

Chapter 5- Cultural Interaction

Introduction

Chapter 3 examined the literary image of Japan and how closely it compared to perceptions of things Japanese in private letters and diaries. This chapter turns to the more concrete evidence of daily interaction between the British merchants and local Japanese. As stressed throughout this thesis, the sources of the Hirado factory are an ideal vehicle for the study of the cultural interaction of a European group within a non-European culture. However, previous historians have largely neglected the cultural value of the E.I.C. archives in favour of repetitive narrative descriptions, often based on Ludwig Reiss' 1898 study rather than original material.¹ Japanese specialists have continually noted the potential of the Hirado material for a cultural study although so far no full-length work has been produced. The most relevant section of *World Elsewhere* to my study is chapter 6, "Living and Surviving in Hirado", which covers many of the themes handled in the present chapter. Indeed, much of this thesis may be described as shining a spotlight on issues covered in that chapter. Massarella also comes to the conclusion that "[o]n the whole, the Japanese world into which the English entered and lived for just over ten years left the factors remarkably untouched" and throughout the work minimises any sense of cultural interaction.² In many ways Giles Milton's popular history book *Samurai William* makes more progress in this respect.³ However, as the book is unashamedly aimed at entertainment rather than edification, Milton provides no interaction whatsoever with current historiography. Hence there remains a major academic gap in the history of the factory and Anglo-Japanese, and even Euro-Japanese, interaction during this period. A largely neglected book, worth mentioning for the issues dealt with here is Henry Smith's *Learning from Shōgun*.⁴ The essays contained therein handle James Clavell's character of John Blackthorne (a transparent Adams) and how he would have integrated into Japanese life in reality. The essay collection is valuable in juxtaposing late Elizabethan England with Tokugawa Japan and contrasts attitudes to hygiene, diet and other themes. In recent years the study of the marginalia of early modern life, such as clothes and consumption, has also attracted historians' attention. Examination of their cultural values sheds important light on the early modern psyche and analysis of clothes and consumption have recently found their way into mainstream histories of the period.⁵

There has been much recent scholarly study of European/non-European interaction in other parts of the world. However, as in the case of the two previous chapters, the

¹ Ludwig Reiss, "History of the English factory at Hirado (1613-1622[sic])", *TASJ*, vol. XXVI (1898), pp. 1-114, 162-218, minutes of the meeting: xxviii-xlix.

² *Ibid.*, p. 241.

³ Giles Milton, *Samurai William: The Adventurer who Opened Japan* (London, 2002). The most relevant section is chapter 8, which discusses the factory, diet, servants and mistresses.

⁴ Henry Smith (ed.), *Learning from Shōgun: Japanese History and Western Fantasy* (Santa Barbara, 1980). See particularly the essays by Sandra Piercy and Henry Smith.

⁵ E.g., E. Cameron (ed.), *Early Modern Europe: An Oxford History* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 146, 155, 245, 257-64 and P. Musgrave, *The Early Modern European Economy* (London, 1999), pp. 98-102, 132-38.

historiography has concentrated on colonial encounters, with their implicit imbalanced power relations and ideological grounding.⁶ Despite broad coverage, not all of these studies are particularly satisfying. For instance, despite the title of her book, Karen Ordahl Kupperman concentrates on the perceptions of eyewitnesses rather than the actual cultural encounter between Indian and settler.⁷ Little attention is given to adaptations and borrowings from the Indian way of life. In colonial situations there was a clear European physical dominance and ideological supremacy in the minds of the settlers. The situation in Japan was very different and the British and Japanese met as ideological equals, with the Japanese holding the power on the ground. Hence, whilst this chapter notes parallels and contrasts with the American colonies, these do not provide particularly useful models. Some of the material on Dutch Batavia has a greater relevance to the Hirado factory, particularly works that focus on European soldiers and people not isolated behind the walls of the colonial town.⁸ J. G. Taylor notes how formal colonial histories of the Dutch Indies make only very cursory reference to social relations between Dutch and Indonesians.⁹ Similarly, many of the studies of British *mercantile*, as opposed to colonial, encounters in the East Indies are dated and reveal little about the cultural interaction that took place between European and native.¹⁰ There are, however, a limited number of fairly recent studies focussing on merchants and explorers which have been useful for comparative purposes in this chapter.¹¹ Although the Dutch sources admittedly do not contain the same intimate personal details as the English documents, this chapter has benefited from comparative studies of the Dutch factory in Hirado.¹²

⁶ For the Americas see K. R. Andrews, N. P. Canny and P. E. Hair (eds), *The Westward Enterprise: English Activities in Ireland, the Atlantic and America, 1480-1650* (Detroit, 1979); Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians: The Meeting of English and Indian Cultures in America, 1580-1640* (Totowa, 1980); Nicholas Canny and Anthony Pagden (eds), *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World, 1500-1800* (Princeton, 1987); Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492-1640* (Cambridge, 1995; 1998). On the Spanish empire see Inga Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquests: Maya and Spanish in Yucatan, 1517-1570* (Cambridge, 1987) and Kenneth J. Andrien and Rolena Adorno (eds), *Transatlantic Encounters: Europeans and Andeans in the Sixteenth Century* (Berkeley, 1991).

⁷ Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians*, *passim*.

⁸ See J. G. Taylor, *The Social World of Batavia: European and Eurasian in Dutch Asia* (Madison, 1983) and Leonard Blussé, *Strange Company: Chinese Settlers, Mestizo Women and the Dutch in VOC Batavia* (Dordrecht, 1986).

⁹ Taylor, *Social World*, pp. xvii-xviii.

¹⁰ See for example, John Anderson, *English Intercourse with Siam in the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1890); D.G.E. Hall, *Early English Intercourse with Burma, 1587-1743* (London, 1928; 1968). Recent studies of the E.I.C. pay token reference to social interaction but are cursory at best in their treatment, e.g., John Keay, *The Honourable Company: A History of the English East India Company* (Glasgow, 1991); S. Sen, *Empire of Free Trade: The East India Company and the Making of the Colonial Marketplace* (Philadelphia, 1998); Antony Wild, *The East India Company: Trade and Conquest from 1600* (London, 1999); Huw Bowen (ed.), *The Worlds of the East India Company* (London, 2002); Anthony Farrington, *Trading Places: The East India Company and Asia* (London, 2002).

¹¹ Anthony Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce, 1450-1680*, 2 vols (New Haven and London, 1988-1993); 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); Anthony Disney and Emily Booth (eds), *Vasco da Gama and the Linking of Europe and Asia* (New Delhi, 2000).

¹² The most important is W. Z. Mulder, *Hollanders in Hirado, 1597-1641* (Haarlem, n.d. ?1985). See also Kanai Madoka, "Nederland en Japan, 1602-1860", in M. A. P. Melink-Roelofs (ed.), *De V.O.C. in Azië* (Bussum, 1976), pp. 193-236; *In the Wake of the Liefde: Cultural Relations between the Netherlands and Japan since 1600* (no acknowledged editor) (Amsterdam, 1986) and Leonard Blussé, "From inclusion to exclusiveness: the early years at Hirado, 1600-1640" in Blussé *et al* (eds), *Bridging the Divide: 400 Years of the Netherlands-Japan* (no place of publication, 2000), pp. 13-33.

An obvious model through which to analyse the factory experience is Edward Said's concept of Orientalism, which sees Europeans as viewing the East in negative binary opposition to the West.¹³ Hence one would expect the E.I.C. merchants to reject aspects of Japanese culture as inherently inferior to Europe. Although influential, Said's work was criticised from the beginning as being unreflective of Euro-Asian interaction before the eighteenth century at the earliest.¹⁴ Although, as seen in chapter 3, early modern literature supported the image of a domineering and superior Europe, this attitude is absent as a mentality in non-colonial encounters.¹⁵ As K. O. Kupperman has argued, even within staunchly colonial environments the opinions of eyewitnesses were often far less polarised in favour of Europe than those of polemicists who had had no contact with the Indians.¹⁶ Hence, European superiority existed in theory but often not in practice. As Massarella notes, Said's only foray into Japan in *Orientalism* is a gross misunderstanding of events.¹⁷

As elsewhere in the thesis, the current chapter takes into consideration why particular themes such as master-servant relationships, food and clothing were important to Jacobean and relates them to a buoyant body of recent historiography. Of course, a much neglected angle in 'European expansion' is how the observation of alternative systems fed into contemporary Jacobean thinking on such matters.¹⁸ The section on servants particularly analyses the extent to which early modern attitudes were transplanted wholesale to Japan or whether the factors adapted to local practice. Whilst never attempting to be comprehensive, a comparison between the experiences in Hirado and those of other E.I.C. factories across India and South East Asia is offered. There is also a limited comparison with Jesuit, Dutch and secular Iberian sources for Japan, where relevant, in order to place certain observations in a wider context. The current chapter analyses not only what cultural interactions took place but also, as far as possible, the reactions and attitudes of the merchants to these encounters. Once again the study is forced to concentrate overwhelmingly on the figure of Richard Cocks, whose diary provides a unique record of the daily ephemera that are so rare in European sources for Japan. However, there is no reason to assume that Cocks was atypical in outlook from the other factory members, despite his seniority. For comparative purposes the study also makes use of modern historical work on conditions of daily life in Japan, a literature that draws mainly on Japanese

¹³ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York, 1978).

¹⁴ The thesis is extensively criticised in the papers contained in David Blanks (ed.), *Images of the Other: Europe and the Muslim World before 1700*, 'Cairo Papers in Social Science', vol. 19, no. 2 (1996). See also Bart Gilbert-Moore, *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.

¹⁵ In his study of British identities Colin Kidd concludes that in large part historical evidence is lacking for a bi-partite concept of 'self' and 'other' in early modern Britain, *British Identities Before Nationalism: Ethnicity and Nationhood in the Atlantic World, 1600-1800* (Cambridge, 1999), p. 289.

¹⁶ Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians, passim*.

¹⁷ Said has Japanese Christians empowering themselves by throwing out their Portuguese evangelists in 1638-39, *Orientalism*, p. 73. This ignores the fact that Christianity had been banned by the *bakufu* in 1614, Massarella, *World*, p. 372n.

¹⁸ Writing in 1970 when much of the literature of discovery and expansion had only been studied for a narrative approach, Sir John Eliot predicted that the most rewarding research was likely to come by setting the literature in the wider context of information and ideas of the time. He also highlighted how the records reveal the personalities and mental baggage of European travellers, *The Old World and the New, 1492-1650* (Cambridge, 1970), p. 6.

sources.¹⁹ Some relevant issues – such as language, religion, and relations with women are talked in more detail in separate chapters.

The current chapter surveys a cross-section of themes that build up a picture of the pattern of life within the English factory. The first section examines the appearance of the English factory and the extent to which furnishings, living arrangements and decorations showed adoption to native practices. Due to the importance of Japanese servants as the ‘first-line’ of cultural interaction, their employment, roles and welfare are given detailed attention in the second section. The remainder of the chapter discusses the degree of assimilation and cultural exchange in the areas of food, clothing and lifestyle. Finally an assessment is made of the extent to which factors ‘went native’ in Japan. Some of the earlier historians of the factory tended to see the venture from the tail end of late Victorian imperialism and expected to see the seeds of the British empire in the early trading voyages of the E.I.C..²⁰ The current chapter tests Victorian stereotypes about the preservation English cultural and moral standards in the colonies and the extent to which such attributes can be seen in the early seventeenth century.

1. The Appearance and Construction of the English Factory

We need to begin by noting the appearance and features of the factory, which was the scene of the rich panoply of Anglo-Japanese interaction.²¹ Although there is no concise description of the Hirado factory, a number of facts can be gathered about the construction and appearance of the various other trading factories in the contemporary East Indies as well as the Dutch factory. There is no reason to disagree with Massarella’s opinion that the English factory would have been similar to the Dutch one.²² In a letter from the Dutch factor Henrik Hagenaar to Batavia of 24 March 1637 (N. S.) he describes the building as wood-built with white-washed walls. The floors were also covered in *tatami* mats, as were the surfaces of the English house.²³ William Corr states that the English house would not have been an impressive building.²⁴ This seems to be based on the belief that contemporary Japanese structures were temporary dwellings designed to be easily rebuilt, erected and demolished, due to the omnipresent threat of fire and earthquakes. However, this fundamentally misses the point that both the English and Dutch houses were designed to be as fire-resistant as possible and were obviously permanent structures, as exemplified by the purchase and destruction of surrounding buildings. Abundant references in factory documents make

¹⁹ In particular Louis Frédéric, *Daily Life in Japan at the Time of the Samurai, 1185-1603*, trans Eileen M. Lowe (London, 1972); Susan B. Harley, *Everyday Things in Premodern Japan: The Hidden Legacy of Material Culture* (Berkeley, 1997); Louis G. Perez, *Daily Life in Early Modern Japan* (Westport, Connecticut, 2002),

²³ E.g., Arthur Diósy, “In memory of Will Adams, the first Englishman in Japan”, *TJSL*, vol. 6 (1903), pp. 325-54.

²¹ For other useful accounts see Massarella, *World Elsewhere* and Milton, *Samurai William*.

²² Massarella, *World Elsewhere*, p. 218.

²³ The letter is printed in German translation in Oskar Nachod, *Die Beziehungen der Niederländischen Ostindischen Kompagnie zu Japan im Siebzehnten Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1897), p. CXLIV. A wood-built structure is also mentioned in Arnoldus Montanus, *Atlas Japannensis...* trans, John Ogilby (London, 1670), p. 36. A picture of a scale model of the Dutch storehouse in 1639 appears in Blussé, “From inclusion to exclusiveness”, p. 15. *Tatami* were reed mats, roughly six foot by three foot. The factors often used the term as a measure of length, although there was no Japanese precedent for this.

²⁴ William Corr, *Adams the Pilot: The Life and Times of Captain William Adams, 1564-1620* (London, 1995), p. 134.

it clear that the English house was a stone structure with gates and a curtain wall.²⁵ Aside from the references to an obviously monumental structure in Cocks' diary there is also the evidence of the Matsuura household documents, which describe the appearance of the Dutch lodge prior to its destruction on Matsuura orders in 1641:

As the years went by in the end a house and godown were built with a second and third floor put up.

Inside [the house] was adorned with gold, silver, pearls and jade; the godown was built of cut stone and in the very end a wall was added; its appearance of beauty was overwhelming and passers-by would be wide-eyed seeing all this.²⁶

Mulder does not offer any comments about the provenance or reliability of this source but in all probability it was written many years after the Dutch had departed from Hirado.²⁷ Hence, it should not be taken as a literal description of the decorations to be found within the Dutch house but rather illustrates the memory of the enduring impact of the striking building upon the rural populace. We may presume that the English structure was no less grand. Ostentation is illustrated by the gilding of the E.I.C.'s mark on the 'head tile' of the factory.²⁸ The lodge and factory could in no way be compared with the average Japanese town dwelling.

We are extremely fortunate to possess a contemporary Dutch watercolour of Hirado town which shows the location and general appearance of the English factory.²⁹ The sketch is housed in the *Algemeen Rijksarchief* and was obviously painted by a member of the Dutch factory. It is dated 1621 and is hence painted from life whilst the English factory was still functioning.³⁰ The painting shows three close set buildings, the largest of which bears the cross of St George. However, this must merely represent the house in which the merchants lodged and not the entire factory complex which must have included most of the surrounding buildings, according to Cocks' diary, as discussed below.³¹ The enormous flag can be no more than a visual aid and does not mean that the factory actually flew the English flag when the picture

²⁵ *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 83, 97.

²⁶ Translated in Mulder, *Hollanders*, p. 12. The formulaic Matsuura sources are utilised in Seiichi Iwao, "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), pp. 27-83. The Dutch building had to be destroyed because an inscription made reference to the Christian dating system and hence contravened the *bakufu*'s strict anti-Christian prohibitions. For details see Mulder, *Hollanders in Hirado*, p. 9 and Nagazumi Yoko, "Japan's isolationist policy as seen through Dutch source materials", *Acta Asiatica*, vol. 22 (1972), p. 35.

²⁷ On the general value and character of *daimyō* household records see J. C. Hall, "Materials for the study of local history in Japan: pre-Meiji daimyo records", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 20 (1957), pp. 187-212. The similarly problematic nature of Japanese sources for the European presence is discussed in Seiichi Iwao, "Jan Joosten: the forerunner of the Dutch-Japanese relation", *Bulletin of the Japan-Netherlands Society*, vol. 1 (1958), pp. 1-24.

²⁸ *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 220, 224, 228.

²⁹ The painting is reproduced in Montague Paske-Smith, *A Glimpse of the 'English House' and English Life at Hirado, 1613-1623* (Kobe, 1927), p. 18; C. R. Boxer (ed.), *A True Description of the Mighty Kingdoms of Japan and Siam* (London, 1935), plate facing p. xvi and Blussé, "From inclusion to exclusiveness", p. 26. However, the best reproduction is facing the title page of Farrington, vol. 1, which is clear and in colour but does not present the full painting.

³⁰ An imaginary depiction of the Dutch Hirado factory appeared in Montanus, *Atlas Japannensis*, p. 36.

³¹ According to Montanus the Dutch had built at least 40 houses by 1639, *Ibid.*

was painted.³² As related in chapter 8, the factory did initially raise a flag, but the anti-Christian edicts forced the removal of a blatantly Christian symbol.³³ The actual location of both the Dutch and English factories has puzzled scholars for decades. There is almost no surviving physical evidence on which to base a conclusion. As for the location of the quay, F. Z. Mulder considers that the present-day memorial is in the wrong place. The torn-down English and Dutch residences contributed to the *Saiwaibashi* building when the wooden original was rebuilt in stone in 1702. Parts of the factory may also have been incorporated into Kameoka castle, which was completed in 1708.³⁴ The Dutch cemetery was definitely destroyed in 1641 with the transferral of the factory to Deshima.³⁵

The establishment of the English factory followed a typical chain of events that can be seen all over the European trading world. An arriving ship would be feasted, gifts exchanged and temporary accommodation found for the important members of the crew, eventually leading to a more permanent residence.³⁶ Sometimes new structures were built, whereas elsewhere the merchants occupied existing buildings. Adam Denton records that in Ayutthaya the local king granted a three-storey stone house, eight fathoms long and five broad. The merchants were also allocated a prominent landing position on the river. A garden is also mentioned.³⁷ The English house was originally rented from the leader of the Chinese community Li Tan in 1613, on the condition that it was to be furnished with new *tatami* mats.³⁸ This clause suggests that the house was in a state of disrepair at the time of the lease. The house was clearly something of an amalgam of British and Japanese architecture. A fusion of styles and only partial adoption of Japanese aesthetics is implied by Saris' dispatch, two days later, of the ship's carpenter to instruct the local craftsmen in the fitting of the house.³⁹ The house was ready for habitation twelve days later.⁴⁰ Although stone masons,

³² The Dutch factory is similarly marked out by a tricolour. However, flags were important symbolically in creating authority. John Skinner reported that on landing in Ceram and being granted land, the E.I.C. servants immediately planted the flag of St George, *Letters Received*, vol. 3, p. 132. The idiosyncratic European 'acts' of power and authority are discussed in Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession*.

³³ The date of prohibition is mistakenly given as 1616 in Paske-Smith, *A Glympse*, p. 32n (instead of 1614). Upon arrival in Hirado in 1613 Saris noted that a tattered Cross of St George was flown at Adams' Hirado residence, *Voyage*, p. 109. There is an intriguing reference in Osterwick's accounts for 21 December 1615. This records payment on the factory account for taking *Hozlander* merchandise to make a flag for the house, BL: Cotton Vesp. F. XVII; Farrington, vol. 2, p. 1319. The reference is puzzling, coming as it does nearly two years after the first warning about flying the cross of St George. There are no clues in Cocks' diary but the late December date may hint at preparations for Christmas celebrations.

³⁴ Mulder, *Hollanders in Hirado*, pp. 120-21.

³⁵ Boxer (ed.), *True Description*, p. 130n.

³⁶ See the examples in William Foster (ed.), *The Voyage of Thomas Best to the East Indies, 1612-14*, *Hakluyt Society*, Second Series, no. LXXV (1934), p. 157. The *Globe* hired two houses ashore in July 1612; one for the merchants, the other for sick men, 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. 38. Fresh victuals sent to ship were recorded by Fernão Mendes Pinto, Rebecca Catz trans and (ed.), *The Travels of Mendes Pinto* (Chicago and London, 1989), p. 275.

³⁷ *Letters Received*, vol. 2, pp. 113, 126.

³⁸ *Voyage*, p. 88. For details of Li see Seiichi, "Li Tan" and Aloysius Chang, "The Chinese Community of Nagasaki in the first Century of the Tokugawa period, 1603-1688", St John's University, Ph. D. (1970), pp. 104-05.

³⁹ *Voyage*, pp. 89-90.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

plasterers and carpenters were used in the slow development of the house, the majority of employees were unskilled labourers. The process of expansion of the factory is detailed throughout Cocks' diary.⁴¹ It is often difficult to penetrate deeply into sparse references to building expenditure. There is a continual ambiguity as to whether modifications are being made to living quarters or the various *godowns*. However, a number of details and features are clear. The house had its own well and there was a potato garden and pigeon house within the grounds.⁴² There were substantial paved areas and a separate bathhouse.⁴³ There is even reference to a "garden hows" with glazed windows.⁴⁴ There must have been a sizeable banqueting area/table within the house. Cocks often notes that, in addition to the British factors, he variously invited 13, 24 or even 30 Japanese guests to dinner parties.⁴⁵ There were various yards and storage sheds as well as gates which were locked and guarded at night.⁴⁶ There was a sizeable orchard with a wooden fence, in addition to a small bridge.⁴⁷ Minor buildings included isolated quarters for sick men and a fortified counting house.⁴⁸ This was probably an essential structure. On the evidence of Edmund Scott, the Bantam factory was constantly under threat from thieves. A popular tactic was to cast fire into the building and then steal under the cover of confusion.⁴⁹ There were a number of thefts in the Hirado complex but these were mostly committed by servants and boys. In a letter to Wickham, Eaton mentions that a certain smith was too busy at that moment to forge Wickham's stirrups, but it is not clear whether he was working within the factory or was simply a town smith.⁵⁰ The main factory building must have been located right on the waterfront, as Cocks describes the Matsuura as fishing, "before our dore".⁵¹ The E.I.C. outpost in nearby Kawachi had a stone curtain wall which was still visible in the 1930s.⁵² Given the high death rate from disease, an early priority was a cemetery, a common provision in East Indian factories. The terms of Shah Abbas' privileges for trade in Persia accorded the British a cemetery where Christians were already buried.⁵³ Nicholas Downton also mentions a burial ground in Surat, "to burye after our Christian

⁴¹ *Diary*, pp. 82, 95, 100, 122, 129, 140, 151; vol. 2., p. 268 *inter alia*.

⁴² *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 17, 20; vol. 2, p. 38. A well seems to have been a standard feature and is mentioned at the trading post in Swally Hole, Foster (ed.), *Voyage of Nicholas Downton*, p. 23.

⁴³ *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 243, 66. The taking of baths is described below.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 97 (13), 206 (24), 373; vol. 3, pp. 115-16 (30).

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 83, 97. A night watch for thieves was also essential in Surat, *Letters Received*, vol. 5, pp. 78, 88.

⁴⁷ *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 191, 107. The bridge is illustrated in the contemporary Dutch painting of Hirado described above.

⁴⁸ BL: Cotton Vespesian. F. XVII; Farrington, vol. 2, p. 1355. BL: Cart. Cotton III.13.XXVI. 28., f. 35; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 747. Isolating the sick was an immediate priority. Upon landing at the Cape of Good Hope tents were pitched on land, e.g., William Foster (ed.), *The Voyage of Nicholas Downton to the East Indies, 1614-1615, as Recorded in Contemporary Narratives and Letters*, Hakluyt Society, Second Series, no. LXXXII (1939), p. 53.

⁴⁹ William Foster (ed.), *The Voyage of Sir Henry Middleton to the Moluccas, 1604-1606*, Hakluyt Society, Second Series, no. LXXXVIII (1943), p. 52.

⁵⁰ IOR: E/3/4 no. 370; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 435. Matsuura Takanobu had his own smith, *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 96.

⁵¹ *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 86. A quay with steps leading down to the water is mentioned in Montanus, *Atlas Japonensis*, p. 36.

⁵² Paske-Smith, *Western Barbarians*, p. 35. There must also have been a wall in Hirado, as there is mention of mariner Peter Waddon going over the wall three times in one night, *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 97.

