. 76. Whilst in Guiana Raleigh was shocked that parents sold their daughters to the Spanish, Whitehall, *The Discoverie*, p. 153.

<sup>133</sup> Printed in Brotton, *Trading Territories*, p. 39.

<sup>134</sup> It is unclear how this corresponds to the traditional view of changing perceptions of the Indians. Most scholars believe that prior to the Virginia Massacre of 1622 the Indians were treated with curiosity by the English. The massacre led to them being viewed with great hostility as ascribed qualities of barbarity and perfidy. However, after the final defeat of Opechancanough's tribe c. 1650 the Indian threat was removed from the Virginia colony. This led to the concept of the unthreatening 'noble savage' gaining ground, Bitterli, *Cultures in Conflict*, pp. 32-33. The frontispiece of Mercator's work would fall neatly in between the two climatic events.

<sup>135</sup> E.g., Hodgen, *Early Anthropology*, pp. 362-64. Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians*, p. 106.

## Asia

Unlike the other continents of the world, Asia elicited considerable interest and attention from early modern writers. The aim here is to give a very general account of perceptions of Asia and its peoples, rather than detailed nation-by-nation or empire-by-empire descriptions.<sup>136</sup> There is no space here to compare the views expressed in published literature with the E.I.C. sources for India and South East Asia, in a way similar to the subsequent treatment of Japan.<sup>137</sup> Unlike the New World and the African interior, Western Europe had a much longer history of perceptions of Asians stretching back into classical antiquity. In the Middle Ages classical sources were supplemented by the accounts of Marco Polo, Sir John Mandeville and a handful of lesser known travellers (real or imaginary).<sup>138</sup> Nabil Matar has recently argued that whilst historians have traditionally seen the Jews and Native Americans as the chief 'other' of the English Renaissance, there was actually a lot more interaction with Muslims. As a physical presence there were more North African and Levantine traders in England than Jews or Native Americans and the 'Moor' was a popular stage character between 1580 and 1630.<sup>139</sup>

In many ways Asia presented a formidable obstacle to European theoretical superiority in contemporary literature. It clearly enjoyed all the hallmarks of civilisation in its monumental buildings, ancient writings, history, laws and government. As Matar has stressed, Asia was also beyond colonial reach due to its technology, large populations and military strength.<sup>140</sup> Yet despite Asia's achievements, the darkness of paganism prevented it from being considered as a suitable peer to Europe. Much of the ambiguity of Asia's image can be detected in the lapses and vagueness of early modern geographers. Despite having previously noted Europe's superiority in everything, Cunningham concludes his sketch of Asia by describing it as far exceeding both Europe and Africa due to its fertility and range of produce. It did, however, contain Pliny's peripheral monsters.<sup>141</sup> The physical vastness of Asia was a predominant theme in the literature. The continent had a diverse range of climates according to Mercator, being variously temperate, cold and hot.<sup>142</sup> Asia was proverbially pleasant according to Mercator and exceeded all other regions in its produce of food, spices, metals and exotic creatures. In addition man was first created in Asia (according to the biblical tradition) and the continent enjoyed both 'wit' and power. Of course, of particular importance was the biblical significance of Asia.<sup>143</sup> For Stafforde and Botero too, Asia had positive historical associations with

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<sup>136</sup> Without doubt the most thorough and detailed, if not the most innovative study, on perceptions of Asia is Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*.

<sup>137</sup> For a dated account of the British presence in Siam see Anderson, *English Intercourse with Siam*. Again, although very dated, Alfred Wood's *A History of the Levant Company* gives some perspectives of the views of members of the Levant Company during this period.

<sup>138</sup> See Mary B. Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Travel Writing, 400-1600* (Ithaca and London, 1988), chps 3 and 4 and Greenblatt, *Marvellous Possessions, passim*.

<sup>139</sup> Matar, *Turks, Moors and Englishmen*, p. 3.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.

<sup>141</sup> Cunningham, p. 189. The inhabitants of Sumatra were often characterised as cannibals, e.g. Botero, p. 59. The reference is probably to the Batak people who were described as cannibals by Portuguese writers such as João de Barros and Mendes Pinto, Rebecca Catz trans and (ed.), *The Travels of Mendes Pinto* (Chicago and London, 1989), pp. 542-43n.

<sup>142</sup> Mercator, *Historia Mundi*, p. 18.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 20.



both the classical and the biblical world.<sup>144</sup> However, Stafforde showed a hostility to the nomadic life followed in Central Asia, with its accolates described as “the basest sort of Tartars”.<sup>145</sup> This of course reflects Acosta’s view of civilisation in which urban living was considered an essential demarcation of civility. Cities were the ground rock for a stable state, public laws, magistrates and successful commerce.<sup>146</sup>

Something of a mixed opinion was shown towards the Turks.<sup>147</sup> According to Stafforde they had good military skills and were industrious but in direct contrast to the latter comment, the Anatolians were idle and lazy.<sup>148</sup> To Botero the Ottomans were tyrannical and treated all their subjects as slaves.<sup>149</sup> The theme of Ottoman tyranny was very important to contemporaries. Whilst discussing the commonwealth of England, Sir Thomas Smith latched onto the idea that the Turk held all subjects as slaves and bondsmen. Only the sultan and his sons were free men.<sup>150</sup> Botero continued that the Turks cared only for war and neglected husbandry and merchandising. Their dominions generally consisted of vast forests, with few well-populated cities. Everything was laid waste and fields left unmanured. Beyond immediate military need for victuals nothing else mattered.<sup>151</sup> Because nobody owned anything there was very little incentive to work hard at agriculture. Botero’s description of the Turks is actually very similar to his description of the Japanese, as we shall see below.

There were clearly a number of principal empires in Asia which were obviously potential rivals to Europe; the Ottomans, Persians, Mughals, Chinese and Japanese being the most prominent. Acosta described the Asians in his first class of barbarians as noteworthy for both their power and wisdom.<sup>152</sup> In many cases the only barrier to Asians being considered the equal of Europeans was the question of Christianity. However, as noted above, the fact that the Asians were so astute, civilised and cultured seemed to bode well for the progress of Christianity in China and Japan.<sup>153</sup> The idea that missionary work would be easier amongst highly developed people was prevalent amongst contemporaries. The Jesuits in Canada bemoaned the fact that their achievements amongst the Huron were far harder won than their better-known peers working in China and Japan.<sup>154</sup>

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<sup>144</sup> Stafforde, *A Geographical*, p. 44, Botero, *The Travellers Breviat*, pp. 11-13.

<sup>145</sup> Stafforde, *A Geographical*, pp. 47, 50.

<sup>146</sup> Translated in Rowe, “Ethnography”, p. 17.

<sup>147</sup> For travel accounts of Ottoman Empire see Fynes Morrison, *Itinerary* (London, 1617); John Sanderson, *Travels*; Henry Timberlake, *A True and Strange Discourse of the Trauailes of Two English Pilgrimes...* (London, 1603); William Biddulph, *The Travels of Certaine Englishmen into Africa, Asia, and to the Blacke Sea, Finished 1608* (London, 1609); George Sandys, *A Relation of a journey Begun Anno Dom. 1610* (London, 1615).

<sup>148</sup> Stafforde, *A Geographical Description*, pp. 22-23, 45.

<sup>149</sup> Botero, *The Travellers Breviat*, pp. 53-54.

<sup>150</sup> Dewey (ed.), *De Republica*, pp. 57-58.

<sup>151</sup> Botero, *The Travellers Breviat*, pp. 54-55.

<sup>152</sup> Rowe, “Ethnography”, p. 17.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*; Bitterli, *Cultures in Conflict*, pp. 152-53. However, there were other reasons for the initial success of Christianity. The superficial similarity between Christian and Buddhist ritual seems to have prompted many Asian converts to believe that they Christianity was actually a new sect of Buddhism. In China and Japan there was also no competition from Islam, unlike parts of India and South East Asia. For more discussion see ch. 8.

<sup>154</sup> Quoted in Bitterli, *ibid.*, p. 97.

According to many, China was the chief kingdom in the whole world. It was not only fruitful but yielded “whatsoever the delicate and effeminate appetite of man may lust after”.<sup>155</sup> Descriptions of China were almost uniformly positive and there is every indication that the country was synonymous with wealth and sophistication in the early modern mind. Mentioning the fabled Inca palaces, Raleigh believed that they exceeded everything in Europe and the whole world “China excepted”.<sup>156</sup> Similarly, mockingly describing his commander Edward Fenton as “our little king”, the preacher Richard Maddox wrote that he “thinks himself of such worth that the queen of China would court and embrace him”.<sup>157</sup> To Acosta there was no doubt that the Chinese were the foremost people in his first class of barbarians. The Chinese “are reported to flourish greatly [agriculturally and economically], with an abundance of books, splendid academies, authoritative laws and magistrates, and magnificent public works”.<sup>158</sup>

Unfortunately, there is very little historiography with which to engage on early modern perceptions of Asia. Scholars seem to have accepted that contemporaries respected Asian societies and saw them as quite different from the inhabitants of Africa and the Americas.<sup>159</sup> It is impossible to trace a changing scholarly attitude towards perceptions of Asia over the decades. There has been no major revaluation of the assumption that Europeans did in fact admire many aspects of Asian civilisation. Of course, a major development in the past two decades is post-colonial theory, which argues that many aspects of particularly Muslim societies were set in negative contrast to Western civilisation.<sup>160</sup> However, as argued throughout this thesis, and by early modern specialists, post-colonial theories are only appropriate to the age of European imperialism in Asia.<sup>161</sup> In most cases this means the nineteenth century, which itself saw the growth of eugenics and scientific notions of European racial superiority. The vast majority of scholarship on perceptions of Asia, and China in particular, focuses on the eighteenth century onwards.<sup>162</sup> During the European Enlightenment many Asian societies were seen as ‘slave societies’; the victims of despotic regimes. Particularly the Ottoman Empire and China were viewed as civilisations that had made considerable achievements in the past but crucially had atrophied under despotic systems of government.<sup>163</sup> Although in the case of ‘the Turk’ we can see this view reflected in Botero’s characterisation of the Ottoman’s treating their subjects as

<sup>155</sup> Botero, *The Travellers Breviat*, p. 56.

<sup>156</sup> Whitehead (ed.), *The Discoverie*, p. 193.

<sup>157</sup> Elizabeth Donno (ed.), *An Elizabethan in 1582: The Diary of Richard Maddox, Fellow of All Souls, Hakluyt Society*, Second Series, no. 147 (1976), p. 169.

<sup>158</sup> Rowe, “Ethnology”, p. 17.

<sup>159</sup> E.g., Basset, “Early English trade”, p. 84; Wolf, *Europe*, pp. 232-33; Bitterli, *Cultures in Conflict*, pp. 44, 63.

<sup>160</sup> See particularly Edward Said’s *Orientalism* (New York, 1978) and *Culture and Imperialism* (London, 1993). See also S. Amin, *Eurocentricism* (London, 1989); Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London, 1994).

<sup>161</sup> See Bart Moore-Gilbert, *Postcolonial Theory: Contexts, Practices, Politics* (London and New York, 1997, 2000), pp. 34-73 and Leela Gandhi, *Postcolonial Theory: A Critical Introduction* (Edinburgh, 1998), pp. 64-80.

<sup>162</sup> K. A. Wittfogel, *Oriental Despotism* (New Haven, 1957); Raymond Rawson, *The Chinese Chameleon* (London, 1967); P. J. Marshall and Glyndwr Williams, *The Great Map of Mankind: Perceptions of New Worlds in the Age of Enlightenment* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982); Ching and Oxtoby, *Discovering China*; Spence, *The Chan’s Great Continent*; David Martin Jones, *The Image of China in Western Social and Political Thought* (London, 2001).

<sup>163</sup> Marshall and Williams, *The Great Map*, p. 3.

slaves, there is little sense of this opinion in relation to China.<sup>164</sup> Although, as highlighted above there were ambiguities in the perceptions of Asia, there was quite clearly a cohesive opinion in this period that Asia could match Europe in many fields but was marred by its paganism.

### Conclusion

The above account is only intended to be a very general picture of the Jacobean world view as evinced by contemporary published sources and interpreted by modern historiography. According to the evidence of numerous geographical works, the Jacobean Englishman had basically a tripartite view of the world that was seamlessly augmented by the inclusion of the Americas. There was no anthropological information about the enormous southern continent, and therefore this did not feature in the discourse of relative power. The extension of Asia beyond the classical boundaries, which of course now included Japan, did not prompt a significant modification of classical notions of respect coupled with aversion. The descriptions of China and Japan seemed to confirm both classical and biblical axioms that Asia was second only to Europe in all respects. What is abundantly clear in the sources is the assumed superiority of Europe, which was not solely based upon religious orthodoxy. In order to maintain this thesis, early modern writers were prepared to ignore aspects of Asian society that challenged Europe's foremost position in the hierarchy of civilisation.

It is certainly true that many European commentators, particularly Jesuits, could see civility and merit in many diverse native peoples, who would not otherwise have been classified as civilised. However, their opinions were either not published until modern times (as is the case of many Spanish authors in particular), or their enlightened opinions had little influence on compilers of world geographies.<sup>165</sup> The Americas were typically described as a place of utmost savagery, idolatry and cannibalism. The existence of great civilisations in Mesoamerica and the Andean highlands did not generally complicate the assumption that they held an inferior position relative to the Old World.<sup>166</sup> Hence, we have seen that the overall plan of the ordering of the world was more important than a completely fair evaluation of civilisation for armchair geographers. However, to what extent was this attitude shown by private men on the ground? The second section of this chapter turns to look at the perceptions of the Japanese evident in the letters and journal of the Hirado merchants. It considers to what extent preconceived notions of European superiority shaped opinions or whether the merchants took the Japanese at face value.

## 2. A Comparison of the Depiction of Japan in Published Books and the E.I.C. Sources

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<sup>164</sup> Bottero, *The Travellers Breviat*, pp. 53-54.

<sup>165</sup> Marshall and Williams, *The Great Map*, p. 3.

<sup>166</sup> However, it should be noted that although men such as Acosta could admire the architectural and administrative skills of the great empires of the New World, they still regarded the nomadic peoples of the Americas as utter savages. Despite being the foremost champion of the moral rights of the native Americans, Bartolomé de las Casas regarded pre-Columbian America as dark, unknown, ignored and having played no part in human history. Las Casas was also in no doubt about the superiority of Europe. See Pagden, *European Encounters*, pp. 6-7.

## Introduction

Having set the context of how Jacobean, and more generally European, divided their world, we must now consider the image of Japan in early modern publications. As previously stated in the introduction, it would be a mammoth task to thoroughly examine the publications relating to the four nations which had direct experience with Japan at this time.<sup>167</sup> There exist accounts derived from direct experience as well as those that mention Japan only in passing. To this one would also have to add French and Italian sources which include important missionary and historical works. A number of works were also published in German at this time.<sup>168</sup> This thesis has confined itself to English language publications for a number of reasons. Initially, the scale would be too vast if all continental reports were taken into account. The second reason is that the thesis is Anglo-centric in approach and considers the likelihood of access to material by Jacobean readers. As will be examined in chapter 4, many factors spoke Spanish and Portuguese but such continental books were not readily accessible for a merchant of modest means without foreign contacts.<sup>169</sup> Concentrating exclusively on English publications also allows bibliographical completeness and sufficient depth of analysis. As we know that the crew of the *Clove* had at least access to a number of contemporary publications on Japan, their consideration in some depth is not without importance. The focus will be upon whether or not the images and depictions provided by these publications had any reflection in the reality of living in Japan.

Whilst we know that the *Clove* carried Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* and Linschoten's *Itinerario* it will probably never be known if any of the E.I.C. merchants read any of the other contemporary material available on Japan.<sup>170</sup> After literacy the biggest constraint on a readership was price. In the early seventeenth century up to 75 % of a book's cost was accounted for by paper. Hence, the larger the book the more restricted its audience.<sup>171</sup> Although some slim books mentioning Japan were available, the majority of the works under discussion range between 500-1000+ pages and were probably only accessible to the rich and members of corporations.

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<sup>167</sup> The futility of any attempt is acknowledged in Michael Cooper, "Japan described", in Cooper (ed.), *The Southern Barbarians: The First Europeans in Japan* (Tokyo, 1971), p. 101. Cooper notes that such a task would degenerate into mere catalogues of authors and titles.

<sup>168</sup> Cf. John Landwehr, *VOC: A Bibliography of Publications relating to the Dutch East India Company, 1602-1800*, (ed.), Peter Van der Krogt (Utrecht, 1991). A wide sample of accounts in the original and German translation can be found in Kapitza (ed.), *Japan in Europa*.

<sup>169</sup> On universities' ownership of geographical books see Cormack, *Charting an Empire*, pp. 34-37 and the lists of acquisitions pp. 243-47. Many of the works are continental, including, in St John's College Cambridge, a copy of Pietro Maffei's *Historiarum Indicarum* (1589), which contains many Jesuit letters from Japan, *ibid.*, p. 245.

<sup>170</sup> Hakluyt is referred to in IOR: B/2 f. 148; Farrington, vol. 2, p. 983. Linschoten is mentioned in Saris' personal possession in *Pilgrimes*, vol. 3, p. 361. No doubt he was able to lend the work to his fellow merchants as Cocks and others later did in Japan, IOR: E/3/1 no. 140; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 145, IOR: G/12/15, p. 9; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 174, IOR: E/3/4 no. 418; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 538, IOR: E/3/5 no. 584; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 652; *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 194. Lesley B. Cormack relates that Japan was a source of delight for English geographical students but provides no further evidence other than references to the letters in the E.I.C. archive, as supplied to her by Farrington, *Charting an Empire*, p. 147.

<sup>171</sup> Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640* (Cambridge, 1991; 1994), pp. 1-8.

If the E.I.C. factors in Japan did incorporate published material on Japan into their private letters they would be following well-attested contemporary practice. Amongst other factors, Sir Francis Bacon recommended the use of a book describing the country through which one was travelling in his essay *On Travel*.<sup>172</sup> Columbus' annotated copy of Polo's travels survives and his reading of Mandeville is testified to by at least two separate contemporary witnesses, including his son.<sup>173</sup> Even writers with impeccable experience of the East were not averse to drawing on literary works. The Spanish jurist and authority on the Philippines, Antonio de Morga, 's library in Quito contained Argensola's *History of the Conquest of the Moluccas* (1609), Mendes-Pinto's *Historia Oriental*, Mendoza's *History*, Botero's *Travellers' Breviat* and the works of Fray Luis de Granada.<sup>174</sup> The Jesuit letter writers were also evidently influenced in their writing on the East by their reading of Polo and Juan Gonzalez de Mendoza.<sup>175</sup> Linschoten's *Itinerario* was particularly popular amongst E.I.C. personnel and is mentioned in the journals of many of the prominent captains of the early seventeenth century.<sup>176</sup> The work was also used alongside Richard Eden's *Decades of the Newe Worlde* by Foulke Grevil to compile a report on the possibilities of East Indian trade by Foulke Grevil.<sup>177</sup>

In this chapter the choice of themes to explore in parallel is somewhat limited for a number of reasons. As many prominent themes are either explored in later chapters or indeed have their own chapter, they have been excluded in order to avoid unnecessary repetition. For instance, clothing, food and housing are discussed in chapter 5, whilst the severe Japanese legal system, prominent in both publications and private documents, is examined in chapter 7. Similarly, the subjects of language, literacy and religion are explored independently.<sup>178</sup> Many references in the Hirado sources do not fit comfortably into the definition of the current chapter of recording perceptions of the Japanese and things Japanese. Rather, they tend to record direct interaction. There also seems little point in confirming bland details such as the fact that the E.I.C. sources agree with the literature that rice could be found in abundance, for example. Although an important consideration of this chapter is why certain themes were of interest to Jacobean, any analysis faces a major problem. All the published

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<sup>172</sup> 1625 collection of *Essays*, reprinted in James Spedding, Robert Ellis and Douglas Heath (eds), *The Works of Francis Bacon, Baron of Verulam, Viscount St Albans, and Lord High Chancellor of England*, 14 vols (London, 1857-74), vol. 6, p. 417. A list of both European and English books containing hints to travellers can be found in Joan-Pau Rubiés, "Instructions for travellers: teaching the eye to see", *History and Anthropology*, vol. 9, nos 2-3 (1996), pp. 178-79n.

<sup>173</sup> Greenblatt, *Marvellous Possessions*, pp. 26, 156-57 (end-note); Spence, *Chan's Great Continent*, p. 17. On Columbus's copy of Polo see Juan Gil (ed.), *El Libro de Marco Polo anotado por Cristobal Colon* (Madrid, 1987).

<sup>174</sup> J. C. Cummins, trans and (ed.), *Sucesos de Las Islas Filipinas, Hakluyt Society, Second Series*, no. 140 (1971), pp. 15-16.

<sup>175</sup> Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 3, part 1, pp. 320, 323. See also ch. 1.

<sup>176</sup> See Foster (ed.), *John Jourdain*, pp. 54, 351; *Pilgrimes*, vol., 3, p. 361 (Saris); W. H. Moreland (ed.), *Peter Floris: His Voyage to the East Indies in the 'Globe', 1611-1615: The Contemporary Translation of his Journal*, *Hakluyt Society, Second Series*, no. LXXIV (1934), p. 31; William Foster (ed.), *The Voyage of Thomas Best to the East Indies, 1612-14*, *Hakluyt Society, Second Series*, no. LXXV (1934), pp. 48, 49, 88; *Letters Received*, vol. 3, p. 163 (Richard Westby); *Pilgrimes*, vol. 2, p. 546 (Keeling); Boies Penrose and Michael Strachen (eds), *The East India Company Journals of Captain William Keeling and Master Thomas Bonner, 1615-1617* (Minneapolis, 1971), p. 95 (Keeling).

<sup>177</sup> *CSPC*, vol. 1, no., 266. Such reports were quite common. Sir Francis Walsingham made a similar memorandum twenty years earlier in 1580 on the prospects of the Turkey trade, Alfred Wood, *A History of The Levant Company* (Oxford, 1935), p. 10.

<sup>178</sup> Language and literacy and discussed in ch. 4 and religion in ch. 8.

information available on Japan was derived from foreign language translations. Although an editor/translator was able to put their own slant on material the choice of original subject matter (itself drawn from Jesuit letters) was not his own. Hence, the choice of themes for a published description of Japan doesn't necessarily reflect what was important to Jacobean. For this reason in many cases we can't compare the Hirado sources with published accounts to this end. The opinions drawn from Company sources are not intended to be exhaustive as this is after all something of an introductory chapter rather than a microcosm of the entire thesis. Further examples of themes touched upon in this chapter will be re-examined in later sections.

### General Perceptions

It will be fitting to open this section with a general survey of the description of Japan to be found in the literature of early modern England. As comments such as the fact that Japan was a mountainous country describe obvious actualities, there is little point comparing published literature with the factors' accounts. Therefore excessive time will not be devoted to the more mundane geographical aspects of the literary image of Japan.<sup>179</sup>

There was no consensus in late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century England about whether Japan was a single island or a group of many islands. In his advice for Jackman and Arthur Pet, John Dee wrote of "Japan Island".<sup>180</sup> Richard Willes also viewed Japan as a "glorious Island", as did George Abbot.<sup>181</sup> However, to d'Avity and Botero the country consisted of many islands, which Botero compared to the Hebrides and Orkneys.<sup>182</sup> In his arguments in favour the plantation of Newfoundland, Sir George Peckham made comparisons with the "Island of Zipango and Japan".<sup>183</sup> It is unclear if Peckham viewed Zipango and Japan as alternate titles of a single entity or as two separate islands. Other authors displayed similar ambiguity in their descriptions, although it is difficult to ascertain whether the ambiguity was deliberately intended to mask ignorance. For instance, Robert Parkes' dedication to Thomas Cavendish mentions the "Island of Iapon" but later describes the country as composed of many islands.<sup>184</sup> Linschoten's ambiguity is even more striking, entitling the 26 chapter of his First Book the "Island of Japan" before immediately proceeding to describe the country as many close-lying islands.<sup>185</sup> As it has been established,

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<sup>179</sup> Conrad Totman's *Early Modern Japan* (Berkeley and London, 1993), pp. 3-11 relies exclusively on European reports for his discussion of Japan's contemporary geography and climate, on the basis that these factors were too commonplace to be recorded by native chroniclers.

<sup>180</sup> *Principal Navigations*, vol. 2, p. 213.

<sup>181</sup> Richard Willes, *The History of Trayayle in the West and East Indies* (London, 1577), reprinted in *Principal Navigations*, vol. 4, pp. 194-95; Abbot, *A Briefe Description* Sig. D5.

<sup>182</sup> d'Avity *The Estates, empires and principalities*, p. 745; Botero, *The Travellers Breviat*, p. 198. Botero gives the precise number as 56, although there were three principal islands. In this he was correct. Although modern Japan consists of four large islands, the northernmost, Hokkaido, was not considered as part of the Japanese empire in this period, Totman, *Early Modern Japan*, p. 274.

<sup>183</sup> *Principal Navigations*, vol. 6, p. 76.

<sup>184</sup> Juan Gonzales de Mendoza, *The Historie of the great and mightie kingdome of China*, trans Robert Parkes (London, 1588), Sig. ¶ 2v., p. 374. Although Parkes was only the translator of the work, it is usually referred to as Parkes', *Historie*, a practice followed here. There was also an island of Amazons which lay close by, according to the Jesuits, but Parkes left it to his readers to decide the veracity of such a claim, pp. 380-81.

<sup>185</sup> Jan Huighen van Linschoten, *John Hvighen van Linschoten his Discours of Voyages into the Easte and Weste Indies*, trans William Philips (London, 1598), First Book, p. 44. The latter work is better

many of the published works relied on continental Jesuit news letters. Continually moving between the islands of Honshu, Kyūshū and Shikoku, it would have been obvious to any missionary in Japan that the country was composed of a number of large islands as well as numerous small islands.<sup>186</sup> The early modern geographical writers also clearly read other secondary European sources on Japan available at the time, including the works under discussion in this chapter. The apparent ambiguity in description is probably, therefore, no more than convenient terminology. Whilst acknowledging, where relevant, the fact that Japan was composed of close-lying islands, it could generally be described as the "Island of Japan".

Authors agreed that Japan was extremely distant from Europe, very mountainous and liable to heavy snowfall.<sup>187</sup> The climate was healthy and had very hot summers coupled with very cold winters.<sup>188</sup> Like parts of North America, although Japan lay on the same latitude as Spain and Portugal it was not as warm.<sup>189</sup> As we have seen, contemporaries believed that latitudes and climates effected physiognomy and character of inhabitants.<sup>190</sup> However, the behaviour of the Japanese is only explicitly linked to climate by Robert Parkes.<sup>191</sup> An important factor that comes across in the literature, which will be retraced below, is that fact that Japan could be fertile but was generally barren due to either war or slothfulness. Many familiar European products were noticeably lacking, such as meat, dairy products, wheat, oil and grape wines.<sup>192</sup> However, the barrenness of the country was not affirmed by all writers. Parkes noted that there was much rice and meat but conceded that the people were more interested in war than agriculture.<sup>193</sup> The Portuguese traveller Francisco Gualle was informed by a Chinese on passing Japan that the country was full of rice, corn, fish and meat.<sup>194</sup> According to Linschoten the rice production was high through necessity as samurai stipends were paid in rice. Although wild animals were hunted and eaten there was no domestication.<sup>195</sup> Hence, although there was disagreement on the plenitude of victuals in Japan, writers agreed that the country did not exploit its agricultural potential.

known by its original title of *Itinerario*. There were three principal islands according to Mercator, *Historia Mundi*, p. 880.

<sup>186</sup> Island groups such as the Goto islands and even Hirado itself were centres of missionary activity over a long period.

<sup>187</sup> Willes, *History of Trauayle*, p. 191; Luis Frois, letter translated in Willes *History of Trauayle* and reprinted in *Principal Navigations*, vol. 4, p. 196; Linschoten, *Itinerario*, First Book, pp. 44-45; d'Avity, *Estates, Empires and principalities*, p. 745.

<sup>188</sup> Mercator, *Historia Mundi*, p. 880. Thomas Hariot compared the Japanese climate to that of Virginia, *Principal Navigations*, vol. 6, p. 194.

<sup>189</sup> Willes, *History of Trauayle*, p. 191; Sir George Peckham in *Principal Navigations*, vol. 6., p. 76. Such observations were often made about the New World although the Gulf Stream was not understood at the time.

<sup>190</sup> See K. O. Kupperman, "The puzzle of the American climate in the early colonial period", *American Historical review*, vol. 87 (1982); Kupperman, "Fear of hot climates in Anglo-American colonial experience", *William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, vol. XLI (1984), pp. 213-40; I Metzler, "Perceptions of hot climate in medieval cosmography and travel literature", *Reading Medieval Studies*, vol. 23 (1997), pp. 67-105.

<sup>191</sup> Parkes, *Historie*, p. 377. See the section below on "Character of the Japanese".

<sup>192</sup> Willes, *History of Trauayle*, p. 191, 192; Frois, *Principals Navigations*, p. 196; d'Avity, *Estates, Empires and principalities*, p. 745. See ch. 5 for the foodstuffs eaten by the factors in Japan.

<sup>193</sup> Parkes, *Historie*, pp. 375-76.

<sup>194</sup> *Principal Navigations*, vol. 10, pp. 297-98.

<sup>195</sup> Mercator, *Historia Mundi*, p. 880; Linschoten, *Itinerario*, First Book, pp. 44-45. According to d'Avity, *Estates, Empires and principalities*, p. 745 and Botero, *The Travellers Breviat*, p. 198 there were both domestic and wild animals, although only the latter were eaten. The Japanese fondness for

Early Modern Englishmen placed a lot of value on the productivity of the soil. In his criticism of the Ottoman domains, Ralph Carr described how husbandry was “in all well ordered Commonweales the princes greatest store”.<sup>196</sup> The motif of the good husbandman managing family and state was frequently used during the period. As Patricia Seed has illustrated, agricultural symbolism was synonymous in England with colonisation and the ‘planting’ of territories is frequently mentioned even in E.I.C. sources.<sup>197</sup> Wealth and social status were traditionally based on land-holdings and overseas expansion was often couched in the language of agriculture. Amongst Raleigh’s praise for the land of Guiana was the fertility of its soil.<sup>198</sup> In the same vein, a prominent feature of descriptions of the African Cape is the lament that such a fair land had been unfairly bestowed on savages who could not exploit its riches.<sup>199</sup> By contrast, Massarella argues that in the literature the Japanese were not “ignorant nor slothful nor negligent about husbandry and cultivating their natural resources in order to create national wealth, unlike the Irish or the American Indians of Virginia whose neglect in this respect was used to justify colonisation”.<sup>200</sup> Although the example of the Irish and the American Indians is correct, Massarella’s view about the Japanese is puzzling given the quotations cited above. Massarella supports his argument by a reference to the “First Book of Modern States”, a report culled from Jesuit letters. Although a marginal reference in the latter work mentions “The industrious character of the Japanese”, the body of the text tells a different story.<sup>201</sup> It argues that the country was mountainous and hence large parts of the land were not cultivated. Furthermore, the text maintains that Japan was barren due to the slothfulness of its inhabitants rather than nature, which of course rather contradicts both the previous marginal note and Massarella’s opinion.<sup>202</sup> Although Massarella is right to claim that Japan was presented as a well-ordered society in contemporary literature, on the subject of Japan’s agriculture he is evidently wrong.<sup>203</sup>

Without doubt, one of the most potent motifs in the literature is the fact that Japan was believed to be a mighty country and not just a petty state on the edge of the world. In his dedication to Thomas Cavendish, Parkes notes that some Japanese boys brought back from Cavendish’s circumnavigation were born in the “mightie Iland of Iapon”.<sup>204</sup> He continued to state that the many islands “altogether make a mightie kingdome”.<sup>205</sup> To Willes, who was adding his own opinions to his collation of Jesuit material, it was a “glorious Iland among so many barbarous nations and rude

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game is mentioned in the anon., *A Briefe Relation of the Persecution lately made against the Catholike Christians, in the Kingdom of Iaponia*, trans W. Wright (St Omer, 1619), pp. 20-21.

<sup>196</sup> *The Mahumetane, or Turkish Historie* (London, 1600), Sig. AaaaaaV.

<sup>197</sup> See Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe’s Conquest of the New World, 1492-1640* (Cambridge, 1995; 1998), pp. 25-31. For agricultural metaphors in the E.I.C. see, *Letters Received*, vol. 3, p. 119; vol. 5, pp. 56, 250, 251, 304, 316; vol. 6, p. 36; *Pilgrimes*, vol. 2, p. 129; vol. 3, p. 432; Foster (ed.), *Voyage of Nicholas Downton*, p. 128.

<sup>198</sup> Whitehead (ed.), *The Discoverie*, p. 131. He also referred to the crops and livestock that the land could support.

<sup>199</sup> See Parker, “Telling tales”.

<sup>200</sup> Massarella, *World Elsewhere*, p. 71.

<sup>201</sup> Rundall (ed), *Memorials of the Empire of Japon*, p. 3.

<sup>202</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

<sup>203</sup> Massarella, *World Elsewhere*, p. 71.

<sup>204</sup> Parkes, *Historie*, Sig. ¶ 2v.

<sup>205</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 374.



regions".<sup>206</sup> To Botero "Japan may well be called a politicke bodie".<sup>207</sup> It appears that most of the accolades given to Japan related to the country's military might, a theme that will be explored in more detail below.

A clear picture of the homogeneity of Japan is conveyed in the early modern books. The country was apparently under the overall suzerainty of an emperor, sometimes identified as the true emperor and sometimes as the military hegemon of the time. The status of the regional *daimyō* lay somewhere between lords and petty kings. Although the majority of the sources describe a breakdown in central authority (the period of *senjoku jidai*) there was still the clear template of centrifugal authority which bound the country together.<sup>208</sup> Despite the continual civil strife, the sources all leave the impression that Japan was a single country which abided by commonly held laws and customs and was not merely a collective of independent warring territories. It had a single culture, language, ethnicity and imperial status.<sup>209</sup> This would have appealed to Jacobean Englishmen, who saw cultural and linguistic differences as barriers to state control and ultimately empire building.<sup>210</sup> As Antonio de Nebrija wrote in his 1492 Spanish *Gramática*, language was always the partner (*compañera*) of empire.<sup>211</sup> The great Spanish chronicler López de Gómara eulogised: "Never has a nation extended its customs, its language and arms like the Spanish".<sup>212</sup> Diversity was an obstacle and a weakness and it was the duty of the more powerful nation to force its smaller

<sup>206</sup> Willes, *History of Trauayle*, p. 195.

<sup>207</sup> Botero, *The Travellers Breviat*, p. 198.

<sup>208</sup> Willes gives a very detailed but equally confused description of the offices of the Japanese state, *History of Trauayle*, pp. 192-94. The implications of the fact that publications were either written or derived from sources written during the period of civil war are discussed in ch. 1. On the *senjoku jidai* period see John Whitney Hall and Toyoda Takeshi (eds), *Japan in the Muromachi Age* (Berkeley, 1977); Hall *et al* (eds), *Japan before Tokugawa: political Consolidation and Economic Growth, 1500-1650* (Princeton, 1981) and Elizabeth Berry, *Hideyoshi* (Princeton, 1982).

<sup>209</sup> This was also the picture created by the Dutch *opperhoofd* François Caron who adds clothing fashions, the national mint and a common system of weights and measurements, C. R. Boxer (ed.), *A True Description of the Mighty Kingdoms of Japan and Siam* (London, 1935), pp. 53-54. The ethnically distinct indigenous population of Japan, the Ainu, who lived on the northern Hokkaido island, were not considered as part of the Japanese empire in this period. They were however described in the Frois letter printed in Willes, p.202, but were not mentioned by the other contemporary authors. Saris also later delivered a report of Hokkaido to Purchas, which contains a description of the Ainu. According to Purchas, Saris received the information in Edo from a Japanese who had been there twice, *Pilgrimes*, vol. 3, pp. 488-89; Farrington, vol. 1, pp. 81-82. For a controversial revision of theories on Japanese ethnicity see Mark J. Hudson, *Ruins of Identity: Ethnogenesis in the Japanese Islands* (Honolulu, 1999).

<sup>210</sup> On the Tudor/Stuart state see Michael J. Braddick, *State Formation in Early Modern England, c. 1550-1700* (Cambridge, 2000). Anthony Fletcher, *Reform in the Provinces: The Government of Stuart England* (New Haven and London, 1986) and D. Hirst, *Authority and Conflict: England, 1603-1658* (London, 1985) are also valuable.