⁵³ *Letters Received*, vol. 6, p. 296. The Christians were probably Armenian merchants and their families.

manner".⁵⁴ The Chinese also had a distinct cemetery in Hirado from an early period.⁵⁵ Company factors used horses but it is unclear if they kept their own animals, as in Surat, or hired them when necessary.⁵⁶ If they did keep their own horses, stables would have been necessary. However, even in Surat there seems to have been only one animal, presumably for the use of the cape-merchant.⁵⁷

Although there is no record of restrictions, the Matsuura would not have allowed fortifications in their domain. In the Sultanate of Achin, Iskander Muda's privileges specified that the British were not to fortify their house nor land any ordinance. All that was permissible was a few muskets for local defence.⁵⁸ Similarly, the English house at Bantam had height restrictions placed on it.⁵⁹ As some form of comparison, the features of the English house at Surat are described by Christopher Farewell in his independent publication, *An East India Collation* (1633). The house had an orchard and a flat roof for walking to catch the cool breeze, "after the Spanish and the Moorish building". Although described by Farwell in his intimate portrait as "our little Common weale", there was obviously accommodation with local architectural practices.⁶⁰

As elsewhere in the Indies, fire-proofing is often explicitly mentioned in Hirado and a reference to mats for walls may also indicate a preventative measure.⁶¹ Details of the contracting to build a factory in Makassar, as recorded by John Jourdain, are very similar to the concerns and practices found in Japan. Surrounding residential buildings were torn down and there was a great concern for preventing fire.⁶² Incidentally, Cocks had no reservations about moving people out of their homes so that they could be destroyed or converted to *godowns*.⁶³ A fireproof warehouse was always a priority. However, local rulers were not always helpful, as the British found when trying to erect a factory in Patani in 1612. The local ruler initially could not see the need for permanent structures and fireproof warehouses, commenting that the Dutch had only constructed their *godowns* after several disasters. To this the factors pointed out the folly of waiting for a disaster to happen before acting.⁶⁴ In Macassar George

⁵⁴ Foster (ed.), *Voyage of Nicholas Downton*, pp. 100, 113.

⁵⁵ Aloysius Chang, "The Chinese community", pp. 64, 110.

⁵⁶ *Letters Received*, vol. 5, p. 38. For references to the use of horses in Hirado see *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 329-30; vol. 3, p. 121; IOR: G/12/15, pp. 32-33; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 406 and IOR: E/3/4 no. 370; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 435. Many journeys were made by water.

⁵⁷ *Letters Received*, vol. 5, p. 38.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 125. Restrictions on weapons are also evident in Jahangir's initial privileges for a factory in Surat, 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. xli-xlii. The severity of the restrictions was later overturned after stern protest from Roe.

⁵⁹ *Letters Received*, vol. 2, p. 276.

⁶⁰ Christopher Farewell, *An East India Collation, or a discourse of travels...* (London, 1633), Sig. C2-C2v. George Ball also described "our house at Bantam" as a "commonwealth", *Letters Received*, vol. 2, p. 161.

⁶¹ *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 193; vol. 2, p. 62.

⁶² 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. 293-94. The accompanying articles for the granting of a factory in Surat can be found in Foster (ed.), *Voyage of Thomas Best*, pp. 31-33 and Foster (ed.), *Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, vol. 1, pp. xli-xlii.

⁶³ *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 87-88.

⁶⁴ Moreland (ed.), *Voyage of Peter Floris*, pp. 34-38.

Cockayne reported that recently 1260 houses had been lost to fire “to my great fear of losing of all”.⁶⁵

It tends to be assumed that the living conditions and domestic objects, goods and furnishings of the Hirado factory were completely European.⁶⁶ However, the reality was a more varied fusion. Inga Clendinnen has shown that even in uncompromisingly European situations such as the Spanish colonisation of the Yucatan, there were inevitably concessions to native practices. Mayan labourers built homes to Spanish sketches but decorations had a distinct Indian flavour. The Spanish also slept in hammocks for coolness like the Maya.⁶⁷ Of course, it would be ridiculous to suggest that the merchants made a complete conversion to a Japanese way of life. They certainly kept many European household features and practices, although there was at least some adoption to Japanese methods. The English factory structure presumably had European-style doors with locks, as the keys were stolen on 28 March, 1616.⁶⁸ Entries in Cocks’ account book for the Eighth Voyage reveal that the house was supplied with gold plate cutlery amounting to 102 *reals*. Also included in the furnishings were tablecloths, napkins and towels.⁶⁹ However, in addition to the European utensils that were imported on E.I.C. ships, the factors made use of lacquerware vessels purchased from local craftsmen.⁷⁰ We know something of the sleeping habits of the factory personnel. When the first house was ready on 1 July 1613, Saris sent the merchants to lie ashore “with there beades and chests”.⁷¹ Hence, at least in the initial stages they carried their ship beds ashore and did not feel tempted to try the Japanese *futon*. A reference several years later in Cocks’ dairy suggests that the factors were still sleeping in European-style beds, complete with embroidered valances.⁷² Wickham’s inventory, taken at his death in Bantam, shows that he slept in a European bed and owned sheets, three quilts and several pillowcases. Yet he also owned two “Japon bedsteads” and an embroidered Chinese quilt, by way of decoration.⁷³ Although European beds seem to have been retained all over the Indies, some factors were willing to experiment with local practices in order to combat native pests. George Pley in Ispahan wrote to ask Thomas Kerridge for bedsteads “with their webs”, which is presumably a reference to mosquito nets.⁷⁴ Elsewhere peripheral comments can be revealing. In January 1616 ‘Sugen dono’ of nearby Karatsu sent to borrow a pair of *byōbu* screens from the English house.⁷⁵ Cocks was also sent a present of two *byōbus* by Hasegawa Fujimasa.⁷⁶ The references indicate that the

⁶⁵ *Letters Received*, vol. 2, p. 34. See also *ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 231, 232.

⁶⁶ Some of the features are described in Paske-Smith, *A Glympse*, pp. 33-38.

⁶⁷ Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquests*, p. 43.

⁶⁸ *Diary*, p. 203.

⁶⁹ IOR: L/MAR/C/6; Farrington, vol. 2, pp. 1266, 1267. Utensils are discussed under “Food”.

⁷⁰ IOR: G/12/15, p. 37; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 440.

⁷¹ *Voyage*, p. 94. It seems to have been a standard practice to carry out beds from England. Whilst in captivity at Mocha, Henry Middleton was sent his bedstead from the ship, *Letters Received*, vol. 1, p. 94.

⁷² *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 228.

⁷³ IOR: G/40/23 ff. 4-7; Farrington, vol. 1, pp. 729-36. The whole subject of beds is ridiculously over-interpreted by Giles Milton. A single reference to a bedstead prompts the following fantasy. Cocks had hoped that the men would sleep on the floor in Japanese fashion but they found it uncomfortable “and refused to adopt local customs”. After many sleepless nights on the bare *tatami* mats (no *futons*?)

Cocks sent out an order for bedsteads, Milton, *Samurai William*, p. 212.

⁷⁴ *Letters Received*, vol. 5, p. 251.

⁷⁵ *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 154. These were folding painted screens.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 104.

house had at least some Japanese decorations by 1616. The influence of Japanese craft items is also evident in the inventory of Wickham's goods, taken in 1618. These included numerous lacquerware vessels, cases and boxes, in addition to three Japanese *hibachis*, charcoal braziers.⁷⁷ Like Wickham's letter book, the inventory was unpublished and largely ignored prior to Farrington's collection, published in 1991. In showing willingness to follow Japanese practices the factors were not atypical of their European contemporaries in Japan. Whilst it is known from extant references that missionaries tried to live in a Japanese manner following the advice of Alessandro Valignano, it is often forgotten that some lay Portuguese actively chose this option.⁷⁸ The evidence of contemporary painted *namban* screens show that ordinary Portuguese traders lived in Japanese-style houses complete with features such as *tatami* mats and sliding doors.⁷⁹

It could be argued that the factors had to adopt features of Japanese domestic life through a lack of alternatives. However, this was not the case. A variety of European craft services could be found in Nagasaki, the centre of the overseas Portuguese community in Japan. Tools and provisions could be made to order, including whatever the factory/visiting ships' craftsmen desired. Among the items mentioned are a variety of nails, windowpanes, shipping wares and European-style locks for chests.⁸⁰ There is little information on whether the retailers of these items were Europeans or Japanese. At the turn of the seventeenth century most craft items in Nagasaki were made in the spare time of the Neapolitan Jesuit, Giovanni Niccolo. Niccolo specialised in musical instruments and clocks.⁸¹ The Jesuit was presumably expelled along with the other active missionaries in 1614, although his disciplines no doubt continued to produce European goods for the overseas community. Hence, the adoption of Japanese domestic features was a conscious choice on the part of the merchants and not a necessity.

2. Servants

Naturally the running of a sizeable trading enterprise entailed help from the local populace in the form of various employees and servants. Despite their lowly position, servants were an essential link in cultural relations and the most immediate source of advice and information on local conditions. They were also the Japanese with whom the factors had the most contact. However, the employment and general treatment of servants is only very briefly considered over two pages by both Massarella and Milton.⁸² The factors used various terms to describe their employees and understood a hierarchy of positions which also had currency with the Japanese themselves. Indeed,

⁷⁷ IOR: G/40/23 ff. 4-7; Farrington, vol. 1, pp. 729-36.

⁷⁸ Corr, *Adams the Pilot*, p. 50. The advice came in the wake of Valignano's "Avertimento e Avisos acerca dos costumes e Catangues de Jappão" (1581), in which concessions were recommended in clothing, language and etiquette.

⁷⁹ Yoshitono Okamoto, *The Namban Art of Japan*, trans Ronald K. Jones (New York and Tokyo, 1972), p. 70. For illustrations of missionary residences see *ibid.*, plate 63; Michael Cooper "Japan and the way thither" in Cooper (ed.), *The Southern Barbarians: The First Europeans in Japan* (Tokyo, 1971), p. 28; Fernando G. Gutiérrez, "A survey of Namban art", in *ibid.*, pp. 183, 186-87, 188-89; Diego Pacheco, "The Europeans in Japan, 1543-1640", in *ibid.*, p. 46.

⁸⁰ *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 68, 71, 72, 120, 165.

⁸¹ Michael Cooper, *Rodrigues the Interpreter: An Early Jesuit in Japan and China* (New York and Tokyo, 1974; 1994), pp. 210-11.

⁸² Massarella, *World Elsewhere*, pp. 218-19; Milton, *Samurai William*, pp. 215-16.

some of the servants of the local Japanese are sometimes accorded respectful European appellations such as 'steward'.⁸³ This practice is supported by the evidence of the Jesuit João Rodrigues. The men he names 'pages' and 'squires' were highly esteemed and were able to enter the inner vestibule with their lords. On no account would they perform menial tasks such as presenting sandals, and many employed their own shoe-boy.⁸⁴

Unfortunately the historiography on servants in Japan is very meagre, especially in European languages. Western social historians have turned their attention to *samurai*, artisans and peasants but servants have so far been neglected. Even in Japanese historiography servants have not been studied for their own sake but rather by Marxist historians plotting Japan's independent transition from feudalism to capitalism.⁸⁵ However, Gary P. Leupp's monograph sheds much light on conditions of servitude in Tokugawa Japan, even if, inevitably, most of the evidence is drawn from the eighteenth century.⁸⁶ Comparative material on bonded labour in South East Asia has been useful, notably the papers in Anthony Reid's volume, *Slavery, Bondage and Dependency in Southeast Asia*.⁸⁷ The domestic English historiography suffers the same limitations as the Tokugawa perspective, concentrating as it does on the post-Restoration period and the eighteenth century rather than Jacobean conditions.⁸⁸

The merchants came from a culture in which even relatively poor families would be aided by a maid and craftsmen would have assistants.⁸⁹ Percentages of servants in the population ran from ten per cent of hamlets and villages to 13 per cent in London.⁹⁰ The results are almost identical to what is known of contemporary Japan, where

⁸³ E.g., *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 12, 17-18 (steward), 99 (secretary). Also titles such as 'chamberlain' and 'provedor'. The Japanese titles and their English equivalents for servants in samurai and domestic households are provided in tables in Gary P. Leupp, *Servants, Shophands, and Laborers in the Cities of Tokugawa Japan* (Princeton, 1992), pp. 42, 46, 47, 50. There is no evidence in Cocks' diary that any native titles were used for factory servants. However, there are several examples of the honorific *-dono* being used for servants, BL: Cotton Vesp. F. XVII; Farrington, vol. 2, pp. 1307, 1328, 1399, 1403.

⁸⁴ Michael Cooper trans and (ed.), *This Island of Japan: João Rodrigues' Account of 16th Century Japan* (Tokyo, 1973), p. 93. Rodrigues also describes the head cook of a household as a 'gentleman', *ibid.*, p. 96. The post of shoe-carrier was mentioned by Dutch *opperhooft* François Caron as an essential adjunct to visiting *daimyōs* at court. The number of servants permitted was strictly limited but even the lowest ranks were accorded a carrier, Boxer (ed.), *True Description*, p. 56.

⁸⁵ Leupp, *Servants*, p. xi.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ Anthony Reid (ed.), *Slavery, Bondage and Dependency in Southeast Asia* (St Lucia, 1983).

⁸⁸ Of most use is Tim Meldrum, *Domestic Service and Gender, 1660-1750: Life and Work in the London Household* (London, 2000), which sums up all the recent historiography in a bibliographical essay. For the relevant period see also M. McIntosh, "Servants and the household unit in an Elizabethan English community", *Journal of Family History*, vol. 9 (1984), pp. 3-23; N. Goose, "Household size and structure in early-Stuart Cambridge", *Social History*, vol. 5 (1980), pp. 347-85; I. K. Ben-Amos, "Service and coming of age of young men in seventeenth century England", *Continuity and Change*, vol. 3, no. 1 (1988), pp. 41-64.

⁸⁹ Although basing his data on a later period, one of the best overviews is Meldrum, *Domestic Service*. The concentration on London and Meldrum's argument that his results are applicable anywhere in Britain is defended in *ibid.*, p. 12n.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14. The results are drawn from the Marriage Duties assessment taken in 1695. Earlier figures for servant percentages are covered in Jeremy Boulton, *Neighbourhood and Society: A London Suburb in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 120-37, although Boulton's figures are distorted by the inclusion of apprentices alongside domestic servants. See also Goose, "Household size", pp. 373-76, where a distinction is made between the two.

throughout the Tokugawa epoch ten per cent of Edo's population were servants.⁹¹ The evidence for London shows that service was not so much a career as a life-cycle occupation that generally lasted until marriage in the female case.⁹² As apprenticed merchants themselves the factors would have lived in conditions similar to servitude, being dependent upon their employer for food and shelter.⁹³ They were also effectively 'bonded' to serve for a set time. London livery companies set seven year indentures, through which apprentices lived with their masters and served under their moral guidance.⁹⁴ Apprentices were also usually prohibited from marriage.⁹⁵

The notion and role of a servant did not necessarily have pejorative connotations to the early modern mind. Unlike the later period of the Atlantic slave trade, the very idea of slavery and servitude was not racially based.⁹⁶ Factors considered and often described themselves as the Company's servants. This notion extended to both basic nomenclature and expected behaviour. For instance, Cocks reprimanded the Italian sometime-employee Damian Marin for intending private trade, "he being a hired servant, & therefore, p'r the lawes of God and man, ought to look out for the benefite of them w'ch gaue hym meate, drynke, & wages".⁹⁷ Company men also brought out personal servants on voyages. These were their fellow countrymen and not Africans.⁹⁸ Whilst in Guiana Raleigh mentions his own servants and those attached to various captains.⁹⁹ In addition, in the Hirado sources samurai were also often described as servants to regional lords.¹⁰⁰ However, slavery was another matter and the term was often used either as an insult or to describe intolerable conditions and the overbearing attitude of a commander.¹⁰¹ John Totton was enraged that he was treated like a slave in the English house.¹⁰² Writing from Bantam, Ferdinando Cotton complained that he was employed as a merchant and not as a slave.¹⁰³ Edward Connock characterised the

⁹¹ Leupp, *Servants*, p. 29.

⁹² Meldrum, *Domestic Service*, p. 17.

⁹³ R. G. Lang, "Social origins and social aspirations of Jacobean London merchants", *Economic History Review*, Second Series, vol. 27 (1974), pp. 28-47. On conditions of apprenticeship see I. K. Ben-Amos, *Adolescence and Youth in Early Modern England* (New Haven and London, 1994), pp. 84-132 and Ben-Amos' articles: "Service and coming of age"; "Failure to become freemen: urban apprentices in early modern England", *Social History*, vol. 16, no. 2 (1991), pp. 155-172. For the role of women see Ben-Amos, *Adolescence and Youth*, pp. 135-45 and Ben-Amos, "Women apprentices in the trades and crafts of early modern Bristol", *Continuity and Change*, vol. 6, no. 2 (1991), pp. 227-252. The duties of apprentice merchants are set out in John Browne's popular handbook, *The Marchants Avizo* (London, 1589).

⁹⁴ Meldrum, *Domestic Service*, p. 27. The master was *in loco parentis* to his charge, Ben-Amos, *Adolescence and Youth*, p. 85.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶ However, the sixteenth century did see the beginnings of representing Africans in artworks through slavery motifs such as collars and chains. See Kim F. Hall, *Things of Darkness: Economies of Race and Gender in Early Modern England* (Ithaca and London, 1995), pp. 19-20.

⁹⁷ *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 14. Both Damian Marin and Juan de Llevano are described as 'servants' although they were clearly not servants in the sense of performing menial tasks, *ibid.*, p. 81.

⁹⁸ See *Pilgrimes*, vol. 3, p. 66; *Letters Received*, vol. 5, pp. 173, 199, 210, 220, 324.

⁹⁹ Neil L. Whitehead (ed.), *The Discoverie of the Large, rich and bewtiful empire of Guiana* (Manchester, 1997), p. 185.

¹⁰⁰ E.g., *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 218.

¹⁰¹ E.g., Foster (ed.), *Voyage of Henry Middleton*, p. 46.

¹⁰² *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 216. See also *ibid.*, p. 286 and IOR: E/3/7 no. 839; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 775, for the term being used to voice contempt.

¹⁰³ *Letters Received*, vol. 1, p. 202. See also *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 118; vol. 4, pp. 93, 153; vol. 5, pp. 300, 351; vol. 6, p. 192.

Persian Gulf as lying in slavery to the Portuguese.¹⁰⁴ It must have been quite clear upon arrival in Japan that the native inhabitants also employed servants at many social levels. As in Britain this was not confined to the rich elites. Leupp provides a table of the employers of servants in the castle town of Kasama in 1705, that includes commodity shops, tailors, carpenters, clergy and a dancer.¹⁰⁵ Adams kept several servants.¹⁰⁶ The *daimyō*'s smith had house servants.¹⁰⁷ The factor's also provided their Japanese consorts with servants and paid for their upkeep. Cocks' woman Matinga was given three boys and two girls.¹⁰⁸

The Contracting of Servants

Saris left the English house with three *jurebassos* and two presumably Japanese servants in December 1613. Although the general left few instructions about numbers and requirements of servants, he advised Cocks that "Men you may have reasonable hier".¹⁰⁹ We do not have as many details on the initial employment of Japanese as would be desirable through the loss of many early letters and the fact that Cocks did not begin his diary until June 1615. However, in the months following the formal establishment of the factory a wide variety of jobs were filled by the Japanese. These included various cooks, scullery attendants, porters and guards in the factory, in addition to personal servants, interpreters and messengers. Alongside the large numbers of labourers and craftsmen employed in the construction of the factory, the factory clearly offered generous employment prospects. The factors also hired local people for various other menial tasks such as washing linen.¹¹⁰ The diary also mentions a Japanese tailor who sought work at the English house, although he was presumably not employed as there are no further mentions of him.¹¹¹

Although some of the more prestigious positions in the English house had independent contracts that allowed them to leave at will, many of the junior staff were purchased in bonded agreements. This practice was noted quite early in Japan, when Saris recorded the execution of three men for stealing a Hirado woman and selling her in Nagasaki "long since".¹¹² Parents selling their children found a loophole in edicts against slavery, whose object was to prevent kidnapping (*kadowakashi*) and sale by non-family members.¹¹³ Fortunately, there are some quite detailed references to contracts. For instance, Cocks entered into a contract with the mother of 'Mon', stating that the boy would serve the Company for 15 years for two *taels* plus Cocks' responsibility for "fynding hym diet & aper'll".¹¹⁴ Boys such as Mon were

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 5, p. 192.

¹⁰⁵ Leupp, *Servants*, p. 26.

¹⁰⁶ He notes that he was accompanied by his servants on the first voyage of the *Sea Adventure*, Bodleian Library: Savile Ms 48; Farrington, vol. 2, p. 1070.

¹⁰⁷ *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 96.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 15 (Bicho, Jeffry, Dick, Oto and Fuca). The activities of consorts are described in ch. 6.

¹⁰⁹ IOR: G/40/25, pp. 132-36; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 213.

¹¹⁰ *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 5-6.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

¹¹² *Voyage*, p. 102.

¹¹³ Leupp, *Servants*, p. 17.

¹¹⁴ *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 190. The terms of purchase were not as harsh as in China, were Peter Mundy reported that parents sold their children in Macao for terms of 30, 40 or 50 years. Sometimes no conditions were attached, Sir Richard Carnac Temple (ed.), *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and*

presumably very young if their contract ran for 15 years. Labour must also have been very cheap. As an indication of cost, the two *taels* paid for Mon also bought Cocks four pairs of leather pumps and three pairs of velvet slippers.¹¹⁵ Two *taels* was also the monthly wage of a *jurebasso* or porter.¹¹⁶ In a letter to Wickham Cocks refers to some form of legal document in Japanese that concerned the transfer of ownership of a boy 'Tushima' from John Japan to himself.¹¹⁷ A reference in the diary also shows that witnesses were used, including in this case, a Japanese vintner.¹¹⁸ Contracts could be renewed and changed. For instance, Eaton made a new agreement with the parents of Domingo allowing him to take the boy into Siam, Cochin China or Patani but not Bantam or England, during the space of seven years.¹¹⁹ It seems that girls were worth less than boys as Eaton paid only half as much for seven years service from Suzanna, Domingo's sister, although he was not to carry her out of Japan.¹²⁰ Again, this is similar to the situation in England. Male servants received at least one third more than their nearest female counterparts.¹²¹ 'Bess' and 'Suzanna' were the only girls to be employed in the factory. This was a great contrast to the situation in England where the majority of domestic servants were female, in what has been described as a 'feminisation' of labour.¹²² How voluntary any of these transactions were in reality is unclear. In a letter home to his patron Sir Thomas Wilson, Cocks reported that it was permissible for parents to sell their children or husbands their wives, if forced to do so by economic necessity.¹²³ Despite Leupp's mention of the prominent role of household heads, contracts were almost always secured through the mother, although on 9 August 1613, 'Juan' offered his services directly to Cocks, for 9 or 10 years.¹²⁴

The factors took care of all the needs of their serving boys. In addition to board and apparel, Cocks paid for 'Lawrence's' haircuts.¹²⁵ The provision of diet for employees was a customary perquisite in Japan, not only of contracted servants but also of carpenters and labourers, who were often hired on daily rates.¹²⁶ The keeping of

Asia, 1608-1667, 5 vols in 6, *Hakluyt Society*, Second Series, nos 17, 35, 45-46, 55, 78 (1907-1937), vol. 3, part 1, p. 263.

¹¹⁵ *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 86.

¹¹⁶ Firando Ledger B; Farrington, vol. 2, pp. 1274-75.

¹¹⁷ IOR: E/3/2 no. 196; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 243. The document is no longer extant. See also *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 195.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 281. Guarantors were a legal requirement, Leupp, *Servants*, p. 69. Examples of such contracts can be found in John Henry Wigmore (ed.), *Law and Justice in Tokugawa Japan: Materials for the History of Japanese Law and Justice under the Tokugawa Shogunate, 1603-1867*, 10 parts (Tokyo, 1969-), vol. VIII B, p. 73f.

¹¹⁹ *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 351.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

¹²¹ Meldrum, *Domestic Service*, pp. 190, 193, 205.

¹²² *Ibid.*, p. 15. The Marriage Duties assessments for the City of London in 1695 show that women accounted for 81 per cent of domestic service. However, the Hirado factory would have fallen into the category of multiple-servant employers, in which upper-servants tended to be male, *ibid.*, pp. 15-16. Meldrum's figures, which stretch into the mid-eighteenth century give a ratio of four females to every male in domestic service, *ibid.*

¹²³ PRO: CO 77/1 no. 42; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 259. This seems to refer more to legal rather than social acceptability.

¹²⁴ *Relation*, pp. 143-44.

¹²⁵ *Diary*, vol. 3, p. 48.

¹²⁶ See e.g., *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 83. In his 1744 *Economic Records* the scholar Dazi Shundai wrote that in an unspecified past lords had not needed to pay either labourers or craftsmen but merely provided their daily meals, Leupp, *Servants*, p. 16. The system of *corvée* labour was highly developed in Japan. See Constantine N. Vaporis, "Post station and assisting villages: *corvée* labour and peasant contention", *MN*, vol. 41, no 4 (1986), pp. 378-414.

servants in apparel was also a Japanese practice and not unique to the circumstances of the Hirado factory. Such basically non-waged transactions were also common in England, where a number of lower servants simply received bed and board.¹²⁷ The factors would also have been familiar with what E. P. Thompson has termed the 'moral economy', i.e. customary non-wage entitlements such as 'vails' (tips), used clothes and leftovers. Cooks were allowed to sell dripping from their masters' kitchen.¹²⁸ These were benefits that were gradually lost in the transition from patriarchalism to economic rationalism. The existing historiography unfortunately concentrates on the erosion of these privileges from the late seventeenth century onwards, rather than considering the situation in the early seventeenth century. Although almost all agricultural servants, apprentices and domestics resided in their employers household, a minority were given 'board wages' to pay for outside food and accommodation.¹²⁹ Apprentices were also provided with food, clothing, accommodation and washing.¹³⁰ Hence, Massarella is accurate in stating that contracts in Hirado combined English practice with assumptions about Japanese tradition.¹³¹ Clothes may have been expected immediately, as Cocks records buying two garments for 'Juan' on the same day that he was employed.¹³² Osterwick also recorded the expense of "buying & apparelling" a Japanese boy called Richard.¹³³ It should be noted that Cocks also had to foot the bill of apparelling his mistress Matinga's five servants.¹³⁴ In the case of Adams, miscellaneous accounts in his log for a voyage in the *Sea Adventure* in 1616 record that Adams bought two coats for his servants.¹³⁵ Although this isn't stated in the records, many of the servants' clothes were probably made from scrap material or the least vendible cloths. Simon, the Goan *jurebasso*, appears to have received clothes of a particularly poor standard, as his material allowance consisted of, amongst others, one piece of spotted *baftas* and two pieces of "rotten & roteaten dutis".¹³⁶ The provision of cloth rather than finished articles was standard practice in the East Indies and a feature of the factors' own clothing, for which they were expected to pay themselves.¹³⁷ Indeed, it was only the factory consorts who were given finished garments rather than the raw materials.¹³⁸ Much of the work of sowing and making servant's garments was given to the wives and families of the servants themselves or the female friends of the factory. Cocks records a payment to 'Torage' for making two kimonos for 'Tushma' and 'John Goblen'.¹³⁹

As for the servants themselves, they were mostly local Hirado men and women. However, a number of references suggest that nearby Nagasaki also proved a popular

¹²⁷ Meldrum, *Domestic Service*, pp. 20, 196-98.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 201.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 197.

¹³⁰ Ben-Amos, *Adolescence and Youth*, pp. 110-11. Ben-Amos notes that quantities of provisions are usually unspecified and there must have been a great deal of variation.

¹³¹ Massarella, *World Elsewhere*, p. 219.

¹³² *Relation*, p. 144.

¹³³ BL: Cotton Vesp. F. XVII; Farrington, vol. 2, p. 1340.

¹³⁴ E.g., *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 148.

¹³⁵ Bodleian Library: Savile Ms 48; Farrington, vol. 2, p. 1070.

¹³⁶ *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 20. See also *ibid.*, p. 76. *Baftas* and *dutties* were Indian fabrics.

¹³⁷ See *inter alia*, *Ibid.*, pp. 20, 28, 32, 39, 40.

¹³⁸ E.g., *ibid.*, p. 41.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 39. She is probably the 'Toraga' who had a relationship with sometime E.I.C. employee Hernando Ximines and eventually married him in 1622, as related in chapter 6.

supplier of labour.¹⁴⁰ In addition to being more populous than Hirado, Nagasaki would have had many Portuguese speakers due to the long-standing Lusitanian presence in the port.¹⁴¹ Although the Portuguese had frequented Hirado in the early decades of contact it had been abandoned as a location for decades before the arrival of the British.¹⁴² Although the sizeable Christian community in Hirado probably gave rise to a reasonable number of Portuguese/Spanish speakers (as indicated in the sources), the inhabitants of Nagasaki were no doubt more fluent.¹⁴³ Many servants bear Iberian names and some are directly mentioned as Christians.¹⁴⁴ However, Christianity was certainly not a pre-requisite of employment, as illustrated by the abundance of Japanese names in the table below, which gives the names of servants identified in the Hirado sources. There also seem to have been a lot of Goan *mestizos* working in the Hirado locality, who are often described as “caffros”. Amongst the employees of the English factory was the Goan *jurebasso* Simon, who later went to work for the Dutch.¹⁴⁵ Jorge Durois, an independent Nagasaki trader who worked closely with the factory, is alternately referred to as “George the Portugal” or “Georg our caffro”. A number of the servants, in particular the *jurebassos*, also appear to have been literate.¹⁴⁶

There was a hierarchy evident amongst the local employees in which *jurebassos* undoubtedly stood at the top. For the Tonking factory voyage of 1619 Miguel was able to venture five times Richard Hudson’s contribution and only two *taels* less than independent Iberian trader Jorge Durois.¹⁴⁷ For the same voyage, John Jurebasso also made a large venture.¹⁴⁸ Even amongst interpreters there were sub-ranks and divisions of importance and pay. For instance, John Japan is described as “Principal Juebass” whilst John Morey was “second jurebass” during the first year of the factory.¹⁴⁹ Servants and interpreters were readily transferred between employees as and when required. As Cocks often explicitly mentions serving the Company, it seems that servants were not strictly attached to individuals.¹⁵⁰ For instance, in the 1615 journey to court Wickham was accompanied by the factory interpreter Miguel, who was to remain in Edo with him. Eaton likewise took Cocks’ boy Tome, who was to accompany him to the Kinai.¹⁵¹ Osterwick also described the factory porter John Pheby as Adams’ servant in September 1615.¹⁵² There is also a curious reference in

¹⁴⁰ *Relation*, p. 144; *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 22, 124. Dutch factor Reyer Gysbertszoon notes that in 1624 one of the ex-British *jurebassos* was taken to his hometown of Nagasaki for execution, Boxer (ed.), *True Description*, p. 76.

¹⁴¹ Diego Pacheco, “The founding of the port of Nagasaki and its cessation to the Society of Jesus”, *MN*, vol. 25 (1970), pp. 249-57. The Portuguese presence in the city is amply covered in standard works such as C. R. Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan, 1549-1650* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1951; 1974) and Cooper, *Rodrigues the Interpreter*.

¹⁴² The Portuguese moved on to Nagasaki in 1571, *Voyage*, p. xlvi.

¹⁴³ See previous chapter.

¹⁴⁴ *Relation*, p. 144.

¹⁴⁵ IOR: E/3/2 no. 209; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 271.

¹⁴⁶ Cocks sent a letter to Miguel, *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 27. Servants’ role in letter writing on behalf of the factory is discussed in the previous chapter.

¹⁴⁷ Bodleian Library: Savile Ms 48; Farrington, vol. 2, p. 1170.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁹ Firando Ledger B; Farrington, vol. 2, p. 1274.

¹⁵⁰ E.g., *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 281.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 80.

¹⁵² BL: Cotton Vesp F. XVII; Farrington, vol. 2, p. 1299. Pheby was originally employed as a gateman/porter on 20 May 1614, “he being a trusty fellow”, Firando Ledger B; Farrington, vol. 2, pp. 1274-75.

the diary to the servants of local notables working in the Dutch house.¹⁵³ As noted elsewhere, reoccurring names make identification of many servants difficult.¹⁵⁴ For instance, looking at the table below, is the 'Domingo' of Cocks and Eaton the same man as 'Co Domingo'? Sometimes the transferral of servants is directly stated, elsewhere the only clue is the name. An occasional problem was that servants were not free to be bought and sold but were already under ownership. Cocks records that a Spaniard sent a man to forcefully remove Osterwick's boy Antony from the house because he claimed ownership of him.¹⁵⁵ Cocks also counselled Dutch factor Leonard Camps to either return a Negro to Alvarao Gonzales or else pay his going rate, 50 *reals* of eight.¹⁵⁶

Table no. 2. Servants identified in the Hirado sources.

<i>Owner</i>	<i>Servants</i>
Cocks	Bicho/Tushima, Domingo, Jeffrey, Lawrence, Paul, Man/Paulo, Tome.
Wickham	
Eaton	Co John, Domingo, Suzanna.
Osterwick	Antony, Bicho/Tushima.
Nealson	Miguel.
Sayers	Co John.
Coppendale	Mats, Robin.
Unspecified/Factory	Barnando, Bess, Co Domingo, Old Domingo, Co John, Fachman, Ingoti, John Pheby, Mon/Paulo dono, Oto, Pedro, Suzanna, Skeetes, Shezo, Yoske, Yoske, Jaquesey, Guench, Yemon.
<i>Jurebassos</i>	John Japan, Tome, Co John, Miguel, Little Tome, John Gorezano, Mancho, Martin, Miguel, Miguel, Simon, John Morey.

Presumably in order to overcome the confusion of a multiplicity of Japanese bearing the same name, the factors chose nicknames and appellations for their charges. There are many references to "greate Tome" and "littell Tome" or "Coa Domingo" and "Oa[ld] Domingo".¹⁵⁷ This may well indicate a father and son, who obviously retained the same family name. Particularly during the Dutch confinement to Deshima, interpreters held hereditary positions.¹⁵⁸ This cannot always have been the

¹⁵³ *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 285.

¹⁵⁴ Hence it is puzzling that Corr, *Adams the Pilot*, pp. 20-21 is so sure that the Sidney Miguel mentioned in the East India Company's *A True relation of the univst, cruell, and barbarous proceedings against the English at Amboyna* (London, 1624), Sig. E2 can be identified with Miguel *jurebasso*. The Japanese guards executed by the Dutch on Amboina were clearly samurai and would be unlikely to include a Spanish translator in their ranks.

¹⁵⁵ *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 106.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 39-40.

¹⁵⁷ For instance, *Ibid.*, p. 198.

¹⁵⁸ Jiro Numata, "The acceptance of Western culture in Japan: general observations", in *Acceptance of Western Culture in Japan from the Sixteenth to the mid-Nineteenth Century* (Tokyo, 1964), p. 3.

case, however, as the diary contains reference to four separate 'Co Johns', who were clearly not all sons. There is also mention of 'Co John' of Goto and 'Co John' of Nagasaki.¹⁵⁹ Although never to my knowledge suggested elsewhere, it seems obvious that the many references to "Co John" and "Co Domingo" are actually the Japanese adjective 'ko', meaning minor or small. Such an interpretation would fit the context of older and younger 'Johns' and 'Domingos' or even father and son pairs. Indeed, the opposite form of 'ko' - 'ō' - may be extant in the reference to "Oa[d] Domingo", cited above.¹⁶⁰ Here the editors of the diary have filled in the gap as an accidental elision but the original form of "Oa Domingo" may well be correct. It is true that the interpreter is described elsewhere as "Old Domingo" but Cocks, at least, understood the use of 'ō' as an honorific. He styles the consorts of Sayers and Wickham as "Omaria" and "O-man".¹⁶¹ Interestingly the "Oa" could also phonetically represent the long vowel found in the Japanese original. Elsewhere, servants were distinguished by their place of origin. Hence 'Bitcho' is also referred to as 'Tushima', which no doubt reflects his origins on Tsushima Island.¹⁶² Also within this category are the previously mentioned 'Co Johns' of Goto and Nagasaki. The factors and particularly Cocks were quite adept at devising nicknames for many of the local Japanese. Although servants were not the most obvious butt of jokes we do find reference to a 'Harry Starkasse'.¹⁶³ As he was a porter this refers to the practice of wearing nothing but a loincloth and head towel.¹⁶⁴

Relations with Servants

In contrast to the evidence of other East Indian factories, relations with local employees in Japan were quite bumpy. There was a very high turnover of servants and constant references to men being "put away". A number of servants are given only one mention, such as "Toshiro" or "Martin". Labour seems to have been cheap and plentiful and it was only in exceptional circumstances that the factors tolerated bad conduct from their employees. For instance, Eaton was forced to bear the tricks of his *jurebasso* Miguel, presumably because of his inability to communicate with the locals in Edo in order to find another interpreter.¹⁶⁵ There were no such problems in Hirado. When servants were misbehaving or neglecting their duties, Cocks remarked in his diary that there was no scarcity of potential *jurebassos* to justify keeping them on if they had misbehaved.¹⁶⁶ The scullion Hachiman was dismissed for some unknown indiscretion and a new man was employed later that day.¹⁶⁷ Prior to departure for Edo, Cocks instructed Wickham not to beat or verbally abuse any servant, but merely to dismiss him and hire another.¹⁶⁸

A major problem faces historians trying to map out who was employed during the factory's duration. Because of the prevalence of both baptismal and common Japanese

¹⁵⁹ *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 18, 22.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 198.

¹⁶¹ IOR: E/3/7 no. 894; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 802; IOR: E/3/3 no. 340; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 370.

¹⁶² *Diary*, vol. 3, pp. 39, 76, 228.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 202; IOR: E/3/7 no. 811; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 761.

¹⁶⁴ Leupp, *Servants*, p. 3. For a picture of a loinclothed porter see Conrad Totman, *Early Modern Japan* (Berkeley and London, 1993), p. 156.

¹⁶⁵ *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 61.

¹⁶⁶ E.g., *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 8, 49.

¹⁶⁸ IOR: E/3/1 no. 127; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 124.

names it is often difficult to tell exactly who is who. A number of names reoccur in the table above. It is difficult to reconcile the fact that Cocks often records the dismissal of a servant, and yet one can find apparently the same man working at the factory again a short time later.¹⁶⁹ There are often no clues to be found in the diary as whether it was the same man or not. If we believe the British sources, the high turnover of staff was not due to any abuse offered by the factors, but rather to an independent spirit on the part of the Japanese servants. It is certainly puzzling that many of the other European commentators on Japan stressed the extreme loyalty and sense of duty inherent in the Japanese.¹⁷⁰ They were frequently characterised as being unquestioningly obedient to their master/lord. Even the servants of other Japanese are depicted in the English sources as intensely loyal, with a reciprocal sense of defending the honour of their masters. The Dutch warned that as the English *jurebasso* John Gorezano had insulted Yasimon dono's brother-in-law, the latter's servants would kill him in the street.¹⁷¹ Not so the Japanese employees of the English factory, who often absented themselves, stole from the factory, were disrespectful and plotted against the factors. Or at least this was how they appear in the letters and journal of the British merchants. We don't have the servants' side of the story. The factors also tended to believe that dismissed servants must be involved in any calamity that befell the British or the factory. This even extended to the dismissed servants of the Dutch.¹⁷² There seem to be parallels here with what historians have identified in early colonial America as an intense suspicion of those on whom men had to rely, i.e. interpreters and intermediaries.¹⁷³

According to the Hirado sources, a common problem was that Japanese servants would gain a sense of pride and refuse to work in a particular post that they deemed unfitting. Prior to the first departure of the chartered junk the *Sea Adventure*, Cocks remarked that the porter John Pheby had "growne statelie & will not serve in the English house for comprador, soe he and I are p'ted".¹⁷⁴ Pheby obviously decided that his usual role of drayman/barqueman entitled him to more respect than a household servant. As discussed in chapter 3, Japanese craftsmen who worked on the factory were concerned about monopolies and violently objected to any change in their work patterns. Other criticisms revolved around personal character flaws and vices which sometimes did and sometimes didn't impinge on servants' performance. John Japan was dismissed from permanent employment on 14 June 1615 because, amongst other things, he had "many tymes passed before the dore singing like a lunetike man", presumably in his drunkenness.¹⁷⁵ On another occasion Cocks had cause to chastise

¹⁶⁹ E.g. the boy 'Tome', *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 18 and 76; the scullion 'Hatchiman', *ibid.*, p. 48 and BL: Cart. Cotton Vesp F. XVII; Farrington, vol. 2, pp. 1325, 1367, 1446, 1466.

¹⁷⁰ See for instance, Cooper (ed.), *They Came*, pp. 37-50.

¹⁷¹ *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 44.

¹⁷² See for instance, *ibid.*, p. 32, 44. However, it seems to have been standard practice for servants thrown out of one house to transfer loyalties to the other, e.g., *ibid.*, p. 67.

¹⁷³ Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians, passim* and 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. 41-43.

¹⁷⁴ IOR: E/3/2 no. 208; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 270. Pheby may have been a prickly character as Adams had previously refused to take him with him on the *Sea Adventure*, IOR: E/3/2 no. 195; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 242.

¹⁷⁵ *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 17. This also happened in the case of Miguel, *ibid.*, p. 61. Drunkenness was one of the traits commonly attached to servants in Japanese literature and plays of the Tokugawa era, Leupp, *Servants*, p. 108.

John Gorezano, who “hath a foule tong & fallth out w’th all men”.¹⁷⁶ As discussed in chapter 3, the merchants disliked the Japanese practice of selling or giving away gifts that had been given to them. Cocks complained, “[t]hat knave Symon the caffro is not hee I tooke hym for”, after he had given a “whore” a kimono that Cocks had provided to keep him warm through an illness. In addition Cocks later saw other garments that he had provided on the back of another Japanese and concluded “in fine, he is a knave & better lost then found”.¹⁷⁷ Of course, alongside food the provision of clothing was part of the master’s responsibility to the servant. However, time and time again the factors interpreted behaviour such as this as a personal rejection of gifts and friendship.

Following on from the misbehaviour of Japanese servants, it will be profitable to look at how they were treated by their British employers. Many of the local Japanese were prepared to sell their children into bonded labour but they were very concerned about their welfare.¹⁷⁸ This can be seen in their prohibitions on allowing the factors to take their children out of Japan.¹⁷⁹ Wickham was initially unable to find a boy because the Dutch had spread a rumour that he would be forever beating him.¹⁸⁰ The setback was so serious that he was still without a boy on 24 May 1614 and was advised to look locally in Edo or Shozuoka where they would not have heard the rumour.¹⁸¹ It should be noted that a number of European commentators remarked that the Japanese never punished their children with beatings.¹⁸² The rumour against Wickham may have been Dutch spoiling tactics but like their contemporaries in England the factors were quite prepared to ‘correct’ their servants. Cocks felt that he had to counsel Wickham not to beat or insult any servants before leaving for Edo.¹⁸³ Cocks reported that a cook, ‘Thomas’, had beaten many of the Japanese servants and almost killed one of their neighbour’s servants.¹⁸⁴ A few days later Neelson’s boy ran away due to his beatings “w’ch to say the truth he doth over much”, Cocks opined.¹⁸⁵ Although boys were the principal victims, such treatment was even meted out to the respectable *jurebassos*. Cocks records that “in his fustion fumes” Neelson beat Co John over the head with his shoes for not coming when first called.¹⁸⁶ Likewise, Eaton recalled Wickham boxing the ears of his *jurebasso* and advised “it had bene good that you had given him a litell more for his knavery”.¹⁸⁷ Of course, such behaviour was not unique to the Hirado factory but the common treatment given out to servants in E.I.C. employ. General Thomas Best had no qualms about beating his Javanese servant with a truncheon.¹⁸⁸ Contemporaries would not have seen this treatment as an abuse but rather legitimate

¹⁷⁶ *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 89.

¹⁷⁷ IOR: E/3/2 no. 209; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 271.

¹⁷⁸ However, consider Cocks reports that sale was only forced by dire economic necessity, PRO: CO 77/1 no. 42; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 259. Cocks describes the mother of his boy Domingo as “a very pore woman w’th 8 children”, *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 187. Leupp characterises the sale of children as a last resort in order to pay taxes, *Servants*, p. 17.

¹⁷⁹ E.g., *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 351.

¹⁸⁰ IOR: E/3/2 no. 155A; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 131 and IOR: E/3/1 no. 135; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 140.

¹⁸¹ IOR: G/12/15, p. 8; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 173.

¹⁸² *Principall Navigations*, vol. 4, p. 197 (Luis Frois).

¹⁸³ IOR: E/3/1 no. 127; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 124.

¹⁸⁴ *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 57.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 235.

¹⁸⁷ IOR: E/3/4 no. 355; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 401.

¹⁸⁸ Foster (ed.), *Voyage of Thomas Best*, p. 57.

correction in order to steer the right path of behaviour.¹⁸⁹ British indentured servants in Virginia were frequently beaten and several died under correction.¹⁹⁰ Although the situation in the East Indies was no different from that in England, most of the references to punishing servants are found in a pejorative context of unreasonable beatings.¹⁹¹ From the Japanese perspective beatings were expected against servants just as they were against family members. Correction was legally ordained as part of a householder's patriarchal duty.¹⁹²

The other obvious area classed under general welfare is what was deemed as quasi-judicial punishment of servants by factors. It has been decided to treat this as an aspect of law and order and hence it is dealt with in context in chapter 7. However, some brief remarks will be pertinent here. It appears that the procedures of punishment implemented in the factory were inconsistent. Sometimes servants were given direct punishment on the instructions of Cocks whilst elsewhere they were deferred to the local justice. The diary records several instances of the formalised punishment of Company boys. These were not impromptu bouts of rage, but rather involved witnesses and confessions as to the boys' guilt of a crime. For instance, a Japanese servant whose life Cocks had saved stole a silver cup from the Dutch. As a punishment, Cocks appointed all the house servants, with extra men drafted in, to give him ten lashes each "till all the skin was beaten affe, & after washed hym in bryne".¹⁹³ For stealing a silver spoon, Cocks "brought Bicho to disipline (or whipping cheare)."¹⁹⁴ Another example was in April 1621, when the Company's servant Man was whipped for stealing a silver cup.¹⁹⁵ Such treatment is characterised as very severe by Massarella and Milton but is in fact comparable to the punishments given to E.I.C. mariners accused of similar crimes.¹⁹⁶ The boys serving on E.I.C. ships were also given similar treatment. Indeed, the surgeon Ralph Standish records in his journal that he advised the master to whip a boy thief very well and not to worry about harm caused as he would subsequently tend to him.¹⁹⁷ Contemporaries believed in the efficacy of corporal punishment as a deterrent from future crimes. It is worth highlighting the fact that Cocks had the legal right to kill any of the boys caught stealing.¹⁹⁸ It should also be stressed that beatings were only given out to servants for theft and not for running away. Indeed, not all thefts were even punished, apart from

¹⁸⁹ Meldrum, *Domestic Service*, pp. 39, 44, 91-94; Susan Amussen, "Punishment, discipline and power: the social meaning of violence in early modern England", *Journal of British Studies*, vol. 34, no. 1 (1995), pp. 12-18. However, it should be noted that servants did have means of legal redress before JPs if they deemed beatings to be excessive, Meldrum, *Domestic Service*, p. 65.

¹⁹⁰ Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians*, pp. 137-38.

¹⁹¹ E.g., *Letters Received*, vol. 5, p. 38.

¹⁹² Leupp, *Servants*, p. 74; Frederic, *Daily Life*, p. 49. The situation was the same in England, although there was some disagreement about whether a husband should beat his wife or not, Amussen, "Punishment, discipline and power", pp. 12-13.

¹⁹³ *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 221.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 284.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 82.

¹⁹⁶ Massarella, *World Elsewhere*, p. 219; Milton, *Samurai William*, p. 215-16. Milton opines that in general the servants were badly treated. For the punishment of mariners in Hirado see *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 364, 365; vol. 2, pp. 150, 221, 284; vol. 3, pp. 121, 122, 210; IOR: E/3/8 no. 995; Farrington, vol. 2, pp. 852-53, 854. One of the men on Thomas Best's voyage leapt overboard rather than face punishment for being drunk, Foster (ed.), *Voyage of Thomas Best*, p. 115.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 117.

¹⁹⁸ Some Japanese in Umbra killed Eaton's boy John for stealing a piece of cord, IOR: E/3/4 no. 370; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 435.

dismissal.¹⁹⁹ The factors also applied familiar contemporary legal practices such as showing clemency to the young and repentant.²⁰⁰ As in so many other areas there was no official E.I.C. policy on treatment of servants. However, as corporal punishment was liberally applied to their mariners, the directors were unlikely to have been concerned about similar treatment used on native servants. On the other hand the V.O.C. did set regulations on legitimate treatment of servants and slaves in Batavia. Private owners were allowed moderate correction but severe punishment was to be carried out by the authorities. Owners could not set slaves in chains, for example, and mistreatment could lead to fines and other punishments. Killing a slave could incur the death penalty.²⁰¹ Hence the situation of colonial regulation was very different to the British factors' power of life and death over their servants.