<sup>211</sup> Quoted in Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions*, p. 145 and Pagden, *European Encounters*, p. 118. On the application of Nebrija's philosophy on language to the New World see Walter D. Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance: Literacy, Territoriality, and Colonisation* (Ann Arbor, 1995), pp. 29-67. Later Spanish grammarians justified their theories for the New World by reasoning that the Inca and Aztecs had imposed their language on their vanquished enemies, p. 32.

<sup>212</sup> Quoted in Miguel Angel Ladero Quesada, "Spain, circa 1492: social values and structures", in Schwartz (ed.), *Implicit Understandings*, p. 96. The practical aspects of Castilian colonial linguistics are handled in Pagden, *European Encounters*, pp. 118-20. Seventeenth century Dutch pamphlets urging continual resistance to Hapsburg authority claimed that the enemy wished to exterminate their native tongue and cited the fate of the American Indians as a precedent, Schmidt, *Innocence Abroad*, p. xxiv. This was in fact the contemporary policy argued in Bernardo José de Aldrete's thesis on language and state, "Origenes de la Lengua Castellana" (1606).

territories to conform to its own norms in various areas.<sup>213</sup> As Spencer's Eudoxius preached in *A View of the Present State of Ireland*, "it hathe bene ever the vse of the Conquerour to despise the Language of the Conquered and to force him by all meanes to learne his".<sup>214</sup> However, what is not clear is how Jacobean reconciled the theoretical strength of linguistic homogeneity with the might of the polyglot empires of the Mughals and the Ottomans.<sup>215</sup>

Of the Hirado sources the three earliest letters of William Adams, written before the arrival of the *Clove*, probably give the most general perceptions of Japan by a private individual. As discussed below, the rest of the Hirado material doesn't tend to refer *generically* to Japan and its people. What is believed to be the earliest letter mainly recounts Adams' voyage aboard a Dutch ship and any further details were suppressed by Dutch malice according to a note by Purchas. However, the impression one gets from the scant details is of a well-ordered state with rich palaces, in which a powerful over-lord rules over regional kings.<sup>216</sup> The two later letters devote specific paragraphs to a condensed description of Japan and are hence important for illustrating what Adams personally believed to be salient points and possibly what he thought would be of interest to the East India Company. Like many of the published sources, Japan is described as an island, although notices elsewhere reveal that he was aware of the many islands which make up the country. There was plenty of silver and the state is described as "a greate lande". What is suggested in the first letter is plainly voiced in the next missive; the fact that the country is well-ordered and governed. The Japanese were superstitious in religion and applied very severe justice. By the third letter of 1613 Adams stressed the general peace in the land.<sup>217</sup>

All three letters closely agree in their description of the land of Japan. Many of the prominent themes raised in these letters are later echoed in the Company sources for Hirado and parallel the published accounts. However, there are a number of important differences from the published descriptions of Japan. Adams makes no attempt to describe the climate of Japan, its weather or agricultural product; ubiquitous themes in contemporary literature. There is no discussion of the fertility, or lack of it, of the land. Issues of homogeneity, for example the integrity of culture and language, are similarly ignored. Indeed, Adams particularly stressed the diversity of religious sects in Japan.<sup>218</sup> Hence, even in the earliest English sources for first-hand contact with Japan there is considerable variance between what concerned the merchant observer and what could be found in geographical/ethnographical accounts. Of course, the gap between Adams' letters and published accounts was not enormous. Like the literary

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<sup>213</sup> This can be seen in the 1536 Act of Union between England and Wales, which sought to banish all indigenous Welsh "sinister practices" and impose the English language for all official business. Similar moves to eradicate Gaelic culture and language were imposed in Ireland. See R. Dudley Edwards, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors: The Destruction of Hiberbo-Norman Civilisation* (London, 1977); Nicholas P. Canny, *The Elizabethan Conquest of Ireland: A Pattern Established, 1565-76* (Sussex, 1976); Canny, "Irish, Scottish and Welsh responses to centralisation, c.1530-c.1640: a comparative perspective", in Alexander Grant and Keith J. Stringer (eds), *Uniting the Kingdom: The Making of British History* (London and New York, 1995), pp. 147-69;

<sup>214</sup> Edmund Spencer in Rudolf Gottfried (ed.), *The Works of Edmund Spencer: A Variorum Edition*, 12 vols, (eds), Edwin Greenlaw *et al* (Baltimore, 1949), vol. 9, pp. 118-19.

<sup>215</sup> As evinced in the extracts printed in Parker (ed.), *Early Modern Tales of Orient*, travellers were clearly aware of the multitude of languages to be found in India and the Ottoman Empire.

<sup>216</sup> *Pilgrimes*, vol. 2, pp. 340-46; Farrington, vol. 1, pp. 50-55.

<sup>217</sup> IOR: E/3/1 no. 78; Farrington, vol. 1, pp. 65-74, IOR: E/3/1 no. 96; Farrington, vol. 1, pp. 76-80.

<sup>218</sup> IOR: E/3/1 no. 78; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 73, IOR: E/3/1/ no. 96; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 78.

sources, Adams described the rich silver mines of Japan and made several references to the country being "a greate lande". The difference was not so much one of opinion but rather choice of pertinent material. Unfortunately the content of the earliest surviving letters from the Hirado factors back to London are disappointing with regard to opinions on Japan and its population.<sup>219</sup> Similarly, Saris' remembrance to Cocks upon leaving Japan and Cocks' trading instructions to Wickham contain very little relevant material on general perceptions of the Japanese.<sup>220</sup> Saris' instructions to the captain of a future voyage to Japan also give no impressions of the country and its people.<sup>221</sup>

As has been illustrated, climatic conditions in Japan were a prominent feature of the literature. Although Cocks prefaced every entry to his diary with a description of the prevailing weather conditions, the factory letters show nothing like the same interest or concern for fertility and agricultural potential as that found in published sources. There are isolated comments such as Cocks expressing shock at the strength of a typhoon.<sup>222</sup> However, in general, notices are of people and events rather than of the country. It must also be appreciated that the Japan of 1613-1623 was very different from the war ravaged country so often described in published sources written either in the sixteenth century or basing their accounts on Jesuit letters of that period.<sup>223</sup> Hence there was no striking contrast to be observed between a numerous peasantry and fertile land on the one hand and the general wastage and spoiling of war.

As in the published descriptions a picture of the military-fiscal might of the country comes across in the factory letters, although praise is not indiscriminately attached to every letter. In his letter to the Merchant Adventurers of England in Middleburg, Cocks describes the country as the "Mightie Empire of Japan".<sup>224</sup> The shōgun's control over natural resources in the fiefdoms of *daimyō* caused Cocks to state that "this government of Japan may well be accompted the greatest and powerfulllest terrary that ever was heard of in the world".<sup>225</sup> Similarly, in North America the colonial writers tended to praise the authority of chiefs and kings.<sup>226</sup> Contemporary Jacobean were not democratically minded. It is clear that these opinions of the Japanese had an impression upon their readers in London. After digesting Cocks' letters the Secretary of State, Sir Thomas Wilson, wrote to King James I: "It seemes that neather our cosmographers nor other writers have given us true relation of the greatnes of the princes of those parts".<sup>227</sup> It is possible to gain an exact sense of

<sup>219</sup> Letters are extant from Cocks, Peacock and two from Adams. IOR: E/3/1 nos 121-124; Farrington, vol. 1, pp. 96-118.

<sup>220</sup> IOR: E/3/1 no. 125; Farrington, vol. 1, pp. 119-122, IOR: E/3/1 no. 127; Farrington, vol. 1, pp. 124-129.

<sup>221</sup> IOR: G/40/25, pp. 109-10; Farrington, vol. 1, pp. 167-69. The letter was written from the Cape on 1 June 1614.

<sup>222</sup> *Relation*, pp. 147-48.

<sup>223</sup> The importance of the relatively short chronological difference between published sources and the Hirado letters is discussed in ch. 1. For the change over between warring states and the Tokugawa authority see Hall and Toyoda (eds), *Japan in the Muromachi Age* and Hall et al (eds), *Japan before Tokugawa*. For a briefer analysis of the wars and pacification see Conrad Totman, *Early Modern Japan* (Berkeley and London, 1993), pp. 37-79.

<sup>224</sup> IOR: E/3/2 no. 202; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 250. Cocks' letter to Lord Salisbury of 10 December 1614 also discusses the potency of the Japanese state, PRO: CO. 77/1 no. 42; Farrington, vol. 1, pp. 256-261.

<sup>225</sup> PRO: CO 77/1 no. 42; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 259. The phrase comes in a letter to Lord Salisbury.

<sup>226</sup> Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians*, pp. 48-49.

<sup>227</sup> PRO: SP 14/96 no. 96; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 753.

Wilson's meaning of "greatness" by his numbered list of "strange things" that could be read in Cocks' letters. Wilson included wars in which 300,000 men were killed; a court with a permanent residence of 100,000 men; a palace able to accommodate 200,000 men "farr bigger then your Ma'tie's citty of York"; enormous cities and temples.<sup>228</sup> Therefore the definition of "greatness" concentrated on spectacle and vast size and scale rather than explicit wealth, size of territory/conquests or number of subjects. However, Wilson does draw attention to Cocks' list of the revenues of *daimyō* and the fact that they exceeded many of the greatest princes in Christendom.<sup>229</sup> Hence, the perceptions in the Hirado sources do not specifically disagree with the image of Japan in published literature. The factors on the ground were similarly impressed by the power of the "emperor" and the huge numbers of men that he could marshal. However, they were evidently not concerned with other key themes found in the literature; namely the climate, the poor exploitation of agriculture and the cultural homogeneity of Japan.

### Physical Appearance

According to Walter Demel, the physical appearance of East Asians was a central feature of published European descriptions of the region and its individual nations.<sup>230</sup> The physical appearance of non-Europeans was important for shedding light on subjects such as the origins of man, as discussed below. However, much of the detailed scholarship of English perceptions of race and its characteristics in this period focuses on the evidence of plays and literary works, as touched upon in chapter 6. The most important study is Kim Hall's *Things of Darkness*, which discusses the coalescence of race and gender in the early modern period. However, Hall concentrates exclusively on perceptions of the negro and like so many works by literary scholars, does not reconcile her literary-based interpretations with private documents by travellers and merchants.<sup>231</sup> Demel's opinion on the importance of physiognomy is played down in Kupperman's *Settling with the Indians*. She notes that whilst modern travellers describing an alien culture would begin by depicting the face and physical appearance, in early modern descriptions Indian faces are virtually never mentioned. The reports concentrate instead on clothes, hairstyles, skin colour, posture, tattoos and jewellery. These features were usually aspects over which an individual has control. Hence Kupperman rationalises that early modern people believed that identities were created and were not something that one was born with.<sup>232</sup>

Whilst some details are provided in the literature that appeared in England it cannot be said that the appearance of the Japanese is a central theme in the published sources as it is neither ubiquitous nor covered in any detail. Parkes describes the Japanese as

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<sup>228</sup> *Ibid.* The actual letters are PRO: 77/1 no. 43; Farrington, vol. 1, pp. 262-66 and Kent Record Office: Sackville MS ON. 6014; Farrington, vol. 1, pp. 541-47. It is evident from internal references that that other letters were sent by Cocks but have not survived.

<sup>229</sup> Farrington, vol. 1, p. 754. The endorsement of the letter reveals that King James read and "discorced" with Wilson about the contents of the letters but could not believe them to be true. The affair is set in context in Derek Massarella, "The loudest lies': knowledge of Japan in seventeenth century England", in Ian Nish (ed.), *Contemporary European Writing on Japan: Scholarly Views from Eastern and Western Europe* (Kent, 1983), pp. 29-38.

<sup>230</sup> Demel, "The image", pp. 35-36 and Cole, "Sixteenth century travel books", p. 64.

<sup>231</sup> See the further criticism in ch. 6.

<sup>232</sup> Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians*, pp. 34-35. Kupperman opines that skin colour only attracted the attention of commentators because it was believed to be artificially produced, as discussed earlier.

differing little from the Chinese in face and body, a view echoed by Abbot, who presumably derived his account from Parkes.<sup>233</sup> Frois opined that the Japanese were fair-looking and “well-bodied”.<sup>234</sup> Unfortunately it is unclear if “fair” should be taken as “pleasing” or as a description of skin tone. Francisco Gualle, who had not actually been to Japan, noted that on the information of the Chinese, the Japanese men were of a small stature.<sup>235</sup> At variance to this is the description of Mercator, who mentions Maffei as a source. Mercator characterises the Japanese as of tall and “lustly” stature and comely of body. They were strong and bore arms until the age of 60.<sup>236</sup> The only comment to be found in Linschoten is the belief that the Japanese found black-stained teeth attractive, a point that frequently turned up in lists of ‘topsy-turvyisms’.<sup>237</sup> Both Linschoten and Frois described the distinctive samurai hairstyle of a shaved pate and topknot although this seems to be presented as a generic male style.<sup>238</sup> However, the distinction between hairstyles of commoners and nobles is made by d’Avity and Mercator, who also note that an accidental touch of the topknot caused great offence.<sup>239</sup> The only other reference is a marginal notice provided by Hakluyt to the Second Voyage of John Davis to discover the North West Passage. During a description of the Native Americans, Hakluyt notes that the Tartars and Japanese also had small eyes.<sup>240</sup>

In theory physical appearance was very important to early modern Europeans. For instance, the fact that the Eskimos looked like Tartars was a propaganda aid to Martin Frobisher, in appearing to support the view that he had indeed discovered a passage to the East via North America.<sup>241</sup> An anonymous topical tract published in 1578 was entitled, *A Description of the purtrayture and shape of those strange kind of people which the worthie Maister Martin Ffroboiser brought into England Anno 1576 and 1577*.<sup>242</sup> In an unpublished account another participant on the expedition, Michael Lok, equated the physiognomy of a captured Eskimo with the Tartars.<sup>243</sup> Physical appearance was also tied to inward goodness in the mind of the early modern traveller. Carletti describes the Muslim Moros of the Philippines as small, badly formed, dark brown, base and lazy. By contrast, their northern neighbours, the converted Bisaios, were well-formed, robust, whiter and valiant in arms.<sup>244</sup> However, comments on physical appearance are not ubiquitous in European reports. As Urs Bitterli has observed, the early Spanish reports from Hispaniola concentrate only on the natives’ abilities to satisfy the Europeans’ material, sexual and religious projects.

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<sup>233</sup> Parkes, *Historie*, pp. 374-75. Abbot, *A Briefe Description*, Sig. D5.

<sup>234</sup> Frois, *Principal Navigations*, p. 196.

<sup>235</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 10, pp. 297-98.

<sup>236</sup> Mercator, *Historia Mundi*, p. 883.

<sup>237</sup> Linschoten, *Itinerario*, First Book, p. 46.

<sup>238</sup> *Ibid.* and Frois, p. 196.

<sup>239</sup> d’Avity, *Estates, Empires and principalities*, p. 747; Mercator, *Historia Mundi*, p. 884.

<sup>240</sup> Richard Hakluyt (comp.), *The Principall Navigations, voyages and discoveries of the English nation...* (London, 1589), p. 782. The information could have been drawn from many sources, including oral. Whilst chaplain to Sir Edward Stafford, English ambassador in Paris in the 1580s, Hakluyt interviewed Portuguese sailors who had been to Japan, Taylor, *Tudor Geography*, p. 7. This was a practice followed by Peter Martyr and later Richard Eden.

<sup>241</sup> Discussed in Greenblatt, *Marvellous Possessions*, pp. 111-112.

<sup>242</sup> Taylor, *Tudor Geography*, p. 41. Unfortunately, only the license, dated 30 January 1578 is extant.

<sup>243</sup> For many contemporary tracts and ballads which no longer survive see, pp. 182-85.

<sup>244</sup> Quotations from relevant documents in *ibid.*, p. 120.

<sup>244</sup> Weinstock (ed.), *My Voyage*, p. 83.

There are virtually no references to external appearance, either in physiognomy, hairstyle or body painting.<sup>245</sup>

The paucity of information on the Japanese physique in the literature available in English somewhat hampers engagement with wider scholarship. Walter Demel notes that typically Asians did not conform to European canons of beauty which emphasised large eyes, fair hair and a full figure in women and a prominent nose and strong beard growth in men.<sup>246</sup> Oriental skin tone particularly intrigued Europeans. Contemporary observers noted that there was no uniform complexion in China. In the far north the people could be snowy white whilst the coastal dwellers near Canton were a tawny yellow.<sup>247</sup> People of the Far East were viewed as something of a genetic bridge between white Europeans and brown Indians. However, in the general scale of things they were most often grouped along with Europeans as white.<sup>248</sup> Similarly, the Native Americans were judged to be tanned, i.e. their colour was produced by exposure to the sun rather than genetics.<sup>249</sup> This theory seemed to be supported by the fact that Africans and American Indians found on the same latitude had very different skin tones. There is very little evidence in the English reports of the skin colour of Indians being used to classify them as barbarians.<sup>250</sup>

If physical descriptions of the Japanese are brief and rare in the English published literature they are almost non-existent in the private documents of the Hirado factory. The absence is quite striking considering that there are detailed descriptions of other non-Europeans in the E.I.C. sources, particularly Cape Africans.<sup>251</sup> In both missionary material and secular accounts by men such as Francesco Carletti, Fernão Mendes Pinto and Jorge Alvares, at least a cursory physical description of the Japanese is to be found.<sup>252</sup> Hence, it seems that climatic zones and their effects on human physiognomy and behaviour appear to have been of no interest to the Hirado merchants. The only true description is Saris' portrayal of the *Daimyō* of Hirado's consorts, which only appears in the *Pilgrimes* version of his journal. Saris describes the dress of the women before noting that their hair was very black, long and tied up on the crown "in a

<sup>245</sup> Bitterli, *Cultures in Conflict*, pp. 76-77. As Tzvetan Todorov persuasively argues, it was as if Columbus had "discovered America, but not the Americans", *Conquest of America*, p. 49.

<sup>246</sup> Demel, "The image", pp. 34-35. Carletti did not necessarily find dark skin unattractive but assumed that the whiter the skin the more alluring. Although outside the realm of the present discussion there is much evidence to suggest that the Japanese likewise found European features unattractive.

Unfortunately, the Northern Europeans often conformed closely to the archetypal devil of Chinese thinking, which sported blue eyes, red hair and a hirsute body. See Ronald P. Toby, "The 'Indianness' of Iberia and changing Japanese iconographies of Other" in Schwartz (ed.), *Implicit Understandings*, pp. 323-351 and Rodrigues' opinion in Cooper (ed.), *This Island*, pp. 64-66.

<sup>247</sup> Escalante remarked that although the coastal dwellers were tawny, the inhabitants of the hinterland looked the same as the natives of Spain, Italy and Flanders, whom he described as white and red, *A Discourse of the navigation*, Sig. E4v-F.

<sup>248</sup> Demel, "The Image", p. 35. As discussed in the first section of this chapter, the Chinese and Japanese were considered as white in Valignano and Acosta's pyramid of civilisation. In his preface to a translation of a Jesuit annual letter W. Wright describes the Japanese as swarthier than the Spanish and smaller than the English, *Briefe Relation*, pp. 21-22.

<sup>249</sup> On the trope of sunburn in Renaissance texts see Hall, *Things of Darkness*, pp. 92-107.

<sup>250</sup> Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians*, pp. 35-37.

<sup>251</sup> Foster (ed.), *Sir Thomas Roe*, vol. 1, pp. 11-12; Foster (ed.), *Voyage of Thomas Best*, pp. 100, 215-16; Foster (ed.), *Voyage of Nicholas Downton*, pp. 53-54.

<sup>252</sup> Weinstock (ed.), *My Voyage*, p. 126. See also Cooper (ed.), *This Island*, pp. 64-66. The summary of Alvares can be found in C. R. Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan, 1549-1650* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1951; 1974), pp. 32-36.

comely manner". He carefully noted that they were not shaved as were the men. Indeed, his description of the distinctive samurai hairstyle of a shaved pate and long hair gathered in a topknot also only appears in the *Pilgrimes* version.<sup>253</sup> Furthermore, the women were "well-faced, handed, and footed; cleare skind and white, but wanting colour, which they amend by arte".<sup>254</sup> Hence Saris, at least, clearly saw the Japanese as fitting the 'white' category widely advocated by missionaries and published literature. He continues that the women were "of stature low, but very fat".<sup>255</sup> Interestingly, Saris doesn't mention the small eyes which often drew European attention.<sup>256</sup>

Saris obviously actually observed the Japanese but only includes his physical description in his prepared-for-publication account. The absence of any such notices from the India Office copy of his log book suggests that on initial contact with the local people, their appearance neither struck nor interested him. Of course, it must be remembered that all members of the *Clove* had seen Asians of a similar appearance in Bantam and the Moluccas, in addition to Africans and Arabs during the journey. A native Japanese interpreter, John Japan, was also picked up in Bantam for use by the factory.<sup>257</sup> A number of ethnic groups manned the East Indian trade fleets during this period. The Fifth Voyage of the Joint Stock carried 14 Gujaratis amongst its crew.<sup>258</sup> In addition, Saris himself had previously spent several years in Bantam where he would have encountered a range of ethnicities. Similarly, during encounters with the "naturals" of the Indonesian Archipelago, Saris rarely supplies any information on clothing, appearance or character. This was presumably due to his familiarity with the region.<sup>259</sup>

It seems too facile and anachronistic to suggest that physical appearances were not important to this particular group of merchants. Many E.I.C. directives urge that factors should include in their reports information on local climates, cultures and religions, in addition to the expected economic material.<sup>260</sup> This point is often ignored by economic historians, who see the E.I.C. merchants as wholly mercantile in their outlook. However, prior to sailing to the Indies, Captain William Keeling asked for information from Saris on Japan "as well of the manners and dispocicions of those people as the merchandizinge, or any other observations that hee hath made

<sup>253</sup> *Pilgrimes*, vol 3, p. 442. On the different versions of the journal see the previous chapter.

<sup>254</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 445.

<sup>255</sup> *Ibid.* Raleigh uses the description "fat of body" as a compliment for a native woman in Guiana, Whitehead (ed.), *Discoverie*, p. 168. It is probably reading too much into Saris's description to link fat women with "the Renaissance rejection of Ciceronian copia that was characterised as effeminate, fleshy, and Asiatic", Hall, *Things of Darkness*, p. 43.

<sup>256</sup> William of Rubrick noted that the Chinese were small "and it is a general rule that all Orientals have a small opening for the eyes", Peter Jackson with David Morgan (eds), *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck: His Journey to the Court of the Great Khan Mongke, 1253-1255*, Hakluyt Society, Second Series, no. 173 (1990), pp. 161-62.

<sup>257</sup> *Voyage*, p. 1. The ship also carried five blacks. On encountering the *Darling* in December 1613, Saris records that there were nine blacks aboard, *ibid.*, p. 191.

<sup>258</sup> *Pilgrimes*, vol. 10, pp. 83-88, vol. 4, p. 289.

<sup>259</sup> E.g., *Voyage*, pp. 39, 46. John H. Rowe points out that the most detailed ethnographical information of the sixteenth century is provided by men such as Jean de Léry, André Thevet, Hans Staden and Manoel da Nóbrega, who had no prior experience of non-European peoples, "Ethnography", p. 2.

<sup>260</sup> E.g., Saris' commission, IOR: B/2 ff. 140-48; Farrington, vol. 2, p. 976. For the practical application see the descriptions of foreign places and peoples in Foster (ed.), *Journal of John Jourdain*, pp. 273-74 (Amboina), 291-92 (Bouton), 294-95 (Makassar).

concerning those partes".<sup>261</sup> Furthermore, description of African and Asian peoples can be found in E.I.C. letters and journals.<sup>262</sup> Hence the fact that the Hirado material is of commercial origin should not have prevented ready descriptions of local conditions. However, descriptions might not be expected in daily letters and diary entries; after all, the contemporary published sources that mention physical appearance were all retrospective accounts. But there are many surviving letters written to the Company and in rare instances letters written to personal friends. The lack of physiognomical details here is puzzling. Arthur Hatch's retrospective account written for Purchas is also bereft of any physical description of the Japanese, although it otherwise conforms very much to the standard published format.<sup>263</sup> The answer rather lies in the fact that it is initial contact that characteristically invites physical description. This is proven by two extant descriptions of the appearance of the natives of the Ryūkyū Islands. The day after arriving in the islands, Wickham wrote to Cocks that the people were gentle and courteous and similar in appearance to the Chinese. They bound their hair up in a bun, secured on the right side of their heads.<sup>264</sup> The master of the *Hozlander*, John Hunt, also left an impression in his log: "These pepoll wher of good stature, well montaded w'th horses, wheringe hats as wee do".<sup>265</sup> It is interesting to note however, that Hunt left no description of the Japanese in Hirado. Unless specifically requested, descriptions of physical appearance are unlikely to be a feature of letters and diaries following introduction and familiarity. Only Saris' problematic journal records the first contact with the Japanese. The closest independent source is Cocks' *Relation*, which is predated by roughly six weeks of contact.

### Character of the Japanese

Descriptions of the perceived character of the Japanese are probably the most ubiquitous and detailed of all the material found in early modern books on the island empire.<sup>266</sup> Willes sums up the general impressions in an opening statement to his work. The Japanese are "tractable, civill, wittie, courteous, without deceit, in vertue and honest conversation exceeding all other nations lately discovered".<sup>267</sup> The similarity with Xavier's popular and often quoted praise of the Japanese as the "best people yet discovered" is transparent and certainly not accidental.<sup>268</sup> Although there was much about Japanese civilisation to genuinely admire in Europe, and this is reflected in the opinions of the Hirado factors, there is no doubt that didactic missionary reports coloured the judgement of published authors. In effect, the

<sup>261</sup> IOR: B/5 p. 339; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 276.

<sup>262</sup> Foster (ed.), *Voyage of James Lancaster*, pp. 122-23; Foster (ed.), *Sir Thomas Roe*, vol. 1, pp. 11-12; Foster (ed.), *Voyage of Thomas Best*, pp. 100, 215-16; Foster (ed.), *Voyage of Nicholas Downton*, pp. 53-54. Admittedly, physical appearance was not given the same weight as it might receive from a theological geographer trying to determine the origins of particular races of the world.

<sup>263</sup> *Pilgrimes*; Farrington, vol. 2, pp. 946-49.

<sup>264</sup> IOR: E/3/2 no. 216; Farrington, vol. 1, pp. 273-75.

<sup>265</sup> IOR: L/MAR/A/XXIII; Farrington, vol. 2, p. 1045.

<sup>266</sup> See the comparative table of themes featured in contemporary literature in the conclusion.

<sup>267</sup> Willes, *History of Trauayle*, p. 191.

<sup>268</sup> The much-quoted phrase comes from Xavier's 'chief' letter, which is thoroughly analysed in Georg Schurhammer, "Der Grosse Brief des Heiligen Franz Xavier, eine Textkritische Untersuchung", *Commemorative Volume: The Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the Foundation of the Professorship of Science of Religion in Tokyo Imperial University* (Tokyo, 1934), pp. 174-219. For the problematic sources of the letter see Jurgis Elisonas, "An itinerary to the terrestrial paradise: early European reports on Japan and a contemporary exegesis", *Itinerario*, vol. XX, no. 3 (1996), pp. 25-68.



compilers of secondary descriptions in Europe were only seeing the Japan and the character of the Japanese that the missionaries wished them to see via their newsletters.<sup>269</sup> Of all the authors available in England, it was only the work of Frois that was based on first-hand knowledge. Being a Jesuit and conscious of his wider readership, Frois was also not entirely objective in his opinions. Considering that the Jesuits had a monopoly on sources of information, and wished to promote the success of the Japanese missionary field, it is perhaps not surprising that character descriptions are heavily weighted towards the laudable. Of course, even to Protestant Jacobean Englishmen, the Japanese were due a certain praise for being so willing to turn away from pagan darkness and accept Christianity in such numbers.<sup>270</sup>

To early modern Europeans, Jacobean included, a crucial element in the definition of civilisation was the production of monumental buildings. Of course, this definition is in the sense of 'monumental' meaning permanent/constructed of a durable material, rather than in the meaning of commemorating an occasion or person. To belong to Acosta's first class of barbarian, one had to have "fortified cities".<sup>271</sup> Such structures were absent from most of sub-Saharan Africa and the New World, beyond the great empires of Central and Southern America. However, this was not often a feature used to criticise Native Americans in the literature.

Despite the importance of great structures in the definition of a nation's 'civility', mention is rarely made of their presence in the early modern printed accounts of Japan. What writers did chose to mention, however, was the superior craftsmanship of Japanese artisans and architects. Linschoten describes even the simple wooden Japanese dwellings as "Fine and workmanlike builte", whilst the people are described as skilled craftsmen in all arts.<sup>272</sup> Discounting the direct evidence of the merchants that appears in Purchas' *Pilgimage* and *Pilgrimes*, it was only Frois, of all the early authors on Japan, who had actually visited the country. Therefore it is perhaps unsurprising that the achievements of Japanese architecture and fine craftsmanship receive such a slender mention in the printed literature.

The literature was generally agreed that the Japanese had good natural gifts that included memory, wit and judgement.<sup>273</sup> The Japanese were both quick learners and curious about foreign technology and practices.<sup>274</sup> The fact that they had "lively wits" is frequently mentioned.<sup>275</sup> Their curiosity about foreign customs extended to even the most trivial of matters according to Frois, whilst Willes described the Japanese as

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<sup>269</sup> On the problems of Jesuit sources see ch. 1.

<sup>270</sup> Edward Brerewood singled out the Japanese as the only East Indian insular nation where Christianity had thrived, *Enquiries touching the diversity of languages, and religions through the chief parts of the world* (London, 1614), reprinted in *Pilgrimes*, vol. 1, p. 312. The complex attitudes towards Christianity in Japan are dealt with in ch. 8. It should be noted that although references to missionary activity in Japan were toned down for a Protestant audience, a reader of any of the accounts available in Britain would be in no doubt of the success of Christianity in Japan.

<sup>271</sup> From the Introduction to "How to procure the salvation of the Indians", translated from the Latin in Rowe, "Ethnography", p. 17. Hence the first class contained the Chinese, Japanese and most East Indians. Acosta's division of non-European civilisation is handled in the introduction to "The Jacobean Picture of the World", above.

<sup>272</sup> Linschoten, *Itinerario*, Book One, pp. 44-45.

<sup>273</sup> Mercator, *Historia Mundi*, p. 883.

<sup>274</sup> Linschoten, *Itinerario*, First Book, p. 45.

<sup>275</sup> E.g. W. Wright, *Briefe Relation*, pp. 21-22; Mercator, *Historia Mundi*, p. 883.

“naturally inclined unto honesty & courtesie”.<sup>276</sup> Although many writers were quick to depict an obsessive level of formality and ceremony, they admired the notion that the poorest Japanese peasant had the manners of a European courtier.<sup>277</sup> There was also a sense that although the country was rich, both high and low lived a dignified Spartan lifestyle. Many writers depict a simple diet of herbs, fish and rice and a disinclination towards drunkenness and gluttony.<sup>278</sup> It should be noted that this perceived frugality is sketched in a positive light with reference to the Japanese, who presumably had the option of indulgence but restrained themselves. By contrast, the eating of plain and simple food by hunter gatherers was seen as a trope of barbarity.<sup>279</sup>

The truculence of the Japanese was a key feature in the creation of their literary image. As all early literature was based on Jesuit newsletters, it is unsurprising that, once these accounts were pared of the unappealing missionary details, the continual warfare of the mid sixteenth century would feature prominently. As mentioned in chapter 1, the central authority of the Ashikaga shogunate crumbled in the sixteenth century, leading to regional *daimyō* waging wars of territorial expansion. Although Japan was gradually united under military hegemony in the late sixteenth century, the country was in a state of continual warfare until the end of the century.<sup>280</sup> In addition, authors such as Willes had access to continental travel and geographical literature, and may well have read of Iberian martial encounters with Japanese in the Philippines and elsewhere.<sup>281</sup> As mentioned earlier, literary descriptions of Japan were in little doubt that the country was powerful and worthy of admiration. This stemmed not so much from its wealth (many authors noted that the lords were poor considering the density of population) but rather from its military might.<sup>282</sup> A martial character was definitely admired in the Tudor and early Stuart world. One has only to think of the Renaissance ideal of courtier, poet, literary man and soldier, as displayed in so many of the era's figures.<sup>283</sup> Sir Thomas Smith wrote that courage was God's gift to man and that gentlemen should show a higher degree of “manly corage”.<sup>284</sup> Of course, the

<sup>276</sup> Frois, *Principal Navigations*, p. 197; Willes, *History of Trauayle*, p. 192.

<sup>277</sup> Linschoten, *Itinerario*, First Book, p. 45.

<sup>278</sup> E.g. Mercator, *Historia Mundi*, p. 883.

<sup>279</sup> Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians*, pp. 91-94.

<sup>280</sup> See the chronological table for the dates of major events during this period. On the period of *sengoku jidai*, or warring states, see Hall and Toyoda (eds), *Japan in the Muromachi Age*; Hall et al (eds), *Japan before Tokugawa*; Berry, Hideoyoshi and Totman, *Early Modern Japan*, pp. 37-79.

<sup>281</sup> See C. R. Boxer, “Portuguese and Spanish projects for the conquest of southeast Asia, 1580-1600”, *Journal of Asian History*, vol. 3 (1969), pp. 118-136 and M. N. Pearson, “Spain and Spanish trade in southeast Asia”, in *ibid.*, vol. 2 (1968), pp. 109-129.

<sup>282</sup> However, consider Sir Thomas Wilson's discussion of Japan with King James I, as highlighted earlier. The points that he drew attention to as evidence of the ‘greatness’ of Japan were concerned with vast scale and huge number of courtiers rather than military might. There is, however, a single mention of wars in which 300,000 men were killed but this seems to be in keeping with the trope of scale rather than an explicit reference to the might of a particular ruler, PRO: SP 14/96; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 753.

<sup>283</sup> The concept of the ‘Renaissance man’ owes much to Jacob Burckhardt's seminal, *The Civilisation of the Renaissance in Italy* (London, 1892). The concept has generally stood the test of time in reworking such as John Hale's, *The Civilisation of Europe in the Renaissance* (London, 1994). For a more ambivalent attitude towards major (English) figures of the period see Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago and London, 1980).

<sup>284</sup> Dewey (ed.), *De Republica Anglorum*, pp. 59, 73.

English reader would have been aware that, amongst other attributes, the inhabitants of Europe surpassed all others in valour and might.<sup>285</sup>

Whilst the martial character of the Japanese was approved of and admired to some extent, astute commentators were able to see pitfalls in this wall of aggression. It must be remembered also that the Tudor dynasty drew great propaganda value from the general peace enjoyed by the realm during its reign. Hence, a spirited defence of the homeland against external enemies was desirable but the situation of perpetual civil war which existed during most of sixteenth-century Japan could be immensely damaging. It is this subtle underlying point which can be found in so many accounts of the contemporary state of Japan and the character of its people.

Willes makes several references to the martial nature of the Japanese, noting that they delighted in arms and that every boy, samurai or not, would receive a sword and dagger on reaching 14.<sup>286</sup> He also notes that they were excellent archers and were contemptuous of the manliness and military prowess of all other nations.<sup>287</sup> Similarly, Frois, Linschoten and d'Avity all reported the Japanese love of arms and their accomplishment in their usage.<sup>288</sup> According to Parkes all the Japanese nation were inclined to war and pillage, using principally the arquebus, lance and sword.<sup>289</sup> Parkes was the only author to mention climate conditioning by linking Japanese truculence to the climate zone in which they lived.<sup>290</sup> He also observed that although in general better Christians than their East Indian neighbours, conversion did not tame their inclination to make war and pillage.<sup>291</sup> The Japanese were not only skilled at arms but valiant as well. According to d'Avity a small band of Japanese could defeat much larger numbers of the presumably pusillanimous Chinese.<sup>292</sup> Although Botero makes no reference to Japanese martial ability, he does note that they were very careful to appear fearless at all times.<sup>293</sup> During his introduction, in which, incidentally, no reference is made to the Japanese, Giovanni Botero defines valour as "consisting in the quality of their weapons, and the manner of their use".<sup>294</sup> In early literature there was no doubt that the Japanese possessed both high quality arms and knew how to use them.

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<sup>285</sup> Stafforde, *A Geographical*, p. 7 and Botero, *Historia Mundi*, p. 10. It will also be remembered that to Stafforde, of all the Europeans, it was the island of Britain that boasted the most valiant men, *A Geographical*, p. 31.