A major problem for the factory was the fact that some Japanese employees frequently ran away.²⁰² This was particularly the case with young serving boys who earned no wages and were likely to be beaten. This agrees with the evidence from England that the younger the male servant, the more likely he was to be beaten.²⁰³ Sometimes parents would freely hand back their sons. Elsewhere they had to be pressured. In order to have the boys returned, the factory was quite prepared to use the five family unit (*gonin-gumi*) system that was elsewhere deemed so cruel and unfair.²⁰⁴ Of course, they were quite within their rights to do this, in a system that ensured that servants were hemmed in in all directions by those in whose interests it was to return them to their masters.²⁰⁵ As related in chapter 7, the Dutch required similar binding agreements from families when hiring Japanese mariners. However, more mature servants were also apt to periodically absent themselves.²⁰⁶ The *jurebasso* John Japan was frequently drunk and wandered away from the factory. In response to his absenteeism, Cocks wrote to Wickham: "I doe not marvell that that foole Jno Japan plaieth the asse, for I allwaies esteemed hym a simple felooe...Yf any men have plaid the foole it is I in trusting hym too much".²⁰⁷ John Japan later claimed that the "hobgoblin" had led him through the mountains. Wickham rendered his explanation into common parlance, by describing his 'possession' by the folklore prankster Robin Goodfellow.²⁰⁸ That the problem was not unique to the English factory can be seen by the stowing away of the servants of local Japanese notables on English ships in an effort to escape their masters.²⁰⁹ Oto, a servant to Cocks' consort Matinga, also ran away but was returned by her sureties.²¹⁰ Theft was yet another

¹⁹⁹ *Diary*, vol. 2, pp. 281, 282.

²⁰⁰ *Relation*, p. 157; *Voyage*, pp. 118, 120. Discretion and clemency were an important part of the judiciary process, Cynthia Herrup, "Law and morality in seventeenth century England", *Past and Present*, vol. 106 (1985), p. 110.

²⁰¹ James Fox, "'For good and sufficient reasons': an examination of early Dutch East India Company ordinances on slaves and slavery", in Reid (ed.), *Slavery, Bondage and Dependency*, pp. 252-53.

²⁰² *Diary*, vol. 2, pp. 60 (two examples), 281.

²⁰³ Meldrum, *Domestic Service*, p. 92.

²⁰⁴ See chapter 7.

²⁰⁵ Leupp, *Servants*, pp. 69-70.

²⁰⁶ *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 17, 61.

²⁰⁷ IOR: E/3/2 no. 209; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 271.

²⁰⁸ IOR: E/3/2 no. 211; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 272. Farrington suggests that a native equivalent was quite possible in John Japan's explanation, due to prevalence of mischievous spirits in Japanese mythology. Cocks simply blamed drunkenness. The latter incident is probably the source of Cocks' reference to a servant called, "John Goblen", *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 39.

²⁰⁹ See for instance, IOR: L/MAR/A/XXIII; Farrington, vol. 2, pp. 1045-47.

²¹⁰ *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 125.

problem. Cocks dismissed his boy Tome in June 1615 for attempting to steal money from his chest.²¹¹ 'Geffrey' broke into the chest of *jurebasso* Co John and admitted stealing from the factory in the past.²¹²

As in many other areas under study, the factors carried with them the mental baggage of Jacobean Britain when they dealt with servants. There are a number of remarks in the Hirado sources that illustrate that just as in early modern Britain, the actions of servants reflected on the honour of the master.²¹³ Cocks wrote that John Gorezano's estrangement from his wife brought dishonour on both the *jurebasso* and himself.²¹⁴ Interestingly, the Japanese could fully understand his concern. Matsuura Takanobu, who was sheltering Gorezano's wife, acknowledged Cocks' opinion on the matter.²¹⁵ Also evident in the factory sources is the early modern notion of reciprocal insult. Adams was very angry when Saris accused his servant, who had worked in the English factory, of dishonesty.²¹⁶ Employees were fiercely defended. Belief in reciprocal honour extended to a patriarchal protection of employees, as would have been expected in Stuart Britain.²¹⁷ Cocks referred to some of the factory's Japanese staff as "our folks".²¹⁸ Again the concept found approval in Japanese society.²¹⁹ A local potentate wrote to Cocks to thank him for employing one of his servants as a mariner aboard a Company voyage.²²⁰

Both Japanese and contemporary English sources characterised servants as involved in a web of gossip and intrigue, out of which would inevitably flow the financial and sexual secrets of employers.²²¹ However, surprisingly, no accusations of this type are ever levelled at servants in the Hirado sources. Maybe this is not so surprising as servants would have found it impossible to eavesdrop on the merchants' private conversations, given that they did not understand the English language. They would have still been able to observe sexual behaviour, however.

Aside from casual cuffs and legitimate punishment there is much evidence that factors endeavoured to treat their servants well. They were certainly not brutally handled as mere chattels. Although the relations with servants could be turbulent, the evidence of Cocks' diary suggests that servants were treated kindly and fairly even under conditions of dismissal for theft. For instance, when Cocks "put away" his boy Tome he was given most of the clothes bought for him during his servitude, five *mas* in

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

²¹² *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 281, 282.

²¹³ The concept of reputation is handled in Meldrum, *Domestic Service*, pp. 51-55. Servants had an active role in maintaining or harming the social prestige of their master, *ibid.*, p. 66.

²¹⁴ *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 59.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*

²¹⁶ *Voyage*, p. 180.

²¹⁷ Meldrum, *Domestic Service*, pp. 37-40; Ben-Amos, *Adolescence and Youth*, p. 85. The concept of patriarchy was enormously important to the early modern English mind. As Michael Braddick illustrates, most social threats were posed by those outside the patriarchal mantle – young men and single or scolding women, *State Formation in Early Modern England, c. 1550-1700* (Cambridge, 2000), particularly pp. 101-175.

²¹⁸ *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 284.

²¹⁹ Leupp, *Servants*, p. 74; Frederic, *Daily Life*, p. 49. Tracts and public posters used the ideology of a parent-child relationship.

²²⁰ *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 43.

²²¹ Leupp, *Servants*, pp. 109; Meldrum, *Domestic Service*, pp. 20, 34-35.

money and a *wakazashi* (a short sword).²²² ‘Geffrey’ was simply dismissed without further punishment.²²³ The British are often recorded as giving food and lodging to the travelling servants of Japanese or other Europeans.²²⁴ On the whole, relations seem to have been amiable with most of the servants and many of them served the factory throughout its duration. Cocks was also able to think of his interpreter John Gorezano as a friend.²²⁵ Cocks also sent “littell Dick Japon” and ‘Lawrence’ to school, something which was clearly above and beyond his basic responsibilities for finding them clothes and food.²²⁶ It may be that this was a pragmatic move in order to secure people who could read and write Japanese letters for the factory. The evidence against this is the fact that the British already had several literate *jurebassos* in employment.²²⁷ However, the merchants quickly realised that there were a great deal of minor servants and hangers-on in the locality, who were determined to be employed no matter how superfluous their need. On 22 June 1615 Yoske the cook was dismissed, the British “having ouer many laysy feloes in howse, & he 1 that could do littell or nothing”.²²⁸ Of course we don’t have the Japanese side to know how these casual dismissals were taken but the British usually felt that they had a sufficient reason to “put away” employees. Wage accounts were always settled. There were evidently similarities between how servants were treated in contemporary England and how merchants behaved towards servants in Japan. However, this can be attributed to coincidental similarities between the two countries. In this case the historian doesn’t have to rely solely on the E.I.C. sources. Gary Leupp’s study of Japanese servitude illustrates the parallels with English practice.

As demonstrated on a number of occasions, the factors felt that they had the right to punish servants’ misdemeanours, particularly theft.²²⁹ However, all the merchants and particularly Cocks were appalled at the fact that in Japanese society a master had the right to kill his slaves and servants without any interference from the law.²³⁰ The right was a common theme touched upon in the early modern literature on Japan and is described in more detail in chapter 7, which handles law and order. Robert Parkes’ translation of *The Great and Mightie Kingdom of China* describes how both male and female servants were as slaves and could be freely killed by their masters “a thing far different from any good policie”.²³¹ However, it might be argued that Parkes was not

²²² *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 22. Cocks originally sent him out with the *katabira* in which he arrived but was entreated by Li Tan to give him more, *ibid.*, p. 18. The withholding of clothes by a wronged employer was a stratagem frequently used in England, Meldrum, *Domestic Service*, pp. 199-200; E. P. Thompson, *Customs in Common* (London, 1991), p. 78. As in the case of Cocks, neighbours and friends often interceded on the part of the servant, Amussen, “Punishments, discipline and power”, pp. 12-18. The provision of swords to servants may seem unusual but in England King Charles II had to issue a proclamation forbidding “pages, footmen and lackeys” from carrying swords in the City of London, Meldrum, *Domestic Service*, p. 57.

²²³ *Diary*, vol. 2, pp. 281, 282.

²²⁴ E.g., *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 26.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 34; vol. 3, p. 50.

²²⁷ These ideas are further developed in the previous chapter.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

²²⁹ Elsewhere E.I.C. merchants tried to govern the moral behaviour of their native servants. A court of merchants in Siam decreed in 1615 that household servants were to be “kept from disorderly gadding to rack-houses”, *Letters Received*, vol. 3, p. 108.

²³⁰ The practice is stressed in Cocks’ letter to Sir Thomas Wilson, PRO: CO 77/1 no. 42; Farrington, vol. 1, pp. 259-60.

²³¹ Juan Gonzalez de Mendoza, *The Historie of the Great and Mighty Kingdome of China...*, trans Robert Parkes (London, 1588), p. 379.

so much compassionate as indignant at the lack of legal involvement and summary justice. The effects of this prerogative were directly encountered by the merchants in the locality of Hirado. Whilst wandering together, John Hunt and Osterwick encountered the mutilated body of a small girl, on which dogs were feeding. Although he didn't know the exact circumstances, Cocks thought it likely that her master had killed her "vpon som displeasure...an ordinary matter in these p'rtes, the lives of all slaues being in the m'rs handes, to kill them when he will, w'thout controle of any justice".²³²

3. Food

Alongside topics such as living conditions and clothing, food and eating habits are obvious and important areas for the study of cultural interaction between peoples. A number of scholars have drawn attention to the value of studying descriptions of food and the cultural importance of feasting both for perceptions of and interactions with non-European people.²³³ The subject of food as cultural exchange is highlighted by Nabil Matar, who records how an Ottoman embassy to England in 1640 attracted great curiosity in its cuisine.²³⁴ Of course it is not only the specific food consumed that is important but also the adaptations shown in methods of consumption. The second part of this section analyses the types of novelty feasts that took place amongst both the Japanese and British in Hirado. Obviously there is potential cultural significance to interactions such as these. However, this section first tackles the basic question of what sort of food was eaten by the Hirado merchants.

The British factors must have been pleased to discover that supplies of victuals were generally plentiful in Kyūshū. In answer to one of the questions posed to him Caron gives a description of the animals and food available in Japan. Although writing of Japan as a whole (or rather the parts familiar to him) rather than Hirado, Caron leaves a picture of variety and plenitude of meat and game.²³⁵ Likewise, in his information for the next captain of a voyage to Japan, Saris wrote of "all things very plentiful".²³⁶ However, Michael Cooper criticises Saris' generic description of the Japanese diet in the *Pilgrimes* version of his journal. By describing fowl, chicken, deer, wild boar, hare, goat, pigs and cattle, Saris may have sketched a nobleman's table but grossly misrepresented the largely vegetarian diet of ordinary people.²³⁷ A major problem in Japan was that European staples such as meat and dairy products were very expensive and difficult to acquire. This is directly stated by Osterwick in response to Wickham's requests.²³⁸ In February 1620 Cocks reported that in Nagasaki he had been promised a milch-cow and calf but they presumably could not be delivered as we hear nothing

²³² *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 106.

²³³ E.g. Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians*, pp. 91-94.

²³⁴ The Lord Marshal and Lord Chamberlain secured themselves a dinner invitation to the ambassadorial residence after receiving a present of, "meat dressed a la Turkeska". Agreeing to pay for the food themselves, they were joined by unspecified "great lords", who all sat together to enjoy the meal, Nabil Matar, *Turks, Moors and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery* (New York, 1999), pp. 37-38.

²³⁵ Boxer (ed.), *True Description*, p. 54.

²³⁶ IOR: G/40/25, pp. 109-10; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 167.

²³⁷ *Pilgrimes*, vol. 3, pp. 457-58, criticised in Michael Cooper (ed.), *They Came to Japan: An Anthology of European Reports on Japan, 1543-1640* (London, 1965), p. 200n.

²³⁸ IOR: E/3/4 no. 386; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 456.

else of the cow.²³⁹ Cocks also provides information about the Dutch provisions, which were presumably similar to those of the English factory. Cocks made the case that the V.O.C. supplied its merchant and crews with meat, barley, beans, rice, beef, pork, dried fish, *sake* and aqua vita which were plentiful and cheap.²⁴⁰ Pigs were usually bought live in large orders from Li Tan, the contemporary Chinese being far more fond of pork than the Japanese.²⁴¹ Matsuura Takanobu had imported Korean, Chinese and other East Indian cattle to fortify his native stock and wild boar could be obtained from the forested hills on the island.²⁴² The picture of a cornucopia is also supported by Fursland, Brockedon and Spalding's letter to the Company, which censured the Hirado factory thus: "it is a misery to know that men of such antique yeares should be so miserable given over to voluptuousness, regarding not what they consume therein".²⁴³ Their opprobrium was based upon the testimony of others, as none of the above had been to Japan. However, elsewhere hardships are described. These problems arose during the years of the Fleet of Defence, in which several shiploads of sailors were anchored at port at any one time.²⁴⁴ Voicing the difficulties in obtaining victuals, a letter from Eaton in Hirado to Cocks in the Kinai complains that "I knowe not what to doe to make money to paye our charges and to buy vittels for the howse...heare are many mouthes, w'ch eat a greate deale. God help us".²⁴⁵ We know nothing of Cocks' suggestions because of a four-month hiatus in the surviving correspondence.

The British seem to have eaten both Japanese and European food, with no particularly strong bias shown to either. Notices of exactly what was eaten in the house are relatively scarce. There are parallels here with the British experience in North America. Kupperman notes that Indian food is never described in the same detail as general characteristics of Indian diet, hunting and agriculture.²⁴⁶ However, there are supplementary references that cast light on the provisions and victuals generally eaten by the British in Japan. Regional factors had to buy their own food on site but sometimes sent back to Hirado for delicacies. The evidence tends to show a mixture of European and Japanese provisions, with neither a wholesale abandonment of familiar products nor a rigid dependence on them. Wickham ordered rice, barley, conserves, dried fish, eggs, rice cakes and "China wine". He also asked for sugar but it was unavailable.²⁴⁷ Whilst ill in Ishū, Cocks sent Neelson "skar beare" and loaves of bread but also preserved ginger and "other China conserves".²⁴⁸ Again, the delicacies ordered from Nagasaki contain European foodstuffs such as sausages and neats' tongues alongside green ginger and Japanese sweetmeats.²⁴⁹ The factors also sent "white bisket" as a present to other E.I.C. merchants. The most likely candidate

²³⁹ BL: Cart. Cotton III. 13. XXVI. 28, ff. 41-42; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 769.

²⁴⁰ PRO: CO 77/1 no. 42; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 259.

²⁴¹ IOR: E/3/4 no. 403; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 511.

²⁴² Mulder, *Hollanders*, pp. 2-3.

²⁴³ IOR: E/3/9 no. 1099; Farrington, vol. 2, p. 925.

²⁴⁴ The period is described in Massarella, *World Elsewhere*, pp. 267-83, 298-314.

²⁴⁵ IOR: E/3/7 no. 814; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 764.

²⁴⁶ Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians*, pp. 91-94.

²⁴⁷ IOR: E/3/4 no. 386; Farrington, vol. 1, pp. 456, 457.

²⁴⁸ *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 293.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 131. However, "conser green ginger" was listed as an expense by Richard Maddox in 1582 at his home in England, Elizabeth Donno (ed.), *An Elizabethan in 1582: The Diary of Richard Maddox, Fellow of All Souls, Hakluyt Society, Second Series*, no. 147 (1976), p. 79.

for this is *mochi* -Japanese rice cakes-, which look like white wafers.²⁵⁰ Some of the evidence is more ambiguous in nature. Wickham makes reference to *shiru* – sauce – in a letter back to the factory; this indicates his knowledge of the Japanese term but is not necessarily proof that he ate local food.

The merchants quickly cultivated a fondness for *sake*, which was purchased by the barrel, in contrast to the more expensive Spanish wine, which had to be sold by the bottle.²⁵¹ This was a taste that Wickham took away with him from Japan. An inventory taken at his death in Bantam in 1618 records a case of bottles and a barrel of *sake*, in addition to a jar and two pots of the similar “China wyne”.²⁵² However, *sake* was always purchased from brewers or middle men; the Hirado factory did not go as far as that of Patani, which built its own *arrack* distillery.²⁵³ The factors also purchased and consumed tea.²⁵⁴ Tea was not just for resale. In response to an earlier request Osterwick mentions sending jars of “I-chawe” which were for Eaton’s own use.²⁵⁵ Eaton also instructed his boy that if no liquorice was available he was to buy a Japanese leaf to be infused with tea.²⁵⁶ The inventory taken at Wickham’s death in Bantam also included eight parcels of “congo”, black tea pressed into hard blocks, along with a “silver taypott”.²⁵⁷ It seems unlikely that the tea was for resale as the parcels were found in a trunk alongside shirts and other clothing.

The merchants would have quickly realised the importance of rice to the Japanese diet, as elsewhere in East Asia. Rice was supplied to the factory by the local *daimyō* in 50 *gante* sacks.²⁵⁸ The factory seems to have been something of a major rice distributor itself, often selling surplus rice to local people.²⁵⁹ It is unclear to what extent the factory purchase of rice was intended for the British merchant or only the Japanese house servants.²⁶⁰ Rice was definitely delivered to both Wickham and Neelson as a provision for their respective journeys but once again this could have been intended for servants.²⁶¹ For instance, it is directly stated in Osterwick’s accounts that rice charges incurred by the Kyōto factory were spent on four Japanese and nine Chinese watermen.²⁶² The Hirado factory expenses also make direct reference to 120 sacks of rice for the servants’ diet.²⁶³ It seems that the factory members admired the simplicity of diet followed by the Japanese labourers and

²⁵⁰ See IOR: E/3/2 no. 190; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 236 and IOR: E/3/2 no. 275; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 292.

²⁵¹ *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 63, 83; vol. 2, p. 25.

²⁵² IOR: G/40/23, ff. 4-7; Farrington, vol. 1, pp. 729-36

²⁵³ *Letters Received*, vol. 2, p. 89. Hence, it is difficult to see from where Milton draws his evidence that the heavy-drinking Neelson consumed both *sake* and “home-distilled poteen”, Milton, *Samurai William*, p. 209.

²⁵⁴ “Chaw” is recorded in the household accounts in February 1621, *Diary*, vol. 3, p. 42.

²⁵⁵ IOR: E/3/4 no. 386; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 458 (not in the index). See also IOR: E/3/4 no. 370;

Farrington, vol. 1, p. 436, IOR: G/12/15, pp. 37-38; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 441, IOR: G/12/15, pp. 46-48; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 479, IOR: E/3/4 no. 403; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 510.

²⁵⁶ IOR: E/3/7 no. 811; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 761.

²⁵⁷ IOR: G/40/23, ff. 4-7; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 731.

²⁵⁸ BL: Cotton Vesp F. XVII; Farrington, vol. 2, pp. 1309, 1401, 1465. Elsewhere the seller is unspecified, *ibid.*, p. 1393.

²⁵⁹ Firando Ledger B; Farrington, vol. 2, pp. 1275; BL: Cotton Vesp F. XVII; Farrington, vol. 2, pp. 1315 (Li Tan), 1320 (friend of local *daimyō*), 1321 (charity gift to Chinese), 1314 (neighbour), 1325 (Hachiman the scullion, Yoske, a carpenter and Li Tan), *inter alia*.

²⁶⁰ E.g., BL: Cotton Vesp F. XVII; Farrington, vol. 2, pp. 1321, 1393.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 1340.

²⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 1395.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 1457.

seaman casually employed by the factory.²⁶⁴ Plain rice was doled out to labourers and the barque men who ferried the merchants around Kyūshū. Although it may be merely a conventional term, Cocks constantly refers to paying employees “to buy hym rise”.²⁶⁵ The factory accounts continually record rice delivered in lieu of wages, either to be returned in kind or else paid for.²⁶⁶ This applied not only to lowly servants but also to master carpenters. Rice was also given to local people by the factory as a legitimate present, alongside the more valuable trade cloths.²⁶⁷ Local mariners working on the British trading junks were provided with large sacks of rice for the voyage, with fish only given as a bonus, following Japanese practice.²⁶⁸ However, simplicity of diet was not confined to mariners. The provisions required for the transport of Wickham’s consort and her servants to Kyōto amounted to no more than rice, fish and *sake*.²⁶⁹ Plentiful evidence suggests that all the European nations active in the Indies in this period took advantage of the ready availability of rice in the region and adopted its use as a staple.²⁷⁰ John Jourdain noted that the Dutch at Bouton mostly existed on “ombis” (Malay *ubi* or *uri* = yam) in lieu of rice or bread. He commented that the yams were a good food and preferred by his men to rice, which they were obviously accustomed to eating.²⁷¹ Similarly, on a voyage between Bantam and Jambi, Richard Westby noted how the rice supplies grew scarce through the absence of Chinese.²⁷² The fact that rice was an important part of sailors’ diets whilst in Hirado is supported by a letter to Cocks from Richard Fursland, President at Batavia. Limitations are specified on the amount of meat and fish to be given in a week, for the men “to eate with their rice”, indicating that the grain was a staple.²⁷³ However, there are indications that it was not popular. Writing of a mutiny, Alexander Wilde explained that the mariners demanded meat every day and complained of “not allowing them such meat as was fit for men, saying that they were fed with rice”.²⁷⁴

The question of when rice became a Japanese staple has received recent scholarly attention. The old view about the complete Japanese dependence on rice is reflected by Henry Smith and Louis Frédéric.²⁷⁵ However, more recently historians such as Mark Hudson declare that before the Second World War the Japanese were not a rice-

²⁶⁴ Rodrigues noted that the food was packed with energy and that a small amount was very sustaining, Cooper (ed.), *This Island*, p. 51.

²⁶⁵ *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 101.

²⁶⁶ E.g., BL: Cotton Vesp. F. XVII; Farrington, vol. 2, p. 1325.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 1329.

²⁶⁸ *Diary*, vol. 3, pp. 38, 125-26. The provision of rice for voyages is recorded in BL: Cotton Vesp F. XVII; Farrington, vol. 2, pp. 1313, 1334, 1393, 1394 (provision of fish), 1401 (*ibid.*), 1456 (provision of biscuit), 1457 (*ibid.*).

²⁶⁹ IOR: E/3/4 no. 370; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 435.

²⁷⁰ It was loaded onto the *Thomas* prior to departure from Hirado, BL: Cotton Vesp F. XVII; Farrington, vol. 2, p. 1459. Rice was easy to preserve and transport by ship. There are numerous references to E.I.C. ships trading money and cloth for large quantities of rice. Although sometimes for resale it was also highly valued as a provision, *Letters Received*, vol. 2, p. 77. For Dutch use see Yao Keisuke, “The VOC and Japanese rice in the early seventeenth century”, *Itinerario*, vol. XIX, no. 1 (1995), pp. 32-47.

²⁷¹ Foster (ed.), *Journal of John Jourdain*, p. 291. Rice had to be supplied to the Spice Islands mostly from the Malay Peninsula in a carrying trade dominated by Europeans.

²⁷² *Letters Received*, vol. 3, pp. 166. See also p. 203.

²⁷³ BL: Cart. Cotton III. 13. XVI. 28, ff. 43-44; Farrington, vol. 2, p. 929. Rice was mentioned by Richard Madox as part of the naval diet in 1582, Donno (ed.), *An Elizabethan in 1582*, p. 153.

²⁷⁴ *Letters Received*, vol. 5, p. 162.