<sup>286</sup> Willes, *History of Trauayle*, p. 192. The sword and dagger obviously refer respectively to the *katana* and *wakazashi*, the long and short swords worn by the samurai caste. Non-samurai were later forbidden to wear the pair, which came to symbolise samurai authority. However, in the year of Willes' publication (1577), access to the military ranks was very free and the future unifier of Japan, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, came from peasant stock. His sword hunt, however, attempted fairly successfully to disarm the peasantry, Berry, *Hideyoshi*, pp. 102-06, 198. Although it is often viewed as a complete disarmament, the Hirado sources reveal that even young servants to the British owned *katana* and *wakazashi*, although it is unlikely that they were worn as a pair, e.g., *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 22. See ch. 5.

<sup>287</sup> Willes, *History of Trauayle*, pp. 192, 193-94. This was a popular notice in missionary reports. See Cooper (ed.), *They Came*, pp. 41, 42.

<sup>288</sup> Frois, *Principal Navigations*, p. 196; Linschoten, *Itinerario*, First Book, p. 45; d'Avity, *Estates, Empires and principalities*, p. 747.

<sup>289</sup> Parkes, *Historie*, p. 377.

<sup>290</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>291</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 378-79.

<sup>292</sup> d'Avity, *Estates, Empires and principalities*, p. 747.

<sup>293</sup> Botero, *The Travellers Breviat*, p. 198.

<sup>294</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1.

Although the Japanese skill in handling weapons is almost uniformly mentioned in published accounts, the most striking feature is the negative aspects which underlie tacit admiration. This was not a simplistic stylistic device in which positive points were balanced against negative points. Rather, the detrimental effects of aggression/bravery come across as an inevitability. Willes, who perhaps of all the authors under discussion is the most free with his own opinions, links Japanese aggression to their obsession with honour and reputation. The clear corollary of this, in his opinion, is the creation of much discord in the land.<sup>295</sup> Parkes linked truculence to the poor state of agriculture (a frequent notice in the published accounts), as the Japanese were far more interested in war than husbandry.<sup>296</sup> As has been previously noted, the provision of good agricultural land was a divine favour and 'barbarous' nations were often castigated for unfairly possessing such soil. Similarly, although otherwise civilised, the Turks were often berated in contemporary accounts for leaving their lands covered with forests and their fields untilled.<sup>297</sup> It clearly struck the early modern writers on Japan that their perpetual warfare was a sinful waste of good resources.

In discussing the judiciary, Willes reports that in Japan matters were apt to be settled by arms rather than legal disputation.<sup>298</sup> Once again there is a pejorative connotation here. Respect for good government and the rule of law was very high in early modern England.<sup>299</sup> Japanese inclination for warfare is also sometimes mentioned in connection with piracy along the Chinese coast, a practice condemned by various authors.<sup>300</sup> Although the Japan presented in literature to early modern audiences was evidently civilised under many criteria, it could not fulfil its economic potential due to damaging internecine warfare. Parkes drew the observation that there was no security of property in the land as everything could be and was taken by force.<sup>301</sup>

The Japanese also had a generally bellicose reputation in the European-ruled areas of Asia. The Spanish authorities in the Philippines had more problems with the Japanese than with the more numerous but pacific Chinese.<sup>302</sup> In his description of the Philippines, the Florentine traveller Francesco Carletti asserted that the Japanese were to be feared more than all the neighbouring territories: "their people are bellicose and dedicated to constant war among themselves and with their neighbours".<sup>303</sup> Such a reputation can also be found in the letters and diaries of E.I.C. servants in South East Asia. Japanese mercenaries were often to be found employed by the Dutch. John Jourdain mentions that an English merchant captured on Dutch Banda was guarded by

<sup>295</sup> Willes, *History of Trauayle*, p. 192.

<sup>296</sup> Parkes, *Historie*, p. 376.

<sup>297</sup> Botero, *Historia Mundi*, pp. 53-54; Carr, *The Muhametane*, Sig. AaaaaaV.

<sup>298</sup> Willes, *History of Trauayle*, pp. 193-94.

<sup>299</sup> For further details see ch. 7. Levels of litigation doubled between 1580 and 1640, Braddick, *State Formation*, p. 157 and see pp. 157-65; C. W. Brooks, *Pettyfoggers and Vipers of the Commonwealth: The 'Lower Branch' of the Legal Profession in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 52-54. High litigation doesn't seem to have been caused by changes in procedure but more a genuine desire to resort to the law. However, the growth of credit litigation explains a large percentage of cases. See Craig Muldrew, "The culture of reconciliation: community and the settlement of economic disputes in early modern England", *Historical Journal*, vol. 34, no. 1 (1995), pp. 1-34. Sir Thomas Smith praised the legal practices of England *in extensio* in Dewar (ed.), *De Republica Anglorum*, pp. 88-144.

<sup>300</sup> Linschoten, *Itinerario*, First Book, p. 45; Parkes, *Historie*, pp. 377-78.

<sup>301</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 377.

<sup>302</sup> William L. Schurz, *The Manila Galleon* (New York, 1939; 1959), pp. 104, 116.

<sup>303</sup> Weinstock (ed.), *My Voyage*, p. 82.

four samurai who were ready to decapitate him at any moment.<sup>304</sup> Jourdain also describes how during Anglo-Dutch agitation in Bantam, the Dutch were guarded by many Japanese.<sup>305</sup>

Joost Schouten, in his description of the Kingdom of Siam, opined that the king's samurai bodyguard were "held in remarkable awe by the people of the surrounding countries, owing to the fame of their military powers".<sup>306</sup> Carletti clearly conceived aggression to be a key point of the Japanese mentality. Referring to a fight that took place on a Portuguese junk, he notes that a troublesome Portuguese had started the quarrel, "perhaps not aware of the Japanese nature and customs".<sup>307</sup> The Japanese were believed to be particularly troublesome outside of their own country. Japanese guards on Amboina were allowed to carry a *katana* but the Dutch were prohibited under severe penalties from selling firearms to them.<sup>308</sup>

A facet that would have appealed to Jacobean aristocracy at least, was the Japanese emphasis on virtue of birth and inheritance that comes across strongly in contemporary accounts. In one of the frequent comparisons made with China, Willes believed that whereas success in China was tied to education, in Japan it was dependent upon birth.<sup>309</sup> No one amongst the gentry was ashamed of their poverty in Japan.<sup>310</sup> Indeed, the most impecunious nobleman, it was claimed, would be accorded more respect than the wealthiest merchant in the land.<sup>311</sup> In a society that was increasingly concerned about the purchase of titles and the creation of baronets, the Japanese example would have appeared entirely laudable. Sir Thomas Smith described gentlemen as "those whom their blood and race doth make noble and knowne".<sup>312</sup> Lacking a professional royal bureaucracy, the early seventeenth century Crown relied upon aristocracy and gentry to staff important local offices.<sup>313</sup> Hence legal power was derived from birth and personal status.<sup>314</sup> Through their office-holding duties the aristocracy and gentry were crucial points of contact between the state and the populace.<sup>315</sup> Kupperman has argued that a pressing feature of colonial accounts of America was an unhappiness about contemporary English society. Most colonial writers were university men of privileged backgrounds who deplored the

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<sup>304</sup> Foster (ed.), *John Jourdain*, p. 327.

<sup>305</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 331.

<sup>306</sup> Boxer (ed.), *True Description*, p. 101.

<sup>307</sup> Weinstock (ed.), *My Voyage*, pp. 136-37.

<sup>308</sup> East India Company, *A True Relation of the univst, cruell, and barbarous proceedings against the English at Amboyna* (London, 1624), Sig. F2.

<sup>309</sup> Willes, *History of Trauayle*, p. 193. On relations between the Chinese and the Japanese in the published literature see the appropriate section below

<sup>310</sup> Mercator, *Historia Mundi*, p. 883.

<sup>311</sup> Willes, *History of Trauayle*, p. 192; Frois, *Principal Navigations* p. 196; Botero, *The Travellers Breviat*, p. 198; d'Avity, *Estates, Empires and principalities*, p. 747.

<sup>312</sup> Dewar (ed.), *De Republica Anglorum*, p. 70. Smith did concede, however, that rank was often derived from the riches of an ancestor.

<sup>313</sup> See Braddick, *State Formation*, pp. 20-46 for the typical ranks of holders of various offices.

<sup>314</sup> However, the behaviour and deportment of office holders was also crucial to legitimising their right to govern, *ibid.*, p. 21.

<sup>315</sup> Braddick notes how the Privy Council was open to a degree to men of lower social status, *ibid.*, p. 23.

rapid change from landed wealth to capitalism. Hence, by praising the respect for traditional hierarchy in Indian societies, they were implicitly criticising their own.<sup>316</sup>

As we have seen, most of the comments on the supposed Japanese character were very positive. The truculent nature of the Japanese was an ambiguous case, as although courage was praised, the obsession with honour was seen as leading to damaging civil strife. Of the few negative elements in the European construction of a Japanese character was their alleged tendency to be haughty and contemptuous of all other nations.<sup>317</sup> This was a popular charge levelled at the Spanish, whose gentlemen's pride was proverbial.<sup>318</sup> In a letter to Sir Thomas Wilson, Cocks refers to "The proud Spaniard" and "their proud humours".<sup>319</sup> On the similarity of the Spanish to the Japanese, it is worth considering Quesada's opinion that the Castilians in the New World behaved in a manner more medieval than Renaissance. This was a product of the late medieval *Reconquista* of the Iberian Peninsula. Spanish documents of their overseas empire utilise a seigniorial vocabulary whilst individuals erected feudal structures and attachments to their persons.<sup>320</sup>

In contrast to European reports of other cross-cultural encounters across the world, very few generic character descriptions of the Japanese can be found in the Hirado sources.<sup>321</sup> What does exist closely matches the image created in published literature. In one of his early letters Adams claimed that "the people of the lande good by nature, curteous out of measure".<sup>322</sup> In a slightly later letter he continued: "the peopell very subjecte to ther governors or superiors".<sup>323</sup> However, comments such as these are rare and are generally confined to restrictive genres such as the latter document, which urges the pioneering of trade in Japan. There are, by contrast, numerous comments on individual local Japanese, although these are essentially transient observations. One of Adam's servants was accused by both Saris and Cocks of having cozened the Company.<sup>324</sup> Cocks described people who ran through the streets with torches as "barbarous" and "vnruly".<sup>325</sup> Wickham describes local officials, who, "with the helpe

<sup>316</sup> Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians*, p. 141. However, Kupperman does point out the irony that the early colonial writers were sent out by joint-stock companies who were representatives of this new merchant capitalism.

<sup>317</sup> See e.g. Frois, *Principal Navigations*, p. 196. See also Cooper (ed.), *They Came*, pp. 41, 42.

<sup>318</sup> Mercator, *Historia Mundi*, p. 12. Modern academics have noted the similarity between Spanish concepts of pseudo-knightly honour and the Japanese samurai code of *bushido*. For the Spanish background see Quesada, "Spain, circa 1492", pp. 98-133.

<sup>319</sup> PRO: CO 77/1 no. 43; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 263.

<sup>320</sup> See Quesada, "Spain, circa, 1492". Examples of munificence towards dependents are discussed in Inga Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquests: Maya and Spanish in Yucatan, 1517-1570* (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 14, 38 and Bitterli, *Cultures in Conflict*, p. 78. Portuguese signeurialism was also replicated by the earliest settlers in Brazil, Stuart B. Schwartz, "The formation of a colonial identity in Brazil", in Pagden and Canny (eds), *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World*, p. 19. On Iberian expansion in the Mediterranean and the Atlantic prior to 1492 see Felipe Fernández-Armesto, *Before Columbus: Exploration and Colonisation from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, 1229-1492* (London, 1987).

<sup>321</sup> For a sample of reports from Africa, India, the Caribbean, Canada, China and the Pacific see Bitterli, *Cultures in Conflict*. In many cases, generic descriptions are the only ones available. For instance, Arab writers refused to treat the appearance and mental characteristics of the Byzantines as individual, Nadia M. El-Cheik, "An ambivalent image: Byzantium viewed by the Arabs" in Blanks (ed.), *Images of the Other*, pp. 134-35.

<sup>322</sup> IOR: E/3/1 no. 78; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 73.

<sup>323</sup> IOR: E/3/1 no. 96; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 78.

<sup>324</sup> *Voyage*, p. 179 and *Relation*, p. 156.

<sup>325</sup> *Relation*, p. 154.

of that arch-villayne Yasimon, hath made a living of the English".<sup>326</sup> The previously mentioned Yasimon dono is later described by Cocks as a man "I have found to be an absolute cvning knaue".<sup>327</sup> Adams' brother-in-law, Miguel and his host, Magome Kageyu, were deemed to have dealt "Judasyly" with Eaton.<sup>328</sup> Gingro, purser of the Company junk, the *Sea Adventure*, was "an eyplesing proud knaue".<sup>329</sup> Similarly, Wickham described his hosts as "knaves & miserable catifes".<sup>330</sup> Hence, the comments are clearly confined to specific individuals and are usually the result of a particular event. Insults and descriptions are often non-specific and could easily be applied to Europeans. The Japanese are "knaves" and "cvning". It would be foolish to seek too much symbolism in Cocks' description of shouting torch bearers as "barbarous". Hence, treatment of transient views of individuals as indictments of the Japanese as a whole seems unwise.

Comments of a more general nature are available for the many local labourers employed by the factory.<sup>331</sup> Although the British factors were able to admire Japanese craftsmanship, the sources reveal that they tended to view local workmen as lazy and obsessed with monopolies.<sup>332</sup> Cocks related the chagrin of the Matsuura's master carpenter when it was decided to replace the specialist local ships' carpenters with 'land' carpenters.<sup>333</sup> Cocks also recorded Master John Hunt's opinion of the Kōchi carpenters working under his supervision, stating that he "lyked reasonably well of their work, only thought them laysie, as all men else doe. But it is the country fation, &c.". <sup>334</sup> The quote is a revealing window on the opinions of local workers by one familiar with the working practice of his European countrymen. Hunt was impressed by the level of skill shown but opined "as all men else doe", that the Japanese were lazy. It is unclear how this laziness was defined but Cocks' statement that it was the country fashion probably indicate a formalised system of breaks from work. Cocks does not generalise about Japanese workers in this case. In August 1613 Cocks proudly related that the Japanese were very impressed by the industry of the British sailors. Matsuura Shigenobu believed that the 20 sailors performed the unloading of ordinance faster than 100 Japanese could have done the job.<sup>335</sup> The Japanese sailors contracted to man the E.I.C. trading vessels to South East Asia also earned an unfavourable reputation. The general impression was that they had too many ritual perks and privileges and wasted Company money. For instance, Cocks included instructions to Nealson and Osterwick to pay the 19 mariners who accompanied his letter "although they be laisie knaves".<sup>336</sup> Japanese mariners were also seen as querulous on the slightest provocation. To Cocks they were "soe unruly when a shipp is wholly manned w'th them that theer is no dealing w'th them, as those have found

<sup>326</sup> IOR: G/12/15, p. 15; Farrington, vol. 1, pp. 280-81.

<sup>327</sup> *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 45.

<sup>328</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 60.

<sup>329</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 83.

<sup>330</sup> IOR: G/12/15, pp. 49-50; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 492.

<sup>331</sup> For the construction and expansion of the factory see ch. 5.

<sup>332</sup> Monopolies were commented on by Mendes Pinto in China. The huge population created extreme competition, specialisation and concomitant insistence upon monopolies. Any infringement was summarily punished by 30 strokes without recourse to appeal, Catz (ed.), *Travels of Mendes Pinto*, p. 192.

<sup>333</sup> *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 84. However, ships' carpenters returned to work on the *Hozlander*, *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 106.

<sup>334</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 90.

<sup>335</sup> *Relation*, p. 146.

<sup>336</sup> BL: Cart. Cotton III.13.XXVI.28, f. 35; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 747.

by experience w'ch have made triall".<sup>337</sup> Commenting on the fickle change of faith amongst the Japanese marine officers Cocks pledged "God blesse me out of the handes of these people".<sup>338</sup> Cocks also described his Japanese barque men as "but the lasiest knaves w'ch ever I saw, for Capt. Adams w'th halfe the number out-roed us at his pleasure".<sup>339</sup> Japanese industry obviously did not extend to their unskilled workers, who had a dubious reputation of being both lazy yet ever ready to quarrel over pay demands.

It is always necessary to be aware of the context in which particular comments are made by the British factors. Early opinions about the Japanese as recorded in the sources were sometimes based on misconceptions. Cocks advised Wickham that the country people were not to be trusted with credit and that no merchant of any account would try and seek goods on these terms.<sup>340</sup> In actuality credit was the usual method of sale. The opinions of all the merchants show some change over time usually prompted by a catalytic encounter with local Japanese. The persistent conflict with the rival Dutch factory could lead to negative actions by the Japanese being either ignored or the blame shifted to the Dutch. Whenever the Japanese had reason to accuse or distrust the British, Cocks and the others were quick to implicate the Dutch as catalysts of discord.<sup>341</sup> For instance, when the British *jurebasso* John Gorezano was accused of slander by the town executioner, Yasimon dono, Cocks mused "I know this came p'r meanes of the Duch, or ther jurebasso Symon...These are trix".<sup>342</sup> The matter dragged on for a number of days, leading Cocks to comment "This bongew [Yasimon dono] & Capt Speck [Dutch *opperhoofi*] are all one, and I know this trouble against my urebasso [sic] came, the begining of it, from the Duch house".<sup>343</sup> Of course, it is difficult to see what the Japanese would have gained from irritating the English factory at the prompting of the Dutch. Similarly, despite abundant allusions to the difficult temperament of Japanese workers, Cocks was convinced that his labourers demands for a bill of pay was a Dutch "trampo" – trap, to steal carpenters working for the factory.<sup>344</sup> This attitude inevitably led to cases in which the Japanese were undeservedly acquitted from blame. It is quite clear that this was not merely diplomatic expedience but rather a stubborn blindness to Japanese guilt that extended into the private sphere of correspondence and diary entries.

Whilst many of the positive aspects of Japanese behaviour were doubtlessly silently appreciated, negative comments were more likely to be written up in letters and diaries. Obviously temporary anger, frustration and disappointment more easily filled correspondence and journals than references to patient and polite Japanese. One of the most frequent negative observations on the Japanese was their apparently importunate nature. Unfortunately, this observation is naturally only used in relation to officials or the local nobility who believed either that they had services to offer the merchants, or that they deserved to be appeased. From their first arrival in Japan, Saris and Cocks became increasingly cynical that the local lords would simply ask for anything that

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<sup>337</sup> IOR: E/3/7 no. 841; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 788.

<sup>338</sup> *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 216.

<sup>339</sup> BL: Cart. Cotton III.13.XXVI.28, ff. 37-38; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 766.

<sup>340</sup> IOR: E/3/1 no. 127; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 124.

<sup>341</sup> E.g. *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 44, 47, 53, 70.

<sup>342</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 44.

<sup>343</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 53.

<sup>344</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 70.



caught their eye amongst Company property.<sup>345</sup> This must have particularly irritating when it ran to the personal property of the merchants. Cocks was forced to accept a sum of money from the Company for handing over his gold ring that was coveted by a local lord.<sup>346</sup> It is unclear how far down the Japanese social ladder this practice penetrated. Although not explicit in his meaning, Saris commented that he found it “necessary” to give presents to his Japanese guards.<sup>347</sup> It is clear that importunity had established itself as a defining characteristic of the Japanese by the time of Saris’ departure. In his memorandum to Cocks, he acknowledges that the cape-merchant was not unaware of the fact that “they crave much but give little”.<sup>348</sup> Japan may have gained a wider reputation for this practice, as advice given at Bantam for a future voyage to Hirado warned Robert Youart “you wilbe as sparinge in presentinge as reason shall require”.<sup>349</sup> Importuning of gifts was remarked upon throughout the factory’s history and could sometimes be disguised in the etiquette of present exchange.<sup>350</sup> Cocks noted how a local lord Minami Soyemon sent some trivial presents in expectation of receiving lavish gifts in return from the ship *Hozlander*. The presents were returned by the British, probably causing great offence, although this is not recorded by Cocks.<sup>351</sup>

Another form of importuning constantly remarked upon in the sources is the pestering for loans. Wickham complained of the “unreasonable importunty” in a request for 2000 *taels* and comments shortly afterwards that the man was “still impor[tu]nate”.<sup>352</sup> Although certifying the loan, Cocks wrote back wishing “God grant they will be as forward to repay it when it shall be demanded”.<sup>353</sup> However, it was inevitably very difficult to get any money back once loaned. The pressing need to follow up repayments led Wickham to write “these Japanners...tire me with importuning them for money”, (i.e. constantly harassing them to repay loans).<sup>354</sup> Money could often sour local relations. Cocks records that Sagawa Nobutoshi sulked after being refused a loan.<sup>355</sup> Another method of importunity was the process whereby Japanese invited themselves to various social occasions at the English factory such as banquets and communal baths.<sup>356</sup> Although it seems like importunate behaviour, it is difficult to gauge if it was viewed as such by the factory personnel. Cocks certainly uses the unambiguous words “envited hym selfe” but there is no sense of frustration or anger.<sup>357</sup> Indeed, both the local Dutch and Spanish seem to have similarly invited themselves to baths and banquets according to Cocks’ diary.<sup>358</sup>

<sup>345</sup> *Voyage*, pp. 86 (parasol), 178; *Relation*, pp. 158 (a monkey), 159-60 (food), 169 (stammet breeches), *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 19 (a Ryūkyūan cock).

<sup>346</sup> *Voyage*, p. 98.

<sup>347</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 106.

<sup>348</sup> IOR: E/3/1 no. 125; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 121. The remembrance also mentions the “great charges” that had to be expended in gaining trading privileges, *ibid.*

<sup>349</sup> IOR: G/40/25, p. 129; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 300.

<sup>350</sup> E.g., *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 131, 249; vol. 2, pp. 140, 271-77.

<sup>351</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 83.

<sup>352</sup> IOR: G/12/15, p. 1; Farrington, vol. 1, pp. 149-50, IOR: G/12/15, pp. 3-4; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 159.

<sup>353</sup> IOR: E/3/2 no. 147; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 177.

<sup>354</sup> IOR: G/12/15, p. 12; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 189. See also IOR: E/3/2 no. 195; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 242.

<sup>355</sup> *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 66.

<sup>356</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 66, 68, 97; vol. 3, p. 73.

<sup>357</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 66.

<sup>358</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 44, 66; vol. 3, p. 26.

Importunity may not have been regarded as a particularly Japanese trait as it seems to have been encountered throughout the East Indies. Both local rulers and nobility were determined to make the most of newly-arrived merchants and understood that they could demand presents and loans. William Nichols commented that importunity could not be avoided in Achin.<sup>359</sup> The first English ambassador to the Mughal Emperor Jahangir, Sir Thomas Roe, charged the Company's Persian factors "You shall not bring up a custom of giving presents to every governor".<sup>360</sup> Roe also mentioned that the Surat authorities "tyranniz over presents".<sup>361</sup>

There is also a sense in the Hirado sources that the Japanese nobility could be ungrateful and did not appreciate the presents that were chosen for them. Saris records that "Sima dona" travelled to a local island in order to sell the gifts that had been given by the Company to the local ruling family.<sup>362</sup> Similarly, Cocks records that Matsuura Nobutoki sent a parrot back to the British in 1617. He claimed that it was sick but Cocks suspected that he was fishing for a better present.<sup>363</sup> However, it is not clear why the British found this behaviour distasteful as there are numerous examples of them passing on or selling unwanted gifts themselves.<sup>364</sup>

There were also more general observations on negative aspects of Japanese society. The British factors clearly felt that the Japanese were reckless regarding the ever-present danger of fire amongst the wooden structures of Japanese towns. Cocks blamed Matsuura Shigenobu for burning down one of his own palaces through a lack of care.<sup>365</sup> The frequent fires recorded in the Hirado documents are hardly ever regarded as unfortunate accidents. Rather, they are always attributed to negligence on the part of servants.<sup>366</sup>

Despite the prominence of a truculent Japanese character in published literature, this was not something that struck the merchants in Japan. Although aggression may have been associated with the severity of Japanese judicial punishment, the fondness for hacking up corpses and the lack of concern for human life, the actual warlike nature of the Japanese is rarely explicitly mentioned.<sup>367</sup> Again, this seems to be due to chronological and genre differences between the literary sources and the private letters. For instance the Hirado merchants make a number of references to the historical campaigns of Hideyoshi in Korea in the 1590s.<sup>368</sup> Similarly, in one of his early letters Adams described the Japanese as "valliant in warres".<sup>369</sup> However, Japan had entered a long period of peace by the time of the British arrival in 1613. This was marred, however, by the campaign of Ōsaka castle in 1615-16, about which there are

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<sup>359</sup> *Letters Received*, vol. 6, p. 70.

<sup>360</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 6, p. 111.

<sup>361</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 6, p. 218.

<sup>362</sup> *Voyage*, p. 106.

<sup>363</sup> *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 145.

<sup>364</sup> E.g. *ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 89; vol. 2, pp. 222, 229, 273; vol. 3, pp. 49, 105, 253. Also in Mocha, *Letter Received*, vol. 1, p. 118.

<sup>365</sup> *Relation*, p. 154.

<sup>366</sup> *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 96, 172-73, 177; vol. 2, p. 34. Fear of fire is expressed in IOR: E/3/1 no. 127; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 124. The importance of fire-prevention to the factory is discussed in chapter 5.

<sup>367</sup> On opinions of the harsh legal system in Japan see ch. 7.

<sup>368</sup> IOR: E/3/2 no 189 & 201; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 228 and *Pilgrimes*, vol. 3, p. 553-54; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 254. See Berry, *Hideyoshi*, pp. 207-17.

<sup>369</sup> IOR: E/3/1 no. 78; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 73.

a number of references in the factory sources. Comments, however, refer more to the scale of armies than to any particular characteristics or behaviour of the warriors.<sup>370</sup> Only a few isolated comments and suggestions regarding Japanese fighting ability can be found in the Hirado documents. Some of the remarks also run counter to the truculent literary image of the Japanese. During a period of abuse and confinement suffered by the British and Dutch, Cocks was in no doubt that the Dutch "land souldiers" kept aboard ship would have destroyed the Japanese "yf they had gon together by the eares".<sup>371</sup> The absence of allusions to personal aggression among the Japanese is quite strange as truculence was a characteristic that struck almost every other European observer of the Japanese.<sup>372</sup>

It is difficult to gain a clear picture of whether the Japanese were generally regarded as honest by the Company factors. Cocks' diary is full of notices of individual thefts of which the English factory was often a victim.<sup>373</sup> Cocks also voiced his annoyance that the local ruler went back on his word that Matinga, Cocks' consort, could have free rent, the corollary being that Cocks would have to pay for her.<sup>374</sup> There was a sense that the Japanese could be coldly manipulative for the sake of profit and collude with each other to overcharge the Company.<sup>375</sup> However, individual actions do not seem to have tainted the overall picture of the Japanese people as scrupulously honest. During the initial weeks in Hirado Saris blamed his crew for thefts that occurred when groups of locals visited the ship. He evidently believed that his own men were placing the blame on the locals.<sup>376</sup> Saris also paints an evocative picture of the contrast between the ingenuous Japanese watermen who were pleased to answer all his commercial enquiries and their mendacious Dutch passengers.<sup>377</sup>

If anything can be drawn from the general Japanese character that is depicted in the Hirado sources, the British saw the Japanese as honest, importunate, dilatory, obsessed with formalities, and willing to live off the Company. There are very few generic character descriptions and those that exist are usually the result of a particularly unpleasant episode and hence give a bad reflection on the Japanese. Cocks thus wrote to the Company declaring "it is noe trusting to the promises of these barbarous people be they never soe faire, or the personag w'ch promis never soe greate". Cocks continued that nobody would help out of kindness "for heare is nothing to be hadd but what will you geve me".<sup>378</sup> However, generally the British could be magnanimous. Even highly offensive acts usually only receive individual condemnation rather than sweeping statements about the Japanese race. Cocks records that a recently buried mariner, Thomas Davies, had his coffin dug up and his winding sheet and shirt stolen. Although this is noted as "vilanie" in the margin and described as "a villanouse acte" in the body of the text, condemnation does not extend beyond

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<sup>370</sup> IOR: G/40/25, pp. 110-13; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 246. In a letter to Saris, Cocks mentions a besieging army of 300, 000 men, *Pilgrimes*, vol. 3, p. 551; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 252. See also PRO: CO 77/1 no. 42; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 257 and *Pilgrimes*, vol. 3, p. 559; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 339.

<sup>371</sup> IOR: E/3/5 no. 615; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 666.

<sup>372</sup> See Cooper, *They Came*, pp. 41, 42; Weinstock (ed.), *My Voyage*, pp. 82, 136-37.

<sup>373</sup> See, for example, *Diary*, vol. 2, pp. 139, 205, 21, 246, 247, 281, 284; vol. 3, pp. 39, 157.

<sup>374</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 67.

<sup>375</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 45-46, 103.

<sup>376</sup> *Voyage*, p. 89. In the Atlantic colonies mariners were notorious for stealing from the ships which supplied the settlements, Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians*, p. 125.

<sup>377</sup> *Voyage*, p. 89.

<sup>378</sup> IOR: E/3/7 no. 925; Farrington, vol. 2, p. 831.

the individuals responsible.<sup>379</sup> As stated earlier, if the general impression from quotations is that the Japanese were associated with negative characteristics, this is probably because allegations of deceit or theft are more likely to be recorded than positive traits. It should also be stressed that negative character descriptions are really quite rare in the Hirado sources.

### Seppuku

The concept of ritual disembowelment, known more crudely as *hara kiri*, was unique to Japan and something that one would expect to attract a great deal of attention in contemporary descriptions. Writing in the 1650s, the Dominican friar Domingo Navarrete concluded that even the most civilised nations of the world had their own idiosyncrasies, which were barbarous to others. The Spanish had bull fighting, the Chinese wore strange hairstyles and the Japanese slashed their stomachs with swords.<sup>380</sup> Yet although the practice of ritual suicide was noted in contemporary literature it was not as prominent as might be expected for such a startling practice. It is only mentioned by Willes and Linschoten, who incidentally both draw on the work of Pietro Maffei, the most likely source of the reports.<sup>381</sup>

Willes describes *seppuku* as an honour for noblemen. Great care would be taken in choosing the best clothes to wear and following death no item of the dead man's property would be forfeited.<sup>382</sup> Linschoten gives even less detail but adds that the ritual was sometimes performed by servants for love of their dead masters.<sup>383</sup> Despite the general lack of detail, both writers portray the practice as the preserve of the nobility. No doubt Linschoten's reference to "servants" should actually be taken to mean samurai retainers.<sup>384</sup> As discussed in chapter 5, many of the British factors also refer to 'servants' when the context makes it clear that samurai are meant. Both Willes and Linschoten pair the description of *seppuku* with the notion that a condemnation to execution by a "hangman", rather than suicide, was often violently resisted. The condemned man would typically gather his retinue and servants into a fortified house and resist the onslaught of the forces of law and order, until finally committing suicide.<sup>385</sup> Despite the Japanese love of honour and martial activity, a death through resisting the will of the ruler was considered a disgrace.<sup>386</sup> The fact that

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<sup>379</sup> *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 105. However, as K. O. Kupperman reveals, the practice of desecrating Indian graves was widespread amongst New England and reported openly in sources as if it needed no justification. Both Hakluyt and the Virginia Company recommended grave robbing as a means of amassing wealth, *Settling with the Indians*, p. 125.

<sup>380</sup> J. S. Cummins, trans and (ed.), *The Travels and Controversies of Friar Domingo Navarrete, 1616-1686*, 2 vols, *Hakluyt Society*, Second Series, nos 118, 119 (1960), vol. 1, pp. 147-48.

<sup>381</sup> Willes describes Maffei as "my olde acquainted friend", *History of Trauayle*, pp. 194-95 and translated Frois' letter taken from the fifth book of Maffei's *De Rebus Japonicis*. Linschoten's use of Maffei's *Historia Indica* is discussed in Massarella, *World Elsewhere*, p. 59. There is a sketch of Maffei's career in Correia-Afonso, *Jesuit Letters*, pp. 113-14.

<sup>382</sup> Willes, *History of Trauayle*, p. 194.

<sup>383</sup> Linschoten, *Itinerario*, First Book, p. 45.

<sup>384</sup> The actual word 'samurai', which is not found in contemporary European sources, is derived from a verb meaning 'to serve'.

<sup>385</sup> *Junshi* or collective suicide is described in Louis Frédéric, *Daily Life in Japan at the Time of the Samurai, 1185-1603* trans Eileen M. Lowe (London, 1972), pp. 190-91 and Eiko Ikegami, *The Taming of the Samurai: Honorific Individualism and the Making of Modern Japan* (Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1995; 1997), pp. 218-20.

<sup>386</sup> Willes, *History of Trauayle*, p. 194.

both Willes and Linschoten intertwine the notion of honourable suicide and disgraceful resistance (although in a different order) further highlights the common source of their information. Although suitably sensational for inclusion in their descriptions, neither writer appears particularly shocked or even disapproving of *seppuku*, in the way that they were of householders' right to kill their servants or their own families.<sup>387</sup>

The early modern published accounts closely reflect what is known of *seppuku* from Japanese sources discussed in modern historiography. Eiko Ikegami argues that it is difficult to know when the practice of ritualised suicide began as the earliest descriptions are found only in epic war literature.<sup>388</sup> In his analysis of the psychology of *seppuku*, Eiko stresses the importance to individuals of being able to will their own end. Although the practice originated amongst defeated samurai on medieval battlefields; it later spread to the wider connotations mentioned in the early modern published works. The pattern of a head of household gathering his retainers into a building in a desperate struggle before finally committing *seppuku* frequently occurred according to Japanese historiography.<sup>389</sup> The ordering of *seppuku* as a punishment for samurai only became popular in the period following the warring states, which is of course the period described in early modern published literature.<sup>390</sup> Another development of the period under discussion was the use of *seppuku* for clearing one's name and as a protestation of innocence, which is alluded to in the factory sources as discussed below.<sup>391</sup>

Fortunately the personnel of the English factory have left a large number of comments on the practice of *seppuku*, although none seem to be eye-witness accounts. Many of the numerous reports correspond closely to the descriptions in the published literature. It is clear that Cocks, at least, grasped the concept of *seppuku* as being intimately related to honour. Whether this was explained by the *jurebassos* or subliminally grasped is not known. A 1615 diary entry reports that if he were to proceed with an accusatory letter against the "sea bongew", the latter would be forced to "cut his bellie" through shame. In turn, the British-employed *jurebasso* John Gorezano, being the central figure in the dispute, would have to follow suit.<sup>392</sup> In addition to revealing that *seppuku* had its roots in the preservation of personal and family honour, this comment immediately overturns the literary image that ritual suicide was practised only by the elite. As so often we only have Cocks' testimony and it was not unusual for the Japanese rulers to take advantage of British opposition to the casual killing of local Japanese in order to persuade the factors to drop a complaint or settle a dispute involving local people.<sup>393</sup> The Matsuura realised early on that both the Dutch and British were repelled by trivial executions and appear to have used the threat to execute local Japanese as a way of ensuring that the Europeans did not constantly trouble them for justice against various thieves or brothel keepers. Cocks recorded an

<sup>387</sup> Linschoten, *Itinerario*, First Book, p. 47. See also Frois, *Principal Navigations*, p. 197; Parkes, *Historie*, p. 379. Attitudes to the practice are discussed in ch. 7.

<sup>388</sup> Eiko, *Taming of the Samurai*, p. 103. In general see pp. 100-13.

<sup>389</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 103-04.

<sup>390</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 215-18; Frédérick, *Daily Life*, pp. 190-91; Dunn, *Everyday Life*, p. 33. The practice only gains a cursory mention in Totman, *Early Modern Japan*, p. 219 and Louis G. Perez, *Daily Life in Early Modern Japan* (Westport, Connecticut, 2002), pp. 91, 198, 212, 261, 295-96.

<sup>391</sup> Eiko, *Taming of the Samurai*, p. 215.

<sup>392</sup> *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 52.

<sup>393</sup> For this theory see ch. 7.

incident in which the Dutch *opperhoofd* Leonard Camps asked for some Japanese to be beaten with cudgels as fair retaliation for their assault on a Dutch captain. However, Matsuura Takanobu refused the request but gave Camps the option of having the men cut to pieces in the street, "But Capt Camps said he desired not their lives". He was hence forced to leave without a resolution of the matter.<sup>394</sup> Cocks was also persuaded by the Matsuura to grant Japanese mariners a percentage of disputed dye-wood from a voyage to South East Asia. He dropped his complaints and oppositions when advised that the dispute may cost the lives of all of the mariners if it proceeded to a legal judgment.<sup>395</sup> Although it seems likely that the Matsuura were cynically manipulating the Europeans' concern for loss of life, there is no hint that Cocks realised their tactics.

Instances of *seppuku* committed as acts of devotion are described in the factory sources but always with reference to martial retainers rather than true servants. Saris refers to the case of Ieyasu's "mintmaster", who "hath vowed that whensoever the Emperour shall dye, he will cut his own guts and dye with him".<sup>396</sup> Following on from the latter incident, Cocks provides a revealing reference to samurai honour. Related originally by the Dutch *opperhoofd* Jaques Specx, Cocks notes that Matsuura Shigetada "was a souldier, & stood vpon his honer more then his lyfe, & car'd not to cut his belly vpon such an occation".<sup>397</sup> The incident involved a dispute between Matsuura Shigetada and the factory *jurebasso* John Gorezano. Cocks was advised to drop his support of the interpreter because both parties would have to commit suicide, depending on the case's outcome. Specx's comments indicate that Shigetada, valuing his honour more than his life, was quite prepared to risk *seppuku* due to the *jurebasso's* alleged slander against him. However, Cocks was obviously not impressed by the explanation, replying "I did not esteem this bongew such a personage that he needed to take pepp'r in the nose soe much as he did".<sup>398</sup> Not all the British references to *seppuku* were of distant threats and reports that were never carried out. Following poor treatment of the British and Dutch in Hirado, Matsuura Takanobu selected two or three officials to commit *seppuku* as the perpetrators of disorder. However, Cocks notes that it was not these men who were at fault but the *daimyō's* kinsmen "but the innocents paid for the gillyty".<sup>399</sup>

*Seppuku* took place under a number of conditions according to the British Hirado sources. A nobleman who had disgraced himself by carrying away a *kabuki* actress killed himself out of desperation.<sup>400</sup> In a different vein Cocks reported a story of a rebellious lord in the time of Hideyoshi being given the chance of surrendering or cutting his belly.<sup>401</sup> Another reported event has a nobleman unable to pay an 800 *tael* fine for dishonest buying and selling aboard a Dutch ship. Unable to meet the fine he

<sup>394</sup> *Diary*, vol. 3, p. 185.

<sup>395</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 7.

<sup>396</sup> *Pilgrimes*, vol. 3, p. 462. The Jesuit Rodrigues commented, "they do not hesitate to lay down their life on a single point of honour, and they are equally ready to die for the man whose service and patronage they have entered". Cooper (ed.), *This Island*, p. 66.

<sup>397</sup> *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 53.

<sup>398</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>399</sup> IOR: E/3/5 no. 615; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 667.

<sup>400</sup> IOR: G/12/15, p. 32; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 404.

<sup>401</sup> *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 289-90. The *daimyo*, Calsa Sama, chose to surrender but Hideyoshi reneged on his word and made him commit suicide. The story is repeated much later in a letter from Cocks to Saris, *Pilgrimes*; Farrington, vol. 2, p. 917.

was ordered to commit *seppuku*.<sup>402</sup> Suicide could be ordered during the struggle of two factions. ‘Catso dono’, one of the Matsuura clan, as a proxy killing, caused a master carpenter to commit suicide during a tit-for-tat quarrel with another nobleman.<sup>403</sup> Similarly, the *Daimyō* of Goto was ordered to kill himself by the shogun.<sup>404</sup> Cocks mentions *seppuku* a number of times in a letter to Sir Thomas Wilson of 10 March 1620. He obviously assumed that Wilson understood the practice by his references to “cut his belly” without any further explanation. The various incidents included a disgraced *daimyō* who would be either banished to Nagasaki or made to commit *seppuku*. The supporters of the latter were also instructed by their lord to lay down their weapons or cut their bellies. The third reference is to the Tokugawa practice of draining *daimyō* funds by making them pay for his castle-building projects and forcing them to leave their families as hostages in Edo. Cocks reported that many grumbled but were forced to comply “will they or will they, in payne of belie-cutting”.<sup>405</sup>

It is often difficult to gain an insight into how the merchants viewed ritual suicide. Many local incidents are reported but the merchants rarely give their opinions of the actions.<sup>406</sup> There is a sense however that it was an unnecessary waste of life which corresponded to what was perceived as a more general low regard for human life in Japan as discussed in chapter 7. Referring to samurai who chose to surrender rather than commit suicide, Cocks concludes “Soe life was sweete unto them”, i.e., they were saved.<sup>407</sup> The Hirado sources imply that any disagreement amongst nobles would inevitably lead to one being charged to commit *seppuku*. Responding to Wickham’s story of a nobleman killing himself after abducting a *kabuki* girls, Cocks stated that it was foolish to cut your belly for love “(or rather lust) after whores”.<sup>408</sup> There was the occasional humorous reference to *seppuku* from Wickham. Describing Goto Sosabra’s lack of favour with the new shogun, Wickham noted that he had shaved his head and retreated from the world as a priest “& I doe not doubt but he well give his guttes a shaving before a yeare com about”.<sup>409</sup> Cocks similarly described a foolhardy noble who had displeased the shōgun as “this mad shaver”.<sup>410</sup> Cocks even appeared impressed at the power of the shōgun to will a man to kill himself.<sup>411</sup> The practice seems to have been accepted as part and parcel of Japanese politics and culture. Although he later corrects details of the story, Cocks reports an incident in which two samurai fell out with and killed another soldier. Fleeing to the mountains they were pursued and cut down. ‘Oyen dono’ then called them cowards for not immediately killing themselves “according to the order of Japon”.<sup>412</sup> It is not clear if

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<sup>402</sup> *Diary*, vol. 2, pp. 78, 210-11, 271.

<sup>403</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 45.

<sup>404</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 80.

<sup>405</sup> Kent Records Office: Sackville MS ON 6013; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 779.

<sup>406</sup> IOR: E/3/4 no. 375; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 444 (Japanese soldiers refusing to surrender on Taiwan), IOR: E/3/4 no. 389; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 468 (as a punishment), IOR: G/12/15, pp. 44-45; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 470 (the same story), *Diary*, vol. 2, pp. 78 (Shogun ordered *daimyō*), 210-11, 271 (the same story).

<sup>407</sup> Kent Record Office: Sackville MS ON 6013; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 779.

<sup>408</sup> IOR: E/3/4 no. 358; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 409.

<sup>409</sup> IOR: G/12/15, pp. 35-36; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 430.

<sup>410</sup> Kent Record Office: Sackville MS ON. 6014; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 546.

<sup>411</sup> PRO: CO 77/1 no. 42; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 259.

<sup>412</sup> *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 270.

Cocks was reporting genuine details from the incident or inserting his own perceptions on attitudes towards ritual suicide.

At an official level at least, suicide was a terrible crime in Tudor and Stuart England. It was identified as a form of murder and considered a felony in the eyes of the law and a mortal sin in church law.<sup>413</sup> After a posthumous trial by a coroner's jury, all goods, chattels, debts and lands were forfeited to the Crown or a royal patent holder.<sup>414</sup> The corpse was typically given a profane burial according to popular custom without prayers and with desecration of the body.<sup>415</sup> This practice was rigorously enforced with only two percent of cases between 1485 and 1660 being excused on mental grounds. A diverse range of sermons, devotional works and treatises stressed the unlawfulness of suicide in the Jacobean period.<sup>416</sup> It has been suggested that suicide was punished more severely in England than anywhere in Europe, although there has only been limited research on European materials. The strictest period of prosecution was also between 1500-1660. MacDonald and Murphy blame the severity on a combination of the state's drive for order, the foundations of a popular stereotype that suicides were possessed by the devil, and the preaching of the 'hotter' Protestant sects. Suicide was only gradually secularised and decriminalised after 1660.<sup>417</sup> Given this domestic background, one would expect the factory personnel to be very condemnatory towards the frequent incidents of suicide found in Japan. However, there is very little evidence of this. *Seppuku* seems to have been excepted as a Japanese cultural practice and could even be the subject of humour. Even the newly-arrived Joseph Cockram's letter to the Company implies some form of familiarity with the practice. Cockram believed that the shōgun would order the governor of Nagasaki to commit *seppuku* because he was implicated in an affair to land Catholic priests.<sup>418</sup> One gets little sense that the merchants believed that the suicides were transgressing natural or spiritual law. Similarly, it should be noted that the Jesuit Alessandro Valignano contextualises and covertly appears to approve of the common motives for suicide in his *Principio* (1601).<sup>419</sup>

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<sup>413</sup> Michael MacDonald and Terence A. Murphy, *Sleepless Souls: Suicide in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1990), p. 15.

<sup>414</sup> Hence Willés noticed that in Japan the goods of the deceased were not forfeit, *History of Trauayle*, p. 194. Forfeiture of goods took place after the execution of any felon. This is cited by Sir Thomas Smith as the reason that men were prepared to be pressed to death rather than confess and thus avoid property confiscation, Dewar (ed.), *De Republica Anglorum*, p. 112.

<sup>415</sup> MacDonald and Murphy, *Sleepless Souls*, p. 15. The Dutch meted out similar rituals to the bodies of Khoikhoi suicides at their Cape colony, Frances Karttunen, *Between Worlds: Interpreters, Guides, and Survivors* (New Brunswick, 1994), p. 250.

<sup>416</sup> MacDonald and Murphy, *Sleepless Souls*, p. 31. Suicide was condemned by the Calvinist divine William Perkins, a copy of whose works were included on the *Clove*, p. 36. IOR: B/2, f.148; Farrington, vol. 2, p. 983.

<sup>417</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16. Classical and continental examples of attitudes towards suicide are given in *ibid.*, pp. 16-23. Popular belief in the supernatural ramifications of self-murder is discussed in *ibid.*, pp. 42-76.

<sup>418</sup> IOR: G/21/6, f. 191; Farrington, vol. 2, p. 863. It is difficult to gauge the reading public's knowledge of Eastern rituals. In the case of *sati*, widow burning, in India, Carletti wrote as if addressing a knowledgeable audience, Weinstock (ed.), *My Voyage*, pp. 209-10.

<sup>419</sup> Taken from chapter 8 of an unpublished text held in the British Library. The relevant passages are quoted at length in Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, pp. 100-101. However, the work features a general softening of attitudes to previously his harsh comments on the Japanese, such as their fondness for killing, *ibid.*, p. 34.



## Comparisons between Japan and China

One of the most ubiquitous features of the early modern literature on Japan is the comparison of the Chinese and Japanese and the belief that the Japanese consciously changed aspects of their suspected original Chinese culture.<sup>420</sup> In England at least, the roots of this belief are found in Parkes' translation of Mendoza's *History of the Great and Mightie Empire of China*. In his earlier work, Frois had noted that the Japanese shared a religion and some customs with China and Siam but insisted on their own superiority.<sup>421</sup> However, Parkes takes the link further by stating that Japanese cultural traits were similar to China "although not so politike".<sup>422</sup> Furthermore, and this is crucial to all later debates, according to old Chinese chronicles the Japanese had come from China.<sup>423</sup> Upon arriving in their new land, the Japanese sought to change all their parent customs so that at present they did everything contrary to the Chinese, in terms of language, dress and customs.<sup>424</sup>

Having studied Chinese chronicles, the Spanish friar Mendoza no doubt sincerely believed the link with China, as did his later readers. In addition to geographical proximity and physical similarities, contemporaries understood that the fact that written, but not spoken, Chinese could be understood by many Asians established some form of distant link.<sup>425</sup> The idea that Japan was an inverse mirror image of China also explained the uniqueness of Japanese culture.<sup>426</sup> Taking a step further from Parkes, Linschoten commented on the distinctiveness of Japanese culture.<sup>427</sup> Botero similarly notes that isolation caused the Japanese to differ in custom and manners from their neighbours.<sup>428</sup> Although, writing in 1601 Botero drops the suggestion that the Japanese stubbornly opposed all Chinese customs, the theme found new relevance for Peter Heylyn in 1621. Quoting Purchas' *Pilgrimage* as a source, Heylyn writes that the Japanese took off their shoes as a mark of respect merely in order to be different to the Chinese, who removed their hats "To whom our factious Puritans are

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<sup>420</sup> During periods of its history Japanese culture was indeed heavily influenced by Chinese aesthetics tastes and courtly etiquette, Totman, *Early Modern Japan*, pp. 16, 22, 85. For an in depth analysis see George B. Sansom, *Japan: A Short Cultural History* (Stanford, 1931; 1978), pp. 143-77. On the influences of China in the early modern period see Jurgis Elisonas, "The inseparable trinity: Japan's relations with China and Korea" in John Whitney Hall (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Japan, Volume 4: Early Modern Japan* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 235-300.

<sup>421</sup> Frois, *Principal Navigations*, pp. 194-95.

<sup>422</sup> Parkes, *Historie*, p. 374. According to the *OED*, in the early modern period 'politic' could mean both sagacious or in a more sinister sense, cunning.

<sup>423</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 374-75. The story is repeated in Linschoten, *Itinerario*, Book One, p. 45 with a conscious acknowledgement of Mendoza as a source. On the actual origins of the Japanese people see Hudson, *Ruins of Identity*.

<sup>424</sup> Parkes, *Historie*, p. 375

<sup>425</sup> See for instance Weinstock (ed), *My Voyage*, p. 132; extracts from Jesuit writers in Cooper (ed.), *They Came*, pp. 176, 177, 180; Boxer (ed.), *True Description*, pp. 56-57.

<sup>426</sup> The Jesuit Alessandro Valignano wrote that it was almost as if the Japanese tried to be as different as possible from all other nations, quoted in Cooper, *They Came*, p. 229.

<sup>427</sup> Linschoten, *Itinerario*, Book One, p. 45. The source of this comment may, in fact, have been Valignano, as cited above. Although his manuscript remained unpublished until the twentieth century, it was utilised by Pietro Maffei, whose publications Linschoten depended upon for information on Japan.

<sup>428</sup> Botero, *The Travellers Breviat*, p. 198. Botero's description is repeated almost verbatim in d'Avity, *The Estates, Empires and principalities*, p. 747.

fitly compared".<sup>429</sup> Heylyn saw an obvious parallel in English Puritans who he considered to be committed to opposing papist practices to a frivolous degree. Although China was usually used as the basis of comparison for Japan, the reverse could occasionally happen. The Jesuit Matteo Ricci explained that unlike Japan (which he knew only through reports of others), the Chinese sat in chairs, slept in beds and ate at tables.<sup>430</sup>

The stress placed in these accounts on the Japanese supposed origins in China and their stubborn rejection of Chinese customs has no parallel whatsoever in the Hirado sources. It is clearly derived from the comments of Juan Gonzalez de Mendoza, made available to English readers in Robert Parkes' translation. There are a few isolated comments on the relations between the Japanese and the Chinese in the E.I.C. sources. For instance, the Company's commission to Captain Nicholas Downton remarks that "the Chinesas and Japanders are in mortall hatred".<sup>431</sup> Cocks also similarly noted Li Tan's advice that the Chinese hate the Japanese more than any other nation.<sup>432</sup> However, the theory that the Japanese consciously changed aspects of their culture to be different from the Chinese is wholly absent. Having no direct experience of China other than the resident merchants in Hirado, the British factors had no practical base on which to comment on cultural differences. There are scattered notices of distinct Chinese festivals and "China plays" which are discussed elsewhere.<sup>433</sup> However, in general the Chinese merchant community in Hirado did not attract cultural comparisons with indigenous practices in the letters and diaries of the factors.

## Conclusion

As explained in the introduction, it is difficult to draw parallels between the Hirado experience and much of the recent historiography on perceptions of non-Europeans. Scholarly attention has concentrated on encounters between discoverers and primitive peoples, usually with a direct view to colonisation or exploitation. Although the work of K. O. Kupperman on North America shows that private reports contain little of the polarised civil/savage discourse found in geographical treatises and sermons, these reports are still very different from the Hirado sources. The documents analysed by Kupperman are generally retrospective, studied reports on Indian society written by university men. Kupperman argues that observation of Indian society forced some colonial writers to reconsider subjects about which they felt ambivalent: slavery, the power of women and the simplicity of Indian law.<sup>434</sup> There is very little evidence of this reflective, studied trend in the Hirado sources. Kupperman also opines that most of the private colonial writers in North America were unhappy with the recent

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<sup>429</sup> Heylyn, *Microcosmus*, p. 360. The removal of shoes was a popular motif but often lost its connection to 'cultural opposition'. See, e.g. Linschoten, *Itinerario*, Book One, p. 45 and Stafforde, *A Geographical*, p. 59.

<sup>430</sup> Willard J. Peterson, "What to wear? Observation and participation by Jesuit missionaries in late Ming society", in Schwartz (ed.), *Implicit Understandings*, p. 405.

<sup>431</sup> IOR: G/40/25, p. 25; Farrington, vol. 2, p. 1029.

<sup>432</sup> *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 34.

<sup>433</sup> For the characteristics of the Chinese community in Hirado and Nagasaki see Aloysius Chang, "The Chinese community of Nagasaki in the first century of the Tokugawa period, 1603-1688", St John's University, Ph. D (1970). In ch. 5 Li Tan is cited as an example of how non-European residents in Japan also made some cultural adaptation to local practices.

<sup>434</sup> Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians*, p. 62.

changes in English society and used Indian society as a sounding board for social theory.<sup>435</sup> The Hirado merchants obviously related Japanese society to their own on occasion, but they did not use Japanese institutions to comment on the errors of their own society.

J. F. Moran perceptively notes that sixteenth-century readers would have had a balanced picture of the Japanese. Although Moran is referring in general to Europeans who would have had access to Jesuit letters in the original, his comments have some relevance to the British. Not only did Europeans have a picture of “the best people yet discovered” via Xavier, a darker side would have been apparent through Maffei (and hence Valignano) and some letters. Whilst displaying many noble qualities, the Japanese could also be associated with cruelty, treachery, abortion, infanticide, sodomy, duplicity, drunkenness and idolatry.<sup>436</sup> As Urs Bitterli has observed, early modern published reports of countries such as China and Japan follow much the same pattern as descriptions of other countries. External differences from Europe were very important to the writers, in the fields of physical appearance, dress and manners. Published reports typically also made a moral judgment of character.<sup>437</sup>

To some extent the amount of detail on Japan in the published literature is directly concomitant to the length of the account. Slim works such as those of Stafforde and Abbot are sparse in detail. Bulkier texts such as those of Willes, Parkes, Linschoten, Botero and d’Avity give a fuller account. There are some exceptions to the rule, of course, as Peter Heylyn’s work is lengthy but provides few details on Japan. The positive image of Japan found in literature also reveals how the Jesuits had a monopoly on information concerning Japan. As the most promising missionary field in the late sixteenth century, the Jesuits sought to disseminate their spiritual gains. Whilst the taint of Catholic evangelisation was excised from the publications that appeared in England, the almost banally positive image of the Japanese remained. However, it should be remembered that by any of the standard criteria for judging levels of civilisation examined in the first section, the Japanese were clearly civilised to English readers.

The following table compares specific themes common in contemporary published accounts of Japan with topics mentioned in the Hirado sources.

Table no. 1. A comparison between themes in published literature of Japan and the Hirado sources.<sup>438</sup>

	W.	Fr.	Fe.	P.	Lin.	Abb.	B.	Str.	d’A.	Wr.	H.	M.	H.S.
Climate	3	3			3		3		3			3	

<sup>435</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 141.

<sup>436</sup> Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, p. 99. However, despite historians’ claims that Japan was familiar to British readers, in 1619 W. Wright had to add his own detailed preface to his translation of a Jesuit annual letter due to his readers’ ignorance of Japan and its customs, *Briefe Relation*, p. 18. See Cormack, *Charting an Empire*, p. 147.

<sup>437</sup> Bitterli, *Cultures in Conflict*, p. 152.

<sup>438</sup> For reasons of space the following abbreviations have had to be used: W. = Willes (1577); Fr. = Frois (1577); Fe. = Fedrici (1588); P. = Parkes (1588); Lin. = Linschoten (1598); Abb. = Abbott (1599); B. = Botero (1601); S. = Strafforde (1607); d’ Av. = d’Avity (1615); Wr. = W. Wright (1619); H. = Heylyn (1621); M. = Mercator (1635); H. S. = Hirado sources.

Food	3	3		3	3		3		3	3		3	
Character	3	3		3	3	3	3		3			3	
Appearance		3		3	3	3			3	3		3	
Truculence	3	3		3	3		3		3			3	
Clothing		3					3						
Architecture					3		3		3				3
Harsh Law	3	3		3	3							3	3
<i>Seppuku</i>	3				3								3
Drunkenness	3				3								3
Tea		3			3		3		3	3			
Sandals <sup>439</sup>		3			3				3		3	3	
Topsy-turvyisms					3				3	3			
Infanticide	3	3							3				3
Silver	3	3	3	3	3				3				
Language	3			3	3				3				3
Washing newborns in rivers <sup>440</sup>								3	3			3	
Opposition to China				3	3							3	
Poverty as no disgrace	3	3						3					3
Hatred of gambling	3	3											

It is evident that some prominent themes in contemporary literature are scarcely mentioned or ignored altogether by the merchants in Hirado. Although there is the impression that Japan was a healthy place, there are no detailed descriptions of its latitude, climate nor a list of agricultural metaphors. The historiography tells of the importance of physiognomy and complexion to early modern observers, yet there are very few physical sketches of the Japanese in the Hirado documents. This shows the danger of assuming the existence of an ideological straitjacket culled from literary works that conditioned early modern perceptions of non-Europeans. Of course, as they were essentially observing the same country and society, the Hirado sources are not completely different from published accounts. However, it is clear that certain themes caught the eyes of compilers of geographical literature, such as comparisons with China and the ritual of removing sandals, but were not mentioned in the merchants' accounts. The obvious conclusion is that private individual observers were not obsessed with seeing 'topsy-turvyist' inversions in Japan. They accepted that many Japanese customs were different from Europe but there was no attempt to depict them as the *opposite* of familiar European practices.

<sup>439</sup> This refers to the practice of taking off sandals before entering a house or as a sign of respect, similar to the European taking off of hats. This was seen as one of the numerous topsy-turvyisms in Japan. See also Weinstock (ed.), *My Voyage*, p. 124.

<sup>440</sup> This was a ritual of religious purification but its significance was not realised in the reports discussed here.

Inevitably, some of the differences between published works and private documents are simply due to dating. The English factory existed during a period of settled and established peace marred only by the siege of Ōsaka fortress in 1615-16. By contrast, the English-language publications describing Japan were substantially based on Jesuit letter collections first written during the decades of civil war in the sixteenth century. Hence by the first and second decades of the seventeenth century they described obsolete conditions and it would be unrealistic to expect similar reports from men on the ground in the country. A pressing theme in the published sources was the wastage of agricultural land, which was also a popular criticism of the mis-management of the Ottoman domains.<sup>441</sup> As identified by Patricia Seed, the agricultural metaphor was very important to England in particular in this period.<sup>442</sup> However, the fact that the Hirado documents don't refer to the concerns that are shown in published accounts is more properly attributed to an absence of the type of wastage so condemned in earlier decades. Basically, the factory personnel were not describing a war-torn country in which agriculture had been devastated.

Of course, it is perhaps not surprising that there was a difference between the 'theoretical' published image of Japan and merchant observers. Most information in published literature was culled from the reading of people who had never been to Japan and who were schooled in theoretical ethnography. On the other hand the knowledge of the merchants on the ground was overwhelmingly empirical rather than based on texts. There are parallels to this theory in many fields. For instance Robert Shoemaker has shown that early modern conduct books give a distorted view of the reality of gender roles. Interpretive readings of conduct books by women not only differed from the message of the literature but also had minimal impact on gender roles as actually lived in early modern England. In reality most women were not able to read them anyway and it is clear from diaries that those who did either reshaped advice into a more palatable form or else followed fantasies of independence directly contradictory to conduct book advice.<sup>443</sup> Joan-Pau Rubiés' thesis on the image of South India accords a more influential role to published literature but still warns against its overuse. Rubiés concludes that the image of the Indian 'other' emerges through the gap between the religiously and often non-empirically based concept of gentilism (as found in very early descriptions) and first-hand descriptions of secular Indian society.<sup>444</sup> However, he does argue that the sixteenth and seventeenth century published images and texts formed a stereotyped image of Asian peoples that became at least a reference point in the imagination of observers.<sup>445</sup>

The Hirado documents illustrate how attitudes, interests and observations of overseas Jacobean were not constrained by ideological theories regarding non-Europeans, *despite* evidence of the Hirado factors having read published texts on Japan. Although we know that both *Principal Navigations* and *Itinerario* were available to the merchants it is difficult to trace any notable influences on personal descriptions of

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<sup>441</sup> See Carr, *The Mahumetane*, Sig. AaaaaaV. Husbandry was, "in all well ordered Commonweales the princes greatest store".

<sup>442</sup> Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession*, pp. 25-31.

<sup>443</sup> Robert B. Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society, 1650-1850: The Emergence of Separate Spheres?* (London and New York, 1998), throughout but particularly pp. 36-58.

<sup>444</sup> Rubiés, *Travel and Ethnology*, p. 175.

<sup>445</sup> *Ibid.*

Japan.<sup>446</sup> The difference between published and private mentalities is perhaps most striking with relation to the idea of European supremacy. The merchants were confident in their Christian identity and its moral superiority but there is little sense of the overwhelming cultural superiority of Europe that is so evident in published works. Of course, the finding that European superiority is not echoed in private letters is not a radical discovery. Such a mentality has been acknowledged by scholars for a long time.<sup>447</sup> However, this chapter has placed the notion within a narrow and detailed time scale and context. It has also compared specific aspects of the literary image of Japan on an individual basis with evidence from personal letters and diaries.

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<sup>446</sup> Any possible influence is identified wherever appropriate throughout the thesis.

<sup>447</sup> E.g., Basset, "Early English trade", p. 84; Wolf, *Europe*, pp. 232-33; Bitterli, *Cultures in Conflict*, pp. 44, 63.

## Chapter 4- Linguistic Considerations

### Introduction

There are virtually no detailed studies of the role of languages as a medium of exchange between Europeans and natives in the East Indies in this period. In spite of this neglect it is an area of obvious importance for the understanding of cultural interaction and mutual perceptions.<sup>1</sup> Contemporaries appreciated that an understanding of languages was essential to comprehension of alien cultures. The British library's copy of John Smith's *A True Relation of such occurrences and accidents of noate as hath hapned in Virginia* (London, 1608) has a hand written marginal note accusing the author of errors doubtless due to lack of understanding of the local language.<sup>2</sup> Characteristically, knowledge of a local language draws 'outsiders' into native communities as the physical manifestations of difference are shed. D. Silva Couto has shown how in many cases of Portuguese conversion to Islam, a prior knowledge of Arabic acted as a catalyst.<sup>3</sup> A knowledge of Arabic was often the first psychological move towards integration and ultimately conversion. Silva Couto has stressed the recurrent pattern of Arabic learned in the Maghreb leading to much later conversion in Asia. In a recent study Jurgis Elisonas has also highlighted the role of oral misunderstandings in the fantastic and inaccurate descriptions of Japan given to the earliest Portuguese visitors.<sup>4</sup> It must be remembered that the majority of Anglo-Japanese conversations, and by extension epistolary correspondence, passed through an artificial and perhaps constrictive medium; that of a language foreign to both British and Japanese. As such, linguistic consideration is an area of obvious importance when studying accommodation between wholly different cultural practices.

As noted above, the historiography on such an important subject is relatively sparse, or at least inadequate. Examples exist of purely descriptive linguistic studies, although of course these consider nothing of the social role of language.<sup>5</sup> Similarly, the elite scholarly aspects of translation have been covered, with attention given to the role of language in the cognitive exchange between the Muslim world and Christendom.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The point is highlighted and the lack of historiographical interest attacked in Ives Goddard, "The use of pidgins and jargons on the East Coast of North America" in Edward G. Gray and Norman Fiering (eds), *The Language Encounter in the Americas, 1492-1800* (New York, Oxford, 2000), p. 61.

<sup>2</sup> K.O. Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians: The Meeting of English and Indian Cultures in America, 1580-1640* (Ottawa, 1980), p. 48.

<sup>3</sup> D. Silva Couto, "Some observations on Portuguese renegades in Asia in the sixteenth century", in Antony Disney and Emily Booth (eds), *Vasco da Gama and the Linking of Europe and Asia* (New Delhi, 2000), pp. 182-83.

<sup>4</sup> Jurgis Elisonas, "An itinerary to the terrestrial paradise: early European reports on Japan and a contemporary exegesis", *Itinerario*, vol. XX, no. 3 (1996), pp. 25-68.

<sup>5</sup> For example S. R. Delgado, *Portuguese Vocables in Asiatic Languages* trans A. X. Soares (Baroda, 1936) and David Lopes, *A Ezpansão da Língua Portuguesa no Oriente Durante Os Seculos XVI, XVII, XVIII* (Barcelona, 1936).

<sup>6</sup> E.g. Bernard Lewis, *The Muslim Discovery of Europe* (London, 1982), pp. 71-88. However, more recent work on the Muslim world such as David Blanks (ed.), *Images of the Other: Europe and the*

However, the analysis is usually confined to high literary pursuits and not individual encounters on the ground. The academic study of Arabic in Renaissance Europe and seventeenth-century England has also received attention.<sup>7</sup> Similarly the scholarly study of written Japanese in Europe in the later seventeenth century has been the subject of a study by Peter Kornicki.<sup>8</sup> Colonial linguistics in their American context are considered by Anthony Pagden. Pagden analyses the conflict between men such as Acosta who believed that the Amerindian languages were fit for religious instruction and necessary to avoid alienating the populace, and others who believed that the progress of the Castilian empire was tied to the success of its language.<sup>9</sup> Contemporary academic studies of Native American languages have also been the subject of recent historical attention.<sup>10</sup> Historians have also recently been drawn to the activities of translators and middlemen in North America. Such studies typically highlight both European and native interpreters.<sup>11</sup> However, all of these studies tend to ignore the role of typical merchants, adventurers and settlers in the areas under discussion. There is an interesting essay by Elena Losada Soler that examines the implications of the content of an early Portuguese-Malayalam word list.<sup>12</sup> However, Soler's discussion is based upon a static detached source rather than everyday interaction. Linguistic considerations are also handled by Patricia Seed in terms of inter-European conflict in the New World.<sup>13</sup> The case of minor semantic variations

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*Muslim World before 1700* (Cairo, 1996) and Nabil Matar, *Turks, Moors and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery* (New York, 1999) fail to consider the role of language in cross-cultural contact.

<sup>7</sup> Vivian Salmon, "Arabists and linguists in England in the 17<sup>th</sup>-century", in Konrad Koerner (ed.), *Language and Society in Early Modern Britain: Selected Essays, 1981-1994* (Amsterdam, Philadelphia, 1996), pp. 195-211; G. J. Toomer, *Eastern Wisdom and Learning: The Study of Arabic in Seventeenth Century England* (Oxford, 1996).

<sup>8</sup> Peter Kornicki, "European Japanology at the end of the seventeenth century", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, vol. 56 (1993), pp. 502-524.

<sup>9</sup> Anthony Pagden, *European Encounters in the New World: From Renaissance to Romanticism* (New Haven and London, 1993). See also Anthony Pagden, "Dispossessing the barbarian: the language of Spanish Thomism and the debate over the property rights of the American Indians", in Pagden (ed.), *The Languages of Political Theory in Early-Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 79-98. Inga Clendinnen has shown how Franciscans in Mexico and the Yucatan were unenthusiastic to teach Spanish to converts despite government encouragement. They believed that it would leave the Indians open to corrupting influences and challenge the necessity of their own role as mediators between the Indians and the Spanish, *Ambivalent Conquests: Maya and Spanish in Yucatan, 1517-1570* (Cambridge, 1987), p. 52.

<sup>10</sup> John Shirley (ed.), *Thomas Harriot: Renaissance Scientist* (Oxford, 1974), particularly the essays by John Shirley and D. B. Quinn; Vivian Salmon, "Thomas Harriot (1560-1621) and the English origins of Algonkian linguistics", in Koerner (ed.), *Language and Society*, pp. 143-172; Kathleen J. Bragdon, "Native languages as spoken and written: views from southern New England", in Gray and Fiering (eds), *The Language Encounter*, pp. 173-88 and Lieve Jooke, "Descriptions of American Indian word forms in colonial missionary grammars", in *Ibid.*, pp. 293-309.

<sup>11</sup> J. Frederick Fausz, "Middlemen in peace and war: Virginia's earliest Indian interpreters, 1608-1632", *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 95, no. 1 (1987), pp. 41-64 and Frances Karttunen, *Between Worlds: Interpreters, Guides and Survivors* (New Brunswick, 1994). The role of kidnapped Indians is detailed in Frances Karttunen, "Interpreters snatched from the shore: the successful and the others", in Gray and Fiering (eds), *The Language Encounter*, pp. 215-229 and Alden T. Vaughan, "Sir Walter Raleigh's Indian interpreters, 1584-1618", *William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, vol. LIX, no. 2 (2002), pp. 341-76.

<sup>12</sup> Elena Losada Soler, "The encounter of languages: reflections on the language of the Other in *Roteiro da Primeira Viagem de Vasco da Gama*" in Disney and Booth (eds), *Vasco da Gama*, pp. 202-219.

<sup>13</sup> Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492-1640* (Cambridge, 1995; 1998), pp. 7-11. This is an expanded version of Seed's, "Taking possession and reading texts: Establishing the authority of overseas empires", *William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, vol. XLIX (1992), pp. 183-209.



within the discourse of European expansion forms an enlightening case study of the vagaries of translation. Seed makes particular use of Jacques Derrida's theory of the "supplement" which deems that a word, even in very closely related languages, contains slightly different cultural implications to speakers of each respective language. Seed takes the example of "possession" in three languages which all derive the word from a single Latin root (*posesión* [Spanish], *posse* [Portuguese] and *possession* [French]). Each language features a subtle distinction of their understanding of the term.<sup>14</sup> Naturally, such problems of semantic precision magnify when the languages under analysis share no common source and exist in very different cultural environments. However, whilst there are lessons to be learned from Seed's thesis, the present study is concerned with socio-cultural *interaction* between British and Japanese. The object of the present chapter is not to propose a linguistic thesis handling the technical minutiae of translation but rather to consider the social roles of various languages within everyday interaction.

It is believed that this chapter will shed light on an area which, if studied at all, has only been viewed in isolation as a linguistic question. Detailed attention is given to E.I.C. attitudes towards languages in order to establish the context for further investigation of the situation on the ground in Hirado. Amongst the perspectives highlighted in this chapter are popular misconceptions held about the use of the Portuguese language amongst East Indiamen. Also addressed in parallel is the extent of knowledge of the Iberian languages in contemporary Japan, based on E.I.C. material. Other precedents have been sought for studying local languages in order to keep in mind the context of other Europeans in Japan and the general British presence in the Indies. This moves naturally on to the evidence for British knowledge of Japanese. Logical conjectures and insinuations are supported by obscure but extant textual evidence. Attention is drawn to the fascinating case of a Company serving boy Richard Hudson, as well as the practice of epistolary correspondence. This chapter reveals that the situation in the Hirado factory was far more complicated than simply a team of Europeans working through Portuguese-speaking translators.

## 1. The Use of European Languages

### The Role of Languages in the East India Company

In addition to mercantile experience, the E.I.C. placed the highest priority on linguistic competence when selecting factors. Although this trend can clearly be observed in the court minutes and is a subject of obvious cultural importance, it is not addressed in standard historiography.<sup>15</sup> There was no single world *lingua franca* in this period, although the most widely utilised language in the Indian Ocean and the Far East was Portuguese. This was of course the result of Portuguese commercial and

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<sup>14</sup> Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession*, pp. 7-11.