²⁷⁵ Henry Smith, “Raw fish and a hot bath: dilemmas of daily life”, in Smith (ed.), *Learning from Shōgun* p. 119; Frédéric, *Daily Life*, p. 76.

eating people but rather a people who prayed for rice. Rice was the exception rather than the rule. Hence the use of polished white rice as a traditional metaphor for Japanese identity did not have a very populist basis.²⁷⁶ Notable in this respect is the Keian Proclamation of 1649. In addition to requiring husbandmen to toil all the daylight hours on the land and work on handicrafts by the evening, they were also discouraged from consuming rice. The grain was to remain for tax purposes and the samurai. Peasants were advised to eat barley, wheat, millet and sorghum.²⁷⁷

Although there was an abundance of fresh victuals available in Hirado, the British were able to secure European commodities from Nagasaki, where they were imported from Macao. However, W. Z. Mulder, in his study of the economic documents of the Dutch factory, has illustrated how goods such as Spanish wine, butter, olive oil, cheese, drugs and medicine could be prohibitively expensive.²⁷⁸ It is therefore most likely that merchants, mariners and officers subsisted on local produce and some of the ship's stores when a ship came to port. However, there could also be unforeseen windfalls. During the piratical activities of the Fleet of Defence, a captured Portuguese frigate yielded hundreds of baskets of difficult-to-obtain brown and white sugar.²⁷⁹ Milton has stressed the role of Cocks' potato garden and orchard in feeding the factory.²⁸⁰ However, it seems more likely that these were hobbies and not intended as practical measures to offset "expensive victuals". All other sources highlight the availability and cheapness of victuals. Fleeting references in Cocks' diary illustrate how the British merchants, at least, were not beyond acquiring both European essentials and luxury items such as salad oil and sugared conserves, despite the apparent cost.²⁸¹ Indeed, expensive European luxuries were not only bought for presents but also for personal consumption.²⁸² Wickham wrote to Osterwick for a number of European luxuries including Dutch wine and preserved nutmeg.²⁸³ Eaton instructed his boy to buy liquorice in Nagasaki and John Totten obtained almonds and opium there.²⁸⁴ Cocks had Dutch cheese available to send as a present to Li Tan.²⁸⁵

The preparation of food for factors was handled alternately by British and Japanese. The *Clove's* cook prepared meals for the factors during the ship's six-month stay at the opening of the factory. When Adams arrived in Hirado he was told by Saris to "acquaint the Cooke what dyatt he best affected".²⁸⁶ Undoubtedly all the pies and various other English food sent to the Japanese were baked by the ship's cook.²⁸⁷ Evidently believing that food and sustenance were very important, the use of a

²⁷⁶ Mark J. Hudson, *Ruins of Identity: Ethnogenesis in the Japanese Islands* (Honolulu, 1999), p. 235.

²⁷⁷ The *bakufu* issued the proclamation for the governance of their own directly administered provinces. However, *daimyos* were encouraged to emulate the restrictions in their own domains. The Proclamation embodied the Neo-Confucian tenants of an industrious but basically insignificant peasantry, Perez, *Daily Life*, p. 139; Leupp, *Servants*, p. 7.

²⁷⁸ Mulder, *Hollanders in Hirado*, pp. 15-19.

²⁷⁹ IOR: E/3/7 no. 921; Farrington, vol. 2, p. 829.

²⁸⁰ Milton, *Samurai William*, p. 212.

²⁸¹ *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 16, 62 (oil), 23, 63, 81 (conserves).

²⁸² *Ibid.*, pp. 71, 81 (Spanish wine); IOR: E/3/4 no. 403; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 511 (sugar).

²⁸³ IOR: E/3/4 no. 403; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 511. Of course, preserved nutmeg was not a purely European luxury. However, it was not a traditional commodity in Japan and had to be imported by foreign traders.

²⁸⁴ IOR: E/3/7 no. 811; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 761; *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 37.

²⁸⁵ *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 147.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 104, 109.

²⁸⁷ E.g., *ibid.*, p. 100.

familiar ship's cook was not an uncommon practice in the factories of the East Indies. Ralph Standish records that on being deposited in Surat, the merchants of the Tenth Voyage were accompanied by attendants, servants and a ship's cook to dress their meat.²⁸⁸ In his intimate portrait of the E.I.C. factory in Surat, Christopher Farewell also mentions the employment of an English cook.²⁸⁹ However, the departure of the *Clove* meant that the factors had to secure native help. The now lost Firando Ledger B records 'Yoske' employed as a cook sometime during the first year of the factory.²⁹⁰ As we have seen, many of the household servants were men of Nagasaki. Although there are no further details on 'Yoske', if he was from Nagasaki he may well have been familiar with European cuisine.²⁹¹ At least some Japanese servants definitely knew how to cook European food. In July 1617 the Matsuura requested a factory servant to show them how to dress meat "after the Christen fation". Cocks later names this servant as a *jurebasso*, again perhaps hinting at a Nagasaki connection.²⁹² The merchants may not have been entirely satisfied with Japanese cooks as they kept John Coker, the cook of the *Hozlander* after the ship's arrival in 1615.²⁹³ He stayed on until 1620.

Although the merchants clearly felt no need to wholly abandon their European practices in favour of Japanese customs, their adherence to familiar activities has been previously overestimated. For instance David Harris Wilson pictures the factors eating at tables "in English fashion" and dressing for dinner.²⁹⁴ Whist not denying that the merchants ate at a high table, it is unlikely that they dressed for dinner in a scene reminiscent of the nineteenth century Indian Raj. This is also the type of anachronistic interpretation favoured by Alfred Wood in his study of the English merchant community in the Levant.²⁹⁵ However, despite a number of accommodations in the eating of local produce, there is no evidence that the merchants abandoned their familiar cutlery. The factors were aware of chopsticks, as they are used in two letters to signify items of no value, but they do not appear to have attempted their use.²⁹⁶ The factory also paid local craftsmen to construct various familiar utensils. A local goldsmith produced one dish, a standing cup, six forks and six spoons as a golden service for the house and Cocks recorded a list of silver ware.²⁹⁷ Wickham's inventory also included three silver spoons and three forks.²⁹⁸ However, there is perhaps here a tacit reference to a further concession to Japanese culture. The absence of knives from the latter accounts may indicate that food was cut up into bite-sized pieces, following the Japanese practice as recorded by Carletti.²⁹⁹ What is striking is that not only did the British (understandably) not use chopsticks, they only mentioned them in an oblique context. Studying the contemporary European accounts of China and Japan, it

²⁸⁸ Foster (ed.), *Voyage of Thomas Best*, p. 108.

²⁸⁹ Farewell, *An East India Collation*, Sig. C4.

²⁹⁰ Firando Ledger B; Farrington, vol. 2, p. 1274.

²⁹¹ Milton, *Samurai William*, p. 215 has Yoske dismissed due to dissatisfaction at his cooking. This is another unsubstantiated leap of faith.

²⁹² *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 129.

²⁹³ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 177.

²⁹⁴ David Harris Wilson, *A Right 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), p. 20.

²⁹⁵ Wood, *History of the Levant Factory*, in particular pp. 229-49.

²⁹⁶ IOR: G/12/15, p. 23; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 323 and IOR: G/12/15, p. 26; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 330.

²⁹⁷ BL: Cotton Vespasian. F. XVII; Farrington, vol. 2, p. 1354. *Diary*, vol. 3, p. 207.

²⁹⁸ IOR: G/40/23, ff. 4-7; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 733.

²⁹⁹ Weinstock (ed.), *My Voyage*, pp. 110-11.

is clear that chopsticks were ubiquitous on the list of descriptions of the East.³⁰⁰ Elsewhere there are a number of references to the provision of European cutlery. Coppendale brought spoons, forks, bowls and a saltcellar belonging to the Company.³⁰¹ An indirect reference in fact reveals that the factory had the full range of European utensils. Prior to hosting a novelty dinner party for the Dutch, the Matsuura sent to borrow chairs, cushions, tablecloths, napkins, cups, spoons and forks, illustrating that they were obviously available in the factory.³⁰²

It is interesting to note that the merchants fail to mention many of the peculiarities of the Japanese diet. The eating of *sashimi*, or raw fish, is never noted despite its incongruity with contemporary Western European practice. However, in recent years historians have questioned the relative modernity of many 'quintessential' aspects of modern Japanese life.³⁰³ This is particularly pertinent to the matter of diet. For example, although Carletti describes the Japanese as eating their fish practically raw, the antiquity of such a practice has been questioned by Henry Smith. For instance, the familiar *sushi* was concocted only in late Tokugawa Japan, to show off the freshness of Edo Bay produce.³⁰⁴ The eating of raw fish is not supported in contemporary Japanese records and is of course very dangerous if the fish is not perfectly fresh, particularly in summer. Hence, Smith concludes that if it was eaten at all, it must have been a delicacy and not a regular part of the Japanese diet.³⁰⁵ Various cooking and curing methods were much more common. A similar puzzling absence of information is highlighted in Anthony Reid's studies of South East Asia. Reid notes that despite being the spice capital of the world, neither European nor Chinese reports of the region comment on the spiciness of the local food. Again there seems to be no clear explanation as the travellers and merchants obviously eat local ware. Reid suggests that is the case of the Europeans at least, the practice of disguising the taste of old meat may have accustomed Western visitors to strong flavours.³⁰⁶ Indeed, Europeans may have been as tolerant to strong flavours and smells as the local inhabitants.

Another unanswered question is whether the factors actually liked Japanese food. As previously noted, there are virtually no comments to be found in the sources. The only mention seems to be in conjunction with Saris' punishment of a Flemish Company employee because he had thrown dishes around the room because he didn't like his locally-provided food. Li Tan had been contracted to supply food for the Company when ashore and Saris observed that the victuals were "fitted in as good fashion as any reasonable man would desire, and all but the said Fleming liked".³⁰⁷ However, there are no other comments aside from Saris' probably not unbiased opinion. Kupperman concludes that on the whole the European settlers found North American

³⁰⁰ E.g. Catz (ed.), *The Travels of Mendes Pinto*, p. 161; Bitterli, *Cultures in Conflict*, p. 151.

³⁰¹ *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 82. E.I.C. ships were evidently quite well stocked with provisions. Whilst in captivity in Mocha, Henry Middleton sent to his ship for, amongst other things, two quires of paper, knives, a pair of sheets, napkins, a hand towel and bands (to insert behind cuffs), *Letters Received*, vol. 1, p. 59.

³⁰² *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 129.

³⁰³ See in particular P. Vlastos (ed.), *Mirror of Modernity: Invented Traditions of Modern Japan* (Berkeley, 1998).

³⁰⁴ Smith, "Raw fish", p. 122.

³⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

³⁰⁶ Reid, *South East Asia in the Age of Commerce*, vol. 1, p. 30.

³⁰⁷ *Voyage*, p. 94.

Indian food unappealingly utilitarian and indistinct.³⁰⁸ Bitterli notes that the Portuguese in China generally didn't like rice and hence a substantial market grew for cultivating European vegetables outside Macao for the Portuguese and their mixed-race descendents.³⁰⁹ However, Christopher Farewell expressed delight at the novelty of refreshments available in India.³¹⁰ Similarly, as many European products such as wheat would not grow in the Yucatan, Spanish settlers developed a taste for maize cakes and other native foodstuffs.³¹¹ Perhaps it should not be surprising that the merchants at least ate some Japanese food. Carletti was remarkably open-minded regarding native diet, even commenting that locusts had an "admirable taste" in the Philippines.³¹² Yet the merchants showed a tendency to integrate Japanese foodstuffs into their European menu rather than completely changing their diet. Throughout the factory period the British continued to enjoy meat pies, game, pork and other familiar foods. A request to Jorge Durois for a pair of millstones suggests that the factory set up its own bakery.³¹³ There is a much later but clear reference to factory bakers baking bread in a neighbour's yard, the area of which was subsequently purchased.³¹⁴ Brewers also appear to have made malt in the yard. However, the provisions lists in Wickham's inventory actually show a preference for Japanese victuals. Although we find two jars of butter and sugar candy, the other items consist of barrels of "Japon bredd" (rice cakes), conserves, Japanese and Chinese rice wine, vinegar (not strictly Japanese but a popular condiment to Japanese cuisine) and "other p'vizions, unknowne" (and hence probably Japanese).³¹⁵ Although the factors didn't abandon staples of their European diet, there was clearly room in their eating habits for Japanese delicacies.

The Role of Food as Cultural Exchange

After examining the types of food eaten in the Hirado factory, this section now deals with food and eating as forms of cultural exchange. In the past twenty or so years, the role of food has emerged as a subject of cultural importance in the study of both domestic consumption and cultural interaction.³¹⁶ Along with a number of the other

³⁰⁸ Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians*, pp. 91-94.

³⁰⁹ Urs Bitterli, *Cultures in Conflict: Encounters between European and Non-European Cultures, 1492-1800*, trans Ritchie Robertson (München, 1986; London, 1989), p. 144.

³¹⁰ Farewell, *East India Collation*, Sig. Cv.

³¹¹ Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquests*, p. 43.

³¹² Herbert Weinstock trans and (ed.), *My Voyage Around the World by Francesco Carletti a 16th Century Florentine Merchant* (London, 1965), p. 89. Carletti also tried local narcotics and aphrodisiacs, often commenting on their potency, *ibid.*, pp. 41 (coca leaves), 88 (*buvo* – a mixture of areca palm and betel leaves with calcium oxide).

³¹³ *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 51, 66.

³¹⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 5.

³¹⁵ IOR: G/40/23 f. 7; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 735

³¹⁶ See works such as Piero Camporesi, *Bread of Dreams: Food and Fantasy in Early Modern Europe*, trans David Gentilcore (Oxford, 1980; trans 1989); Peter Farb, *Consuming Passions: The Anthropology of Eating* (New York, 1983); John Brewer and Roy Porter (eds), *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London, 1993); Sara Pennell, "Great quantities of gooseberry pye and baked clod of beef: victualling and eating out in early modern London", in Paul Griffiths and Mark S. R. Jenner (eds), *Londinopolis: Essays in the Cultural and Social History of Early Modern London* (Manchester and New York, 2000), pp. 228-49. In 1993 this was clearly a fresh and little studied subject for Sidney M. Mintz, "The changing roles of food in the study of consumption", in Brewer and Porter (eds), *Consumption*, p. 263. Reviews of the literature can be found in Cissie Fairchild, "Consumption in early modern Europe: a review article", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 35 (1993), pp. 850-58 and more

themes handled in the present chapter, early modern Britons considered food and its preparation as important indicators of civility and beliefs. The eating of raw or rotten food was taken as a trope of barbarity. Almost every visitor to the Cape of Good Hope told of how the primitive natives delighted in eating rancid intestines that were also used for decoration around their necks.³¹⁷ Nicholas Withington remarked that “[t]hey will eat any garbage, both rawe and fowle. When wee had killed an ox or a sheepe at any time, they would scramble for the offal, like dogs, and eate yt”.³¹⁸ Carletti also described black slaves’ fondness for rotten food due to its savoury flavour.³¹⁹ Similarly in his study of the subtleties of ‘otherness’ Joep Leersson has shown how Gaelic writers delineated the barbarity of their own peasantry by describing, amongst other things, their eating of foul foods such as the head gristle and trotters of cows, and rancid butter that was full of hairs and pock-marks.³²⁰

Cocks’ diary, in particular, provides a fascinating recording of gifts of food that were given almost daily to the factory.³²¹ Even rich nobles would present victuals as gifts, and foodstuffs were the staple customary present of the poor.³²² Some Japanese tried to cater to European tastes by sending meat and dairy products such as eggs, henns, bacon and salted legs of venison.³²³ A kinsman of the interpreter Co John sent Cocks a dish of marzipan shaped like a mitre.³²⁴ Elsewhere, the gifts were more representative of the Japanese diet, such as rice wine, preserved vegetables and seaweed.³²⁵ However, there is always ambiguity about whether the food was consumed by the British staff or given to Japanese servants. As described earlier, all of the servants’ food and clothing was paid for by the E.I.C. under the terms of their contracts. Often mentioned is the “banqueting box” which was frequently sent to an acquaintance or personally carried in order to be enjoyed together. There are very frequent mentions of Dutch, Iberians, *kabuki* troupes and other British merchants carrying out “banquets” “*nifon catange* or Japanese style”. This refers to traditional Japanese eating habits and ceremonies of courtesy.³²⁶ The typical contents of banqueting boxes, as described by Cocks, were preserved nutmeg, conserve of roses, marmalade and “marchpane”, a type of almond cake.³²⁷ For their part the factory also distributed typical Japanese fare to the Japanese. Bread was sometimes given, presumably the Portuguese *pancada* that was popular in early modern Japan.³²⁸ Bread was evidently readily available in the locality. Adams records purchasing a number of

recently, Sara Pennell, “Consumption and consumerism in early modern England”, *Historical Journal*, vol. 42, no. 2 (1999), pp. 549-64.

³¹⁷ Foster (ed.), *Voyage of Thomas Best*, p. 100.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 215-16. See also p. 207.

³¹⁹ Weinstock (ed.), *My Voyage*, p. 7.

³²⁰ Joep Leersson, “Wildness, wilderness, and Ireland: medieval and early modern patterns in the demarcation of civility”, *Journal of the History of Ideas*, vol. 56, no. 1 (1995), p. 37.

³²¹ The importance of the record of gift exchange to social historians is seized upon in Edward E. Pratt, “Review of *The English Factory in Japan*”, *Journal of Asian History*, vol. 57 (1992), pp. 669-670.

³²² See *Diary, passim*. Gifts are recorded on an almost daily basis. Rodrigues wrote: “There is nothing in common use which may not be sent as a gift”, Cooper (ed.), *This Island*, p. 162.

³²³ IOR: E/3/6 no. 746; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 745; *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 56, 57, 63, 64, 65, 129; vol. 2, pp. 260, 262, 291, 292.

³²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 262.

³²⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 149; vol. 2, pp. 290 (Nanking wine and “China cakes”), 261 (seaweed).

³²⁶ See Cooper (ed.), *This Island*, p. 162. See also the selection of European reports in Cooper (ed.), *They Came*, pp. 189-202.

³²⁷ *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 40.

³²⁸ E.g., *Relation*, pp. 151, 160.

loafs for his crew whilst lying at Kawachi.³²⁹ Rodrigues also reported that although wheat was grown in Japan it was purely a cash crop for the natives and was not used to make bread but rather shipped to Manila.³³⁰

Living up to the traditional European view of their fondness for novelty the Japanese were also keen to acquire English food and Spanish wine, particularly for banquets, where novelty was appreciated.³³¹ In the early years of the factory its members noted various Portuguese fads amongst the Japanese; the use of handkerchiefs, mellifluous greetings and compliments. Although the fashion for foreign novelties is believed to have peaked in the 1590s, it evidently remained popular long after in the provinces.³³² The English sources reveal that, as would be expected, the craze for European fashions declined with the extension of religious persecution from late 1614 onwards. The consumption of European goods was also recorded elsewhere in the Indies. In 1613 the Rev. Patrick Copland, who would later visit Japan, recorded the Sultan of Achin's taste for tobacco, whilst Ralph Croft described the leaf as being among the ordinary "food" of local men and women.³³³ However, Japan seems to have been particularly receptive to European fads in food, clothing and Portuguese language greetings. Indeed, Rodrigues noted that the propensity reached such extents that it even overturned previously held Buddhist taboos such as the eating of meat. This was adopted "under the excuse of regarding it as a medicine and something new".³³⁴ Upon arriving back from a voyage to the Ryūkyū Islands, Matsuura Nabusane asked the merchants for a bottle of island wine to present at a banquet "for a noveltie".³³⁵ The factors also handed out the newly acquired sweet potatoes from the islands.³³⁶ The novelty of English/European food did not wear off with familiarity with the factory. In September 1615 'Semi dono' requested dishes of sweetmeats from the English house in preparation for a banquet, to which Cocks wrote "[t]hus these noble men vse to doe in these partes".³³⁷ Later still, the *Daimyō* of Hirado sent for a pie and a roast chicken and duck, dressed in English fashion.³³⁸ The use of food as a cultural exchange was pioneered by Saris in June 1613. On being given half a buck as a present from Matsuura Takanobu, Saris had it baked into two pasties and returned accompanied by wine. However, the reaction that the *daimyō* "tooke [it] in friendly sorte" may indicate consternation at the metamorphosis return of his own gift.³³⁹

A particularly interesting feature of the British years at Hirado were the novelty feasts that took place as cultural exchange between the British, Dutch and Japanese. These involved both European and Japanese aping the food, customs and attire of each

³²⁹ Bodleian Library, Savile Ms 48; Farrington, vol. 2, p. 1066.

³³⁰ Cooper (ed.), *This Island*, p. 54. On contemporary Japanese agriculture see Perez, *Daily Life*, pp. 164-71.

³³¹ Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquests*, pp. 15, 16 notes that Spanish wine was very popular for gifts and barter in the New World. Raleigh also mentions the fondness in Whitehead (ed.), *The Discoverie*, p. 167.

³³² Gutierrez, "A survey of namban art", p. 175. Anon., *The Palme of Christian Fortitude: or the Glorious Combats of Christians in Iaponia*, trans Edmund Neville (Douai, 1630) reveals that even in 1624 a number of Koreans, Chinese and Japanese wore European fashions in Nagasaki, Sig. F2v.

³³³ Foster (ed.), *Voyage of Thomas Best*, pp. 210, 176.

³³⁴ Cooper (ed.), *This Island*, p. 58.

³³⁵ *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 25.

³³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 6, 10.

³³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

³³⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 72.

³³⁹ *Voyage*, p. 100.

other's cultures. By far the most frequent type of banquet were the so-called 'Christian' feasts held by Japanese nobility in Hirado. These seem often to have taken place in the initial months of the British settlement at Hirado, although they were still being mentioned many years later. On the 10 October 1613 the factory was visited by two Christian shogunal representatives from Nagasaki, who were given "collation" and a musical performance by sailors from the *Clove*. The affair ended with Matsuura Shigenobu requesting a dish of English beef and pork boiled with onions and turnips to be sent to him the following day. The meal was delivered accompanied by bread and Spanish wine.³⁴⁰ On being requested to send a gift of food for a communal feast, Cocks choose to send items such as Spanish wine, roasted chicken, pork and rusk.³⁴¹ Although the Japanese initially merely requested European food from the British and the Dutch, they soon appear to have thrown their own 'Christian' parties. As further analysed in the next section, the Japanese 'Christian' banquets could also involve the wearing of European clothes by the Japanese. The colours stammet and Venice red appear to have been particularly popular for festivities.³⁴² Indeed, a number of interesting 'Christian' feasts were held by the local Japanese in which they evidently aped European cuisine, furnishings and manners. In the previously mentioned party thrown for the Dutch in July 1617, all efforts were made to borrow tables, chairs and utensils from the English house. The organisers of the party also requested Spanish wine and salad oil alongside a Japanese servant from the English factory "to shew them how to order the meate after the Christen fation".³⁴³ Cocks did not attend this particular party so we have no comments on the proceedings, but the dispatched servant told him that it involved "lustie drinking".³⁴⁴ However, the British were invited to "goode cheare after Xxtion fation" by the mint master Goto Shozamon dono in March 1618. The party was obviously something of a novelty as Cocks records what would be otherwise mundane details such as the fact that they sat at a high table with chairs. The household head didn't join in, which led Cocks to conclude that he was a Roman Catholic and abstaining because of Lent. Li Tan was also invited.³⁴⁵

Although most of the cultural aping seems to have come from the Japanese side, there is an example of the Dutch factory hosting a Japanese style party for their local guests. In the early months of the English house Cocks and other merchants were invited to a banquet at the Dutch house in which the meat was dressed after both European and Japanese styles.³⁴⁶ Cocks was evidently shocked at the behaviour of the Dutch towards their Japanese guests. The *opperhoof*t Henrik Brouwer and his men carved and served all the food and drink whilst kneeling down around a low Japanese table. The Dutch do not seem to have eaten at all but merely fulfilled the duty of serving their guests. Cocks recorded his consternation at Brouwer's humble attitude and when alone with him, questioned him as to his abject behaviour. It is evident that Cocks' problem seems to have been with the Dutch kneeling after the Japanese fashion. However, Brouwer was obviously quite in tune with Japanese cultural norms as he replied that it was customary behaviour and that by debasing oneself the guest

³⁴⁰ *Voyage*, pp. 159-60.

³⁴¹ *Relation*, p. 169.

³⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 169; Firando Ledger B; Farrington, vol. 2, pp. 1274, 1285.

³⁴³ *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 129.

³⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 260.

³⁴⁶ *Relation*, p. 161.

received greater honour. Furthermore, the Matsuura themselves followed the same behaviour.³⁴⁷ Brouwer's protestations were apparently confirmed by Cocks' later description of a public gathering in which a small party of British were first served food by Matsuura Shigenobu, then 'Simadone' (Sagawa Shume) and finally all the local nobility in turn.³⁴⁸ There is no mention of kneeling but Cocks was obviously impressed and surprised by the humility of the Japanese nobility, particularly in front of the common people. Although Japanese foodstuffs were served to the local rulers, there doesn't seem to be any record of the English factory holding a specifically Japanese banquet in which local cultural practices were followed. In addition to novelty parties that aped both European and Japanese practices, hybrid banquets were also held. In October 1615 the local nobility were invited to a banquet where they "dyned after the Japan manner, and supped after the English".³⁴⁹ Presumably wine, beer and cider were consumed instead of *sake*.

Such incidents are quite rare in other factories in the East Indies, where presents of victuals sent by local rulers tended to be raw vegetables, fruit and livestock, rather than cooked food. However, there are some examples of local banquets. For instance, Thomas Best and his merchants were entertained at Acheh by banquets of "at least 400 dishes, with such plenty of hott [strong] drincks as might have sufficed a drunken armye".³⁵⁰ Similarly at Surat the merchants were sent presents of victuals from the governor "reedy [ready] dressed by his owne cooks".³⁵¹ The latter example presumably refers to local delicacies. However, such interaction is rarely recorded in the sources, perhaps due to religious taboos on the part of the natives. There are clues to this during Thomas Best's stay at Acheh. On being invited to dinner by Best, the Muslim Siamese ambassador to the sultanate brought his own cook to dress his food.³⁵² Another advantage of course of the Hirado sources is the existence of Cocks' diary. The novelty feasts and the role of food as cultural exchange are not mentioned in the letters that passed between the factors. It is only in the ephemeral details of the diary that such interaction is revealed.

4. Clothing

Early modern thinking considered the outward appearance of people to be particularly important. It was a potent indication of wealth and social standing. Clothing accounted for a significant portion of household expenditure at many different levels of society and early modern writers often described each other's clothes in minute detail.³⁵³ In contemporary England and its Atlantic colonies sumptuary laws were passed to physically distinguish tiers of society.³⁵⁴ Such laws typically went into great

³⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 161-62.

³⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 169.

³⁴⁹ *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 97.

³⁵⁰ Foster (ed.), *Voyage of Thomas Best*, p. 52.

³⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

³⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 159.

³⁵³ Patricia Allerston, "Clothing and early modern Venetian society", *Continuity and Change*, vol. 15, part 3 (2000), p. 367. The late sixteenth and early seventeenth century saw the production of a vast array of costume books, *ibid.* For the importance of clothing to a typical Renaissance man see Gabriele Mentges, "Fashion, time and the consumption of a Renaissance man in Germany: the costume book of Matthäus Schwartz of Augsburg, 1496-1564", *Gender and History*, vol. 14, no. 3 (2002), pp. 383-402.

³⁵⁴ See A Hunt, *Governance of the Consuming Passions: A History of Sumptuary Law* (London, 1996) and for North America, Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians*, pp. 154-55. The participation of the

detail about prescribed cloth and cut but were inevitably difficult to enforce. Kupperman illustrates how the British assumed that the Native Americans would have distinguishing clothes for the married and unmarried, different occupations, origins, age, sex and station. This was because differences were the rule in their own society. Clothes signified identity and could be altered for climactic events. For instance Puritans wore plain white and black clothes and short hair to signify their separation from a sinful world.³⁵⁵ Indeed, for some colonial writers the sparse simplicity of Indian clothes hinted uncomfortably at a moral superiority. After all, the bible taught that clothes only became necessary following sin.³⁵⁶ The symbolic power of clothing is illustrated by references to Native American captives by the chronicler Fabian. The natives of Newfoundland brought back by John Cabott are initially described as “clothed in beasts skin, & did eate raw flesh, and spake such speech that no man could understand them, and in their demeanour like to briute beastes”. However, two years later they had been culturally assimilated and were “apparelled after the manner of Englishmen in Westminster palace, which that time I could not discern from Englishmen”.³⁵⁷ The apparel of the Irish was one of Spenser’s criticisms in *A View of the Present State of Ireland*. Individual aspects of clothing are imbued with evil characteristics and malignant connotations. The thick Irish “mantels” could be used variously to protect fugitives from the elements, ward off sword cuts and hide illegitimate pregnancy. Spenser’s protagonist Irenius relates how the English government had repeatedly legislated against the wearing of the mantle, as it prevented the Irish from inclusion in civil life.³⁵⁸ As Kupperman reminds us, in order to be a Christian one had to dress like a Christian.³⁵⁹

Given the evident cultural importance of clothes and outward appearance, it will be interesting to study these notions in relation to the British in Japan. Standard accounts of the factory pay little attention to whether the merchants continued to wear the European attire in which they arrived or if they gradually moved towards Japanese fashions. The East India Company itself, as in many similar areas, had no policy regarding dress code and the interaction with eastern cultures. However, image was important and they expected their servants to be respectably dressed as befitted their rank. For instance the commander Alexander Sharpey was given £ 30 to spend on his “apparel extraordinary”.³⁶⁰ The Court of Committees also acknowledged on 10 March 1615 that Saris had been forced to spend £ 400 in “puttinge himselfe into brave apparell to confront the Portugalls and Flemynge, whoe sought all the meanes that

lower classes in pre-industrial consumerism meant that equation between clothing and rank could not be mechanical, leading to disorder and confusion, Carlo Marco Belfanti and Fabio Giusberti, “Clothing and social inequality in early modern Europe: introductory remarks”, *Continuity and Change*, vol. 15, part 3 (2000), p. 359.

³⁵⁵ Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians*, p. 38. For the role of clothing on identity in Europe see Ann Rosaling Jones and Peter Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory* (Cambridge, 2000), *passim*.

³⁵⁶ Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians*, p. 41.

³⁵⁷ *Principal Navigations* (1598-1600), quoted in Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvellous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Oxford, 1991), p. 184n and Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians*, p. 113.

³⁵⁸ Spenser, *View of the Present State*, pp. 99-102. Likewise, the ‘glib’ or long fringe is blamed as a mask to hide malefactors and even a natural head protection, p. 102. Moustaches are criticised, p. 110. There are further references to clothes, p. 111. See also D. B. Quinn, *The Elizabethans and the Irish* (Ithaca, 1966), pp. 92, 126, 151, 169.

³⁵⁹ Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians*, p. 38. The symbolism of clothes in North America is discussed in *ibid.*, p. 37.

³⁶⁰ *CSPC*, vol. 1, no. 397.

possiblie they could to disgrace him".³⁶¹ Yet at the same time the Company usually refused to give an allowance for clothing and expected their factors' pay to be spent on clothes.³⁶² Christopher Farewell noted that at the Surat factory the Company paid for everything apart from apparel.³⁶³ One of the most common complaints from the Hirado factors was that wages were too meagre to keep them in suitable apparel. Although Wickham was the most persistent complainer, other merchants echoed his sentiments.³⁶⁴

The question of exactly what style of clothing was favoured by the British merchants is unclear. Older accounts of the factory assume that European attire was worn exclusively. M. Paske-Smith justifies this opinion by reference to tailors' bills found in Cocks' diary. He does opine, however, that light Japanese robes such as the *katabira* may have been worn in the evening.³⁶⁵ It should be remembered that Paske-Smith and the early writers on the Hirado factory only had access to the bowdlerised printed version of Cocks' diary which excises numerous financial accounts and a wide variety of incidental information.³⁶⁶ As may be expected, there is much evidence that in general European clothes were favoured by the merchants. Cocks' bills do indeed include visits to a Chinese shoemaker who supplied him with four pairs of leather pumps and three pairs of velvet *pantuflos* - Spanish slippers.³⁶⁷ Cocks generally used Chinese tailors, who were also popular in Dutch Batavia. However, in the later years of the factory there are references to European clothing being purchased from "Lues", a Spanish tailor who specialised in lace.³⁶⁸ Many of the European clothes purchased in Japan were brought from Nagasaki, often under the care of independent trader Jorge Durois.³⁶⁹ The inventory taken at Wickham's death includes numerous European garments such as shirts, stockings, doublets, waistcoats, breeches, hats, hose, a cloak, handkerchiefs, 10 pairs of pumps, shoes and slippers, caps, garters, gloves and a ruff band.³⁷⁰

Despite numerous references to European attire, it is also clear that various Japanese robes such as kimono, *katabira*, *obi* and so on were often presented as gifts to both the British and the Dutch. The purchase of Japanese clothes is also sometimes recorded in Cocks' diary and letters. However, in both cases there are doubts about the recipients. As discussed elsewhere, both servants and mistresses had to be clothed at factors' expense. Bulk orders, such as Cocks' purchase of six pairs of *tabi* socks and 20 pairs of sandals in Ōsaka, were probably intended for staff.³⁷¹ Elsewhere, the mention of dyeing kimonos and sending back the latest fashions from Kyōto suggests that the

³⁶¹ IOR: B/5 pp. 383-84; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 288.

³⁶² Item 39 of Saris' commission specifies that factors' wages were to cover apparel and nothing more, IOR: B/2 ff. 140-48; Farrington, vol. 2, p. 983. Typically only a third of factors wages would be paid whilst in the Indies in order to discourage private trading.

³⁶³ Farwell, *An East India Collation*, Sig. C2v.

³⁶⁴ IOR: E/3/2 no. 242; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 284. The final decision to augment his wages to 150 *Taels* a year cited apparel as the prime reason, *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 288. See also IOR: E/3/1 no. 121; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 101 (Cocks), IOR: E/3/1 no. 124; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 118 (Peacock).

³⁶⁵ Paske-Smith, *A Glympse*, p. 34.

³⁶⁶ For details see ch. 1.

³⁶⁷ *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 26. See also *ibid.*, pp. 165, 375.

³⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 92, 174.

³⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 131, 293 (stockings).

³⁷⁰ IOR: G/40/23, ff. 4-7; Farrington, vol. 1, pp. 729-36.

³⁷¹ *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 189.

merchants' consorts were the recipients.³⁷² Yet aside from incidental and perhaps ambiguous references to buying kimonos or receiving them as gifts, there is indisputable evidence that the British *sometimes* wore Japanese clothes. For example, Cocks refers to presenting John Totten with a kimono "one I had worne before".³⁷³ In particular the young boys who came out on Company ships seems to have been dressed in Japanese robes. Eaton paid one *tael* for the serving boy Richard King's kimono, whilst Osterwick's accounts record various cloths used to make Richard Hudson a *katabira*.³⁷⁴ The more senior merchants also wore Japanese attire on occasion. Osterwick mentions one of Eaton's *katabiras* "w'ch I have taken for my owne use & wilbe answerable for it".³⁷⁵ Without doubt the loose Japanese robes would have been more comfortable for summer wear or indoors. Adams obviously owned many kimonos and at his death left his best ones to Osterwick, Richard Hudson, Richard King and the mariner Abraham Smart.³⁷⁶ Cocks had a quilted *katabira* to lend to a servant.³⁷⁷ Eaton mentions "2 quilted keremons of Mr Neelson's" whilst Wickham requested "pray send me the kimon striped with yealow & blue w'ch is in my chest, as I stand in need of one this winter".³⁷⁸ Although *katabiras* and kimonos were the most popular attire, other items of Japanese clothing are also mentioned. Wickham requested a pair of *tabi* socks to be sent up to him.³⁷⁹ Osterwick made reference to "Your girdle[*obi*]" in a letter to Wickham.³⁸⁰ Similarly Adams' accounts record the purchase, for his own use, of an *obi* and "3 payr of tabe strings" (straw sandals).³⁸¹ Hence, there are references to almost all the members of the factory owning and wearing local clothes at least on occasion. Neither was this uncharacteristic of the European presence in Japan. Upon arriving in Hirado, Cocks noticed that in a group of Dutchmen there was one in "a Iapan habit".³⁸²

Not only did the British seem to wear Japanese attire on occasion, they were also often asked to furnish the local nobility with European clothing. Michael Cooper provides examples of Japanese nobles keeping entire wardrobes of European clothes, eating European food and wearing rosaries.³⁸³ In keeping with the supposed Japanese love of novelty, the British were often asked to furnish European attire for the Matsuura. Such curiosity for foreign clothing was not limited to Hirado. Cocks records how a party of 20 Japanese came to see the English factory in Kyōto, ostensibly to exchange presents but really to see the English clothes and behaviour.³⁸⁴ Soon after arriving in Japan, Captain Ralph Coppendale grasped the situation of taste in cloth, writing to the Company "they desire not our commodities soe much for cheapnes as for strandgenes".³⁸⁵ Although often cited as a peculiarly Japanese

³⁷² IOR: E/3/3 no. 340; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 370, IOR: G/12/15, p. 33; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 412.

³⁷³ *Diary*, vol. 2, pp. 30.

³⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 23; BL: Cotton Vesp. F. XVII; Farrington, vol. 2, p. 1427.

³⁷⁵ IOR: E/3/4 no. 386.

³⁷⁶ Guildhall library, London: Ms 9172/32; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 796.

³⁷⁷ IOR: E/3/2 no. 209; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 271.

³⁷⁸ IOR: E/3/4 no. 355; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 401, IOR: G/12/15, pp. 52-53; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 514.

³⁷⁹ IOR: G/12/15, p. 22; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 321.

³⁸⁰ IOR: E/3/4 no. 384; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 455 and IOR: E/3/4 no. 386; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 457.

³⁸¹ Bodleian Library, Savile Ms 48; Farrington, vol. 2, p. 1073.

³⁸² *Relation*, p. 170.

³⁸³ Cooper, *Rodrigues the Interpreter*, p. 104. See also Yoshitono, *Namban Art*, pp. 68-78.

³⁸⁴ *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 343.

³⁸⁵ IOR: E/3/3 no. 316; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 341. A similar more was found in the Mughal emperor Jahangir. An unknown correspondent reported "for he effects not the vale of anything but rarity in everything, insomuch that some petty newfangled toys would give him high content, though value were

passion, the adoption of specifically Portuguese clothing was evident all over the East Indian trading world.³⁸⁶ In the case of Hirado this was sometimes requested to provide a comic effect at a dinner party. Although the arrival of the *Clove* was greeted by a flood of requests for the loan or presentation of novelty clothing there is no evidence that the enjoyment dulled over time. Cocks records that in 1618 Matsuura Nobutoki came to the English house “to beg or buy” an English hat, presumably for ostentation.³⁸⁷ These requests were generally accepted by the British and are recorded without comment. We do know, however, that in India such behaviour was often described in condescending terms. Both Jahangir and Mukarrab Khan, the Viceroy are described as enjoying toys, with the latter having a “disposition [that] savours more of a child than man, being very vain and toyish in all his proceedings”.³⁸⁸ The desire for novelty sometimes caused stunned reactions from the British observer due to the inappropriate and bizarre nature of the choice. Saris record his shock at Matsuura Shigenobu’s insistence on wearing coarse, unbleached poldavis next to his skin.³⁸⁹ The cloth was typically used for sails or as tough outer clothing for sailors. It was probably behaviour such as this that prompted Saris to address a future captain of a voyage to Japan with the advice that the Japanese had no great understanding in the selection of cloth.³⁹⁰

Clothing seems to have had a symbolic value that literally transcended race as a mark of identification. The sources are full of stories of Europeans living undetected in various regions through their adoption of local apparel. In Makassar, George Cockayne encountered a Portuguese who had dwelt in Amboina for 14 years without detection by the Dutch due to his wearing of native clothing.³⁹¹ A master’s boy was discovered amongst the “moors” in Surat, dressed in “Moores apparell”.³⁹² In many cases Jacobean were quite prepared to don local attire and showed little Victorian reticence to abandon their Northern European clothing. Nabil Matar notes how British travellers often dressed after the Turkish fashion whilst travelling in the Levant.³⁹³ William Lithgow’s, *The Rare Adventures and painful Peregrinations* also contains an engraving of a Briton dressed in Turkish clothes and a turban on its frontispiece. Whilst in India John Jourdain was instructed that if he wanted to be conducted by river to Swally hole, he had to wear Mughal apparel.³⁹⁴ Cocks records an interesting incident in a letter to the Company from Bantam prior to arriving in Japan. The

small”, *Letters Received*, vol. 1, p. 33. For similar comments see *ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 140, 239; vol. 2, pp. 108, 149, 151, 152, 157, 179, 180, 195, 300-301; vol. 3, p. 65; vol. 4, pp. 207, 208, 281, 286, 310, 323; vol. 5, p. 178.

³⁸⁶ For instance, Mendes Pinto encountered a Chinese pirate who was fond of Portuguese dress, Catz (ed.), *The Travels*, p. 104. Thomas Best met people on the Ceylon coast who dressed as Portuguese, Foster (ed.), *Voyage of Thomas Best*, p. 47. The Sultan of Achin requested a suit of English apparel, *Letters Received*, vol. 3, p. 226. Thomas Roe was disturbed at 10 pm by the emperor Jahangir’s request to show him how to tie his new sword and scarf after the English fashion, *ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 10.

³⁸⁷ *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 279. Again there is a parallel in India. Thomas Kerridge wrote that the *kotwal*, or town magistrate, of Agra had told him to present his hat to the “king”, *Letters Received*, vol. 1, pp. 277, 281. Kerridge requested hats to be sent from London, including coloured beaver hats to be worn by Jahangir’s women whilst hunting, *ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 108-09.

³⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 149.

³⁸⁹ *Voyage*, p. 105.

³⁹⁰ IOR: G/40/25, p. 105; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 167.

³⁹¹ *Letters Received*, vol. 3, p. 152.

³⁹² Foster (ed.), *Voyage of Thomas Best*, p. 117.

³⁹³ Nabil Matar, “Renaissance England and the turban” in Banks (ed.), *Images of the Other*, pp. 43-44.

³⁹⁴ Foster (ed.), *Journal of John Jourdain*, p. 177.

inhabitants of the African side of the Red Sea were fearful of the Europeans, having had prior bad experience with the Spanish and Portuguese. In a ploy to trade, some of the crew attired themselves as Turks, wearing long coats and turbans.³⁹⁵ This would indicate that such clothing was readily available. 'Sashes' or turbans were often given as presents in the Indies.³⁹⁶ Cocks' list of men to have died prior to arrival in Bantam includes two 'Indians', "Omer" and "Sambay", who may have supplied the garments.³⁹⁷ However, exchange of clothing was not always welcomed. In India a local governor removed his turban and tried to place it on Thomas Kerridge's head as a peace offering but was refused.³⁹⁸ Whilst the turban later came to have negative connotations, none of the factors appear to have been worried about wearing Japanese clothes. Kimonos were even sent as presents to other Company employees in the Indies.³⁹⁹

Of course to some extent it may be the case that the E.I.C. merchants were sometimes forced to wear Japanese clothes through a lack of European attire. Europeans in Japan had to rely on trade vicissitudes in Nagasaki for their European produce. In 1616 Eaton reported that no stockings could be found in Nagasaki, and Osterwick bemoaned that it was impossible to get slippers in either Hirado or Nagasaki.⁴⁰⁰ It seems likely that the British factors wore items of Japanese clothing rather than dressing from head to toe as Japanese. In support of this are the frequent references to over-ropes such as kimono and *katabira* but the less common mention of *obi*, *tabi* and sandals. Looking closely at Cocks' description of a Dutchman in Japanese clothes, he is not described as being in "Japanese habit" but rather "a Japan habit".⁴⁰¹ Hence, he probably wore only a kimono, presumably over a European shirt. What is clear is that Japanese clothes formed part of the everyday wardrobe of the British factors. European clothes admittedly dominate the contents of Wickham's inventory, both in range and quantity. However, also found in his possession were five *obis*, an unmade kimono, four normal kimonos and two specially quilted examples for winter wear.⁴⁰² Hence the defining factor seems to have been an integration of an element of Japanese clothing rather than an exchange of one fashion for another.

5. 'Going Native'?: The Extent and Limitations of Cultural Cross-over

So far we have seen that the British factors in Japan adapted to local practices to a noticeable extent in several areas. The factory house contained elements of Japanese decorations and furnishings. Instead of drawing up their own contracts with servants, the factors simply adopted the pre-existing system of bondage. As we have seen they also fully accepted their ritual obligations to provide food and clothing for their servants, although there were very close parallels with what is known about

³⁹⁵ *Letters Received*, vol. 1, pp. 216-17.

³⁹⁶ Matar gives a number of references to travellers donning the turban in Eastern countries, "Renaissance England", pp. 39-54. The garment had long been associated with Islam and the East, yet in the mid to late seventeenth century it gained expressly negative connotations in sermons and tracts.

³⁹⁷ *Letters Received*, vol. 1, p. 222.

³⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 117.

³⁹⁹ IOR: G/12/15, p. 22; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 321, IOR: E/3/5 no. 616; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 694.

⁴⁰⁰ IOR: E/3/4 no. 370; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 435, IOR: E/3/4 no. 403; Farrington, vol. 1, pp. 511-12.

⁴⁰¹ *Relation*, p. 170 (my emphasis).

⁴⁰² IOR: G/40/23 ff. 4-7; Farrington, vol. 1, pp. 729-36.

conditions of service in contemporary England. The merchants also clearly ate Japanese food and wore Japanese clothes at least on occasion. Much of this evidence has either been passed over by historians or else ignored in the belief that the Hirado factory was a precursor to the British empire of the nineteenth century, replete with an ideological rejection of all things native. The following section will examine further areas of cross-cultural adaptation in Japan, whilst also paying attention to some of the tensions involved amongst participants.

It appears evident in the Hirado sources that East Indian life was a release to many of the Company personnel. Both mariner and factor were unbound from familiar social, cultural and religious prohibitions on their behaviour. Some of the most obvious vents for this freedom are explored in chapter 6, which handles the British relations with women. The substitution of a new set of religious and cultural morals rarely appears to have hampered the enjoyment of many employees. The Rev. William Leske, who was later himself disgraced for sexual misconduct, noted that business in Surat was carried out by "a company of young, wanton, riotous lads, who, far from the eyes of justice, violently carried out a stream of disorderly passions". These included "the vices of whoredom, drunkenness, excess and riot".⁴⁰³ In a similar vein, Peter Floris reported from Patani that "the shippe [was] lying withoute a heade, [the men were] drincking theymselves druncke, fighting, knocking, dycing and such lyke".⁴⁰⁴ This is also very much the analysis of Nabil Matar about overseas residents in the Muslim world. It was seen as a place free from English social control and law for foreign nationals. Such license even led to some Britons murdering compatriots with whom they had an inveterate grudge.⁴⁰⁵

In his study of British-Muslim interaction in the early modern period, Matar notes that wherever the British resided in Muslim territories, through soldiery, piracy, craft or trade, they adopted local habits. They clipped their beards rather than growing them out. They ate local food, wore the common dress and adopted pastimes such as backgammon.⁴⁰⁶ Indeed, during the early Levant trade many factors dressed like Turks and wore long moustaches. The French alone remained conspicuously European in the area, whilst contemporary observers reported that the Dutch and English could not be distinguished from natives.⁴⁰⁷ Many of the early Portuguese crews also chose to 'go native' in many parts of the world.⁴⁰⁸ This is also evident in North America and the Muslim world.⁴⁰⁹ Although to Hakluyt in 1599, 'renegade' meant a convert to Islam, it was soon applied to converts to the way of life in Virginia and Ireland.⁴¹⁰ John Jourdain commented that William Hawkins was fickle in his religious practices. He also used Moorish customs in his house with regard to meat, drink and other matters, and was disdainful towards others who did not follow suit.⁴¹¹

⁴⁰³ *Letters Received*, vol. 5, pp. 180, 181. On Leske see IOR: E/3/4 no. 429, ff. 145, 145v. The sexual comments in the letter are edited from *Letters Received*, vol. 5, pp. 36, 37.

⁴⁰⁴ Moreland (ed.), *Voyage of Peter Floris*, p. 60. See also p. 125.

⁴⁰⁵ Nabil Matar, *Turks, Moors and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery* (New York, 1999), pp. 63-64. In 1599 the Crown was made aware of a plot to counterfeit money, using Turkey as a base, p. 66.

⁴⁰⁶ Matar, *Turks, Moors and Englishmen*, pp. 58-59.

⁴⁰⁷ Wood, *History of the Levant Company*, p. 240. Wood believes that this was to prevent attack and insult rather than a cultural choice.

⁴⁰⁸ C. R. Boxer, *Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire, 1415-1825* (Oxford, 1963), p. 9.

⁴⁰⁹ See Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians* and Matar, *Turks, Moors and Englishmen*, *passim*.

⁴¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 96, 215n.

⁴¹¹ Foster (ed.), *Journal of John Jourdain*, p. 162.

In these cases there was clearly more of a cultural cross-over than mere adaptation. However, what is the evidence that such a degree of acceptance of alternate practices took place in Japan?