<sup>15</sup> See *CSPC*, vol. 1, nos 274, 386, 393, 472. The most popular standard work on the early E.I.C. is still K. Chaudhuri, *The English East India Company: The Story of an Early Joint-Stock Company, 1600-1640* (London, 1965). More recent works such as Antony Wild, *The East India Company: Trade and Conquest from 1600* (London, 1999) pass over the early years and concentrate on the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. They also tend to be written by interested non-academics relying on secondary material.

evangelical expansion for over a hundred years in the area prior to British arrival.<sup>16</sup> That said, however, Malay was a close rival to Portuguese in the Indonesian archipelago and further afield.<sup>17</sup> Although Portuguese was used for formal correspondence between Dutch Batavia and various Indonesian rulers, Malay was used for informal audiences.<sup>18</sup> Further linguistic specialisation was also very useful. Arabic and Turkish were important for the Red Sea trade.<sup>19</sup> Persian was the official language of the Mughal court in India.<sup>20</sup> Many of the spice islands in the Indonesian archipelago had their own distinct languages. However, the ubiquity of Portuguese in this period is beyond doubt and could be utilised from Brazil to Japan.<sup>21</sup> Captain John Jourdain records a number of encounters with armed bands in Arabia and India, where at least one speaker of Portuguese could be found.<sup>22</sup> It was hence natural that several copies of King James I's letters to East Indian potentates were translated into Portuguese.<sup>23</sup> Even languages such as French and Italian were valued by the Company.<sup>24</sup> Although they had no 'linguistic territory' as such in the East Indies, French and Italian could be used to communicate with other European nations who were often encountered at sea. There are many notices in the E.I.C. sources of the practical application of these languages. Somewhere north of the Azores, General Thomas Best's fleet was able to get directions from a Frenchman who had come from Newfoundland.<sup>25</sup> There is evidence of an Anglo-Portuguese treaty of surrender being conducted in Italian.<sup>26</sup> It must be remembered that this was an age long before the

<sup>16</sup> C. R. Boxer also stresses the fact that extensive Portuguese concubinage created a large number of mixed race offspring who were bilingual in Portuguese and the local language, *Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire, 1415-1825* (Oxford, 1963), p. 9.

<sup>17</sup> Whilst in Patani Peter Floris was able to have the King of England's letters translated into Malay by "Chetties", W. H. Moreland (ed.), *Peter Floris: His Voyage to the East Indies in the Globe, 1611-1615: The Contemporary Translation of his Journal*, *Hakluyt Society*, Second Series, No. LXXIV (1934), p. 33. Henry Yule and A. C. Burnell list "Shetties" or "Chetines" as merchants of southern India, *Hobson-Jobson: The Anglo-Indian Dictionary* (London, 1886-1996). Hence Malay was understood by other Asian merchants who ventured into the Indonesian archipelago.

<sup>18</sup> Jean Gelman Taylor, *The Social World of Batavia: European and Eurasian in Dutch Asia* (Madison, 1983), p. 18.

<sup>19</sup> Knowledge of Eastern languages is discussed in detail below. The use of Portuguese was apparently on an equal footing with Arabic on the island of Socotra according to Christopher Farewell, *An East India Colation, or a discourse of travels...* (London, 1633), Sig. B7r-B8. Although published in 1633 the book describes a much earlier voyage.

<sup>20</sup> William Edwards noted that whilst Persian was the *lingua franca* of northern India it was not generally used in Surat, although it was understood to a degree, *Letters Received*, vol. 2, p. 243.

<sup>21</sup> There is constant mention of the language's use across the East Indies. See, William Foster (ed.), *The Journal of John Jourdain, 1608-1617, Describing his Experiences in Arabia, India and the Malay Archipelago*, *Hakluyt Society*, Second Series, no. XVI (1905), pp. 6, 7, 9, 25, 31, 63. William Foster (ed.), *The Voyage of Thomas Best to the East Indies, 1612-14*, *Hakluyt Society*, Second Series, No. LXXV (1934), pp. 105, 111. *Letters Received*, vol. 5, p. 148 chronicles an encounter with Arabs in the Indian Ocean in which they pretended not to speak Portuguese although all could. Walter Payton noted that in Mohilla there were Arabs, Turks and Moors (Gujaratis) "Many of which speake reasonable Porteguse", *Pilgrimes*, vol. 4, p. 292.

<sup>22</sup> Foster (ed.), *John Jourdain*, pp. 123, 124.

<sup>23</sup> *CSPC*, vol. 1, no. 362. Portuguese speaking rulers are referred to on numerous occasions. See, Sir William Foster (ed.), *The Voyage of Sir Henry Middleton to the Moluccas, 1604-1606*, *Hakluyt Society*, Second Series, No. LXXXVIII (1943), pp. 52, 128. William Foster (ed.), *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to the Court of the Great Mogul, 1615-19, as Narrated in his Journal and Correspondence*, 2 vols, *Hakluyt Society*, Second Series, Nos 1 and 2 (1899), vol. 1, pp. 19, 21, 22. Foster (ed.), *John Jourdain*, p. 293.

<sup>24</sup> *CSPC*, vol. 1, nos 386, 700 (p. 285).

<sup>25</sup> Foster (ed.), *Thomas Best*, p. 90.

<sup>26</sup> *Letters Received*, vol. 5, p. 147.

linguistic dominance of English.<sup>27</sup> Typically, only specialised merchants who traded in England would have had any knowledge of the language.<sup>28</sup> However, Italian was not only useful for correspondence with fellow Europeans. Due to the historical presence of the Italian city states in Turkey and the Levant, Italian was the European *lingua franca* in the eastern Mediterranean trade.<sup>29</sup> Whilst trading in the Ottoman domains, the Levant Company merchant Nathaniel Eile had mastered Italian, in addition to the expected Turkish and Greek.<sup>30</sup> Of course, in the early seventeenth century the Ottoman Empire embraced present day Yemen and the Hejaz, which were crucial areas of the Indian Ocean trade. Despite the historical role of Portuguese in this area, Italian also remained prominent as a *lingua franca*.<sup>31</sup> There is evidence that Italian could be found still further afield. Rev. William Leske noted that the language was understood, in addition to Portuguese and Spanish, by the brokers of Surat.<sup>32</sup>

The recommendation of men for the position of factor in the E.I.C., as we have suggested, frequently hinged on knowledge of a foreign language.<sup>33</sup> Linguistic ability also enhanced the chances of promotion from the position of a low-scale merchant to a more senior position. This was obviously practised at an early date in Company history. A court minute of 28 November 1600 records the candidacy of William Brund for principal factor, rather than a lower grade, due to his knowledge of Arabic, Spanish and Portuguese.<sup>34</sup> William Hawkins also noted in his journal that whilst in Surat his knowledge of Turkish brought him favour amongst the local merchants.<sup>35</sup> The Iberian languages were absolutely essential to the success of E.I.C. trade.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Giovanni Florio remarked that past Dover, English was worthless, *Florio his firste fruits...* (London, 1578), f. 50r. The E.I.C. factors were always delighted when a native could be found to recite phrases such as "Sir Thomas Smith" and "English ships", *Pilgrimes*, vol. 4, p. 290. Edward Brereton in 1602 mentioned teaching a few English sentences to his Native American companions, *Ibid.*, vol. 18, pp. 317-18. The English also captured 'Corey', a Cape native, and transported him to England so that he could serve as a future translator, Karttunen, *Between Worlds*, p. 358.

<sup>28</sup> The Italian city states were particularly prominent in this trade and their linguistic needs were serviced by a number of language primers. See Louis B. Wright, *Middle Class Culture in Elizabethan England* (Chapel Hill, 1935), p. 363.

<sup>29</sup> Wright, *Middle Class Culture*, pp. 363-64 and Henry Kahane, *The Lingua Franca in the Levant* (London, 1958). Prior to the foundation of the Levant Company Italians were prominent as appointees for consul and protector over English trade in the Greek islands, Alfred C. Wood, *A History of the Levant Company* (Oxford, 1935), p. 2. *Dragomans* were drawn from the local Christian community and were expected to speak Turkish, Arabic and Italian. However, factors often complained that their speech was unintelligible to anyone familiar with correct Italian, Bruce Masters, "Trading diasporas and 'nations': the genesis of national identities in Ottoman Aleppo", *The International History Review*, vol. IX, no. 3 (1987), p. 358.

<sup>30</sup> *CSPC*, vol. 1, nos. 960, 962, 972 and *Letters Received*, vol. 5, p. 187.

<sup>31</sup> The Eighth Voyage under Saris met who a renegade Italian who acted as translator in Mocha, *Pilgrimes*, vol. 3, p. 377. See also *Letters Received*, vol. 1, pp. 218, 226. Henry Middleton noted that the governor of Mocha was accompanied by two Turks who spoke Italian, *Pilgrimes*, vol. 3, p. 124.

<sup>32</sup> *Letters Received*, vol. 5, p. 187.

<sup>33</sup> See for example, *CSPC*, vol. 1, nos. 472, 274, 386, 393, *inter alia*. For the application of this practice whilst in the Indies see also *Letters Received*, vol. 1, p. 200; vol. 5, pp. 272, 312. Although the court minutes recording the employment of the crew of the Eighth Voyage are now lost, no doubt men such as Cocks, Wickham and the others were recommended due to their knowledge of Iberian languages. Cocks also spoke French.

<sup>34</sup> *CSPC*, vol. 1, no. 279.

<sup>35</sup> *Pilgrimes*, vol. 3, p. 4. It is clear that Hawkins spoke fluent Turkish through his many references. See *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4, 11, 12. Similarly, John Sandcroft reported that he was appointed to remain in Surat through his knowledge of Turkish, *Letters Received*, vol. 2, p. 212.

<sup>36</sup> The bracket 'Iberian languages' is used as a generic reference to Portuguese and Spanish. It is not intended to cover all the languages found in the Iberian Peninsula, nor to refer to the ancient Iberian

Whilst interpreters for European merchants were easily obtained in East Indian ports, including Hirado, they would translate between the local language and Portuguese or Spanish. The E.I.C. factors obviously had no hope of finding translators who could speak English, except in the case of Englishmen who had 'gone native' to a degree.<sup>37</sup> Therefore Iberian languages were a prerequisite before attempting to establish trading outposts in the Indies.

In addition to direct mention of conversing in Portuguese or Spanish, the Hirado archive also provides extensive evidence of Iberian vocabulary in letters. This phenomena is particularly obvious in the Spanish lexicon of Cocks' diary. These sometimes occur in the form of individual words such as *complementos* - complements, *recado* - a present, *trampo*, i.e. *trampa* - a trap.<sup>38</sup> Spanish vocabulary is also weaved into the existing sentence structure without any obvious justification for its inclusion. For instance in March 1617 Cocks has "I wrot a lettr of [sic] the *rapado* (or *bos*) at Miaco".<sup>39</sup> *Rapado* means shaved or tonsured and is an obvious reference to a Buddhist priest, or *bonze*. Amongst the many comments are "*in cuerpo*" - without a coat, and "*costa que costa*" - coast to coast.<sup>40</sup> However, Spanish phrases are not only confined to a smattering of vocabulary. Describing various correspondence, Cocks notes, "*Y escriuados cartas to Langasaque*" - "And we [have] written letters to Nagasaki".<sup>41</sup> The latter remark presumably implies that the letters were in Spanish, which is confirmed by the addresses, Jorge Durois and Pedro de Garocho. In a similar vein, Cocks records, "I wrot 2 lettres to Jorge Durois y Alvaro Muño [ ] *les embiaua par Cuimon Dono*".<sup>42</sup> Although of confused orthography, Cocks presumably means, "*Los yo enviaba por...*" - "which I have sent by...". Note also his use of the Spanish "y" -and- to connect Jorge Durois and Alvaro Muños. The vocabulary is evenly scattered through the diary with no particular bias towards an earlier or later period. It also takes the form of individual nouns in addition to phrases. The use of Iberian vocabulary is not confined to Cocks but rather found throughout the Hirado factory letters in various formats.<sup>43</sup> The ubiquity of at least an understanding of Portuguese and/or Spanish can be illustrated by the spread of such terminology across a diverse

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language of antiquity. It has been favoured as a blanket term due to often confusing spelling of vocabulary which make identification of the particular language difficult. The E.I.C. employees in Japan seem to have been familiar with both languages. Asian translators were also readily available for both Portuguese and Spanish.

<sup>37</sup> William Adams in Japan is an obvious example but there were other men such as Richard Weldon in Bouton. There were also many contemporary speakers of Malay, such as John Beaumont, Augustine Spalding and Saris himself. Early writers on Japan during the confidence of Elizabethan expansion had hoped that boys such as the Japanese Christopher and Cosmo, picked up on the California coast, would serve as interpreters for the first wave of English commerce. See Juan Gonzales de Mendoza, *Historie of the great and mighty kingdome of China...*, trans Robert Parkes (London, 1588), ¶ 2v. Richard Hakluyt praised the fact that naturals of Japan and the Philippines were to be seen in England, "agreeing with our climate, speaking our language, and informing us of the state of their Eastern habitations", in *The Principall Naviagations, voyages and discoveries of the English nation...* (London, 1589), p. 3. The circumstances of Christopher and Cosmo's capture are mentioned in a journal of Cavendish's circumnavigation, *Pilgrimes*, vol. 2, p. 172.

<sup>38</sup> *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 42, 65 (*complementos*), 42 (*recado*), 70; vol. 3, p. 196 (*trampa*).

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 53.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 211; vol. 3, p. 182.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 156.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 113.

<sup>43</sup> See for example, IOR: G/12/15, pp. 3-4; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 158; IOR: G/12/15 p. 7; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 165; IOR: E/3/2 no. 191; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 233; IOR: E/3/2 no. 216; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 273.

range of contemporary E.I.C. sources.<sup>44</sup> The range of terminology generally conforms with that found in the Hirado sources, such as *recado*, *scrivano* and *lingua*.<sup>45</sup> However, there is also evidence of the hybrid sentences found in Cocks' diary. Ralph Standish, who took part on the Tenth Voyage, reported "The *Dragon* haveinge given hir the first *Bon jour*, we gave hir the *Besa los manos*; but she unwilling to complemant any longer with us, did *ander per atras*".<sup>46</sup> Such phrases and jottings of vocabulary are widely used in letters without translation, the implication being that the writer had no doubt that he would be understood. The liberal use of Iberian vocabulary in the first two decades of the seventeenth century may be strikingly contrasted with the journal of Thomas Cavendish's circumnavigation of the globe. Writing some time after 1588, the anonymous author had to explain the meaning of *mestizo*, a term which along with countless others would later become so familiar as to render explanation needless.<sup>47</sup>

Despite such liberal application of Iberian words and phrases, the actual linguistic competence of E.I.C. servants is never clear and probably varied greatly from man to man. Of course, there were essentially no criteria with which to test merchants. It was easy to claim knowledge of a number of languages whilst petitioning for employment in London. There are no references in surviving E.I.C. materials to any established levels of competence or informal examinations to test the fidelity of such claims. It can be presumed that men who were sent to Spain or Portugal in their youths to learn the languages were completely fluent.<sup>48</sup> However, the extent to which men made false claims has to be accounted for. There are a number of revealing stories concerning even senior merchants in the Company, which hint at linguistic lapses. Although the references to his employment in the court minutes do not mention linguistic ability, one would expect that as general of the Fourth Voyage Alexander Sharpeigh would have commanded at least one foreign language.<sup>49</sup> However, the journal of one of Sharpeigh's captains, John Jourdain, notes that Sharpeigh had him write a Portuguese letter in his name.<sup>50</sup> Whilst not incontrovertible proof that Sharpeigh spoke no Portuguese, it does at least suggest that he was not as eloquent as the situation demanded. In direct relation to the Eighth Voyage, it should be noted that Saris took aboard a Spaniard, Hernando Ximines, in preparation for the passage between Bantam and Japan. As Ximines was a Malay speaker, like Saris himself, it has been assumed that he was brought along for the purpose of translating into Malay.<sup>51</sup> However, his

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<sup>44</sup> Amongst many other sources see, Foster (ed.), *John Jourdain*, pp. 5, 59. Foster (ed.), *Henry Middleton*, pp. 20, 39. Moreland (ed.), *Peter Floris*, pp. 11, 12, 13, 137. Foster (ed.), *Thomas Best*, pp. 65, 66. *Letters Received*, vol. 3, pp. 100, 101, 222, 314.

<sup>45</sup> For the development of the term *lingua* – translator, see Losada Soler, "The encounter of languages", p. 205. The term could also be found in literal English translation as "tonge", e.g. IOR: G/12/15 p. 4; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 160. In a similar vein, journals and letters often used the Turkish *dragoman* whilst in the Red Sea. For its various guises see, *Letters Received*, vol. 1, pp. 47, 95, 125.

<sup>46</sup> Foster (ed.), *Thomas Best*, p. 136. Standish is satirically describing a military encounter. The Portuguese phrases are *Beijar as Mãos* – to kiss hands, and *Andar para traz* – to go backwards. No doubt the Portuguese phrases were used to deride his opponent.

<sup>47</sup> *Pilgrimes*, vol. 2, p. 166. A *mestizo* was a half-European/half-Asian offspring.

<sup>48</sup> For such cases see, Foster (ed.), *Thomas Best*, p. xl. This was a course followed by one of the minor employees in the Hirado factory. The practice is discussed below.

<sup>49</sup> *CSPC*, vol. 1, nos 385, 386, 393, 395, 397, 403.

<sup>50</sup> Foster (ed.), *John Jourdain*, p. 9.

<sup>51</sup> Giles Milton, *Samurai William: The Adventurer who Unlocked Japan* (London, 2002), pp. 170-71. Milton's description of events is very confused. He sees Ximines as being brought to act in conjunction

primary purpose is revealed by Saris during an encounter with two high ranking Spanish soldiers on Ternate. An account of their meeting is prefaced to the remark that Ximines had been brought, “for the occatyons as aforesaid”.<sup>52</sup> As it is clear that the men were aristocratic soldiers there was probably a need for superior Spanish diction. This must be Saris’ explanation for Ximines’ presence, as the *Clove* had numerous other Spanish speakers and a knowledge of Malay would not fit the aforementioned context.<sup>53</sup>

Many similar situations that suggest linguistic deficiencies are recorded in the Company’s sources but they are often open to interpretation. For instance, Peter Floris recorded that two Portuguese carracks were sited off West Africa in 1611, “whereof the one came to speake with us, butt we coulde not understande muche of him”.<sup>54</sup> However, it is unclear if Floris is referring to linguistic problems, a high wind or merely a paucity of information from the Portuguese ship. Of course, the practice of bluffing linguistic ability was not confined to the E.I.C. or even European waters. John Jourdain describes an encounter with the *dragoman*, or interpreter, of the Turkish governor of Sana in 1609. He had been sent to the English ship on the notion that he could understand English, French and Italian. However, it actually transpired that he understood only a little French and shamelessly bluffed his interpretation of King James I’s letter, which was written in Spanish.<sup>55</sup> Even when linguistic ability was genuine there were clearly differing standards of fluency amongst both merchants and the native peoples with whom they interacted. Only a moderate command of any particular language was required for financial transactions, whilst on the other hand complex diplomatic wrangling required a greater degree of eloquence. This principle can be seen in action by Ralph Standish’s notice that although many Gujaratis spoke Portuguese, during negotiations concerning the establishment of a factory a senior steward had to be sent from Surat to Swally Hole “because of his language”.<sup>56</sup> The implication, of course, was that he was more fluent than the merchants and landlords who serviced the European trading community in the area.

While it is clear that many native merchants, landlords, victuallers and others who had an interest in the European presence in the Indies had some command of Portuguese, this was evidently only of the spoken form. The situation was different for Company employees as evinced by numerous references to letters written and read in Portuguese.<sup>57</sup> There is little doubt that Company merchants had a written as well as

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with the Malay speaking John Japan. However, Milton neglects the fact that Saris was a fluent Malay speaker himself and hence had no need for such a complicated arrangement.

<sup>52</sup> *Voyage*, p. 51. It is no doubt significant that the widely-read *Pilgrimes* version of events does not include this comment on Ximines’ role, vol. 3, p. 428.

<sup>53</sup> The need for a Spanish interpreter in the Moluccas is mentioned in a contemporary letter by Gabriel Towerson, *Letters Received*, vol. 1, p. 5.

<sup>54</sup> Moreland, *Peter Floris*, p. 2.

<sup>55</sup> Foster (ed.), *John Jourdain*, p. 73.

<sup>56</sup> Foster (ed.), *Thomas Best*, p. 111. James Axtell points out how Dutch evangelists in the New World soon realised that local language ‘experts’ spoke trade jargons sufficient for basic communication but wholly inadequate for preaching, “Babel of tongues: communicating with the Indians in Eastern North America”, in Gray and Fiering (eds), *The Language Encounter*, p. 36.

<sup>57</sup> See IOR: G/12/15, p. 20; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 318, IOR: G/12/15, p. 7; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 166, IOR: E/3/6 no. 665; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 711-12, IOR: E/3/6 no. 669; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 713, IOR: E/3/6 no. 686; Farrington, vol. 1, pp. 717-18, IOR: E/3/6 no. 702; Farrington, p. 723, IOR: E/3/6 no. 703; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 724, IOR: E/3/6 no. 708; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 728, *inter alia* for letters to and from factors in Spanish and Portuguese.

spoken knowledge of the Iberian languages. There is also some evidence of this facility existing among native East Indians. For instance, the post of chief interpreter, which many East Indian rulers supported, seems to have implied literacy in Portuguese. A case is referred to by Peter Floris in Masulipatnam in which an unidentified "great Lingua" performed letter-writing in Portuguese.<sup>58</sup> Although unidentified, the context makes it clear that the translator was locally employed and not someone brought with the British on their ship.

### The Acquisition of Language

It is clear that the E.I.C. valued Iberian and other European languages and that merchants were able to supply this demand to a certain degree. However, it is less clear how the factors went about learning the languages that were later to serve them in the East Indies. Without doubt the most popular method was mixing with native speakers. Although Latin remained central to the grammar school system, in the Elizabethan period the study of modern languages became part of the training of merchants' apprentices.<sup>59</sup> Certainly, it was an established practice by the early seventeenth century for families to send youths to Spain, Italy or Portugal in order to learn the language.<sup>60</sup> J. Frederick Fausz even provides an example of the Marylander George Evelyn sending his son to the Patawomeke tribe to learn their language in preparation for becoming a fur trader.<sup>61</sup> All European trading powers seem to have left various criminals or exiles with natives so that their children would form a generation of bilingual intermediaries.<sup>62</sup> During the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, there was also a trend in merchant translators who would render continental literature into English.<sup>63</sup> Mostly concentrating on travel and geographical literature, this was performed in the cause of both instruction and of patriotism.

The other option that could be combined with direct experience in a foreign land or used independently was the published language tutor.<sup>64</sup> Rather than being grammatical descriptions of the languages under question these aids were usually model conversation books, or "*manière de langage*". They often made little claim to thoroughness but attempted to give the traveller, merchant or ambassador a conversational knowledge confined within strict boundaries of tense and person.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Moreland (ed.), *Peter Floris*, p. 17.

<sup>59</sup> Wright, *Middle Class Culture*, p. 339 and M. H. Curtius, "Education and apprenticeship", *Shakespeare Survey*, vol. 17 (1964), pp. 53-72.

<sup>60</sup> Such an example is referred to in Foster (ed.), *Thomas Best*, p. xl. In direct relation to the Hirado factory Cocks mentions that a Scots employee, John Portius, had been sent to Spain as a youth to learn the language, IOR: E/3/9 no. 1086; Farrington, vol. 2, p. 908.

<sup>61</sup> Fausz, "Middlemen in peace and war", p. 62.

<sup>62</sup> Karttunen, "Interpreters snatched from the shore", pp. 218-19.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 335. For the career of a typical such translator see L. C. Wroth, "John Frampton, an Elizabethan merchant and man of letters", *Huntington Library Quarterly*, vol. XVII, no. 4 (1954), pp. 299-314. Modern languages were also learned by gentlemen and scholars. For instance, the library of Henry Percy, ninth earl of Northumberland (1564-1637) contained not only Latin and Greek works but also literature in French, Italian, Spanish, German and Dutch, Gordon Batho, "The wizard earl of Northumberland: an Elizabethan scholar-nobleman", *The Historian*, no. 75 (2002), p. 22.

<sup>64</sup> See Louis B. Wright, "Language helps for the Elizabethan tradesman", *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, vol. XXX (1931), pp. 335-347 and Vivian Salmon, "The study of foreign languages in 17<sup>th</sup> century England", in Konrad Koerner (ed.), *Language and Society*, pp. 173-93.

<sup>65</sup> See Katherine Lambley, *The Teaching and Cultivation of the French Language in England during Tudor and Stuart Times* (Manchester, 1920), p. 35. Robert L. Collinson stresses the role of foreign

Model conversations were presented which provided a pool of expressions suitable for conversing with different levels of society. Essentially there were two schools of thought on language acquisition in this period. Many argued that immersion in a foreign language and acquisition by ear was the best way, having the advantage of cultivating the correct accent and an understanding of idioms. However, not all agreed with this method. John Wodroep in his *The Spared houres of a souldier* urged his readers not to attempt to learn French by ear alone but rather, “to storm the citadel of grammer”.<sup>66</sup> Learning by ear led to mistakes such as, “la garçon, le femme, ma sieur, and mon dame”. Hence learners speak the language, “scurvily, harshly and painfully, that they make the Frenches take their sport at them, even as the English do at the Welshes”.<sup>67</sup> The European traveller Fynes Moryson also condemned merchants, women and children for their “rushing into rash practice”. Moryson conceded that learners by ear could often gain good pronunciation and articulation but were seldom able to write the language well and quickly forgot their skills.<sup>68</sup>

Whilst abroad, there was also the occasional opportunity to study a language under a tutor. The language master Gabriel Meurier counted many English merchants among his pupils in Antwerp, where he taught French, Spanish, Flemish and Italian. He published a number of manuals and even dedicated his *Grammaire François...* (1557) to “*marchans Anglois*”.<sup>69</sup> As was the case with English language manuals intended for Italian traders, many works were published on the continent specifically for English merchants.<sup>70</sup> William Stepney ran a Spanish school in London in the late sixteenth century. There is also the example of Adrian á Saravia of Southampton who taught French to tradesmen.<sup>71</sup> However, in general the practice of formally learning a language in such a manner must have been very rare amongst merchants.

It is not known to what extent Cocks and the other made use of European language manuals. It may have been the case that during his early years in Bayonne, Cocks used both methods of learning.<sup>72</sup> There were many popular French manuals available at the time of his stay.<sup>73</sup> The major problem of judging usage of such manuals is the virtual absence of contemporary reference to them in letters and journals. In many

travel in prompting the publication of linguistic aides, *A History of Foreign Language Dictionaries* (London, 1982), pp. 75-81. Prior to the seventeenth century medieval Latin had served as a *lingua franca* for foreign travel before reverting to classical Latin. However, this was troublesome for English travellers as the great medieval vowel shift meant that speakers of foreign vernaculars found them difficult to understand, Salmon, “Study of foreign languages”, p. 173.

<sup>66</sup> John Wodroep, *The Spared houres of a souldier in his travels or the true marrowe of the French Tongue...* (Dort, 1613), preface to reader.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, See also Lambley, *Teaching and Cultivation*, p. 251.

<sup>68</sup> Quoted in *Ibid.*, p. 239. A similar judgment was voiced by the Jesuit Rodrigues concerning European learners of Japanese, J. F. Moran, “The well of Japanese undefiled: João Rodrigues’ Advice on how to study Japanese”, *MN*, vol. XXX, no. 3 (1975), pp. 277-89.

<sup>69</sup> Lambley, *Teaching and Cultivation*, p. 244.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>71</sup> Wright, *Middle Class Culture*, p. 361. Most foreign language tuition was given by Protestant refugees from the Continent, Salmon, “Study of foreign languages”, p. 180.

<sup>72</sup> See Derek Massarella, “The early career of Richard Cocks (1566-1624), head of the English East India Company’s factory in Japan (1613-1623)”, *TASJ*, Third Series, 20 (1985), pp. 1-46.

<sup>73</sup> E.g. Claude Holyband, *The French Schoolemaster...* (London, 1565). This ran to many editions including 1582, 1606, 1612, that continued until 1668. There was also Claude Holyband, *The French Littelton...* (London, 1566). Editions of 1591, 1597, 1602 *inter alia* and Pierre Erondel, *The French Garden...* (London, 1605). A chronological list of the French manuals appearing between 1521 and 1699 can be found in Lambley, *Teaching and Cultivation*, pp. 405-409.



cases the only evidence of their use is their physical existence. However, the large number of language aids and their constant reprinting certainly suggests that they were popular. It is also evident by titles, dedications and internal contents that merchants were the target audience for language aids. In 1617 John Minsheu was able to publish his polyglot *Guide to Tongues* partly through merchant subscription.<sup>74</sup>

The obvious conclusion is that the E.I.C. rightly considered languages to be extremely useful in East Indian trade. The utility of certain languages also extended far beyond their expected natural ethnic boundaries. John Sandcroft reported that Turkish was as useful in Surat as it was in Aleppo, where he had previous trade experience.<sup>75</sup> The factors at Surat also soon realised that in addition to being essential for pioneering factories in Persia itself, the Persian language was necessary for diplomatic relations with the Mughals.<sup>76</sup> Captain William Keeling advised that any "leiger" sent to the Emperor Jahangir should speak either Turkish or Persian "so facile to audience at his pleasure, which otherwise is more difficult and less effectual".<sup>77</sup> The picture of the early modern East Indies is certainly more complicated than isolated Europeans relying on their Portuguese speeches being translated into a local language. Rather, diversity was the key note. Different stages of the East Indian trade route required different linguistic specialisations. Leven Martson, a Dutch cape-merchant in the Moluccas encountered by Saris, effectively covered the spectrum in his ability to speak "Mallayes, Ternates, Arikeck, Turkish, Spannish, Portuguese & French".<sup>78</sup>

### The Extent of Knowledge of Iberian Languages in Japan

Having examined the role of Iberian languages in E.I.C. trade, it will be helpful to consider the extent to which these languages were spoken in Japan at the time of the *Clove's* arrival. Scholarly opinion appears to accept the ubiquity of Portuguese as a mercantile *lingua franca* in contemporary Japan.<sup>79</sup> However, as will be demonstrated, both Portuguese and Spanish were used alternately for communication. After a few days in Hirado, Saris found his gifts requited by "a millyan of Compliments, wherein they [the Japanese] are very perfect by Portugales and Spannyards instructions".<sup>80</sup> Evidently, the influence of the Iberian languages appeared strong and was not merely confined to interpreters. There is a lack of information concerning the *lingua franca* used amongst the other Asian nations trading in Japan. It should be remembered that in addition to various European merchants, the ports of Japan were frequented by Chinese, Siamese, Koreans, inhabitants of the Ryūkyū islands and many other peoples of South East Asia.<sup>81</sup> It is known that an official Chinese interpreter was employed by

<sup>74</sup> This ambitious work contained vocabularies of 11 languages. For details of Minsheu's works see Wright, *Middle Class Culture*, p. 361.

<sup>75</sup> *Letters Received*, vol. 3, p. 305n.

<sup>76</sup> The are notices of letters translated into Persian in *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 258, 280; vol. 2, pp. 104, 179; vol. 3, pp. 20, 64, 196.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 108.

<sup>78</sup> *Voyage*, p. 24.

<sup>79</sup> Ludwig Riess, "History of the English factory at Hirado (1613-1623)", *TASJ*, vol. XXVI (1898), p. 41; W. Z. Mulder, *Hollanders in Hirado, 1597-1641* (Haarlem, n.d., ?1985), p. 205; C. R. Boxer, "Some aspects of Portuguese influence in Japan, 1542-1640", *TJSL*, XXXIII (1936), pp. 55-58.

<sup>80</sup> *Voyage*, p. 86.

<sup>81</sup> For inter-Asian trade in Japan see Tanaka Takeo, "Japan's relations with overseas countries", in John Whitney Hall and Tanaka Takeo (eds), *Japan in the Muromachi Age* (Berkeley, 1977), pp. 159-178 and Ronald P. Toby, *State and Diplomacy in Early Modern Japan: Asia in the Development of the Tokugawa Bakufu* (Princeton, 1984).

the *bakufu*, a position always filled by an ethnic Chinese.<sup>82</sup> However, for informal business dealings the large Portuguese presence in the area presumably dictated Portuguese as the *lingua franca*. It is clearly stated on a number of occasions that Li Tan, the head of the Chinese community in Hirado, spoke Spanish and Wickham wrote him a letter in Portuguese.<sup>83</sup>

It is worth remembering that hundreds of Japanese merchants converged on Hirado and particularly Nagasaki for the arrival of the European ships. Many of them would have required translation services. As part of his study of the Dutch in Hirado, W. Z. Mulder observed how in a typical year the Dutch sold imports to about 600 different Japanese merchants. He estimates that only roughly 60 of these would have been local men. Hence some form of *jurebasso* service would have been required for the remainder.<sup>84</sup> Certainly the well-established merchants may well have had sufficient grasp of Portuguese to conduct basic trade negotiations. However this could not have applied to the smaller provincial contingents, who would have had insufficient contact with the Iberians to develop any language skills. The British factors later testified that important Japanese figures employed their own Iberian-speaking *jurebassos*. These included "Safian dono", Hasegawa Fujihito Sahyōe, the *bugyō* of Nagasaki.<sup>85</sup> There is also reference to a "China jurebasso" who spoke Portuguese and presumably Japanese as well.<sup>86</sup>

Hirado was a predominantly Christian area until the expulsion edicts of 1613 and 1614. The population evidently remained clandestinely Christian after the edicts and their faith is occasionally recorded in the English sources.<sup>87</sup> Even after apostasy Portuguese linguistic relics of conversion would still remain and would have been considered a commercial advantage. The Tokugawa were not anti-European but specifically anti-Christian in this period. As described in chapter 5, the *jurebassos* working for the British were often Christians, as evinced by their Iberian names, and hence had had contact with the Portuguese-speaking brethren. Some had spent time in Bantam, such as John Japan who was picked up by the *Clove* en route to Japan in 1613.<sup>88</sup> Others had worked in the Philippines, where they had acquired some Spanish.<sup>89</sup>

The E.I.C. archive provides only ambiguous evidence regarding the use of the Iberian languages in Hirado. Some sources imply a large number of speakers and a ready supply of translators while others describe communication difficulties. Certainly by 1613, Portuguese was long-established as a language of trade in Nagasaki, Hirado and

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<sup>82</sup> Aloysius Chang, "The Chinese community of Nagasaki in the first century of the Tokugawa period, 1603-1688", Ph. D., St John's University (1970), pp. 58-93. Chang notes that similar offices existed for the regions of Siam and Tonking. In a later period there was also, of course, the office of Dutch interpreter, which in contrast to the other positions, was always filled by a Japanese.

<sup>83</sup> IOR: G/12/15, p. 7; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 166. However, letters were also sent to him in Japanese, e.g., *Diary*, vol. 2, pp. 187, 265, 319, 321; vol. 3, pp. 65, 73.

<sup>84</sup> Mulder, *Hollanders in Hirado*, pp. 4-5.

<sup>85</sup> Information from the lost "Firando Ledger B". Farrington, vol. 2, p. 1282. See also *Diary*, vol. 3, p. 158.

<sup>86</sup> BL: Cart. Cotton III B.XXVI. 28 f. 36; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 749. Cocks also mentions having bills in Chinese translated, *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 49.

<sup>87</sup> For further information see ch. 8.

<sup>88</sup> *Voyage*, p. 1. The *Hozlander* brought at least one Japanese from Bantam, BL: Egerton Ms 2121; Farrington, vol. 2, p. 1030.

<sup>89</sup> *Relation*, pp. 143-44.

the parts of Kyūshū frequented by Europeans.<sup>90</sup> The Jesuit residence in Kyōto probably also led to a certain amount of Portuguese being spoken in the imperial capital. Even outside the areas of trade usually associated with Western influence it was possible for suitable interpreters to be found. Saris' 'Remembrance' to Cocks of 5 December 1613 states that Wickham and Eaton should be provided with *jurebassos* and suitable cargoes in their capacity as regional factors in Edo and the Kinai.<sup>91</sup> Wickham had apparently been promised the services of an unidentified Nagasaki man. If for any reason he did not arrive in Edo, Cocks reiterated Adams' informed advice that he should not want for an interpreter, either in Edo or Shizuoka.<sup>92</sup> The evidence of the Hirado factory letters certainly seems to suggest that *jurebassos* were more widely available outside the Kyūshū littoral than previously thought.

However, elsewhere evidence points towards the difficulty in finding Iberian speakers, as illustrated in an episode in the sub-factory of Edo. In August 1615, Cocks records how Eaton's *jurebasso*, Miguel, had behaved in a 'Judaslyke' manner. Despite much difficulty, Eaton was forced out of necessity to tolerate Miguel's behaviour, which implies that it was difficult to contract another suitable interpreter.<sup>93</sup> Obligations to employ men for a set period of time would not have worried the factors, as they regularly dismissed native employees if they had no need of them.<sup>94</sup> There is a similar incident contemporary with the British arrival, which casts doubt upon the ubiquity of Iberian speakers, even within Hirado itself. During Saris' court journey of 1613 Cocks' *jurebasso*, Miguel, was inclined to periodically absent himself from the area, leaving Cocks "without any one that could speake a word".<sup>95</sup> Also, it is worth noting that when *de Liefde* landed in Bungo in April 1600, the Portuguese-speaking Dutch were unable to communicate with the local people who came aboard "neither of us both understanding th'one th'other". Although Bungo was an area long-associated with missionary activity, the survivors apparently had to wait for two or three days for the arrival of a Jesuit from Nagasaki. Adams relates that the missionary was aided in his translation duties by Japanese Christians, although these also seem to have been brought from Nagasaki.<sup>96</sup> Although this incident occurred more than a decade prior to the British arrival in Hirado, Adams' information casts doubt upon the ubiquity of Portuguese speakers outside of Nagasaki. It would also suggest that historians should be wary of automatically associating Christianity with a knowledge of Portuguese in early modern Japan.

Professional interpreters are rarely mentioned in Jesuit sources because of the availability of *dojuku* - lay-catechists, and Japanese novices.<sup>97</sup> The more experienced Jesuits also usually mastered enough Japanese to dispense with *jurebassos* for all but the most formal audiences. However, it is worth considering the limitations of the Jesuit source material in this respect. Historians have questioned the true level of the congregations' understanding of many of the sermons reported by Jesuit authors,

<sup>90</sup> Boxer, "Some aspects", p. 56 argues for widespread knowledge of Portuguese throughout Kyūshū.

<sup>91</sup> IOR: E/3/1 no. 125; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 119.

<sup>92</sup> IOR: E/3/1 no. 127; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 127.

<sup>93</sup> *Diary*, vol. 1., p. 61.

<sup>94</sup> See the sub-section on servants in ch. 5.

<sup>95</sup> *Relation*, p. 144.

<sup>96</sup> IOR: E/3/1 no. 78; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 68.

<sup>97</sup> J. F. Moran, "The language barrier and the early Jesuits in Japan", *Stirling Occasional Papers on Japan*, no. 4 (1992), p. 5.

particularly during their early years in Japan. The inflated claims of Jesuit panegyrists writing in Europe can be dismissed as fable.<sup>98</sup>

On the evidence of the Hirado documents there is a strong case for assuming that the Spanish language was as important, if not more so, than Portuguese in the immediate locality during this particular epoch.<sup>99</sup> Of course, the sources are rarely detailed when referring to linguistic issues, but a few salient points may be raised in support of the predominance of the Spanish language. In July 1613 Cocks employed a Japanese boy, Juan, as a servant. The mention in the same context of poor conduct by his erstwhile servant, Miguel, suggests that Cocks also favoured Juan's use as an interpreter. He notes that the boy spoke good Spanish, having served for three years in Manila.<sup>100</sup> Cocks also encountered a tailor's wife who spoke Spanish.<sup>101</sup> Li Tan, head of the local Chinese community, had a knowledge of the language, which he presumably acquired during his residence in the Philippines. On being sent for by Matsuura Takanobu, Cocks was informed that he had prepared a Spanish-speaking *jurebasso*, the Italian Nicholas Marin.<sup>102</sup> Japanese *shuinsen*, or licensed red-seal voyages, to the Philippines carried Spanish-speaking *jurebassos*, of which there was apparently no shortage.<sup>103</sup> The majority of factors' letters to the Iberian residents in Japan are in Spanish rather than Portuguese.<sup>104</sup> It also appears that Cocks himself probably spoke only Spanish, as he characteristically wrote to the Goan Jorge Durois in Spanish rather than the expected Portuguese.<sup>105</sup>

Spanish was certainly a more important language than Portuguese within Europe, as can be evinced by the translation of Portuguese Jesuit letters into more commercially viable Spanish editions.<sup>106</sup> To a modern reader the two languages are mutually comprehensible to a degree in their written medium, if one understands their different phonetic values. However, the spoken language was apparently not marked by this facility. One has to consider that this was a time before the standardisation of the national language. It is also important to remember that many members of the Society of Jesus were not of Portuguese origin and hence spoke Portuguese as a second language.<sup>107</sup> These linguistic difficulties are highlighted by the affair of the 26 martyrs in Nagasaki in 1597. The problem was that the Japanese contingent were unable to make their confessions prior to their executions, as the newly-arrived Franciscan priests from Manila spoke no Japanese. Contemporary Jesuit catalogues of novices record that at that time none of the Japanese brothers had made much progress in Latin, which ruled out use of the ecclesiastical language. Due to the heavy Portuguese influence amongst native converts, it is likely that the Japanese novices spoke at least

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5. Communication problems for the earliest Jesuits and their role in bizarre misunderstandings are detailed in Elisonas, "Itinerary to the terrestrial paradise". The inherent problems of the Jesuit sources are covered in ch. 1.

<sup>99</sup> Boxer, "Some aspects", p. 56 notes that both the Dutch and the English conducted their business in Portuguese. He does not consider that Spanish was of any importance.

<sup>100</sup> *Relation*, pp. 143-4.

<sup>101</sup> *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 31.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 158, 159.

<sup>103</sup> See IOR: L/MAR/A/XXXV; Farrington, vol. 2, p. 1238.

<sup>104</sup> See n. 57.

<sup>105</sup> E.g. *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 156; vol. 2, pp. 319, 321; vol. 3, pp. 65, 117.

<sup>106</sup> During the union of the two crowns, 1580-1640, the eclipse of Portuguese influence forced many Portuguese to write in Spanish to gain a wider audience, Donald F. Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, multiple volumes, ongoing, vol. 3, bk 1 (Chicago, 1993), p. 306

<sup>107</sup> Italians and Spaniards were particularly prominent in this period.

some Portuguese, but the fact that Europeans and Japanese were unable to communicate over such an important matter reveals that Portuguese was neither widely understood by the Spanish nor mutually intelligible with its Iberian counterpart.<sup>108</sup>

Despite the light cast upon the linguistic situation by the affair of the 26 martyrs, some evidence might seem to suggest mutual intelligibility between Portuguese and Spanish, although on the whole it is unreliable. One may cite the famous story of Vasco da Gama's encounter with 'Monçaide' (El-Mas'ud) upon landing in Calicut in 1498. 'Monçaide', a Muslim trader from Tunis, was able to welcome the Portuguese in a rough but comprehensible approximation of their language. However, upon analysis of the conversation, which is phonetically notated in Álvaro Velho's *roteiro*, it becomes clear that 'Monçaide' utilised a corrupt form of Castilian. Although not a perfect method of communication, the linguistic attempts of the Muslim were evidently comprehensible to the Portuguese crew.<sup>109</sup> In direct relation to Japan, another piece of evidence supporting the notion that Spanish and Portuguese were mutually comprehensible is the story of Yajiro, an early convert to Christianity. The Portuguese-speaking Yajiro does not seem to have had any problem communicating with the three Spanish missionaries who accompanied him to Japan in 1548.<sup>110</sup> However, this is a hazy area. Although the three missionaries were Spanish speakers they had spent many years in the *Estado da India* and were no doubt fluent in Portuguese. This was probably a different situation to the Manila missionaries, who operated in the Spanish-speaking empire. It should be noted that all contemporary references both in informal letters and published books clearly distinguish between the two languages. A mutual intelligibility is not mentioned.

Spanish seems to have been preferred over Portuguese for Anglo-Dutch communications. Alongside French, Spanish was well known to the Dutch, almost as a second language, as a relic of occupation. Francesco Carletti, on encountering a Dutch ship whilst aboard a Portuguese vessel near St Helena c.1602, noted that all the Dutch officers in a nearby ship spoke Spanish, which was "very common among the Flemish nation".<sup>111</sup> The statement could be made with authority as Carletti had circumnavigated the globe, visiting the major Portuguese and Spanish entrepôts en route. Saris received a letter from the Dutch *opperhoofd* Henrick Brouwer in June 1613. Although the language of the letter is not stated, it was almost certainly Portuguese or Spanish.<sup>112</sup> Likewise, conversations are recorded by Cocks in the '*Relation*' between himself, Brouwer and a Fleming named George Peterson.<sup>113</sup>

<sup>108</sup> The affair is discussed in J. F. Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits: Alessandro Valignano in Sixteenth-Century Japan*, (London and New York, 1993), p. 94.

<sup>109</sup> Losada Soler, "The encounter of languages", pp. 207-08. Soler quotes the story to stress a different point but the fact remains that the two languages could be mutually intelligible if the speakers met halfway.

<sup>110</sup> The three missionaries were Francis Xavier, Cosme de Torres and Juan Fernandez. Anjiro had acquired his skill in Portuguese through relations with early merchants in his home country and two visits to Macao. The contents of his description of Japan and the linguistic reasons for their inaccuracy is analysed in depth in Elisonas, "An itinerary to the terrestrial paradise", pp. 25-68.

<sup>111</sup> Herbert Weinstock trans and (ed.), *My Voyage Around the World by Francesco Carletti a 16<sup>th</sup> Century Florentine Merchant* (London, 1965), p. 236. Although Carletti refers to 'Flemish', i.e. the southern Netherlanders, the men whom he met were obviously inhabitants on the United Provinces.

<sup>112</sup> *Voyage*, p. 99.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 161-2, 162.

### The use of Dutch and English

In the vast majority of cases the Dutch and English did not speak each others' languages and therefore corresponded in letters and verbally through Portuguese or Spanish.<sup>114</sup> That said, however, there are a number of examples of the breaking of this practice. Although there seems to have been no attempt on the part of the E.I.C. to send letters in English to the Dutch, the V.O.C. employees do seem to have used Dutch with a reasonable frequency in letters to the E.I.C.. Choosing the Dutch language when the Iberian *lingua franca* was at their command may be indicative of their claim over the East Indies and a sense of cementing their presence by using their native language. In later years in particular, the V.O.C. directors harshly condemned the virtual absence of the Dutch language from colonial Batavia. Portuguese was far more popular amongst the disparate communities living there.<sup>115</sup> Another possible reason for adherence to Dutch may be the fact that Spain (and by extension Portugal between 1580 and 1640) had until comparatively recently maintained a cruel overlordship in the Netherlands. The Spanish language thus had negative colonial connotations.

There is a revealing reference to contemporary Dutch practice in a letter from the E.I.C. preacher Patrick Copland to a Dutch preacher at Bantam, Adrian Jacobson Hulsebus. Copland apologised for not addressing all points in Hulsebus' previous letter. This was not through a lack of willingness "but vnto my disacquaintance with your Dutch tongue and hand. I should peradventure have given you better satisfaction then now I doe, If you had written to me in the Latin tongue".<sup>116</sup> There are some interesting problems here. Did Copland struggle through a translation with his own slim knowledge of Dutch or did he find a man at Bantam who could do it for him? Why Hulsebus didn't use Portuguese, Spanish or indeed Latin is also puzzling. Although many letters sent by the V.O.C. to the E.I.C. were written in French, there also appear to have been cases where they were sent in Dutch.<sup>117</sup> A similar case of Dutch intractability is recorded on Amboina by John Jourdain. Although having access to an English-speaking V.O.C. factor in the form of Steven Cotells (described below), Jourdain was presented with a letter in Dutch. He complained that he could neither understand it nor had any one to interpret it. As the Dutch messengers refused to make an impromptu oral translation Jourdain was forced to sent it back with instructions to have it set down in French, Italian, English or Portuguese.<sup>118</sup> It is

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<sup>114</sup> Vivian Salmon's article, "Anglo-Dutch linguistic scholarship", in Koerner (ed.), *Language and Society*, pp. 31-54 focuses on the interest in learning Dutch and the grammars and dictionaries provided, rather than individual involvement. Only one Dutch language manual was published in the early seventeenth century, Martin le Mayre's *The Dutch Schoole Master* (London, 1606).

<sup>115</sup> There are many possible causes for the dominance of Portuguese. Taylor, *Social World*, p. 6 notes that the largest European contingent in Batavia was soldiers, a group in which the Dutch formed only a bare majority or even minority. Soldiers may well have picked up a rudimentary knowledge of Portuguese during their duties in the East but were unlikely to be acquainted with the Dutch language. See the figures for military compositions for 1622 in C. R. Boxer, *The Dutch Seaborne Empire, 1600-1800* (London, 1965; 1966). J. G. Taylor, *Social World*, pp. 18-19 also notes that the other main component of Batavian society, slaves, were often taken from captured Portuguese shipping or purchased on the Malabar and Coromandel coasts. They hence had prior familiarity with Portuguese.

<sup>116</sup> *A Second Courante of Newes from the East India in two letter*, letters of Patrick Copland and Thomas Knowles (London, 1622), p. 1.

<sup>117</sup> See the extracts in Foster (ed.), *John Jourdain*, pp. 373-74.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 267, 269. It eventually appeared in Portuguese.

unclear throughout these events whether the Dutch were genuinely reluctant to use a foreign language or whether they simply did not possess the linguistic expertise.

In general linguistic problems could be overcome, as illustrated by the many descriptions of Anglo-Dutch interaction, apparently unimpeded by lack of a common language. Ralph Standish records prolonged interaction with a Dutch ship off Ceylon, each visiting the other "to be mirrie", during which the Dutch, "did att large discourse of their vaige and fleet".<sup>119</sup> However, the sources rarely give an explicit indication of the language(s) used or any problems of comprehension. It is evident that the Company valued the experience of Dutch mariners and many were employed on Company voyages, just as Dutch investors supplied the English E.I.C. with capital. The Dutch language was not valued to the extent of the Iberian languages, and was rarely mentioned as an accomplishment in the court minutes. However, there were still Englishmen who could be found in the East Indies to make translations of Dutch documents. There were probably still a number of British soldiers who had served in the Netherlands during the period of anti-Spanish activity in the latter half of the sixteenth century.<sup>120</sup> Mercantile connections, particularly in the cloth trade, were strong between London and Holland. An 'Avizo' from Company employees Hugh Frayne to Nicholas Downton contains various detailed extracts from a number of reports. This includes a Dutch report from 1605 that had been translated by an unnamed factor at Bantam. That the translation was not performed by a native speaker is clear from the elisions where he was unsure of the literal meaning.<sup>121</sup> The availability of translators in Bantam is also indicated by Thomas Kerridge's enclosure of a Dutch letter to Thomas Aldworth and William Biddulph for translation.<sup>122</sup> During the Amboina 'Massacre' of 1623 Captain Christopher Newport acted as interpreter during the interrogations.<sup>123</sup> This episode could also reinforce the view that the Dutch had a stubborn reluctance to use Portuguese or Spanish. Alternately, the Dutch inquisitors may have merely taken advantage of the good fortune of Newport's presence.

Within the Hirado factory itself there is very little information to shed light on the linguistic interaction between Dutch and British. However, as previously noted, a number of references suggest that epistolary correspondence was conducted in Spanish. Saris never mentions any problems of translation among his many encounters with Dutchmen in the Malay and Indonesian archipelago. Saris could have picked up a smattering of Dutch during his earlier stay in Bantam between 1604 and 1609. For instance, he was able to deduce that the Dutch ship *Roode Leeuw* was called the 'Red Lion'.<sup>124</sup> However, the limitations of this form of translation are seen

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<sup>119</sup> Foster (ed.), *Thomas Best*, p. 155.

<sup>120</sup> Soldiers were often mentioned alongside merchants and travellers as men to whom a knowledge of modern languages was a necessity. Admittedly, these examples probably refer more to the gentleman soldier than the common serving man, who was probably content to learn his languages by ear. For references to soldiers studying French see *CSPC*, 1595-97, p. 173; 1601-03, pp. 11-18. Alongside merchants, soldiers were also prominent in translation work and the publishing of modern language manuals. See for instance the previously mentioned John Wodroep's, *The Spared houres of a souldier* (London, 1623).

<sup>121</sup> *Letters Received*, vol. 1, pp. 69-73.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 158.

<sup>123</sup> The East India Company, *A true relation of the univst, cruell, and barbarous proceedings against the English at Amboyna*, (London, 1624), sig. C 3. Newport had been born in England to a Dutch father.

<sup>124</sup> *Voyage*, p. 38. Captain Thomas Best similarly deduced *Groene Leeuw* as "Greene Lyon", Foster (ed.), *Thomas Best*, p. 48.

by Cocks' similar rendering of the *Rode Leeuw met Pijlen* as "Red Lyon w'th the Pile", instead of '...with arrows'.<sup>125</sup> However, the English sailors aboard the *Clove* seem to have understood and been offended by Dutch mocking songs and comments.<sup>126</sup> The fact that Cocks sent the youth Richard King to the Dutch because he was able to speak their language demonstrates that Cocks understood little or no Dutch but that there were Englishmen available with proficiency in the language.<sup>127</sup> The entry also seems to reinforce the impression that there were a number of Dutch officers and mariners who spoke no Spanish or Portuguese. On very rare occasions, Dutchmen could be found who spoke English. Jourdain noted that the Dutch factor of Hitu and Kambelo on Amboina had spent his youth in both London and Portugal and hence could speak both languages perfectly.<sup>128</sup> Jourdain also records a rare example of an East Indian native commanding the Dutch language. The man referred to was the son of the native governor of Hitu who had visited Holland in the past.<sup>129</sup> In Hirado Cocks also makes reference to a certain Dutchman, Mr Vaux, who spoke English and occasionally acted as an interpreter.<sup>130</sup> However, knowledge of each others languages amongst the English and Dutch was rare. Spanish (more so than Portuguese) was the usual medium of exchange.<sup>131</sup>

## 2. The Use of the Japanese Language

### Precedents for learning Local Languages

Prior to examining the evidence for any knowledge of Japanese among the British factors in Japan, it will be worthwhile to examine precedents for attempting to learn the local languages in the East Indies. It has been established that English was of no use either in the Indies or in continental Europe during this period. However, as we have shown, there is some evidence to suggest that linguistic skills were not universal amongst factors despite plenty of examples of factors speaking and writing Portuguese and/or Spanish. We have also noted the complexity of the linguistic makeup of the early modern East Indies. Although Portuguese was the main *lingua franca* there were many other useful and indeed essential languages in the region.

Competition for the position of factor on E.I.C. voyages was fierce. Many men even elected to be sent out to the Indies without wages on the hope that the high mortality rates would claim one of the merchants at an established factory and they would be able to fill the position. This was a practice of some antiquity and is referred to as early as December 1600.<sup>132</sup> However, the factors-in-waiting were not idle whilst in the Indies but rather tried to acquire the local language and hence increase their future

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<sup>125</sup> IOR: E/3/2 no. 155; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 198. The title is correctly interpreted as "Lyon with the arrows" by the contemporary translator of the Dutch merchant Peter Floris' journal, Moreland (ed.), *Peter Floris*, pp. 4, 64, 132. However, the translator does not appear to have been Dutch as indicated by his literal translation of Dutch idioms such as "a mightie cake of wind".

<sup>126</sup> *Voyage*, pp. 40, 45.

<sup>127</sup> *Diary*, vol. 2, pp. 105, 312.

<sup>128</sup> Foster (ed.), *John Jourdain*, p. 235.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 254-55.

<sup>130</sup> *Diary*, vol. 3, p. 125.

<sup>131</sup> E.g., *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 67; vol. 2, 342 (letters from Cocks to Specx where Spanish is clearly stated as the medium).

<sup>132</sup> *CSPC*, vol. 1, no.279. Such "voluntary men" as they were termed are continually mentioned in the court minutes. See *Ibid.*, vol. 1, nos 274, 397.



employability. The order given to Richard Rowles, captain of the *Union* in the Fourth voyage, to take on young men offered to the Company for future service, is presumably a reference to this practice.<sup>133</sup> The Company and individual servants did not urge the acquisition of local languages, rather than relying on Portuguese, through respect for local cultures.<sup>134</sup> A principal reason stemmed from distrust of *jurebassos*. In Achin William Nichols noted that *jurebassos* were “false knaves” who sought to wrong their employees.<sup>135</sup> While in Succadana Benjamin Farie complained that he was hindered by “not having the language nor [a] man of trust about me”.<sup>136</sup> There was also a fear that the straitjacket of Portuguese kept factors isolated from the actual goings-on of trade. The Rev. William Leske complained that in Surat the resident factors could only speak Italian, Spanish and Portuguese, languages which were admittedly understood by local merchants and a few local Hindu residents. Leske accused the natives of keeping the British isolated and ignorant of the true wholesale price of goods through their incomprehensible local languages.<sup>137</sup> There was a similar problem in North America. Captured Indians were unreliable and had a tendency to inform their countrymen that trade articles such as knives were worth little, leading to a deterioration in Anglo-Indian relations.<sup>138</sup> North American colonists also had a deep mistrust of boy interpreters who were seen to be sympathetic to the Indians. K. O. Kupperman identifies a deep-seated colonial belief that to be dependent or vulnerable was to invite treachery.<sup>139</sup> A major problem for the British was that the Portuguese had been long established in many Asian markets and that the available *jurebassos* had often been raised by the Catholic Church and thus were loyal to Portuguese interests.<sup>140</sup>

Even if *jurebassos* were honest there were often accusations that they adjusted the text of letters and speeches at will. This practice was not always intended to harm British interests but often seems to have been an attempt to adjust the cultural ambit of one world to fit into the respectful terms of another. For instance, Sir Thomas Roe, the first English ambassador to the Mughal court, complained that King James’ name would always be readjusted to appear before that of Jahangir in letters.<sup>141</sup> Roe reveals that translations at the Mughal court were performed either by fawning courtiers or English-hired brokers, both of whom sought to deliver the most mollifying message possible.<sup>142</sup> There was clearly a feeling of loss of control and suspicion that the translators were not delivering faithful messages for mendacious reasons or otherwise.

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<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 1, no. 386. The order is ambiguous, however, and could merely refer to knowledge of weights and measurements etc.

<sup>134</sup> Although commentators often noted that rulers preferred to hear factors speak a few broken sentences of the local language than work precisely through a *jurebasso*.

<sup>135</sup> *Letters Received*, vol. 6, p. 70.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 6, p. 56.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 5, p. 187.

<sup>138</sup> Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvellous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 108-09.

<sup>139</sup> Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians*, p. 131. This is also the argument of Fausz, “Middlemen in peace and war”.

<sup>140</sup> Consider Adams’ letter to his “unknown friends and countrymen” of October 1611. He relates how upon landing in Japan he was forced to rely on Japanese Christian translators “w’ch was not to our good, our deadly enemies being our truchmen”, IOR: E/3/1 no. 78; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 68.

<sup>141</sup> *Letters Received*, vol. 4, p. 13.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*

The problem was obvious to Roe and could only be solved by using “one of our own nation”.<sup>143</sup>

Perhaps the most commonly encountered non-European language amongst Company servants was Arabic. Arabic was particularly useful as many Muslims across a wide geographical area had at least some knowledge of it. During the early voyages to the East the language could provide a route into an otherwise impossible linguistic situation. For instance whilst in Java, Thomas Cavendish used a Muslim negro to converse with the natives through Arabic.<sup>144</sup> The negro was presumably picked up in West Africa and was either a born Muslim or had learned the language whilst in captivity. Knowledge of Arabic is often mentioned in the court minutes of the Company and in a number of practical instances in the East. For instance, Anthony Marlowe records how Captain William Keeling was able to gain information about Aden from Gujaratis “by the help of his Arabic tongue”.<sup>145</sup> In the Sixth Voyage Henry Middleton was accompanied by an Arabic speaker, John Williams.<sup>146</sup> In many areas Arabic was used alongside Portuguese and it was always profitable to have a speaker on hand.<sup>147</sup> It is often not revealed either in the court minutes or letters and journals how the men came about their knowledge. In the case of Portuguese merchants and sailors, this was often through capture in North Africa.<sup>148</sup> This may have been the case in the E.I.C. as Barbary pirates continued to raid Cornwall in this period. However, another likely source is the Barbary and Levant Companies that traded in Arabic speaking regions. A variety of other non-European languages are also noted in the E.I.C. sources. Peter Floris attests that John Jourdain could speak very good Persian, although we have no other evidence of this.<sup>149</sup> Although there is no information about how they learned these languages, we know that Richard Weldon spoke Ternaten and that the Kazak, Sophony Cozucke, spoke Bandanese.<sup>150</sup>

While it may be plausible that some of the E.I.C. factors acquired their European languages through the help of language manuals, this is extremely unlikely for the non-European languages. There has been almost no scholarly study of the acquisition of Eastern languages by merchants.<sup>151</sup> Louis B. Wright provides a short discussion of a number of early modern publications before concluding that the Company

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<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>144</sup> *Pilgrimes*, vol. 2, p. 179. Purchas adds a marginal stating that Arabic was common on the island.

<sup>145</sup> *Letters Received*, vol. 1, pp. 11-12. His linguistic skills evidently impressed Marlow as he mentions Keeling’s fluency in Arabic twice again in the same letter, *Ibid.* There are phrases such as, “Heere my Arabeck did us much pleasure” in Keeling’s own journals, *Pilgrims*, vol. 2, p. 518 and Michael Strachen and Bois Penrose (eds), *The East India Journals of Captain William Keeling and Master Thomas Bonner, 1615-17* (Minneapolis, 1971), pp. 92-101.

<sup>146</sup> *Pilgrimes*, vol. 3, p. 122. The translation of official documents and letters was carried out by academic specialists. A pass granting English trade in Ottoman realms was to be translated by the preacher Mr May “or some other skilful in that language”, *CSPC*, vol. 1, no. 420. There were obviously people available. The celebrated Arabist William Bedwell translated a letter from the king of Acheh to Queen Elizabeth I, *Ibid.*, no. 314.

<sup>147</sup> Farewell, *An East India Collation*, Sig. B7r-B8; *Pilgrimes*, vol. 3, p. 364.

<sup>148</sup> Silva Couto, “Some observations”, pp. 182-83; Soler, “The encounter of languages”, p. 209.

<sup>149</sup> Moreland (ed.), *Peter Floris*, p. 89n. This was on the report of a Malay sea captain who had recently been in Macassar. Jourdain had been in India from 1609-1612, were he would have had the opportunity to acquire the language.

<sup>150</sup> *Letters Received*, vol. 2, pp. 272, 308. One assumes that they were acquired by ear.

<sup>151</sup> Salmon, “Study of foreign languages”, pp. 177-78 illustrates how merchants took a prominent role in publishing non-European language manuals but her evidence stems from the later seventeenth century.

merchants were handicapped by a lack of aids for Eastern tongues.<sup>152</sup> Sir George Buck's treatise, *The Third Universitie of England*, provides some curious and dubious information about the opportunities for language learning in London, around 1615.<sup>153</sup> In setting out the vast range of subjects that could be studied in the capital, Buck provides a short chapter on languages. Apparently, in addition to the Latin and Greek of schools, one could find "Teachers and Professors" of Hebrew, Chaldean, Syriac, Arabic, Italian, Spanish, French, Polish, Persian, Morisco (presumably the Maghrebi dialect of Arabic), Turkish and the "Sclavonian tongue". However, the list did not end there: there could also be found many other languages necessary for ambassadors, travellers and merchants.<sup>154</sup> As has been discussed above, there is evidence of language masters teaching the main European languages to merchants. However, it appears extremely unlikely that teachers could be readily found for such an expansive range of languages as Buck claims. In the absence of any other evidence for this abundance of language teaching we must assume that Buck was exaggerating. Vivian Salmon initially accepts the information on non-European language teaching provided by Buck and ascribes it to private tutors.<sup>155</sup> However, she later admits that nothing is known of private tutors in Eastern languages during this period.<sup>156</sup> It is known, for instance, that the Arabist William Bedwell (1563-1632) gave private tuition to Edward Pococke at his country vicarage.<sup>157</sup> However, such facilities must have been confined to academics able to pay for private lessons. If they were used with any frequency by E.I.C. merchants one would expect to find references in the Court Minutes and other recommendations, but none have been found.

The only main work of relevance to the E.I.C. voyages was Augustine Spalding's translation of the Dutch linguist Gothard Arthus' Latin work on the Malay language.<sup>158</sup> This followed the standard language manuals of the day in presenting conversations with parallel English and Malay text. As may be expected, there is no guide to pronunciation or any attempt to define the parts of speech. However, the 78-page work contains much of relevance for merchants. The various dialogues cover the arrival of ships, victualing, money lending, asking directions and of course bargaining. Unlike any of the European language manuals, this book was intimately connected to the E.I.C.. Spalding was a Company servant at the time and had been chosen to correct and translate Arthus' text due to his 11 or 12-year experience in Bantam.<sup>159</sup> The volume is dedicated to Sir Thomas Smith, governor of the Company, who had been presented with the Latin original by Hakluyt.<sup>160</sup> Smith financed its translation "because of the special use and benefits which your [Smith] Factors and servants...may reape thereby".<sup>161</sup> Despite its promising introduction and obvious

<sup>152</sup> Wright, *Middle Class Culture*, p. 366.

<sup>153</sup> The pamphlet is appended to the 1615 edition of John Stow's, *The Annales or generall chronicles of England...* (London, 1598). Buck's dedication to Sir Edward Coke is dated 1612.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 983. John Eliot's *Ortho-Epia Gallic* (London, 1593), p. 67 also contains a dialogue in which a London bookseller is asked for the *koran* in Arabic, Salmon, "Arabists and linguists", p. 203.

<sup>155</sup> Salmon, "Study of foreign languages", p. 180.

<sup>156</sup> Salmon, "Arabists and linguists", p. 203. G. J. Toomer merely notes that Buck's comments are "interesting", *Eastern Wisdome and Learning*, p. 56n.

<sup>157</sup> Salmon, "Arabists and linguists", p. 195; Toomer, *Eastern Wisdome and Learning*, p. 63.

<sup>158</sup> Gothard Arthus, *Dialogues in the English and Malaiane langagues* trans Augustine Spalding (London, 1614). There are also dialogues in Malagasy, Dutch linguists having noticed the linguistic connection between Malay and the language of Madagascar.

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.*, Sig. ¶ 2v.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*, Sig. ¶ 2.

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*, Sig. ¶ 2v.

utility, its practical use was probably minimal. There were many factors who mastered Malay prior to Spalding's publication.<sup>162</sup> In addition there are no traceable allusions to the work in later E.I.C. sources, unlike the constant references to Linschoten's *Itinerario* for instance.

In general it must be assumed that those E.I.C. servants who acquired an Asian language learned it gradually by mixing with native speakers.<sup>163</sup> This is evident from an early date. The Court Minutes for 4 December 1601 record that the Dutch arrived back from Middleburg carrying prisoners detained for four years in the Indian Ocean. These included an Englishman who spoke the language of Sumatra.<sup>164</sup> A popular method of learning languages by ear was the drawing up of word lists. This was later practised by Adams who noted down useful phrases in his logs during voyages to South East Asia.<sup>165</sup> Such word lists were also popularly appended to travel accounts of various regions, including the East Indies.<sup>166</sup> Describing a Virginian voyage, James Rosier mentions in his preface to the reader that he had compiled a vocabulary of 400 or 500 words in the local Algonquin language. He had originally intended to publish it but was forced to suppress it through commercial considerations.<sup>167</sup>

### The use of the Japanese language

Having established the context of the E.I.C.'s need for speakers of Iberian languages and the abilities of a few servants to learn Eastern languages we can now turn to the evidence for British knowledge of Japanese. Contemporary Company servants' knowledge of Portuguese and Spanish was essential as the vast majority of Anglo-Japanese conversations took place through an Iberian language. It should also be initially stated that there are not voluminous references to the factory personnel speaking Japanese. Rather it is a case of reading between the lines and poring over statements and inferring that Japanese must have been the medium of communication in a number of circumstances. There are very few snapshot recollections of Japanese conversations presented in transliterated form. One of the only examples is Saris' observation that whilst on a court journey a group of children shouted "Coré Coré, Cocoré ware".<sup>168</sup> There are however a host of individual Japanese words and phrases in the Hirado documents that will be explored below.

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<sup>162</sup> See for instance *Letters Received*, vol. 1, pp. 5, 200; vol. 2, p. 272. Foster (ed.), *Thomas Best*, p. 180 *inter alia*.

<sup>163</sup> Rev William Leske writing from Surat acquainted long experience in a foreign country with ability to speak the local language and was a definite exponent of the "experience" school, *Letters Received*, vol. 5, pp. 178-79, 187.

<sup>164</sup> *CSPC*, vol. 1, no. 298.

<sup>165</sup> Bodleian Library: Savile Ms 48; Farrington, vol. 2, pp. 1071 (Ryūkyūan dialect of Japanese), 1126 (Cantonese), 1171-72 (Vietnamese phrases and numerals),

<sup>166</sup> E.g. Edmund Scott, *An Exact Discourse of the subtilties...of the East Indians* (London, 1606) and the Javanese terms in the journal of Cavendish's voyage printed in *Principall Navigations* (1589), p. 813.

<sup>167</sup> James Rosier, *A True Relation of the most prosperous voyage...in the discovery of the land of Virginia* (London, 1605), Sig. A2v.

<sup>168</sup> This notation has elicited a number of interpretations from historians familiar with the Japanese language. Sir Ernest Mason Satow, *Voyage*, p. 121n favours, "Kokoro warui" or "bad hearted", which follows Saris' own explanation. This interpretation is similarly followed by Farrington, vol. 2, p. 1028n, relying on Satow's notes. In distancing himself from Saris' apocryphal interpretation Massarella, *World Elsewhere*, p. 113 suggests simply, "Here, here! We're here!". The most sophisticated argument is that of Ronald Toby. Quoting from Michael Cooper's anthology, *They Came*,

The linguistic achievements of the British factory (and there were some) have been roundly ignored in its historiography. Derek Massarella, in stressing the importance of *jurebassos*, notes that there is little evidence that the English spoke much Japanese.<sup>169</sup> It is true that there is *little* evidence, but it does exist, and in enough quantity to invite analyses and conclusions, something that Massarella avoids. The whole question of linguistic exchange is ignored by Giles Milton in his recent study of William Adams.<sup>170</sup> In an attack on the English factory W. Z. Mulder argues that it only ever had a slim chance of success in Hirado due to Dutch competition and Cocks' ignorance of Japanese language and culture.<sup>171</sup> Whilst resisting joining the rather stale Hirado versus Uruga argument,<sup>172</sup> it may be noted that this is a surprisingly intemperate argument as Mulder later admits that the Dutch chief Jacques Speck was unfamiliar with Japanese.<sup>173</sup> While Cocks of course had no initial knowledge of Japanese, he does seem to have taken an active interest in the language. The evidence of his diary would suggest that he acquired a substantial vocabulary of Japanese terms. As we have examined earlier, all the British factors and Cocks in particular, employed a variety of Iberian terminology in their letters and journals. This can be taken as evidence, not only that they were obviously familiar with such terms but presumably employed them on regular occasions. They also expected their addressees to understand what they were talking about. Hence common vocabulary sheds light on at least some aspects of the linguistic makeup of a particular situation. In addition to Iberian phraseology, many East Indian letters reveal the use of Malay terms, again with the clear understanding that the correspondent would be in no doubt of the subject matter. For instance we find in the E.I.C. letters references to honorific terms such as *kay* and *arrakay*, the public assembly hall or *belay*, in addition to *kris*, the Malay knife with a wavy scalloped blade.<sup>174</sup> A letter from Ralph Coppendale to George Ball contains various Malay architectural terms with which he obviously

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Toby takes "Coré" to correspond to Korean (Jap. *Kōrai*; Kor. *Koryō*). This corresponds to Saris' original explanation of the interjection which has never been given much attention. The interpretation was presumably ignored on the logical basis that the Japanese could not have mistaken the Europeans for fellow Asians. This was particularly true as the encounter took place in Hakata, an area which had witnessed the passage of tens of thousands of Korean prisoners of war during Hideyoshi's campaigns of 1592-98. In 1613 many Koreans remained and were prominent in the ceramics industry. However, Toby's pioneering work on Japanese perceptions of others has revealed that at that time the Koreans were the primary Japanese 'Other' figure and that the term *Kōrai* could be used as an unspecific trope of alienation, "The 'Indianness' of Iberia and changing Japanese iconographies of Other", in Stuart B. Schwartz (ed.), *Implicit Understandings: Observing, Reporting, and Reflecting on the Encounters between Europeans and Other Peoples in the Early Modern Period* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 339-40. On this pioneering field see also, Ronald Toby, "Imagining and imaging: "anthropos" in early-modern Japan", *Visual Anthropology Review*, 14, 1 (1998), pp. 19-44 and Ronald Toby, "Three realms/myriad countries: an "ethnography" of Other and the re-bounding of Japan, 1550-1750" in Kai-Wing Chow *et al* (ed.), *Constructing Nationhood in Modern East Asia* (Ann Arbor, 2001), pp. 15-45.