Both Cocks and Adams used the Julian and Japanese lunar calendar alongside each other. For Adams this is most evident in his logs.⁴¹² Cocks sometimes shows a clear preference for the lunar calendar within his diary.⁴¹³ This was particularly used to date events outside Hirado and hence probably indicative of his source of information. However, the lunar calendar is also found in letters.⁴¹⁴ In his recording of the Consultation of the Fleet of Defence, Captain Robert Adams makes reference to the Japanese reigns of *keichō* and *genna*, that is the reigns of Tokugawa Ieyasu and his son Hidetada.⁴¹⁵ The obvious informant was Cocks, with his long familiarity with Japanese dating. Of course, it has to be conceded that all interaction with local merchants, craftsmen, labourers and nobility would have been based on the Japanese calendar. Hence the Julian calendar was only of importance within domestic activities and the affairs directly related to the Company. In his logs Adams also uses the Japanese *koku* when measuring wheat rather than the bushel.⁴¹⁶ Other factory members used Japanese measurements but usually provided familiar equivalents in yards or pounds.

The merchants adapted very quickly to social bathing, which must have seemed anathema to early modern Europeans. Public baths had been quite popular in medieval Europe but between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries they gradually disappeared. This has been attributed to fears of contagious diseases and pressure from the Church.⁴¹⁷ By contrast, regular bathing was common to South East Asia in general. Fresh water was plentiful and there was no need to heat it.⁴¹⁸ However, bathing was not as taboo to contemporary Europeans as is sometimes believed.⁴¹⁹ As Sandra Piercy argues, babies were regularly bathed and hot springs were used as a cure for the sick. Soap was also a big commodity in late Elizabethan England.⁴²⁰ Henry Smith demonstrates that the popularly believed contrast between clean Japanese and dirty Europeans was more of a historical coincidence than a cultural difference. In medieval Japan bathing was neither popular nor regular amongst even the aristocracy and medieval cities housed no bathhouses.⁴²¹ Perhaps this explains why, from the start, there are no adverse comments or worries about the safety or desirability of bathing to be found in the sources. Even freshly arrived Spanish invited themselves to the bathhouse without qualms.⁴²² Social gatherings are often described as located at "our fro", i.e. *furo* – bath.⁴²³ This was a natural part of the close social interaction with leading Japanese notables and bureaucrats who took baths at the

⁴¹² E. g. Bodleian Library: Savile Ms 48; Farrington, vol. 2, p. 1048ff.

⁴¹³ E.g., *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 21, 24 and *passim*.

⁴¹⁴ IOR: G/12/15, p. 35; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 430, IOR: G/12/15, p. 50; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 492.

⁴¹⁵ IOR: G/21/2 part 1; Farrington, vol. 2, p. 1202.

⁴¹⁶ Bodleian Library; Savile Ms 48; Farrington, vol. 2, p. 1048ff.

⁴¹⁷ Smith, "Raw fish", p. 124.

⁴¹⁸ Reid, *Southeast Asia*, pp. 50-52.

⁴¹⁹ *Ibid.*, repeats assumptions that Europeans mistrusted water and did not voluntarily bathe.

⁴²⁰ Sandra Piercy, "Blackthorne's England", in Smith (ed.), *Learning from Shōgun*, p. 41.

⁴²¹ Smith, "Raw fish", p. 124.

⁴²² *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 66. Of course, they may have had previous experience of Japanese life.

⁴²³ E.g., *Ibid.*

factory.⁴²⁴ The *furo* was definitely popular, as Cocks gave order for the bathhouse to be cleaned in anticipation of the *daimyō* of Satsuma's visit.⁴²⁵ However, this type of bathing is not mentioned in any of the surviving letters to the Company in London. This may indicate a certain insecurity about its acceptance in England. All letters received, both public and private were read aloud before the general court in London. However, the Dutch seem to have adapted equally well to this custom as they also had their own bathhouse. This was noted as early as summer 1613 in Cocks' *Relation*, where it is described as a 'Hot-house'.⁴²⁶ C. R. Boxer notes how a bath stove was enumerated among the Dutch belongings demolished on the Matsuura's orders in 1641.⁴²⁷ Milton sees John Totten's 1618 Christmas present to Cocks of 18 bars of soap as an acknowledgement of his love of bathing.⁴²⁸ Wickham also wrote to Osterwick for seven or eight bars of soap, whilst mentioning Spanish soap left in Osterwick's custody.⁴²⁹ Wickham's inventory also contained 18 cakes of soap.⁴³⁰ Evidence from elsewhere in the Indies shows that other merchants were willing to try bathing. Thomas Best spent four hours bathing and swimming in a river accompanied by the Sultan of Aceh. The scene is described by two witnesses, neither of whom offer ill opinions of bathing but rather describe a scene of enjoyment.⁴³¹ It is interesting that although both Dutch and British adapted quickly to Japanese bathing practises they make no mention of the high standards of cleanliness to be found in Japan as compared to contemporary Europe. This is interesting, as the contrast between European dirt and Japanese cleanliness is a constant theme than runs through Rodrigues' work. This extended to food, houses, *tatami* mats and toilets.⁴³² This is perhaps not surprising. Kupperman shows that many commentators insinuate that the Native Americans were cleaner than Europeans: they didn't want European clothes because they were difficult to clean and they wouldn't be able to afford new garments when they become old. Hence, they preferred to go 'naked' than be lousy. However, cleanliness of habits is always implied rather than stated.⁴³³

The British were quite willing to use the health properties of the natural hot baths and Japanese medicine. Neelson, frequently ill from heavy drinking bouts, made several visits to the hot springs on nearby Ishu.⁴³⁴ However, as in other areas, we are not dealing merely with an individual's preference, as a number of merchants visited the springs. Cocks took a trip with Yasimon dono after suffering from a bout of malaria.⁴³⁵ Wickham condemned the Ishu baths and recommended instead those at Higo (Kumamoto).⁴³⁶ The Ishu springs were also frequented by Adams.⁴³⁷ Caron makes some comments on the medicinal hot springs of Japan. However, aside from

⁴²⁴ E.g., *Ibid.*, pp. 66, 68, 97; vol. 2, pp. 29, 42, 45, 66, 126, 270; vol. 3, p. 26, 115-16.

⁴²⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 29.

⁴²⁶ *Relation*, p. 159.

⁴²⁷ Boxer (ed.), *True Description*, p. xcvi.

⁴²⁸ Milton, *Samurai William*, p. 309. They could, of course, have been used for washing clothes, although many of the contemporary European materials were difficult to wash.

⁴²⁹ IOR: G/12/15, pp. 52-53; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 514.

⁴³⁰ IOR: G/40/23 ff. 4-7; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 734.

⁴³¹ Foster (ed.), *Voyage of Thomas Best*, pp. 55, 159.

⁴³² Cooper (ed.), *This Island, passim*.

⁴³³ Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians*, pp. 41-42.

⁴³⁴ BL: Cotton Vesp. F. XVII; Farrington, vol. 2, p. 1340; *Diary*, vol. 2, pp. 46 (accompanied by John Cocoro), 292.

⁴³⁵ IOR: E/3/2 no. 147; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 178.

⁴³⁶ IOR: G/12/15, p. 13; Farrington, vol. 1, pp. 192-93.

⁴³⁷ BL: Cart. Cotton III. 13. XXVI. 28 ff. 41-42; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 769.

noting that in terms of curing maladies, they were, “successfully used for that purpose”, Caron reveals nothing of his opinions on bathing.⁴³⁸ This is a case in point of the disadvantages of formal, retrospective reports such as the *True Description*. There is no sense of context or purpose within the report. However, it is clear from private correspondence and the *daghregisters* of the 1630s that Caron and other Dutchmen frequented the springs. Wracked with illness on his return voyage from the shogunal court in 1636, Caron rested for a period in the sulphuric waters at Ishu.⁴³⁹ Despite the retrospection of Caron’s report, it is evidently drawn from personal observations of the medicinal waters and hence provides a useful account of the method of bathing, a detail missing from English sources. The afflicted did not immerse themselves directly into the springs but rather visited neighbouring houses, which used conduits to draw on the waters to fill baths.⁴⁴⁰ In the use of mineral springs and medicinal spas there are of course some parallels with contemporary European practice. The frequenting of springs seems to have developed from pre-Reformation use of holy wells, which themselves often had pre-Christian significance. Despite Protestant disaffection towards holy wells and springs, the use of medicinal waters survived the Reformation remarkably well. Often the connection with Catholic ritual was only very thinly disguised. For instance, patients were asked to recite prayers before immersing themselves.⁴⁴¹ Although found in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, hydrotherapy in the form of spa reports in rural locations only became popular in the eighteenth century. Even late into the eighteenth century, the notion that water possessed healing powers still had many critics.⁴⁴²

The factors were also prepared to try Japanese herbal cures when ill. Neelson wished to be bled whilst in Edo, but a Japanese surgeon convinced him not to.⁴⁴³ There is not an excessive amount of detail on factors’ opinions of the efficacy of Japanese medicine or its logic. Cocks simply compared the European practice of letting blood with the Japanese and Chinese use of *moxa*, without further comment.⁴⁴⁴ *Moxa* involves burning a herb wrapped around an acupuncture needle and inserting it into a vital meridian. The procedure of *moxa* may actually have been used to treat a member of the factory. The reference is not completely clear, but Cocks mentions the treatment of Thomas Harod by putting a powder on his flesh.⁴⁴⁵ Again there is evidence that factors would experiment with local remedies elsewhere in the Indies. An anonymous writer from Surat consulted a local doctor and was given asafoetida in a cake but complained of its residual sour taste.⁴⁴⁶ Whilst in Macao, Carletti had the soles of his feet examined “out of curiosity, to experience it”.⁴⁴⁷ Colonists in North America were also quite prepared to experiment with local roots and herbs, which were expected to make a sizeable contribution to the English economy. Although

⁴³⁸ Boxer (ed.), *True Description*, p. 54.

⁴³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. xxxivn.

⁴⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

⁴⁴¹ Alexandra Walsham, “Reforming the waters: holy wells and healing springs in Protestant England”, in Diana Wood (ed), *Life and Thought in the Northern Church, c. 1100-c. 1700: Essays in Honour of Claire Cross* (London, 1999), pp. 249-55.

⁴⁴⁶ Roy Porter, “The eighteenth century”, in Lawrence I. Conrad *et al* (eds), *The Western Medical Tradition, 800 BC to AD 1800* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 420-21.

⁴⁴³ *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 388.

⁴⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

⁴⁴⁵ IOR: E/3/7 no. 894; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 802. This is the explanation favoured by Farrington.

⁴⁴⁶ *Letters Received*, vol. 1, p. 31. Asafoetida is a sour gum widely used in Indian cooking.

⁴⁴⁷ Weinstock (ed.), *My Voyage*, p. 146.

colonists also used blood letting, they learned the use of natural remedies from the Indians. Kupperman has identified an ambiguity in attitude towards Indian cures. Colonists used native medicines, but identified the Indian healers with conjurers and had more faith in English doctors.⁴⁴⁸ However, Kupperman later asserts that colonists submitted to treatment from medicine men and that in many ways their practices would not have been alien to them. In many country parishes the local minister augmented religious duties with medical practice.⁴⁴⁹ As in many other fields within this study, experimentation and adaptation was not one-way. A shogunal silver refiner entreated Cocks for the attention of the British surgeon as his son had been struck blind.⁴⁵⁰ However, as the man receives no further mention the surgeon was probably of no help.

We also find in Cocks' letters and diary a wide Japanese vocabulary. The extent of the factors' knowledge of Japanese is handled in depth in chapter 4. However, it is worth considering the flavour of the type of Japanese vocabulary adopted in letters and diaries. In general there was an immediate adoption of Japanese terms rather than their European equivalents. Hence we find a multitude of terms such as *tōki* (interlocking dishes), *katabira* and *kimono* (garments), *daiku* (carpenter), *fune* (boat), *fro* (bathhouse), *fannas* (a gift to an actor). Cocks, at least, clearly sought out correct appellations, sometimes leaving blanks in the diary if he could not remember the name. Hence, we find "Capt Adams gaue a gerdell & [blank] to Matinga".⁴⁵¹ Many of these terms were quickly adopted. Sometimes after only a few days of arriving in Japan, men were using native terms for institutions and commodities. Osterwick almost immediately refers to "our fiafoune" (*hayafune* – a swift vessel) and records *tatami* rather than mats.⁴⁵² In September 1615 the freshly arrived Rowland Thomas also recorded their "fiaoone".⁴⁵³ However, Japanese terms were not only confined to inanimate objects or materials but also relate to abstract concepts and ideas. For instance, the factors often wrote of taking *danco* (*dangō* – consultation).⁴⁵⁴ Perhaps the most commonly employed Japanese phrase was *Nifon catange*, meaning 'after the Japanese fashion'. Typically, rituals and idiosyncratic Japanese behaviour are described as *Nifon catange*. Cocks records "Capt Speck and the rest sent to thank me for their good entertaynm't, viz. Nifon catange".⁴⁵⁵ We find it applied to drinking healths and being informed of the arrival of a local official.⁴⁵⁶ *Nifon Catange* must have been picked up from the *jurebassos*, who would presumably refer to certain practices as "Japanese fashion". By the last surviving fascicle of Cocks' diary (December 1620 to March 1622) the phrase seems to have lost its novelty value, although it was still evident.⁴⁵⁷ Whilst writing of problems in getting the English

⁴⁴⁸ Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians*, pp. 97-99.

⁴⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 117-18. For perspectives on early modern England see Andrew Wear, "Making sense of health and environment in early modern England", in Wear (ed.), *Medicine and Society: Historical Essays* (Cambridge, 1992; 1994), p. 120 and Andrew Wear, "Early modern Europe, 1500-1700" in Conrad (ed.), *The Western Medical Tradition*, pp. 232-40 and particularly pp. 240-41.

⁴⁵⁰ *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 212.

⁴⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20. See also p. 241.

⁴⁵² IOR: Cotton Vesp. F. XVII; Farrington, vol. 2, pp. 1300, 1301.

⁴⁵³ BL: Egerton Ms 2121; Farrington, vol. 2, p. 1032.

⁴⁵⁴ *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 23; vol. 2, pp. 126, 176.

⁴⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 30. See also *ibid.*, pp. 33, 42, 60, 61 and *passim*. The phrase is used throughout Cocks' diary.

⁴⁵⁶ *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 138, 61.

⁴⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 47, 73.

privileges enlarged, Cocks used the Japanese exclamation *warui* (bad): “warry, warry, warry, &c”.⁴⁵⁸ Although a study of this sort is forced to concentrate on the figure of Cocks it should be noted that the other factors also employed a sizeable amount of Japanese terminology within their letters. In a letter to Cocks Eaton describes carrying presents to Kasegawa Fujimasa “nefone cattanki”.⁴⁵⁹ In his log for the Siam voyage of 1616, Sayers records that the officers had a “danko” whilst at sea.⁴⁶⁰ ‘Miyako’ was universally understood to mean a capital city rather than the proper name of today’s Kyōto. For instance, Cocks uses the “Cittie of Miaco” in reference to Hue, the capital of Cochin China.⁴⁶¹ This can be illustrated by its usage in logbooks describing cities in South East Asia. The use of a number of Japanese words without explanatory translations in letters suggests that the writer was in no doubt that the terms would be understood.⁴⁶²

Foreign terms were also freely employed elsewhere in the Indies. A smattering of Japanese is found in Mendes Pinto.⁴⁶³ Giuliano Bertuccioli provides a list of 50 Japanese words found in Carletti’s travel account.⁴⁶⁴ However, although the list includes ‘*funèe*’ (the *fune* of the E.I.C. sources), most of the terms are the proper names of towns, provinces and commodities. Factors very frequently attempted to render the correct East Indian name rather than simply describing what they were writing about. Whilst in Aden, John Jourdain referred to an interpreter as “drogoman”, i.e. “dragoman”.⁴⁶⁵ Thomas Milford described the coming of the *lascar* or hunting camp of Jahangir.⁴⁶⁶ An unknown correspondent noted how Henry Middleton was given “the salaam” at Debull, which is interpreted as ‘good morning’.⁴⁶⁷ Thomas Kerridge mentions waiting for a “guary” in a letter to Sir Thomas Roe.⁴⁶⁸ Such incidents show the influence of an Asian vocabulary on the Company servants.

As in so many other fields, there is little information on how the E.I.C. would have viewed more than token adaptation to the local culture. Within the distant diplomatic language of royal letters relevant comments can sometimes be found. Queen Elizabeth I’s circular letter to East Indian potentates expresses her wish for her merchants to adapt to local customs “the same may be the better contynued when our People shalbe

⁴⁵⁸ BL: Cart. Cotton III. 13. XXVI. 28 f18; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 631. He obviously expected his addressees, Nealson and Osterwick, to understand.

⁴⁵⁹ IOR: E/3/7 no. 811; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 761.

⁴⁶⁰ IOR: L/MAR/A/XXIV; Farrington, vol. 2, p. 1098. For separate voyages see *ibid.*, pp. 1147, 1149, 1150.

⁴⁶¹ IOR: E/3/2/ no. 155: *ibid.*, p. 196.

⁴⁶² E.g. IOR: G/12/15, p. 9; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 175 (*o-kata* – lady, wife); IOR: G/12/15, p. 26; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 330 (*shiru* – sauce); IOR: G.12.15, pp. 46-48; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 480 (*hakari* – scales), *inter alia*.

⁴⁶³ Catz (ed.), *Travels of Mendes Pinto*, pp. 277 (*facharões* – *hoyu-tsure*: companion), 280 (*funce* – *fune*: boat).

⁴⁶⁴ Giuliano Bertuccioli, “Francesco Carletti: a Florentine merchant in Japan and China in the years, 1597-99”, in Bertuccioli (ed.), *Travels to Real and Imaginary Lands: Two Lectures on East Asia* (Kyōto, 1990), pp. 20-24.

⁴⁶⁵ *Journal of John Jourdain*, p. 65.

⁴⁶⁶ *Letters Received*, vol. 3, p. 85.

⁴⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 176. For other examples of the term see also *ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 351

⁴⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 343. This was the Hindi *gharī*, a unit of c. 24 minutes.

instructed how to direct themselves according to the fashion of your COUNTRY".⁴⁶⁹ However, there are very few such sentiments reflected in E.I.C. instructions. The Virginia Company, at least, practised a policy of leaving young boys with the Indians in order to learn their languages and customs for future use as intermediaries.⁴⁷⁰ Hence, it would seem that cultural cross-over was tolerated if done for a specific aim. However, colonists who ran away to the Indians at times of famine or to escape harsh martial law were viewed as regressive and could expect extreme punishment.⁴⁷¹ As for the attitudes of the Hirado factors to 'going native' there are a number of points worth considering. The factors demanded absolute loyalty to their 'nation', from both the freelancing Adams and Iberian employees. They clearly hated any favours done by these men for the Dutch or Iberians. Particularly Saris, but even the more tolerant Cocks, resented Adams' ecumenical trading relationships with other Europeans. It is worth recounting Saris' unease about perceiving Adams as a "naturalised Japanner".⁴⁷² Writing from Ayutthaya, John Johnson and Richard Pitt were disgusted that a member of the Dutch factory had adopted native practices. This was described as "unhuman" behaviour, particularly his wearing of a cap and a cloth about his genitals "chere heathen".⁴⁷³ This was from the Malay *chārā* (heathen fashion), an obvious parallel to the *Nifone catange* employed in Hirado. Remarkably, a similar incident also occurred in Hirado, which provides the clearest evidence that the British factors did not approve of a wholesale adoption of Japaneseness. Cocks records that the troublesome John Haughtry, who had arrived on the *Advice*, cut his hair "after the pagan fation, thinking to turne pagan; w'ch he could not do heare, although he would. Yet there wanted no good will in hym".⁴⁷⁴ The act was obviously perceived as a serious moral breach and illustrates the value of appearance and perception to the early modern mind. Cocks' description is preceded by an account of Haughtry's extensive theft of Company goods to pay for whores. However, Cocks then describes the hair cutting as "that w'ch was much worse" than the thefts.⁴⁷⁵ It is not clear exactly what is implied by Cocks' mention that Haughtry couldn't "turne pagan", despite his inclination. Farrington interprets the incident as the Japanese not allowing him to turn pagan, but the marine officers are far more likely to have taken an interest in his moral well-being than the Japanese.⁴⁷⁶ The Haughtry incident highlights how British factors could wear Japanese clothes and follow Japanese leisure activities but were not expected to make wholesale conversions to a 'pagan' lifestyle.

In many ways the long Portuguese presence in Japan made it possible to lead a quasi-European lifestyle in the country, in a way that would have been impossible in other places. There were a number of Europeans in Hirado and particularly in Nagasaki, the

⁴⁶⁹ Sir George Birdwood and William Foster (ed.), *The First Letter Book of the East India Company, 1600-1619* (London, 1893; 1965), p. 21.

⁴⁷⁰ Fausz, "Middlemen in peace and war", pp. 41-64.

⁴⁷¹ The use of both boys and the escaping of colonists is analysed in Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians*, pp. 118-20, 156-57 and Fausz, "Middlemen in peace and war", p. 42. On harsh attitudes to crossing over to the Indians see Michael Zuckerman, "Identity formation in British America: unease in Eden" in Nicholas Canny and Anthony Pagden (eds), *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World, 1500-1800* (Princeton, 1987), p. 145.

⁴⁷² *Voyage*, p. 109.

⁴⁷³ IOR: E/3/5 no. 493; Farrington, vol. 1, pp. 605-06.

⁴⁷⁴ *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 308.

⁴⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷⁶ Anthony Farrington, "Some other Englishmen in Japan", *TASJ*, Third Series, vol. 19 (1984), pp. 14-15.

centre of European influence. Anthropologists and historians acknowledge the important role of native wives/concubines in integrating men into a foreign lifestyle.⁴⁷⁷ No doubt the Japanese consorts of the British facilitated a more Japanese lifestyle than they would otherwise have enjoyed. However, it is worth stressing that the factors did not cohabit with their consorts or have much contact with their children. Hence, they did not live as *de facto* husband and wife, as was the case with many Dutch and Portuguese in the East Indies. One would not expect the cultural change to be as dramatic as that facing early explorers who were stranded or taken captive in foreign lands. For instance, the Spaniard Gonzalo Guerrero refused to be rescued from the Yucatan after spending eight years with the Indians. The Spanish authorities found that he had married and had children, and had completely adopted the Mayan language, clothes, and decorations such as tattoos.⁴⁷⁸ Despite such caveats it is worth stressing that the factors' cultural adaptations were often made through free choice and not necessity. Evidence from elsewhere in the Indies shows that adaptations to local practices could be facile and painless. John Jourdain adopted Arabic/Turkish practices whilst travelling through the Yemen: travelling at night; using caravanserai, bathhouses and coffee.⁴⁷⁹ Even within Japan itself, there is evidence that earlier Portuguese traders enjoyed some aspects of a Japanese lifestyle. *Namban* screens show Portuguese enjoying the quintessentially Japanese practice of viewing the transience of the cherry blossoms at Yoshino.⁴⁸⁰ Another screen depicts a European as a peripheral figure socialising with Japanese around a low table on a *tatami* mat floor.⁴⁸¹ However, the key note was always adaptation and not conversion.

Conclusion

Derek Massarella claims that “[o]n the whole, the Japanese world into which the English entered and lived for just over ten years left the factors remarkably untouched”.⁴⁸² On the contrary, after a thorough analysis of the documents attached to the E.I.C. factory at Hirado, it appears that there was a very genuine cultural interaction extending beyond mere peripheral contacts. The English factory was not a fish tank in which Occidental Europeans gaped at an incomprehensible Oriental ‘Other’. Nor did it comply with Greg Denning’s used and over-abused ‘Beach’ metaphor, which depicts overseas Europeans as dipping their toes in the peripheral sands of foreign islands but not getting further inland.⁴⁸³ Having studied the large corpus of sources produced by the factory personnel, I would suggest that to a certain extent the British were immersed in and indulged in Japanese life, despite the obvious restrictions of factory existence. The interaction seems to have occurred to a degree previously unacknowledged by historians. Some historians of the ‘*Namban* Interlude’,

⁴⁷⁷ See ch. 6.

⁴⁷⁸ Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquests*, p. 17.

⁴⁷⁹ Foster (ed.), *Journal of John Jourdain*, pp. 81-88. The traveller Fynes Morrison also followed similar practices in Turkey as evident in the extracts of his *Itinerary*, reprinted in Kenneth Parker (ed.), *Early Modern Tales of Orient: A Critical Anthology* (London and New York, 1999), p. 147.

⁴⁸⁰ Diego Pacheco, “The Europeans in Japan”, in Cooper (ed.), *The Southern Barbarians*, p. 83.

⁴⁸¹ Yoshitono, *Namban Art*, plate 93. Similar scenes of socialising can be seen in Michael Cooper, “Japan and the way thither”, pp. 30-31.