<sup>169</sup> Massarella, *World Elsewhere*, p. 219.

<sup>170</sup> Milton, *Samurai William*.

<sup>171</sup> Mulder, *Hollanders*, p. 118.

<sup>172</sup> See for example *Voyage*, pp. xlv-xlv; Corr, *Adams the Pilot*, pp. 143-45.

<sup>173</sup> Mulder, *Hollanders*, p. 129. This is actually untrue, as the 'new' letter from John Osterwick characterises Speck as having "vnderstanding in the Customes & Language of the Countrie, & of the passage thereof", BL: Cotton Titus B VIII, f. 235, transcribed in Derek Massarella, "Ticklish points: the English East India Company and Japan, 1621", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Series 3, vol. 11, no. 1 (2001), p. 46. Previously known information from Cocks' diary had only noted Speck's familiarity with the *rōjū* and court experience, *Diary*, vol. 3, pp. 153, 158, 162.

<sup>174</sup> *Letters Received*, vol. 5, p. 313; vol. 6, p. 23.

expected Ball to be familiar.<sup>175</sup> Further examples can be found in many languages, such as Thomas Best's use of "Curicoone", the Hindustani *Kārkun*, meaning a secretary.<sup>176</sup>

There are a host of entries in Cocks' diary and the factory letters that conform to the above categorisation. Many Japanese proper names and objects appear in readily identifiable guises for the most part. For instance, the junk *Rokan* is written as "Roquan".<sup>177</sup> These allusions are handled in greater depth in the following chapter, as evidence for cultural assimilation into a Japanese lifestyle. Amongst the Japanese nouns in the factory letters and diaries, we find *tōki* (interlocking dishes), *daiku* (carpenter), *fune* (boat), *fro* (bathhouse) and *fannas* (a gift to an actor). There are also full (but not always accurate) references to Japanese weights, measures and currency. The pattern previously highlighted in Cocks' Iberian vocabulary is also evident in his employment of Japanese terms. Although single nouns are often found, Cocks and the others also use abstract terms and phrases, which are freely woven into their English sentence structure. Frequently mentioned is the taking of *danco* (*dangō* – consultation).<sup>178</sup> Without doubt, the most common Japanese term used was to describe actions as *Nifon catange* – after the Japanese fashion. The term was liberally applied to forms of etiquette believed to be quintessentially Japanese, such as ritualistic behaviour, carrying gifts to neighbours and being informed of the arrival of local nobility.<sup>179</sup> Although the evidence for Japanese vocabulary relies heavily on the figure of Cocks, it is clear that the other merchants also used Japanese terminology. Eaton describes carrying presents to Kasegawa Fuimasa "nefone cattanki" and often mentions the taking of *danco*.<sup>180</sup>

There is no record of any mass concerted study of the Japanese language by the British, along the lines of the Jesuit training colleges.<sup>181</sup> The British were in Japan for very different reasons, which did not require linguistic mastery for the purposes of theological debate or in order to gain the respect of the local population. For the most part the factory relied on native *jurebassos*. The reasons for learning rudimentary Japanese were probably very similar to those of other East Indian factories, namely the unreliability and distrust of *jurebassos*. The factors may well have remembered the details provided in Adams' letter of October 1611 to his "unknown friends and countrymen at Bantam".<sup>182</sup> Describing events following his shipwreck in Japan, Adams noted that the Nagasaki Jesuit and Japanese Christians who assisted him, "was not to our good, out deadly enemies being our truchmen [dragomen]".<sup>183</sup> Even when *jurebassos* were not explicitly distrusted, the factors may not have always wished to

<sup>175</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 5, pp. 313-315.

<sup>176</sup> Foster (ed.), *Thomas Best*, p. 68.

<sup>177</sup> IOR: E/3/2 no. 138; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 143.

<sup>178</sup> *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 23; vol. 2, pp. 126, 176; IOR: L/MAR/A/XXIV; Farrington, vol. 2, pp. 1098, 1147, 1149, 1150.

<sup>179</sup> *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 30, 33, 42, 60, 61 and *passim*. The phrase is extremely common in the diary.

<sup>180</sup> IOR: E/3/7 no. 811; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 761; IOR: L/MAR/A/XXIV; Farrington, vol. 2, pp. 1098, 1147, 1149, 1150.

<sup>181</sup> Jesuit novices were taught by Japanese brethren and aided by grammars and dictionaries made possible by Valignano's introduction of the printing press, Arimichi Ebisawa, "The meeting of cultures" in Cooper (ed.), *The Southern Barbarians*, p. 127.

<sup>182</sup> IOR: E/3/1 no. 78; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 68. The letter was read to the merchants of the Eighth Voyage in Bantam "that they might take notice of the hopes of that Countrey", *Pilgrimes*, vol. 3, p. 406.

<sup>183</sup> IOR: E/3/1 no. 78; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 68.

be accompanied by interpreters who would soon learn every detail of their business and private lives. No doubt this would have been a particular problem during factors' relations with consorts, which is handled in chapter 6.<sup>184</sup>

Probably from the very beginning and certainly in the later stages of the factory there were some exchanges in pidgin Japanese.<sup>185</sup> Of course at the time it was not known that the factory would be a transient venture, although this became clear in the final years of the enterprise. Hence it was presumably felt to be profitable to pick up at least some colloquial Japanese. It has to be remembered that Cocks was able to acquire French and Spanish during his shorter residence in Bayonne.<sup>186</sup> It is difficult to judge what sort of level of Japanese, if any, was spoken by the British residents in Hirado. No doubt they probably followed contemporary thinking in reasoning that if the basic words were right, they could be understood through English syntax and grammar.<sup>187</sup> It must be stressed that source material for assessing competence in Japanese is sparse. Despite this caveat, it is only fair to note that the inherent stylistic restrictions of the source material should not be taken as blanket evidence to prove that virtually no Japanese was spoken by the British. There are some scraps of information and various ancillary references that yield clues as to the linguistic situation in the English factory.

A. J. R. Russel-Wood notes how for early Portuguese adventurers an indigenous wife often provided a route into Asian and African languages.<sup>188</sup> A sexual partner aided the process of integration into a foreign society and culture. From what we can tell, every permanent member of the Hirado factory and many visiting personnel secured consorts. Although the relationships between mariners and prostitutes were doubtlessly transient, the core merchants actually developed long-term relationships with their women.<sup>189</sup> The details of their circumstances will be handled in a later chapter. However, a number of points may be noted in the context of language acquisition. The implications of these relationships for the integration of the factory members into Japanese life has never been fully appreciated. Whilst it is true that the women did not live in the factory itself, they do seem to have constantly interacted

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<sup>184</sup> Both Japanese and contemporary English sources characterised servants as conduits of their masters' financial and sexual affairs, Gary P. Leupp, *Servants, Shophands, and Laborers in the Cities of Tokugawa Japan* (Princeton, 1992), p. 109; Tim Meldrum, *Domestic Service and Gender, 1660-1750: Life and Work in the London Household* (London, 2000), pp. 34-35.

<sup>185</sup> From the better documented evidence of North America historians are starting to appreciate how pidgins were the most accessible and accurate form of communication. They were superior to the ambiguities of gestures and removed grammatical and syntactical difficulties that made 'pure' languages time consuming to learn. Pidgins also had a neutral quality of belonging to neither party involved in communication. In the case of North America pidgins developed from many languages such as English, Dutch, French, Basque and Spanish. See Axtel, "Babel of tongues", pp. 29-40 and Goddard, "Use of pidgins". It is not understood to what extent communication in Japan was facilitated through a contact pidgin or 'pure' Portuguese/Spanish. If a distinct pidgin existed who would expect to find evidence, which is conspicuously lacking.

<sup>186</sup> For Cocks' activities prior to joining the E.I.C. see Massarella, "The early career".

<sup>187</sup> Many of the contemporary manuscript North American Indian world lists and conversation samples are either grammarless or constructed on English grammar, Axtel, "Babel of tongues", p. 37.

<sup>188</sup> A. J. R. Russel-Wood, "For God, king and Mammon: The Portuguese outside of empire, 1480-1580", in Disney and Booth (eds), *Vasco da Gama*, p. 271. The subject of the factory's indigenous consorts is handled in ch. 6. The overlap between domestic service, sexual favours and language transition is stressed in Karttunen, *Between Worlds*, p. 250.

<sup>189</sup> However, see ch. 6 for some evidence that even mariners and non-mercantile personnel developed lasting, monogamous relationships.

with the factory members. They were certainly not just casual prostitutes. Although most of the women were natives of Hirado and probably spoke some Portuguese or Spanish, their linguistic skills were no doubt limited. They may or may not have been Christians but most bore native Japanese names, which contrasted with the contemporary practice of adopting an Iberian baptismal name. It should be noted that all of the handful of letters which survive from Japanese friends in Hirado to the British are written in Japanese rather than Spanish or Portuguese.<sup>190</sup> The merchants' relationships with their consorts were intensely private affairs and as such there is no record of the language used between them. However, perhaps historians should take more notice of Wickham's allegedly humorous remarks describing Neelson and Cocks' consorts as language tutors.<sup>191</sup>

*Jurebassos* were employed by the factory until its very end in December 1623. Hence it might appear that the merchants' language abilities never progressed far enough for them to be without ready translation services. However, this seems unlikely when viewed in the context of court protocol in Japan and the East Indies in general. One should not dismiss the possibility of the factors' linguistic ability just because *jurebassos* are recorded as being present at a particular audience. While in the Moluccas, Saris noted that a messenger acknowledged his ability to speak Malay but insisted on working through a *jurebasso* because of the accepted protocol.<sup>192</sup> The testimony of many European observers including those of the Hirado factory indicates that the Japanese were obsessed with ritual and formality. In direct relation to formal audiences, Adams noted that Saris experienced much wrangling about his attempts to personally hand over King James I's letter during his court journey of 1613.<sup>193</sup> It should also be remembered that the obviously fluent Adams was always accompanied at court by an official Japanese *jurebasso*.<sup>194</sup>

A case-study of the linguistic abilities of the survivors of *de Liefde*, the ship on which Adams arrived in Japan, is useful here, as it concerns near-contemporary events and men who presumably shared the limited educational grounding of the English factory personnel. It appears that all the known survivors of the Dutch ship achieved relative fluency in Japanese, at least to the extent that they had no problem communicating. Saris noted that Melchior van Saantvoord was "verye stayde and understanding, boath in the language as allso in traficke".<sup>195</sup> Adams was of course competent in the language as evinced by numerous references to his presence as a court interpreter.<sup>196</sup> In a letter Cocks reported that another survivor, Gilbert de Cunning "speaketh the language of this cuntrey p'fectlie", whilst the lost Firando Ledger B lists him as "a good linguist".<sup>197</sup> There was Jan Joosten who "speaketh the Japon languadg well" and helped Eaton in Edo after his *jurebasso* Miguel, "a knaue in graine", had betrayed

<sup>190</sup> BL: Cart. Cotton III. 13. XXXI. 28, ff. 47-54; Farrington, vol. 2, pp. 954-57.

<sup>191</sup> IOR: G/12/15 p. 6; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 163. IOR: G/12/15 p. 6; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 164.

<sup>192</sup> *Voyage*, p. 24. Although there is also a reference in another source to Company employee 'Signor Diego' "rashly speaking in Mallayes to the King", *Letters Received*, vol. 6, pp. 69, 78-79.

<sup>193</sup> IOR: E/3/1 no. 123; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 111.

<sup>194</sup> E.g., *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 302, 303, 308, 316-17, 320, 322. On 20 September 1616 Adams "went againe to the Court (w'th our jurebasso), *Ibid.*, p. 307.

<sup>195</sup> *Voyage*, p. 103.

<sup>196</sup> Adams' fluency is backed up by Iberian missionary reports. See Diego Aduarte's history in Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson (eds), *The Philippine Islands, 1498-1898*, 55 vols (Cleveland, Ohio, 1903-1905), vol. 32, p. 32.

<sup>197</sup> IOR: E/3/2 nos 189 & 201; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 227. Farrington, vol. 2, p. 1274.



him.<sup>198</sup> Specx's original factory personnel in 1609-10 included a former helmsman of *de Liefde* who was employed as a *jurebasso*.<sup>199</sup> Another survivor, Elbert Woutersen, was subsequently employed as a Dutch regional factor. He presumably spoke Japanese, although we have no specific evidence of this.<sup>200</sup>

The *de Liefde* survivors form a relevant case-study because of their evident similarities to the later staff of the English factory. Their educational backgrounds were presumably on a par with the British. The climate facing them between 1600 and 1613 was no more isolated than the years 1613-1623. There may have been no official northern European presence in Japan in the earlier decade, although Dutchmen and even Britons may have arrived on Iberian vessels, but there were plenty of Portuguese and Spaniards with whom the Dutch could interact. Indeed, given the greater tolerance towards missionaries and lack of restrictions on regional movements in that decade, the survivors may have had the opportunity to mix with the Iberians to a greater extent than in 1613-1623. Adams and the Hollanders were able to acquire reasonable fluency in Japanese in the time before the arrival of the Dutch and English ships in 1609 and 1613 respectively. Therefore it seems likely that in their ten-year abode the British may also have picked up a reasonable command of the language. Of course, it could be argued that acting as independent traders, the *de Liefde* men were not burdened with various official correspondence, precise accounting etc., which filled up the hours of later V.O.C. and E.I.C. employees. The corollary is that the survivors had far more free time to concentrate on learning Japanese. However, for the average merchant it is doubtful that the language was acquired by means of formal lessons and vocabulary drills. Acquisition was presumably far more a case of a casual and arbitrary absorption of key phrases and terminology. The previously-noted evidence of the Hirado factory logbooks illustrate how crew members on trading voyages noted down apposite commands and greetings. The stress was evidently upon practicality rather than grammatical niceties.

The suggestion that later factory employees would have been too burdened with official duties to pursue language acquisition is directly contradicted on at least two fronts. It is clear from factory letters and Cocks' diary that both a dismal trading climate and an excess of manpower left many employees with a lot of time on their hands. Although this time was characteristically filled with whoring and drinking, the opportunity was certainly there to pick up the Japanese language. The second point is the example of men such as the future Dutch *opperhoofd*, François Caron. Caron also provides a relevant case-study, with the advantage that he was directly contemporary with the time-scale of the English factory in Hirado. Caron arrived in Hirado no earlier than 1619, in V.O.C. employ in a humble post as a cook's mate aboard ship. However, by 1627 he was competent enough in Japanese to be employed as an interpreter on Pieter Nuyts' court journey of the same year and to later gain employment in the same capacity under Nuyts in Formosa.<sup>201</sup> Whilst it is true that

<sup>198</sup> Kent Records Office, Sackville Ms ON. 6013; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 778. *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 61.

<sup>199</sup> Mulder, *Hollanders*, pp. 150-51. The helmsman is not mentioned in Oskar Nachod's account of the early years, *Die Beziehungen der Niederländischen Ostindischen Kompagnie zu Japan im Siebzehnten Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1897), pp. 141-157.

<sup>200</sup> He is mentioned as "S'n Albertus" in a number of factory letters, e.g., IOR: E/3/1 no. 137; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 142, IOR: E/3/1, p. 140; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 145, IOR: E/3/4 no. 358; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 408, *inter alia*.

<sup>201</sup> C. R. Boxer (ed.), *A True Description of the Mighty Kingdoms of Japan and Siam* (London, 1935), pp. xvi, xvii.

Caron's initially lowly occupation probably left him with more free time than a more senior merchant, he nevertheless provides an example of what could be achieved in eight years. There were also many other European individuals in the Hirado and Nagasaki locality who evidently were able to communicate in Japanese.<sup>202</sup> As private traders it seems inconceivable that these Europeans were unable to talk to their customers.

It is clear that all the survivors of *de Liefde*, about whom there is any information, achieved fluency in Japanese. Given their social, educational and residential similarity to the later British, there is no reason to discount the possibility that the later factory employees could have achieved a competent level of Japanese. Caron's example of fluency in a maximum of eight years fits within the ten-year duration of the English factory and takes into account the official duties which faced both trading organisations. In addition, various comments in the Hirado sources hint that there was sufficient 'leisure' time to enable the British employees to practice their linguistic skills. Given the constant objections raised concerning the unreliability of *jurebassos* and their possible collusion with the Matsuura/*bakufu*, any Japanese language that could be picked up must have seemed an advantage. As will be shown below, the regional factors tried to rely on native translators as infrequently as circumstances allowed.

W. Z. Mulder opines that a number of Dutch personnel would have been proficient in colloquial Japanese during the Hirado period.<sup>203</sup> However, they would have been little use in the court audiences, where the abstruse *reigon*, or courtly speech, would have been beyond their grasp. Hence, the continued need for Portuguese-speaking Japanese interpreters. As further evidence for the acquisition of Japanese it is worth remembering Engelbert Kaempfer's description from the 1690s of a shogunal audience being entertained by the Dutch speaking broken Japanese. Hence, even in the restricted environment of Deshima, Dutch personnel were still able to learn basic Japanese.

The absence of references to knowledge of the Japanese language in Cocks' annual letters to the Company, most of which apparently survive is surprising. Such an apparent bonus to the Company would presumably have been relayed back to London, although Adams' linguistic ability is rarely noted in the E.I.C. sources. That is not to suggest that the Company directors were not fully aware of the usefulness of Adams' linguistic ability, which presumably accounted for his much higher salary compared to those of Saris and Cocks. It should be noted, however, that although Caron includes a small discussion of the Japanese language in his *Description*, he makes no mention whatsoever of his own proficiency.<sup>204</sup> Therefore stylistic conventions may account in part for the paucity of references to linguistic competence in surviving English accounts. The fact that both the Dutch and British knowledge of colloquial Japanese was of virtually no facility in the important *bakufu* audiences may also possibly account for the virtual absence from the historical record of any

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<sup>202</sup> For instance Saris notes the employment of an unidentified Spaniard as a *jurebasso* in July 1613, *Voyage*, p. 95. This was certainly not the Spanish Hernando Ximines who had been picked up in Bantam as he is described as a stranger. Independent traders such as Jorge Durois and Pedro Garrocho also spoke Japanese.

<sup>203</sup> Mulder, *Hollanders*, p. 95.

<sup>204</sup> Boxer, *True Description*, pp. 56-7.

reference to their language skills. Consider Cocks' specific mention that Gilbert de Cuning had access to the shogun if needed (and hence was presumably fluent enough to handle a *bafuku* audience).<sup>205</sup> It is possible that Jacques Specx and Cocks may not have particularly valued basic conversational Japanese at an official level because they were really only able to replicate the role played by existing native *jurebassos*. Hence, while it may have been a bonus on a personal level, it was not of sufficient value to the Company to merit an inclusion in the annual homeward-bound letters.

What of the actual written evidence of knowledge of Japanese amongst the British factors? As previously stated there is very little and what is known emerges by inference rather than conclusive affirmation. Of course the aim of the inter-personnel letters was not to discuss linguistic ability; the factory members would have been aware of each other's talents or lack of them. Similarly the ability to speak Spanish or Portuguese is rarely explicitly declared in the sources, although their use is logically beyond doubt. Of course, we know far more about the linguistic pursuits of the Jesuits because of the didactic nature of their source material. Competence in Japanese was central to their apostolic enterprise. By contrast, the nature of the English sources restricts their value in this instance, although some tangible clues do surface.

One obvious stimulus for the factors to acquire and use Japanese was the fact that their *jurebassos* were sometimes absent. Although regional representatives were provided with interpreters, the factors seem to have utilised the *jurebassos* as general servants. This practice led to their periodic absence from the regional factories, whilst they carried out errand duties, financial transactions, supervised deliveries and carried letters. The isolation in Kyōto, Edo, Sakai and elsewhere would have been considerable for the British factors even without the loss of their interpreters. It does not require a large leap of the imagination to believe that insulated within a sea of monoglot Japanese, the British would have had a considerable stimulus to acquire the local language. Inga Clendinnen reveals that even Spanish settlers within a colonial framework in the Yucatan eventually had to learn at least a few words of Mayan to deal with the monoglot labourers that flowed into towns and cities.<sup>206</sup> Everyday communication in the early Virginian colonies was also facilitated through a mixture of Indians trained in English in England, natives who had learned in their homeland and bilingual settlers and adventurers.<sup>207</sup> Whilst it is true that the Dutch also dispatched regional factors to the same destinations as the British, competition and general hostility probably limited any interaction. Neither the Dutch personnel nor Iberian private traders are often mentioned in the surviving letters. Although it has been shown that *jurebassos* could be found in Edo and the Kinai region, in general the population would have had little knowledge, if any, of the Iberian tongues. Hence, it may be fair to argue that the regional factors had both the opportunity and stimulus to pick up a working command of Japanese, at least to serve them whilst their *jurebassos* were absent.

There appears to be fairly clear evidence of the English factor Richard Wickham's competence in Japanese. In July 1616, after two years of virtual isolation from Europeans, Wickham felt confident enough to seriously consider dismissing Co John,

<sup>205</sup> IOR: E/3/2 nos 189 and 201; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 227.

<sup>206</sup> Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquests*, p. 43.

<sup>207</sup> Alden T. Vaughan, "Sir Walter Raleigh's Indian interpreters, 1584-1618", *William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, vol. LIX, no. 2 (2002), p. 375.

his interpreter, as being more of a hindrance than a help. His comment is laden with meaning; “hereafter, God willing, I will never use *jurebasso*[s] except to speake to great p’sonages, with whom, for ought I know yet, I have nothing to doe”.<sup>208</sup> Wickham clearly no longer required an interpreter for non-specific daily business. While the stimulus for the remark was Co John’s mendacity, Wickham inadvertently reveals his command of Japanese. There is no other way to interpret the declaration. If he would no longer use *jurebassos*, who else would translate? The statement conforms with what is known about contemporary European knowledge of Japanese. Wickham could apparently function within the realms of colloquial Japanese but the formal honorific language escaped him, as it did his mercantile contemporaries. Wickham also clearly knew enough Japanese, even by early 1615 to distinguish between the mainland variety and the dialect found on the Ryūkyū islands.<sup>209</sup>

There is also a suggestion of knowledge of the Japanese language in one of Cocks’ letters. As previously noted, the diverse vocabulary found within Cocks’ diary suggests that he at least had an interest in Japanese terminology and made efforts to use his acquired vocabulary. The particular incident which casts light upon his ability in Japanese is recorded in a letter to Sir Thomas Wilson of 10 March 1620.<sup>210</sup> The letter mentions Cocks’ visiting of the shogun Hidetada in Kyōto as part of the court journey undertaken in 1619, to petition the ruler about Dutch abuses in Hirado. Cocks found Portuguese and Spaniards present on their own journeys of tribute. Also at court was a Hollander, who is unnamed but is obviously Jan Joosten. The Dutchman was in the process of boasting to the Japanese about the magnificence of the Dutch ‘king’, who was the greatest in Christendom and held sway over all other rulers. The monologue was delivered within Cocks’ earshot rather than openly in front of him. Upon hearing the speech Cocks reproved Joosten that the Dutch had no king and that if he wished to praise any monarch it should be King James I, without whom they would have no liberty. This apparently left Joosten speechless and caused hilarity amongst the assembled Iberians.

The significance of this story lies in the peripheral details provided by Cocks. Joosten had evidently made his speech to members of the Japanese court, because it was not openly in front of Cocks and he would obviously not have tried to pass off the tales to the Iberian contingent. In support of this Cocks had already noted that, having lived in Japan for twenty years, Joosten “speaketh the Japon languadg well”.<sup>211</sup> The crucial point is Cocks’ opinion that Joosten had shamelessly continued his monologue “he littell thinking that we hadd understood what he said”.<sup>212</sup> Although the details are slightly clouded because we only possess Cocks’ version of events, the essentials of the story are clear-cut: Joosten’s boast was delivered in Japanese to various court members during an informal interlude; the Hollander felt confident in his tale because he believed that none of the Europeans would understand his words; Cocks somehow understood the boast and deflated Joosten to the general amusement of all. The story was evidently included for the amusement of Wilson, Cocks’ patron, and is not

<sup>208</sup> IOR: G/12/15 p. 37; Farrington, vol. 1, pp. 440-41.

<sup>209</sup> He noted this upon arriving in the island group, IOR: E/3/2 no. 216; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 274.

Adams also made phonetic notations of the dialect in his logbook for the voyage, Bodleian Library: Savile Ms 48; Farrington, vol. 2, p. 1071.

<sup>210</sup> Kent Record Office: Sackville MS ON. 6013; Farrington, vol. 1, pp.777-782.

<sup>211</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 778.

<sup>212</sup> *Ibid.*

mentioned in his other more formal contemporary letters to the E.I.C. and the Clothworkers' Company.<sup>213</sup> A fascicle of Cocks' diary is missing between January 1619 and December 1620, so there is unfortunately no supplementary information on the incident.

The reference in Cocks' letter to Wilson makes the author the central character of the affair. Although it was Cocks who subsequently denounced Joosten, he is not specific about who understood the Dutchman's words. The truth may have been that one of the Iberians picked up on the boast or Cocks was informed by a *jurebasso*. As previously stated, native *jurebassos* were an essential feature of courtly audiences even among Europeans with a reasonable command of Japanese. The British retinue always travelled with them. That said, it would be difficult to understand Joosten's surprise at being discovered if Cocks had been accompanied by an interpreter at that particular time. The scene appears to have been an informal pause, which was a fairly common event in the lengthy court ceremonies. The actual audiences were relatively brief. The vast amount of time spent by the European traders at court was accounted for by their being constantly delayed and required to wait for weeks on end for an audience.<sup>214</sup> In the light of Joosten's hubris, the presence of *jurebassos* must be discounted in the scenario. Cocks' accent is upon a fall from grace due to Joosten's arrogance in his own linguistic prowess. The presence of British and presumably Iberian interpreters would have undermined this confidence.

If we take Cocks' story literally, and there is no alternative in the absence of supplementary sources, then it seems to provide evidence of Cocks' moderate command of colloquial Japanese. Whatever the truth of the 'discoverer', Cocks mentions no third party and as it was he who reaped the prestige of mocking Joosten, it seems logical to conclude that it was Cocks who interpreted his boast. There is another reference worth considering, although it is more ambiguous in nature than the previous example. This concerns a letter from an Ōsaka *kabuki* girl, 'Taganō' to Cocks, anticipating his return to the city. There is evidence that Cocks had seen the girl over a number of years during the annual journey to court.<sup>215</sup> The key comment is 'Taganō's' statement: "Then I will come to you and talk about many things with you".<sup>216</sup> As an Ōsaka *kabuki* performer distant from the more European-influenced Kyūshū, it is extremely unlikely that the girl spoke Portuguese. Whilst the use of a *jurebasso* cannot be ruled out for such occasions, it would have represented a considerable inconvenience and loss of intimacy. It should be noted that there are never any difficulties of communication mentioned in the context of relations with *kabuki* girls and consorts.

### Richard Hudson: A Case of Formal Instruction in Japanese?

<sup>213</sup> IOR: E/3/7 no. 839; Farrington, vol. 1, pp. 775-76, IOR: E/3/7 no. 841; Farrington, vol. 1, pp. 783-94.

<sup>214</sup> In January 1617 Cocks wrote to the Company reporting that although he had been received in audience five days after arriving at court, he could not apply for renewal of the trading privileges until over a month later. IOR: E/3/3 no. 342A; Farrington, vol. 1, pp. 553-554. The situation was similar in India. Referring to the Emperor Jahangir's behaviour, Thomas Kerridge remarked "it standeth not with his greatness to dispatch suits speedily", *Letters Received*, vol. 1, p. 278.

<sup>215</sup> For further details see ch. 6.

<sup>216</sup> IOR: E/3/6 no. 749; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 739. The letter is in Japanese.

The case of Richard Hudson is one of the most interesting and revealing episodes in the history of the English factory in Japan. In 1616 Hudson, a youth who had arrived on the *Hozlander*, was dispatched by Cocks to Kyōto in order to receive formal lessons in Japanese. Although he stayed in Kyōto for six-months, the project was ultimately unsuccessful due to the *bakufu*'s revision of the Dutch and English trading privileges, which confined the European presence to Hirado and Nagasaki. The affair is extremely important in considering the issue of whether the British knew Japanese or not. However, as we shall see, many of the details concerning the circumstances of Hudson's training in contemporary sources are cryptic to say the least. Hudson's education certainly provides a fascinating insight into a little known aspect of the early modern merchant mentality yet the implications of the incident have been completely ignored by historians.<sup>217</sup>

Following the death of the Arctic explorer Henry Hudson, his impoverished wife Katherine petitioned the Company for the employment of her son, Richard in 1613. The Court Minutes record that the Company felt an obligation due to Henry Hudson's death in the service of the Crown and subsequently accepted Richard. He was placed under the care of John Hunt, master of the *Samaritan* in the Third Voyage of Joint Stock, and five pounds provided for his apparel and necessaries.<sup>218</sup> Although described as a youth in the first reference, there are no specific references to Hudson's age at the time of his employment. However, he was still being referred to as a 'bare youth' several years later in Japan, and hence was evidently very young when first accepted into Company employment. The Court Minutes make no mention of their intention of sending him to the East in order to learn languages, although contemporaries believed that young people were particularly well-equipped to learn languages and Thomas Kerridge and Thomas Rastel informed the Company that the Dutch had left many youths to act as linguists at Surat.<sup>219</sup> Hudson sailed out to Bantam where, along with John Hunt, he transferred to the *Hozlander*, which eventually brought him to Japan in August 1615.

After a six-month stay in Hirado the *Hozlander* returned to Bantam. However, it was decided to leave John Osterwick as book keeper, John Coker as cook and also the boy Richard Hudson.<sup>220</sup> As argued in appendix 2, the main problem of tracing Hudson's movements is that he was such a peripheral and insignificant figure. The fact that he remained in Hirado is not mentioned in Cocks' diary and the only contemporary reference is the journal of his guardian Master John Hunt.<sup>221</sup> However, this otherwise bare reference is significant in clarifying that even at this early stage Hudson was to be left at Hirado to learn the language. Although Massarella is laconic about the subject, his references to the common policy of the contemporary Company to send boys to the East to learn languages, suggests that Hudson was employed by the Company for this express purpose.<sup>222</sup> On the contrary I believe that Hudson's linguistic attempts were a project of Cocks', which failed due to circumstances

<sup>217</sup> See appendix 2 for the historical treatment (or lack of it) of the case and a discussion of the admittedly confusing evidence for Hudson's study of Japanese.

<sup>218</sup> *CSPC*, vol. 1, nos 709, 711.

<sup>219</sup> *Letters Received*, vol. 6, p. 163. The practice came to be firmly established in the Atlantic colonies, Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians*, p. 45; Fausz, "Middlemen in peace and war", pp. 41-64. Raleigh left two English boys with the Indians in Guiana, Whitehead (ed.), *The Discoverie*, p. 185.

<sup>220</sup> *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 188.

<sup>221</sup> IOR: L/MAR/A/XXIII; Farrington, vol. 2, p. 1046.

<sup>222</sup> Massarella, *World Elsewhere*, p. 174.

beyond his control. Firstly, there is no mention in the Court Minutes of the E.I.C. of their intention to have Hudson soak up the languages of the East. The two single references to his employment suggest, on the contrary, an act of charity towards his mother, after the loss of Henry Hudson and his elder son.<sup>223</sup> The Court Minutes are normally detailed about the intentions of employees and their particular instructions. There are references to 'Indians' being educated and brought up in the Christian religion at the Company's expense.<sup>224</sup> There is nothing like this in the case of Hudson. The notices are very short and one has the sense that he was treated as normal cabin boy. At the time of Hudson's employment the Company had recently converted to Joint-Stock voyages and was dispatching a number of fleets a year. There does not seem to have been any particular attention paid to Hudson at all. Similarly, the commission given to David Middleton, general of the fleet which included the *Samaritan*, makes no mention either in specific or general terms of leaving a boy in the East to learn the local language.<sup>225</sup> Neither is there any evidence of this intention in the Company letters addressed to Japan and Bantam.

It can be gathered from a number of peripheral comments that Hudson accompanied Wickham to Kyōto on 11 March 1616, when the latter returned to manage the out-factory.<sup>226</sup> It is strange that the dispatch of Hudson to learn Japanese according to Cocks' personal project is not recorded in his diary.<sup>227</sup> Neither are there any surviving references to Hudson's journey. Yet a number of fascinating facts emerge from later references. Although sometimes abstruse, the sources reveal that not only did Hudson embark on learning an Asian language through immersion, he also received formal tuition in reading and writing Japanese.

As argued earlier, it is probable that in general the men employed by the E.I.C. gained their linguistic competence through direct contact with Spanish or Portuguese in the host country or in colonial outpost of the Indies. By studying the Court Minutes, which usually mention the linguistic expertise of particular factors considered for nomination, it appears that languages were learned whilst travelling or trading on the continent or aboard Iberian ships. A major problem for the historian is that the Court Minutes rarely record the previous careers of Company employees in any detail. Hence it is difficult to gather details about their activities prior to E.I.C. employ, when they presumably acquired the languages for which they were valued.<sup>228</sup> For instance, although the details are hazy, prior to his captaining of the first E.I.C. voyage to the Indies, James Lancaster is believed to have served as a soldier and later a merchant in Portugal.<sup>229</sup> Although one cannot rule out the fact that merchants may have made use of linguistic primers prior to venturing to the continent, with the E.I.C. sources at least, there appears to be little evidence to support this theory. Learning by ear must have been particularly common in the East, where linguistic aids, if available, were in

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<sup>223</sup> *CSPC*, vol. 1, nos 709-711.

<sup>224</sup> Foster (ed.), *Thomas Best*, p. 156. Patrick Copland, *Virginia's God be thanked...* (London, 1622), sig. A1.

<sup>225</sup> George Birdwood (ed.), *The First Letter Book of the East India Company, 1600-1619* (London, 1893), pp. 452-455.

<sup>226</sup> *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 216; BL: Cotton Vesp. F. XVII; Farrington, vol. 2, pp. 1427, 1430; IOR: E/3/4 no. 355; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 402; IOR: G/12/15, p. 51; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 505.

<sup>227</sup> *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 195.

<sup>228</sup> Some of the men who later found employment in the Indies (including Cocks) can be traced in Pauline Croft, "The Spanish Company", *London Records Society*, vol. IX (1973).

<sup>229</sup> Birdwood (ed.), *First Letter Book*, p. 2n.

the hands of the missionary enemies. As previously explained, the extent of utilization of word lists is unclear as they rarely survive and are infrequently referred to in sources.<sup>230</sup> I would therefore argue that in his reception of formal tuition, Hudson was following a radically different and innovative process. To my knowledge this process has never been elucidated by historians.

Although the reception of formal tuition is never clearly stated in the Hirado sources, there are a number of pieces of evidence which support its provenance. If we examine Cocks' letter to the Company of 1 January 1617, there is a striking comment by Cocks. There are three similar versions of the letter of which two differ very slightly over the intention to place Hudson in Kyōto. The first notes that Cocks "would have left Richard Hudson...to have learned to write the Japans", whilst the second is phrased differently, "...learned to have written & spoaken the Japon tounge".<sup>231</sup> Although the different versions of the letter feature slightly different wording, the common theme of gaining proficiency in written Japanese occurs in both versions and is solely mentioned in one. Prior to December 1616 Cocks had had numerous letters translated into Japanese, both private and official correspondence. He understood the value of literary Japanese, which even Adams, Joosten and the other *de Liefde* survivors were unable to utilise. Given British fears about the duplicity of *jurebassos* and occasional difficulties in obtaining a translator for the court language, a factory member able to write and translate Japanese would surely have been advantageous.<sup>232</sup> In a letter to Wickham of December 1614, Cocks demonstrated that he already understood Japanese to be composed of ideograms, as opposed to an alphabetic writing system, when he referred to "Japan carectors".<sup>233</sup> In the same year he also sent Japanese 'almanacs' to his friends in England, drawing their attention to the printed characters, which obviously interested him.<sup>234</sup> Cocks would have understood that the complex writing system could not be merely picked up through direct contact with Japanese people. It had to be formally learned, as it was by Japanese children.<sup>235</sup> There could be no question of Hudson achieving proficiency in written Japanese by chance. Formal instruction must have been involved.

There is also a very revealing remark in Wickham's letter to Osterwick of 22 September, 1616. It is worth quoting the sentence verbatim: "[P]oore Dicke Hudson is like to be turned out of doors by the decemvirs of the street where he liveth in Meaco".<sup>236</sup> The 'decemvirs', or 'ten-men', seems to be a confused reference to the Japanese ward system, the *goningumi*.<sup>237</sup> This was a system of communal responsibility, in which an appointed headman would report to magistrates within the

<sup>230</sup> Cf. Adams' vocabulary lists.

<sup>231</sup> IOR: E/3/3 no. 342A. IOR: E/3/4 no. 424; Farrington, vol. 1, pp. 555, 566n.

<sup>232</sup> The problems of epistolary correspondence are discussed below, pp. 140-45.

<sup>233</sup> IOR: E/3/2 no. 197A; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 244. This concept had been grasped during Saris' six month stay as noted in a marginal in the previously ignored 1617 edition of *Purchas his Pilgrimage*, p. 669.

<sup>234</sup> IOR: E/3/2 no. 202; Farrington, vol. 1., p. 251. PRO: CO 77/1 nos. 42 & 43; *Ibid.*, pp. 260, 265.

<sup>235</sup> One of the 'topsy-turvydoms' commonly noted in contemporary literature on Japan was that children learned to write before learning to read.

<sup>236</sup> IOR: G/12/15, p. 51; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 505.

<sup>237</sup> The *Gonin-guni* was actually a five household system. It is briefly described in Louis G. Perez *Daily Life in Early Modern Japan* (West Port, Connecticut, 2002), p. 133. The application of the system is considered in more detail in Wigmore (ed), *Law and Justice*, pp. 44-45. Cocks uses "desemvery" in reference to kinsmen and followers in *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 49.



area. In addition to its administrative function, the ward system encouraged neighbours to search out any legal transgressions within their ward, as all members would be punished for the crimes of one.<sup>238</sup> This single comment reveals that Hudson did not live with Wickham in the English lodgings but was rather considered a part of the ward in Kyōto. Hudson's detachment from Wickham would also explain his complete absence from Wickham's letters between April and September, 1616. The sole reference to the boy within this period is his mention as a courier of conserves by Eaton.<sup>239</sup> This single sentence in Wickham's letter to Osterwick casts light upon Cocks' intentions for Hudson. Although he accompanied Wickham to Kyōto, he was evidently not placed there merely to assist the older factor and perhaps pick up some Japanese as a bonus. Hudson's living in isolation from the regional factory suggests that language acquisition was the primary purpose of his presence in Kyōto. The aforementioned letter from Eaton, referring to Hudson carrying a jar of conserves, is the sole mention of the boy performing menial tasks; *jurebassos* and servants were the usual couriers. Placed alongside Cocks' later reference to his intention to have Hudson learn to write Japanese, it seems increasingly likely that formal tuition was received, given Hudson's abstention from factory duties.

Perhaps the most compelling piece of evidence for Hudson receiving formal tuition in Japanese is an obscure notice in Cocks' diary, covering the court journey of the autumn and winter of 1616. As with the other pieces of evidence in the case of Hudson, taken on its own the meaning can be ambiguous. However, when collated with the other disparate references, the likelihood of Hudson receiving formal tuition becomes increasingly strong. The reference relates to a payment, and this first requires some explanation of financial arrangements among the factors. Characteristically, factors paid out for various expenses on the court journeys from whatever money they happened to be carrying. The expense was noted down and they were subsequently recompensed. In the complicated system of finance, this money was usually attached to their regional factories and had often been borrowed by the factors against the future payment of wages. For instance, as Cocks' retinue passed through Kyōto, Wickham, who was already stationed there, paid for a bark and mariners. Wickham also lent the Matsuura's surgeon five *taels* on Company account. On 13 August 1616 he paid out 100 *taels* to Adams and 200 *taels* to Eaton, presumably using the profits of the branch factories of the Kinai.<sup>240</sup> Hence, payments by various factory members for expenses occurring on court journeys should not be viewed as personal expenditure but rather money put to Company account. It is in the context of this knowledge that we should view a remarkable entry in Wickham's payments of 8 November, 1616.

While recording various expenses incurred in Kyōto on the return journey to Hirado, Cocks continues "And Mr. Wickham reconed w'th Ric'd [blank] [blank] mr., & paid hym [blank] for his diet, & 10 taies for teaching hym halfe a yeare".<sup>241</sup> When taken alone the entry is nebulous and impenetrable due to the gaps. There is no manuscript damage; blank spaces are common in Cocks' diary.<sup>242</sup> They characteristically occur in

<sup>238</sup> However, Louis Perez notes the converse that each member covered up the crimes of the others, *Daily Life*, p. 133.

<sup>239</sup> IOR: E/3/4/ no. 355; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 402.

<sup>240</sup> *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 279, 282-3. See also p. 340.

<sup>241</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 342.

<sup>242</sup> See *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 16, 39, 42, 43, 55, 57, 62, 74, 75, 76, 77, 84, *inter alia*.

reference to sums of money or Japanese terms about which Cocks' memory temporarily failed him. However, gaps in the text are also found in relation to personal names, both Japanese and European, again indicating a memory lapse.<sup>243</sup> Cocks evidently only intended the lacunae to be temporary, as the evidence of different coloured ink and irregular spacing indicates that he often filled in gaps months after their original entry. However, in this particular case he obviously did not return to the entry.

Based on the evidence previously cited for Hudson receiving formal instruction, I would suggest a tentative reconstruction of the text as follows: "And Mr. Wickham reconed w'th Ric'd [Hudson his] mr., & paid hym...". The reconstruction would fit contemporary syntax, as in *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, and was a genitive construction used by Cocks throughout his letters and diary.<sup>244</sup> It would initially seem strange that Cocks did not recall Richard Hudson's surname. However, several factors must be born in mind. The news of Henry Hudson's failure to discover the North-Western passage only arrived in England in 1611, the date of the *Clove's* departure for Japan. Henry Hudson is remembered by history but there is little evidence that he was a particularly prominent figure to his immediate contemporaries. His fame presumably blossomed following the publication of narratives of his voyage by Purchas. Indeed, Ernest C. Abbe and Frank J. Gillis argue that although Purchas had included narratives of Hudson's voyage in the first three editions of *Purchas his Pilgrimage*, it was not until the preparation of *Pilgrimes* (1625-6) that he was able to use more detailed information.<sup>245</sup> The Court Minutes of the E.I.C. do record that they employed Richard Hudson out of a feeling of obligation towards his father who had died in the service of England. However, the wording is prosaic and there is no reason to assume that Richard Hudson was elevated above the status of any other serving boy. In his letter to the Company of 1 January 1617, Cocks describes the Hudson as, "Richard Hudson, a boye, your Wor' servant".<sup>246</sup> The phraseology does not imply an immediately recognisable figure and Cocks evidently believed that further elucidations upon his name were necessary for clarity.

It will be remembered that Cocks did not record Hudson's retention by the Hirado factory, although his companions, Osterwick and John Coker are both noted.<sup>247</sup> While the *Hozlander* was at anchor in Hirado, Hudson presumably spent most of his time aboard ship, as was usual for mariners, in order to limit trouble on shore. He is not mentioned at all in the diary during these months, August, 1615 – February, 1616. As a humble serving boy amongst a large crew, Hudson would presumably have had little

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<sup>243</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 4, 8, 16, 18, 19 (several examples), 37, 57, 121, 140, 213, 218, 234, 235, 261, *inter alia*. Admittedly these usually occur in association with Japanese names, although there are many references to British sailors and mariners, e.g., *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 4, 141, 213, 234; vol. 3, pp. 13, 132, 133, 140, 161, 164, 175, 177, 183, 189. Gaps are found for whole names, family names and Christian names.

<sup>244</sup> There are many other examples such as Thomas Best's reference to "This day Robert Brandon dies, being the purcer his man", Foster (ed.), *Thomas Best*, p. 4. Consultation of the manuscript diary reveals that there is space for such a rendering but fails to shed any additional light on the gap, BL: Add. Ms 31, 300, f. 154v.

<sup>245</sup> Ernest C. Abbe and J. Gillis Frank, "Henry Hudson and the early exploration and mapping of Hudson Bay, 1610-1631", in John Parker (ed.), *Merchants and Scholars: Essays in the History of Exploration and Trade Collected in Memory of James Ford Bell* (Minneapolis, 1965), pp. 87-116.

<sup>246</sup> IOR: E/3/3/ no. 342A; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 555.

<sup>247</sup> *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 177.

to do with the cape-merchant Cocks. It is also worth noting that following the *Hozlander's* departure, Hudson left almost immediately for Kyōto with Wickham, whilst Cocks remained in Hirado. There would thus have been little time to acquaint himself with the boy. In the surviving letters passing between Wickham and Cocks, Hudson is not once mentioned. Cocks records receiving a single letter from Hudson in April, 1616 but does not mention sending a reply or indeed any further letter.<sup>248</sup> Hence Hudson was very much a peripheral figure to Cocks during this period. In his letter to John Browne of December 1616, Cocks merely refers to Hudson as “an English boy”.<sup>249</sup> Hence given his very marginal significance prior to departure for Kyōto and the absence of references to him during his stay, it is quite plausible that Cocks may have forgotten his surname during his hastily written entry for 8 November, 1616.

As a further point, it is difficult to see who else would be referred to in the entry if not Hudson. Apart from Richard Wickham, who was obviously not being referred to, the only recorded ‘Richard’ in Japan at the time was Richard Rowe, master of the *Thomas*. His name and title would seem to fit the incomplete entry as regards “Ric’d [blank], mr.”. However, as he had only arrived in Japan in August of that year, the rest of Cocks entry concerning teaching for six months would make no sense. Additionally, a letter from Osterwick to Wickham of August 1616 has Rowe dealing with runaways in Nagasaki whilst the court party was on its way to Edo.<sup>250</sup> Many Japanese acquaintances of the British bore Iberian names, such as Juan, Pedro and Miguel. However, there is no other reference to any having the English name Richard. Also, contemporary letters and even Cocks’ private diary entry always use respectful terms when addressing fellow merchants or naval officers. Hence we always find Mr Wickham, Mr Eaton and Captain Adams. Cocks’ reference to “Ric’d” suggests a lowly position, which also favours Hudson as the candidate.

Cocks’ diary reference clearly mentions the financial requital of teaching for a period of half a year, i.e. six months. We know that Hudson was in Kyōto by at least early April 1616 and the payment was made on 18 November 1616. This leaves an interval of seven months. It may well have taken Hudson some time to find a teacher upon arrival and his instruction presumably ended before Cocks’ return journey through Kyōto. Considering these points, the six-month time span is neatly book-ended by Hudson’s presence in Kyōto. Bearing the other evidence in mind, it appears beyond doubt that some form of formal instruction was obtained for the boy.

Cocks’ decision to school Hudson in Japanese was visionary in approach and has no parallels in the contemporary East Indies. The case also directly contradicts Massarella’s statement that “none of the factors appears to have made much effort to learn Japanese”.<sup>251</sup> Although there are scattered references in the E.I.C. records to youths being left in particular factories to learn the local language, there was never any suggestion of them receiving formal tuition.<sup>252</sup> They were simply expected to

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<sup>248</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 216.

<sup>249</sup> IOR: E/3/4 no. 414; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 531.

<sup>250</sup> IOR: E/3/4 no. 390; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 473.

<sup>251</sup> Massarella, *World Elsewhere*, p. 219.

<sup>252</sup> In India Sir Thomas Roe mentions “Jacke Goodwive or Mr Bingham’s brother” as two men who spoke the local language (either Gujarati or Persian). He requested an interpreter “but I will neither of them to hinder them from that learning”, *Letters Received*, vol. 6, p. 123. Although they are not

allow their young minds to soak up the foreign tongues. Hudson's location in Kyōto is surely no accident. Contemporary European commentators on Japan often noted that the best speech was to be found in the old imperial capital.<sup>253</sup> This may be further evidence that Cocks was aware of literature on Japan, however, he could just have easily received the suggestion verbally or been aware of contemporary thinking on the matter.

### 3. Letter-Writing in Japanese

We now turn to the process of written communication utilised by the personnel of the factory. As the vast majority of 'external' letters were sent in Japanese, this has obvious implications in the study of linguistic interaction. The Japanese letters sent to the Matsuura and shogunal officials had to undergo a laborious process of translation. Detailed evidence about the translation process is lacking in the English sources but a brief outline can be attempted. The message was usually delivered verbally in Portuguese/Spanish, whereupon it was mentally translated and written down in *kana* syllables by one of the *jurebassos*. There is some information about a similar translation sequence on Da Gama's first voyage to India. The Zamorin of Calicut's letter to the King of Portugal was dictated in Malayalam, translated into Arabic, verbally translated from Arabic into Portuguese and then written down on a palm leaf.<sup>254</sup> Fernão Mendes Pinto reveals that in China a native interpreter would read a Chinese document and simultaneously translate for the Portuguese.<sup>255</sup>

We know that a number of *jurebassos* were literate in Japanese, perhaps to a high degree. However it must not be assumed that knowledge of spoken Portuguese/Spanish was accompanied by an ability to read or write the language, even if the person concerned was fully literate in Japanese. It should also be appreciated, however, that the Portuguese had managed to spread literacy in Portuguese through their missionary and educational work. Even in littoral Africa the educated elites often had a written as well as verbal knowledge of Portuguese.<sup>256</sup> It is difficult to assess to what extent literacy in the Latin script was achieved amongst converts in Japan. The Jesuit sources frequently complain of the inability of the Japanese to make progress in Latin. However, they make less frequent notice of Portuguese literacy. The Dutch Willem Janszoon left this description in his journal in 1630 of Antonio Noretta, a renegade Christian: "official interpreter of Nagasaki, a native of Korea, and singularly proficient in both the Spanish and Portuguese languages, which he reads and writes,

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described as youths, their "learning" probably refers to attempts to inculcate the language. Such cases were very rare at the time, despite the obvious utility of such a service. Henry Paterson mentions that John Cleave's boy "hath the language a little". For that reason he was to remain in Tiku, presumably to nurture his skill, *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29.

<sup>253</sup> Cooper (ed.), *This Island of Japan*, p. 329; Richard Willes in *Principal Navigations*, vol. 4, pp. 194, 207; Boxer (ed.), *True Description*, p. 57. Rodrigues' *Arte da Lingua Iapam* of 1608 was based on the pronunciation of Kyōto.

<sup>254</sup> Losada Soler, "The encounter of languages", p. 209. Losada Soler notes the problem that although many Portuguese could be found who spoke Arabic, this had usually been acquired in captivity rather than through study. They therefore could not possibly read or write the language, *Ibid.*, p. 209. Indeed, many of the Portuguese soldiers and sailors were illiterate in their own language.

<sup>255</sup> Catz (ed.), *The Travels of Mendes Pinto*, p. 122.

<sup>256</sup> C. R. Boxer, *Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire, 1415-1825* (Oxford, 1963), pp. 12, 36-37. Some of the earliest converts in fifteenth century West Africa became literate in Portuguese, Wyatt MacGaffey, "Dialogues with the deaf: Europeans on the Atlantic coast of Africa", in Swartz (ed.), *Implicit Understandings*, p. 252.

having been brought up and educated in the ways of the Church of Rome".<sup>257</sup> Hence there were at least some who were able to master the unfamiliar Latin script, but it is worth noting that Antonio Noretta is described as one, "singularly proficient" and probably unrepresentative of the majority. It is known for certain that the Spanish-speaking Li Tan, head of the Chinese community, wrote all his letters in Japanese ideograms, rather than the Latin script.<sup>258</sup> However, there is one allusion to the literacy skills of the Japanese in Cocks' diary. The cape-merchant mentions sending a letter to the *jurebasso* of an important Japanese in both Japanese script and Spanish.<sup>259</sup> Perhaps Cocks was unsure whether the man would be able to read the Latin script and thus provided a translation.

The English sources only very rarely mention *kana*, the syllabic systems used to write Japanese in conjunction with the Chinese based ideograms or *kanji*.<sup>260</sup> However, it is clear from various missionary sources that the common people and women were only able to write using the syllabaries.<sup>261</sup> There is a surviving letter from the mid-seventeenth century by the Dutch-Japanese Cornelia van Nijenroode, which is composed almost entirely in *kana*.<sup>262</sup> *Hiragana* was also the chosen medium of the Jesuit press, along with *romanji*, Japanese phonetically transliterated into the Latin alphabet. Undoubtedly the proviso was designed to appeal to the masses, in addition to its typeface simplicity in comparison with *kanji*. The Chinese ideograms were the preserve of the nobility and the religious orders. Protocol forbade the writing of the formal letters sent to the *bakufu* and *daimyo* courts in *kana*. Hence syllabic drafts were adapted by a local *bonze* from the phonetically rendered original into the correct interplay of *kana* and *kanji*.<sup>263</sup> A Japanese source called the *Ikoku Nikki* reveals that Adams was also able to translate European documents into *kana* but his periodic absence from Hirado probably limited his utility in this respect.<sup>264</sup> Satow translates the relevant passage as follows, "[King James' letter] Being written in foreign characters which could not be read, Anji (Adams) was invited to make a translation in *kana*."<sup>265</sup> However, the English documents only occasionally mention Adams' direct involvement in letter writing on their behalf. Matsuura Shigenobu asked to wait for Adams to translate King James' letter upon the arrival of the *Clove* in 1613.<sup>266</sup> One could initially presume that this was a verbal translation, although contemporary sources note the predominance of the epistolary over the verbal medium in relation to even simple messages.<sup>267</sup> Additionally, the Matsuura would probably have wished to

<sup>257</sup> Quoted in Boxer (ed.), *True Description*, p. xxin.

<sup>258</sup> *Diary*, vol. 2, pp. 187, 265, 319; vol. 3, pp. 65, 73.

<sup>259</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 54.

<sup>260</sup> *Kana* is only clearly identified in the Rev. Arthur Hatch's retrospective letter to Purchas, which may have drawn on Jesuit information, Farrington, vol. 2, p. 949. The second reference is verbal information delivered to Purchas by Saris in the 1617 edition of *Purchas his Pilgrimage*, p. 669, a notice previously ignored by historians.

<sup>261</sup> Michael Cooper (ed.), *This Island of Japan: João Rodrigues' Account of Sixteenth Century Japan* (Tokyo, 1973), p. 331.

<sup>262</sup> Blussé, Leonard, "Butterfly or mantis? The life and times of Cornelia van Nijenroode", in Blussé, *Strange Company: Chinese Settlers, Mestizo Women and the Dutch in V.O.C. Batavia* (Dordrecht, 1986), pp. 191, 266n.

<sup>263</sup> This process is alluded to on a number of occasions in Cocks' *Diary*, although letters from the factors in Osaka, Kyōto, Edo etc., fail to shed any light on regional practices.

<sup>264</sup> Riess, "History", pp. 20-21.

<sup>265</sup> *Voyage*, p. lxxvii.

<sup>266</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 80.

<sup>267</sup> Cooper (ed.), *This Island*, p. 167.

retain in their household archives such a valued document from a foreign monarch.<sup>268</sup> Adams was clearly established as an interpreter in the mind of Matsuura Shigenobu. The events probably mirrored those of Adams' translation of Prince Maurice of Orange's dispatch to Ieyasu on behalf of the Dutch in 1609; he rendered a phonetic interpretation in *kana*, to which a scribe prepared a 'correct' version for inclusion in the household papers.<sup>269</sup> Referring to his role in Saris' audience with Ieyasu in 1613, Adams wrote to Thomas Best, stating that he "red and interpret[ed] His Mag'ti' lletter".<sup>270</sup> The letter in question was from King James I to the 'Empereur' of Japan, dated January 1611.<sup>271</sup> Adams makes it clear in his letter that Ieyasu fully understood the correspondence but nowhere does he mention that he prepared a written approximation, although he describes the general audience in painstaking detail. Again, one could take this to mean an oral interpretation but this would surely not have satisfied the Tokugawa bureaucracy.

There are indications that the process of letter writing was fairly spontaneous, performed in the presence of British dictation, rather than being left for a period with a scribe. There is a surviving example of a loan certificate in Japanese which bears Cocks' signature written with a Japanese ink brush in the bottom left hand corner.<sup>272</sup> Presumably Cocks waited for the document to be drawn up and then simply attached his signature with the available writing utensil, rather than the customary quill. There are countless references to letters being sent and received by regional hosts, merchants, *jurebassos* and mistresses. In many cases the reply was dispatched the same day and hence there was obviously no difficulty in having a prompt translation prepared. An interesting incident is referred to in a letter from Wickham to Cocks. Concerning news of the Tokugawa Ieyasu's death Wickham writes "[h]e gave unto all the nobillyty very rich presents, as apereth in a wrighting in Japan[ese] w'ch Coe John hath bestowed the loosing of, otherwayes I would have sent it to you. Any of Figen Sama's cheefe men can helpe you to the cobby thereof".<sup>273</sup> While the reference should not be taken to mean that Cocks' could read Japanese, it does at least indicate that men to read and translate Japanese documents were freely available.

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<sup>268</sup> The Matsuura household archives are discussed in Mulder, *Hollanders in Hirado*, pp. 19-21. The documents were catalogued by Prof. J. Kobata of Kyōtō University and published in the National History Seminar of 1951. The sources are annalistic and lack personal detail and have thus been largely ignored by historians studying the Hirado factory. Letters between Li Tan and Matsuura Takanobu are quoted in Iwao Seiichi, "Li Tan, chief of the Chinese residents at Hirado, Japan, in the last days of the Ming dynasty", *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko*, vol. 17 (1958), *passim*. On the style and contents of *daimyō* household records see John Whitney Hall, "Material for the study of local history in Japan: pre-Meiji daimyo records", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 20 (1957), pp. 187-212.

<sup>269</sup> The letter is printed in F. C. Wieder (ed.), *De Reis van Mahu en de Cordes door de Traat van Magalhães naar Zuid-Amerika en Japan, 1598-1600*, 3 vols, *De Linschoten-Vereeniging*, nos 21, 23, 24 (1923-25), vol. 3, pp. 81-83. There is a German translation in Nachod, *Die Beziehungen*, pp. III-VI. Reference to Adams' role in the translation can be found in *Ibid.*, p. VIII and Farrington, vol. 1, pp. 59 (Dutch original), 61 (English translation).

<sup>270</sup> IOR: E/3/1 no. 123; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 111.

<sup>271</sup> IOR: B/2 f.149; *Ibid.*, pp. 63-4.

<sup>272</sup> IOR: E/3/1 no. 126; *Ibid.*, p. 123. The letter is reproduced as facsimile no. 3 in the first volume of Farrington's collection.

<sup>273</sup> IOR: G/12/15 p. 35; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 430.

Following on from the previous point, there is no evidence that Cocks or any of the merchants understood or attempted to learn the simple *kana* syllabaries.<sup>274</sup> However, the script was not particularly difficult to acquire and it should be remembered that both Adams, and much later the German Engelbert Kaempfer, were able to learn it.<sup>275</sup> *Kana* was the accepted writing medium of women, children and the plebeian ranks and was not merely a system for rendering Japanese terms that did not fit *kanji*. It was used for correspondence, poetry and even prose.<sup>276</sup> If Cocks did have access to missionary language aids this would certainly have helped him. Rodrigues' *Arte Breve* of 1620 contains accurate tables of *kana* in both the traditional *iroha* and *gojūon* orders, complete with Romanised transcription.<sup>277</sup> However, the main stumbling block for the Company merchants was that a fluent knowledge of Japanese was a prerequisite to understanding *kana*. As we have seen there are many clues that the British could understand a certain amount of Japanese although there is no evidence that this was the case for all members of the factory. There were plenty of *jurebassos* available to translate letters, and knowledge of *kana* may have had only a limited utility as it was unacceptable for correspondence with the nobility. It will be helpful at this point to consider a passage in a letter written to the E.I.C. by Thomas Kerridge from India. Kerridge made a semantic distinction between an 'interpretation' and a 'translation'. The former was a rough oral rendition whilst the latter implied a carefully written rendering. Kerridge apologised that he could not provide the Company with a letter from the Portuguese viceroy to Jahangir that slandered the E.I.C. because it was, "only interpreted unto the king and not translated".<sup>278</sup> Hence, rather than being synonyms perhaps there is a deeper meaning to allusions of acts of 'interpretation' and 'translation'.

Numerous references make it clear that scribes were available to write letters in Japanese on behalf of Europeans. Cocks had 'Jubio Dono' of Karatsu write a letter to the daimyo of Omura.<sup>279</sup> The cape-merchant's diary continually mentions writing letters in 'Japon' without mentioning a scribe, although external aid was obviously required.<sup>280</sup> The ability to communicate in Japanese was not confined to the permanent members of the factory. The cape-merchant of *Hozlander*, Ralph Coppendale, was also able to send letters in Japanese to acquaintances of the factory.<sup>281</sup> Although no examples now survive, it is clear from abundant references that Cocks communicated with Li Tan over long distances by having his messages rendered into Japanese.<sup>282</sup> Li's brother, Captain Whaw also received Japanese letters from Cocks.<sup>283</sup> It is highly likely that the other factory members also took advantage of a ready translation service. However, analysis is very much restricted to the figure of Cocks because of the invaluable day-to-day information found in his diary, which

<sup>274</sup> Except perhaps Richard Hudson, whose uncertain achievements are discussed above.

<sup>275</sup> Kaempfer's papers in the British Library contain notes written in both *kana* and *romanji* (Romanised Japanese), Beatrice Bodart-Bailey, "Writing the *History of Japan*", in Beatrice Bodart-Bailey and Derek Massarella (eds), *The Furthest Goal: Engelbert Kaempfer's Encounter with Tokugawa Japan* (Kent, 1995), p. 37-38.

<sup>276</sup> Perez, *Daily Life*, p. 58.

<sup>277</sup> Kornicki, "European Japanology", p. 506.

<sup>278</sup> *Letters Received*, vol. 2, p. 298.

<sup>279</sup> *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 228.

<sup>280</sup> E.g., *Ibid.*, pp. 20, 38, 42, 75, 91, 323.

<sup>281</sup> IOR: G/12/15 p. 17; Farrington, vol. 1., p. 307.

<sup>282</sup> *Diary*, vol. 2, pp. 187, 265, 319, 321; vol. 3, pp. 65, 73.

<sup>283</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 200.

is unparalleled in the factory letters. Following the conventions of the time all but the most trivial of these Japanese letters must have originally been preserved in English retention copies, as noted by Cocks. His entry for 22 July 1618 notes that at least seven of a batch of twelve Japanese letters sent to the Kinai and Edo were extant in copy.<sup>284</sup> It is difficult to believe that Cocks would have arranged for copies of the Japanese versions, which he could not understand. His original English/Spanish/Portuguese draft probably served as his 'book copy'. However, in the case of important documents from the shogun or the *rōjū* which may have required future presentation, copies were retained in both English and Japanese, e.g. the English petition against Dutch abuses in September, 1618.<sup>285</sup>

From abundant references it is possible to establish that many British-employed *jurebassos* were literate, at least in *kana*. Cocks' diary mentions his receiving a letter from the interpreter John Japan and a servant of Matsuura Shigetada writing to John Gorezano.<sup>286</sup> *Jurebassos* also wrote to the regional merchants who were termed 'hosts'.<sup>287</sup> Although unacceptable for diplomatic correspondence, as previously noted, it appears that for private, unofficial exchanges it was permissible to write entirely in *kana*. Hence we find Cocks employing Tome, a *jurebasso*, and even Paul "gunpowder man" to write informal letters.<sup>288</sup> There are instances of *jurebassos* seemingly being able to read and interpret even the difficult and recondite language employed by the *bakufu* and *daimyo*.<sup>289</sup> The aforementioned John Japan wrote a number of such letters on Cocks' behalf.<sup>290</sup> However, detailed references to Cocks' long search for a *bonze* to read the abstruse characters of Hidedata's revised trading privileges in 1616 cast doubt on the ease of dealing with official documents.<sup>291</sup> A subsequent mention of the affair reveals that the translation had to be eventually made with the assistance of two *jurebassos* and Adams, in addition to the aforementioned *bonze*.<sup>292</sup> Hence, although Cocks' diary often depicts the reading and writing of Japanese letters as a flawless operation, there are concrete references to possible complications.

The British did not confine themselves to the use of the Buddhist clergy for prestige translation purposes. Also mentioned is the Japanese schoolmaster who instructed Richard Hudson and certain servants.<sup>293</sup> A scribe named 'Jean Dono' is also referred to on a number of occasions, including the preparation of the English petition against the Dutch in 1618.<sup>294</sup> Scribal/translation services were usually requited with a gift of silver. Just as the British used scribes to write letters for them, Asians were also able to communicate over long distances with the Europeans, despite lack of familiarity

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<sup>284</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 325.

<sup>285</sup> *Diary*, vol. 2, pp. 172, 180. Cocks wrote, "the coppie whereof I haue both in English and Japons", *Ibid.*, p. 354. Referring to his own letter to Matsuura Takanobu, Cocks records how he kept a copy in Japanese "written on the back side what it is", *Ibid.*, p. 278. Sir Thomas Roe records that he kept copies of all his early letters in English and Perisan so that he could prove abuses when complaining to Jahangir, Foster (ed.), *Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, vol. 1, p. 73.

<sup>286</sup> *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 240, 59.

<sup>287</sup> IOR: E/3/2 no. 138; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 144.

<sup>288</sup> *Diary*, vol. 3, pp. 64, 117.

<sup>289</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 104.

<sup>290</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 193, 368, 394.

<sup>291</sup> IOR: E/3/3 no. 342A; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 554.

<sup>292</sup> IOR: E/3/4 no. 433; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 592.

<sup>293</sup> *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 80.

<sup>294</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 172, 180, 354.



with the Latin script. Li Tan had Adams write a letter for him to the Italian Damian Marin.<sup>295</sup> Presumably Li dictated the message in Portuguese/Spanish.

One would assume that the complexity of this process of translation and written communication must have generated a number of misunderstandings, and one is left questioning the accuracy of many of the conversations recorded in contemporary accounts. However, on the other hand, it is noteworthy that there are no explicit mentions of linguistic difficulties in the English Hirado factory archives. Indeed references imply transmission of complex ideas and sophisticated discussion of religious monuments, festivals, and cultural matter.

## Conclusion

The Hirado sources can shed little new light on the Japanese language as it existed in the early seventeenth century, except perhaps in confirming the spoken morphology of initial *h* into *f* and a number of similar changes described by Rodrigues.<sup>296</sup> There is of course nothing in the Hirado factory archive to compare with the linguistic studies of the Jesuits. In general the sources reveal very little about the language itself, in contrast to the observations they provide on law and order, for instance, which are rich in personal opinion and details of incidents. It is surely no coincidence that of his 17 quotations on “The language” in *They Came to Japan*, Michael Cooper finds no place for the E.I.C. sources.<sup>297</sup>

The value of the Hirado sources is in what they reveal about the factory and the experience of Europeans in Japan rather than the light shed on previously known Japanese matters. The sources indicate that the British were quite willing to attempt to learn Japanese both on an informal and, in the case of Hudson, a formal level. Hence they harboured no assumptions of linguistic superiority and colonial mental outlook of the type encountered in North America. At the heart of almost all language learning in the New World was an unequal balance of power. Stephen Greenblatt argues that Europeans did not feel handicapped or infantilised by a lack of Indian languages. Rather, they saw the Indians as children because of their ignorance of European languages.<sup>298</sup> It is true that sometimes Europeans were captured and learned languages through time spent with a tribe. However, it was usually the Indians who were expected to learn Spanish, French or English.<sup>299</sup> The English and the Dutch also considered the Cape languages with their percussive consonants to be virtually unlearnable and hence relied on native interpreters.<sup>300</sup> Historians have in the past argued that an informed prejudice prevented the early colonists from attempting the “savage” language of the natives. Overseas Europeans were generally content to rely on boys who had been brought up by local tribes.<sup>301</sup> On the other hand some recent

<sup>295</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 33.

<sup>296</sup> Cooper (ed.), *This Island*, pp. 328-29; Cooper, *Rodrigues the Interpreter*, pp. 228-29. These spellings, well attested in European sources, are explained by Milton as Saris’ inability to pronounce Japanese honourifics, *Samurai William*, p. 175.

<sup>297</sup> Cooper (comp), *They Came to Japan*, pp. 171-86. Cooper’s quotations are drawn mostly from the expected Jesuit sources, although he does include two examples from Francesco Carletti and François Caron.

<sup>298</sup> Greenblatt, *Marvellous Possessions*, p. 105.

<sup>299</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 106.

<sup>300</sup> Karttunen, *Between Worlds*, p. 249.

<sup>301</sup> Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians*, p. 45; Fausz, “Middlemen in peace and war”.

work has pointed out that in reality, as may be expected, the traders and colonists were pragmatic in their approach to this matter.<sup>302</sup> In this sense, the Hirado documents confirm that the E.I.C. merchants existed within a pre-colonial mindset and were not trammelled by concepts of racial and cultural superiority. No doubt, there was also a pragmatism in the Hirado factors' behaviour. They seem to have respected Japanese culture but the principal aim of learning Japanese was to dispense with the need for *jurebassos*. This was both for convenience and through fears of treachery. The success of whole trading voyages was effectively at the mercy of the duplicity of translators, who, even if naturally neutral, could be bribed by enemies.

This chapter has also challenged a number of commonly-held assumptions amongst historians of European expansion. It has illustrated that Portuguese was perhaps not so commonly mastered among E.I.C. merchants, or with such fluency as is often believed. It has also highlighted that prominent role of the Spanish language in Hirado, an angle that has been ignored in previous writing on the factory. After establishing that Europeans did learn Asian languages, this chapter has elucidated what can be gleaned from the E.I.C. sources regarding spoken Japanese. However, the study of spoken Japanese amongst the Hirado factors has had to rely on suggestion and inference. That is not to say of course that no concrete evidence exists or has been presented. However, detailed accounts of how merchants translated conversations or to what extent the local language was understood neither fills the pages of Cocks' diary nor occupies the factors' letters.

There is no firm evidence that any of the servants, including Hudson, ever came to understand written Japanese. They did, however, appreciate the concepts of ideograms and were evidently aware that the Japanese did not follow an alphabetic system.<sup>303</sup> Cocks even realised the value of schooling Hudson to read and write the script and was interested enough to send examples of its use to his friends. That neither Cocks nor the others made any serious descriptive comments on the script is not surprising. The *kanji* or Chinese ideograms received some attention in Europe but as Peter Kornicki has illustrated, there was little attempt to make use of the material on the Japanese language gathered by the Dutch on Deshima throughout the seventeenth century.<sup>304</sup> Likewise, there is no evidence that scholars quizzed the small number of Japanese speaking half-Japanese children of the V.O.C. employees who arrived in Europe.<sup>305</sup>

In terms of linguistic prowess the British again could not match the various missionaries who came to Japan to effect mass conversion. A number of missionaries spent almost their whole lives in Japan and Rodriguez, at least, claimed that he was

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<sup>302</sup> Vaughan, "Sir Walter Raleigh's Indian interpreters", p. 375. For the Yucatan see Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquests*, p. 43.

<sup>303</sup> IOR: E/3/2 no. 197A; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 244.

<sup>304</sup> Kornicki, "European Japanology", pp. 504-05. Extensive material was collected by Kaempfer although his findings were only disseminated with the English translation of his work as *The History of Japan in 1727*. The Japanese books brought back by Kaempfer are discussed in K. B. Gardner, "Engelbert Kaempfer's Japanese library", *Asia Major*, New Series, vol. VII, part 1 (1959), pp. 74-78.

<sup>305</sup> Kornicki, "European Japanology", pp. 504-05. For the successful career of one of the half-Japanese offsprings of the Dutch see, Iwao Seiichi, "The life of Pieter Hartsinck, the Japanner (1637-1680): 'Grand pupil' of Descartes", *TASJ*, Third Series, 20 (1985), pp. 145-167. There is also no evidence that scholars in England contacted William Eaton Jnr, the son of one of the Hirado factors, who must have been Japanese speaking. For his life see ch. 6.

more fluent in Japanese than in his native Portuguese. Obviously the aims of missionaries and merchants were very different. Although it is clear that Cocks enjoyed building and utilising his Japanese vocabulary, he did not need to discuss complex issues of metaphysics with Buddhist scholars. Although the factory was an economic failure, time still had to be devoted to the physical and financial logistics of running an overseas factory and its branches. Although they may well have had the opportunity, there is no clear evidence that the merchants used Jesuit language aids or pre-prepared vocabularies. Whatever Japanese they acquired was presumably learning through ear. It defies logic to suggest that surrounded for over ten years by a largely monoglot population the factors were not able to converse in at least pidgin Japanese.