⁴⁸² Massarella, *World Elsewhere*, p. 241.

⁴⁸³ Greg Denning, *Islands and Beaches: Discourse on a Silent Land Marquesas, 1774-1880* (Honolulu, 1980), p. 32. Derek Massarella, “William Adams/Miura Anjin: man/myth”, *London School of Economic and Political Science Discussion Paper Series: International Studies*, 15/00/394 (July, 2000), pp. 2-3.

it is true, have been more generous and receptive. Michael Cooper opines that the Euro-Japanese encounter between peoples of radically different religions, systems of thought, culture, traditions and outlook surely affected the Europeans at least in an indirect manner. Admittedly the effect was less than the reciprocal European impact upon Japan, due to the sheer numbers of Japanese touched by European trade and missionary activity.⁴⁸⁴ Not only does it defy sensibility at a theoretical level to suggest that the British somehow remained hermetically sealed from their Japanese environs, but there is ample evidence of a degree of cultural osmosis. Nevertheless, one must also offer caveats against too broad and liberal an interpretation of the encounter. As has been demonstrated, 'going native' was frowned upon by the factors. However, it remains clear that certain Japanese institutions, dietary habits and customs were accepted into factory life.

It has been shown throughout this chapter that the suggestion of substantial European cultural interaction with the Japanese is not inherently unlikely and has many parallels elsewhere in the East Indian world. Contemporaries were accustomed to altering cultural practices whilst abroad. Changes were generally accepted without alarm or even surprise. When received by Malabar, the British sat on rugs on the floor "as the manner of the countrey is". They ate food served on the ground and drank fresh water rather than alcohol.⁴⁸⁵ There were of course some exceptions for various reasons. Keen to maintain his prestige after the debacle of his predecessor, the royal ambassador to the Mughal court, Sir Thomas Roe largely rejected local customs in India. For instance, he would not sit on a carpet but sent for a chair instead.⁴⁸⁶ However, it is clear that Roe treated such encounters as a power game, rather than their being an example of his stubborn refusal to adapt. Kupperman has also shown that even in the bastion of colonialism in North America, many eye-witnesses urged some adoption of Indian practices, at least for the initial period of colonisation. Thomas Hariot, Richard Eburne and Ralph Hamor remarked that the settlers could live off the land, dwell in tents and even wear animal skins as their forefathers had done.⁴⁸⁷ The current chapter also echoes Kupperman's conclusions about the colonists' relationship with the Indians.⁴⁸⁸ Although Japanese society had very obvious cultural differences from that of Jacobean England, the gap was not unbridgeable. In fact, particularly in relation to servants, there were some striking similarities in cultural practice. The factors also did not face the religious and caste taboos and fears of pollution that beset factors in the Indian subcontinent, where a combined letter from the Company's Surat factors complained that "without

⁴⁸⁴ Michael Cooper, "Japan described", in Cooper (ed.), *The Southern Barbarians*, p. 100.

⁴⁸⁵ Foster (ed.), *Voyage of Thomas Best*, p. 133.

⁴⁸⁶ Foster (ed.), *Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, vol. 1, p. 65.

⁴⁸⁷ Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians*, pp. 119-20. There was also much cultural adaption in the Portuguese colonies of São Paulo and Haranhão e Pará in Brazil. Europeans and *mestizos* adopted from the natives forest crafts, food, customs, language and material culture, Stuart B. Schwartz, "The formation of a colonial identity in Brazil", in Canny and Pagden (eds), *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World*, p. 30.

⁴⁸⁸ Kupperman stresses that both societies believed in a supernatural world and were able to fluently cross the line into each other's worlds. However, the thesis is taken to extremes in places such as comparing English judicial torture and cannibalism under starvation conditions to regular Indian practices, *Settling with the Indians*, p. 42. There is a far more polarised civil/savage view in Michael Zuckerman's "Identity in British America", p. 143. Zuckerman does concede, however, that the free life of the indigenes was a principal temptation to the colonists, *ibid.*, p. 144.

experienced knowledge of these people's customs can [they] hardly live from giving cause of offence".⁴⁸⁹

Despite the evidence of British adaptation to Japanese culture, the interaction and penetration was never complete and often inconsistent. For instance, Adams, who uses a full Japanese vocabulary within his accounts, often indiscriminately alternates Japanese terms in his private log with 'girdle' and 'varnish boxes'.⁴⁹⁰ Cocks uses both the Japanese *karakasa* (umbrella) alongside its Portuguese equivalent, *quitasol*.⁴⁹¹ Both English and Japanese weights feature in accounts of the factory and Adams. Of all the factors, Adams and Cocks seem to have been most comfortable with penetration into Japanese culture. As stressed throughout the chapter, there was no wholesale cross-over but rather a great deal of adaptation and cultural borrowing, into which the Japanese also made inroads. Cocks exchanged gifts with both Japanese and Chinese at their new year and particular festivals, just as they gave presents to the factory on Christmas Day (O.S. and N.S.), as well as the European new year (1 January).⁴⁹² Massarella's conclusion is that travel did not broaden the early modern mind but, if anything, served as a mirror for reflection on Self and home society.⁴⁹³ This conclusion seems unwise as there is little evidence for self-examination in the factory records but much that shows acceptance and adoption of Japanese practices. The novelty feasts described earlier are a good example of how contemporary Jacobean did not have an inbuilt hostility to other cultures. However, such parties were partly playful and histrionic, in the same way that the Persian ambassador Robert Shirley liked to dress in Oriental attire whilst in England. Both the Japanese and Europeans could copy each other at such novelty events, but wholesale imitation did not happen.

⁴⁸⁹ *Letters Received*, vol. 5, p. 120.

⁴⁹⁰ Bodleian Library: Savile Ms 48: Farrington, vol. 2, pp. 1072-73.

⁴⁹¹ *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 39.

⁴⁹² E.g., *Ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 49, 50, 51-55. Gift exchange often lasted for several days.

⁴⁹³ Massarella, *World*, p. 332.

Chapter 6- Relationships with Women

Introduction

Upon arriving in Hirado in June 1613, the crew of the *Clove* had endured a six-month voyage from Bantam, through which they presumably remained celibate.¹ It must therefore have been a pleasant surprise for them to find that both prostitutes and long-term concubines were freely available in Hirado. The Hirado sources record that every ship arriving to visit the port was troubled by sailors swimming ashore for nocturnal entertainment.² Unfortunately they do not reveal if the ships' officers and E.I.C. merchants also engaged in this activity. One suspects that this is a case of the guilty choosing to write themselves out of the picture. Of course, the visiting of prostitutes in sea ports was not unique to Hirado but rather found everywhere in the maritime world of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. However, the situation was more complex and nuanced in Japan. The E.I.C. sources testify not only to the use of brothels but also to the uniquely refined prostitution of *kabuki* troupes and long-term courtship with what may be described as mistresses or concubines. The latter involved prolonged relationships, some of which lasted for the ten-year duration of the factory. Such unions also produced several Anglo-Japanese children.

This chapter does not ignore the fact that prostitution and courtship occurred elsewhere in the East Indies. However, the Hirado factory is almost unique in leaving a detailed record of sexual activity and the relationships formed between the merchants and local women. Letters even survive from the consorts themselves, thus allowing a more rounded appreciation of the relationships, which would otherwise be viewed solely from the European male perspective.³ In contrast to the Hirado factory most of the journals and letters which survive from the other outposts are largely deficient in detail of such matters.⁴ There are several possible reasons for this absence in the archives. It may be that merchants elsewhere preferred transient visits to prostitutes instead of the contractual relationships found in Hirado. However, the evidence suggests that girls could be purchased elsewhere on long-term contracts similar to the system operating in Japan. Another theory could be that the remoteness of Hirado sanctioned a candour between the factors which would have been impractical in Patani or Siam, which were visited on a more regular basis by Bantam.⁵ The English factory received no ships at all between 1613 and 1615 and again between 1617 and 1620. It may be the case that letters referring in detail to consorts

¹ Giles Milton, *Samurai William: The Adventurer who Unlocked Japan* (London, 2002), pp.216-17 portrays the crew as having remained celibate for two years as they declined to use the disease-ridden brothels of Bantam. Although the whorehouses of Bantam had an insalubrious reputation there is simply no evidence to support Milton's claim, which is pure conjecture.

² See *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 85, 147; vol. 2, pp. 91, 246, 280; vol. 3, *passim*.

³ BL: Cart. Cotton III.13.XXVI.28, ff. 47-50, 53-54, 63; Farrington, vol. 2, pp. 954-57.

⁴ See *Letters Received*, 6 vols and the various journals printed in *Pilgrimes* and by the *Hakluyt Society*.

⁵ The Dutch were similarly modest about their relationships in Japan. Paul van der Valle notes how the Dutch comfort women sent to Deshima are never mentioned in the official *daghregisters*, only in private correspondence, "The interpreter interpreted: Kaempfer's Japanese collaborator Imamura Genemon Eisei", in Beatrice Bodart-Bailey and Derek Massarella (eds), *The Furthest Goal: Engelbert Kaempfer's Encounter with Tokugawa Japan* (Kent, 1995), p. 47.

and prostitutes did originally exist for the other factories but have not survived (as explored in the first two chapters). It has been acknowledged on several occasions that the Hirado factory possesses the fullest archive of any factory in this period.⁶ Particularly candid letters from the other factories may have been destroyed after being read. Such a theory has a precedent in a letter sent by William Neelson to Wickham in February 1614, describing his sexual prowess and liaison with Cocks' mistress. Neelson ended his letter by requesting Wickham to henceforth destroy all of his letters after reading them.⁷ Fortunately this particular letter has survived but Wickham may well have followed Neelson's instructions as no further letters from Neelson to Wickham are extant.

Whatever the reasons for the deficiencies of other factories in the East Indies, it remains the case that the archive of the Hirado factory allows exploration of a subject which is largely obscured from the other arenas of the East. The sources also have advantages over those of the other Europeans in contemporary Japan. Although some of the letters of the Jesuits and the travel account of Francesco Carletti highlight the activities of pimps in Nagasaki in the late sixteenth century, there is very little personal detail. One suspects that Carletti may well have indulged in the goods on offer but, if so, he does not reveal himself to the reader of his posthumously published book.⁸ The Jesuit sources are largely polemical and highlight the sins of the Portuguese merchants and of the fleshpots of Nagasaki itself.⁹ The vow of celibacy dictated that the Jesuits were unable to speak from any personal experience of prostitution and consortship. If they had some experience, like Carletti, they naturally did not reveal the fact in their letters.¹⁰ Hence, the personal, unselfconscious and intimate nature of the E.I.C. sources provide a fresh angle on a largely unexplored subject.

As regards historiography, once again there is very little with which to engage. The sexual adventures of the British sailors and merchant usually receive a cursory reference in the many biographies of Adams.¹¹ They are also mentioned in various brief articles concerning the factory.¹² However, both the aforementioned books and

⁶ Anthony Farrington, "The English factory in Japan, 1613-1623", *TJSL*, 118 (1991), p.10; Derek Massarella, "A World Elsewhere: aspects of the overseas expansionist mood of the 1650s", in Colin Jones *et al* (ed.), *Politics and People in Revolutionary England* (Oxford, 1986), p. 149.

⁷ IOR: E/3/2 no 155A; Farrington, vol.1 pp. 131-33.

⁸ Herbert Weinstock trans (ed.), *My Voyage Around the World by Francesco Carletti a 16th Century Florentine Merchant* (London, 1965), p. 145. The best biography of Carletti is still Gemma Sgrilli, *Francesco Carletti: Mercante e Viaggiatore Fiorentino, 1573(?) - 1636* (No place of publication, 1905). For Carletti's literary work see the essays in Giuliano Bertuccioli (ed.), *Travels to Real and Imaginary Lands: Two Lectures on East Asia* (Kyoto, 1990). Specifically on the Japanese chapter see Jennifer Batchelor, "Francesco Carletti's journey to Japan, 1597", *Warburg*: Institute of London University, M.Phil (1972).

⁹ C. R. Boxer, *Mary and Misogyny: Women in Iberian Expansion Overseas, 1415-1815, Some Facts, Fancies and Personalities* (London, 1975), p. 68.

¹⁰ The Jesuit court translator João Rodrigues faced a damaging series of accusations regarding his relations with a married Japanese lad, Michael Cooper, *Rodrigues the Interpreter: An Early Jesuit in China and Japan* (New York and Tokyo, 1974; 1994), pp. 255-56.

¹¹ See 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).

¹² E.g., Ludwig Riess, "History of the English factory at Hirado (1613-1622[sic])", *TASJ*, vol. XXVI (December, 1898), pp. 1-114, 162-218; Michael Cooper, "The second Englishman in Japan: the trails

articles provide mostly brief introductory material which seeks to introduce the subject to an audience unacquainted with the sources. They are constrained by both space and the lack of familiarity of the target audience. There is little attempt to scratch below the surface and they usually contain no more than a catalogue of consorts' names and the children born of such relations. By contrast, later Dutch relations with courtesans at Deshima has received at least some cursory attention.¹³ However, the nature of the Dutch relations with women in the earlier and far less restricted Hirado period has been little studied.¹⁴

In relation to the British, Massarella deals with the subject in the greatest detail but is also guilty of an unadventurous narrative approach to the material.¹⁵ He makes a number of generalisations which are discussed below but largely lets the sources speak for themselves. Recently the subject of prostitution and courtship has been given some detailed attention in Giles Milton's *Samurai William*. Although a work of popular history, Milton takes advantage of Farrington's collection and the *Historiographical Institute* diary to study the first hand sources. Despite the title, the work actually focuses on the activities of the factory rather than of Adams himself. Readily accessible primary sources allow Milton to voice his own opinions rather than relying on dated historiography. Although Milton makes a number of comments about relations with consorts, unfortunately they seem to be based more upon conjecture and the need for a good story than any solid evidence, as we shall see. Milton also has a tendency to wallow in any lurid connotations which can be drawn from the material.¹⁶ In conclusion, it would be fair to say that the subject has never been handled in detail from a neutral, scholarly perspective.

The nature of the close interaction between European and native, particularly with consorts, throws up questions of racial mixing and how this would have been viewed by both the E.I.C. and its individual servants. Although a considerable amount of work has been done on later policies towards mixed relationships in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century India, there is almost nothing on the early period of the Company's history.¹⁷ The recent crop of general histories of the Company either

and travails of Richard Cocks, 1613-1624", *TASJ*, Third Series, vol. 17 (1982), pp. 121-159; Anthony Farrington, "Some other Englishmen in Japan", *TASJ*, Third Series, vol. 19 (1984), pp. 1-15; Anthony Farrington, "The English Factory in Japan", pp. 10-19; Anthony Farrington, "The English in Japan, 1613-1623", *Hakuyt Society Annual Report* (1993), pp. 10-18.

¹³ See Fritz Vos, "Forgotten foibles: love and the Dutch at Dejima", in Brüll, Lydia and Kemper, Ulrich (eds), *Asien Tradition und Fortschritt: Festschrift für Horst Hammitzsch zu seinem 60. Geburtstag* (Wiesbaden, 1971). See also Kimiko Kawabata, "The girls of Murayama", in the commemorative book, (no acknowledged editor), *In the Wake of the Liefde: Cultural Relations between the Netherlands and Japan since 1600* (Amsterdam, 1986), pp. 61, 63, 65 (staggered pagination).

¹⁴ There is a brief chapter by Leonard Blussé, "The children of Hirado", in *Ibid.*, pp. 47, 49, 51 (staggered pagination) but it amounts to little more than the usual catalogue of names for an uninitiated readership. C. R. Boxer's excellent lengthy introduction to *A True Description of the Mighty Kingdoms of Japan and Siam* (London, 1935) gives information on Dutch *opperhoofd* François Caron's relations with Japanese women, pp. lxvi-lxvii and appendix II, pp. 147-52. W. Z. Mulder is largely constrained by the nature of his material from discussing relationships in Hirado, *Hollanders in Hirado, 1597-1641* (Haarlem, n.d. ?1985).

¹⁵ Massarella, *World Elsewhere*, *passim*. Of most relevance is ch. 6, "Living and surviving in Hirado".

¹⁶ See Milton, *Samurai William*, pp. 216-19, 245-47.

¹⁷ See for example, Ronald Hyam, *Empire and Sexuality: The British Experience* (Manchester, 1990; 1992); Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York, 1995); Ann Laura Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire* (Durham, 1995) and Robert Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* (London, 1995).

bypass the subject altogether or casually note the prevalence of temporary relationships and marriage between servants and native women.¹⁸ Historians have not considered in detail how the E.I.C. itself viewed such liaisons or whether race was an issue to the servants themselves. However, the subject of mixed-race unions has received some attention from historians of V.O.C. Batavia and also the global Portuguese enterprise.¹⁹ Although this chapter will take into account the theories advanced in such historiography, the non-colonial experience of the Hirado factory was sufficiently different from both Dutch Batavia and Portuguese outposts as to invalidate many comparisons. Perhaps more so than any other area of study in this thesis, the subject of female relations defies extensive comparison with the other Europeans in Japan and other Company factories in the East.

A number of historians have advanced the theory that relations with local women formed an integral part of the integration of Europeans into an Asian lifestyle.²⁰ They certainly eased the road into alternative living arrangements and customs. Their presence also motivated merchants and soldiers to adapt to local circumstances and learn the language.²¹ Although such studies have used the Dutch and Portuguese colonial experience as models, I would suggest that the theory is applicable to some extent to the British in Japan. It is thus worth considering in detail for the questions and ideas thrown up. As with all subjects in this thesis the opinions and observations in the Hirado sources have been compared with what is known of contemporary attitudes to sex and marriage in early modern Britain. The theoretical and practical stance of the E.I.C. has also been considered.²²

The thesis has also been able to make use of material unavailable to earlier commentators. Many bawdy comments of obvious relevance to this study were excised from the 1883 edition of Cocks' diary.²³ These also remained unprinted in the

¹⁸ E.g. Antony Wild, *The East India Company: Trade and Conquest from 1600* (London, 1999), p. 105.

¹⁹ See Jean Goodman Taylor, *The Social World of Batavia: European and Eurasian in Dutch Asia* (Madison, 1983). The views of the Portuguese historian Antonio Cortesão that the early modern Portuguese were 'colour blind' in terms of prejudice were harshly criticised by C. R. Boxer in, *Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire, 1415-1825* (London, 1963). On the protracted controversy see J. S. Cummins and L. de Sousa Rebelo, "The controversy over Charles Boxer's *Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire, 1415-1825*", *Portuguese Studies*, vol. 17 (2001), pp. 233-246. A brief and restrained consideration of the sexual life of the Levant merchants is provided in Alfred Wood, *A History of The Levant Company* (Oxford, 1935), pp. 244-45.

²⁰ E.g. Leonard Blussé, "From inclusion to exclusion: the early years at Hirado, 1600-1640", in Blussé *et al* (eds), *Bridging the Divide: 400 Years of the Netherlands-Japan* (no place of publication, 2000), p. 28; Taylor, *Social World*, *passim*; Dejinirali Silva Couto, "Some observations on Portuguese renegades in Asia in the sixteenth century", in Anthony Disney and Emily Booth (eds), *Vasco da Gama and the Linking of Europe and Asia* (New Delhi, 2000), p. 178.

²¹ For theories on the Hirado consorts' role in language learning see ch. 4.

²² This is a subject probably best illustrated by the protracted affair of General William Keeling, discussed below.

²³ 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). This was an unfortunate consequence of the epoch. P. E. H. Hair notes that there remains uncertainty regarding the amount of "silent and oblique censorship" in Hakluyt Society editions, "The Hakluyt Society: from past to future", in R. C. Bridges and P. E. H. Hair (eds), *Compassing the Vast Globe of the Earth: Studies in the History of the Hakluyt Society, 1846-1996*, *Hakluyt Society*, Second Series, no. 183, p.13n. William Foster also censored the lustful activities of Rev. William Leske in Surat in his edition of *Letters Received*, vol. 5, pp. 36, 37. The original source can be consulted as IOR: E/3/4 no. 429, f. 145, 145v.

improved 1899 Murakami edition, which used Edward Maunde Thompson's transcription as a template.²⁴ Whereas Thomson had left tantalising ellipses in the text, these were not found in the favoured Murakami edition. Many historians were therefore presumably unaware of the loss of material.²⁵ The complete diary only became available in 1980.²⁶ However, presumably through limited availability, many subsequent specialists of the period have neglected to use the full version and thus remained ignorant of a number of key observations.²⁷ A number of revealing comments are also found in Wickham's letter book, a collection of drafts which was not only unprinted prior to 1991 but also largely ignored by historians.²⁸ It was also not calendared along with the other relevant sources in the *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series: East Indies*.²⁹

The current chapter has been divided into four sections dealing with different aspects of the sex lives of the E.I.C. servants in Japan. The first analyses attitudes of both the E.I.C. and merchants themselves towards prostitution and mixed-race sexual contacts. The second section deals with prostitution in its familiar European-style guise, which could be found in Hirado brothels. The next section handles *kabuki*, a form of Japanese stage entertainment involving acting, music and soliciting for prostitution. Finally, attention is paid to the 'mistresses' or local women contracted into relationships with the factors. Separate treatment is practical not only for clarity but also due to the different sections of Hirado personnel who enjoyed each particular entertainment.

1. E.I.C. Attitudes Towards Whoring and Mixed-Race Relationships

It is difficult to gain an accurate picture of the E.I.C.'s attitudes towards prostitution and relations with local women. The formal nature of the Company material, in the form of court minutes and instructions, often gives little away. Sexual relations would not have been especially condoned by the Company, which existed purely as a trading venture. Unlike Dutch Batavia and the Portuguese settlements, the E.I.C. in this epoch had no interest in planting colonies. There was no specific policy on marriage or, in a

²⁴ 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).

²⁵ To my knowledge the only historian to have admitted to consulting the manuscript diary in order to see the 'naughty bits' is Michael Cooper, as related in his "Review of *Diary of Richard Cocks*", *MN*, vol. 37, no. 2 (1982), pp. 265-67.

²⁶ Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryō Hensan-Jo (ed.), *Diary Kept by the Head of the English factory in Japan: Diary of Richard Cocks, 1615-1622*, 3 vols (Tokyo, 1978-1980).

²⁷ E.g. Mulder, *Hollanders in Hirado*; Donald H. Shivley, "Popular Culture" in John Whitney Hall and James L. McClain (eds), *The Cambridge History of Japan, Volume 4: Early Modern Japan* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 706-69 (the neglect is particularly unfortunate in this example, which deals extensively with *kabuki*); Corr, *Adams the Pilot*; Michael Cooper (ed.), *João Rodrigues's Account of Sixteenth-Century Japan, Hakluyt Society, Third Series*, no. 7 (2001).

²⁸ The document is IOR: G/12/15. For its neglect by historians see Anthony Farrington, "The Japan letter book of Richard Wickham, 1614-1617", *India Office Library and Records Annual Report* (1979), pp. 35-45. With good justification Farrington attributes the book's neglect to its difficult and messy script.

²⁹ Prior to the publication of *Letters Received* at the turn of the twentieth century many historians relied on the calendar rather than consulting the original documents. See, for example, the references in John Anderson, *English Intercourse with Siam in the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1890). The time-scale of publication of source material from the Hirado archive is detailed in ch. 2.

broader sense, sexual morality.³⁰ By contrast the papers of the V.O.C. and the Iberian crown and Church contain detailed discussions of concubinage, sexual relations with slaves and inter-racial marriage.³¹ There are cases of E.I.C. factors and personnel dismissed for immoral conduct, such as Rev. William Leske, but these largely represent a combination of different charges.³² The arguments concerning long-term concubinage, which draw some parallels with the Dutch and Portuguese experience, will be discussed below.

Provisions against various categories of disorderly behaviour frequently occur in E.I.C. commissions, but whoring is never mentioned specifically. Yet at the same time the evidence of journals and letters suggests that voyage commanders and captains typically tried to prevent sailors visiting brothels wherever possible. Hence there appears to be a dichotomy between the concerns of a central command and voyage captains. The problem is surely explained by the notion that neither Company nor commander specifically objected to illicit sex in a foreign land. The early modern 'double standard' effectively placed the burden of sexual fidelity on the female.³³ Of course, many of the negative consequences of female infidelity (the parish burden of bastardy, and the danger to family property caused by doubtful paternity) would remain in the East Indies and had no effect in England. Hence, from the E.I.C.'s point of view, the practical consequences of pre-marital and extra-marital sex were insignificant. However, not all felt this way. The English merchant William Methwold was disgusted that the "impudent harlots" of Surat freely operated under the law.³⁴ The not illiberal Carletti also regarded as scandalous the Siamese, Arab, Turkish and Indian practice of taking women on board ship. This was a sight "no less indecent than filthy and unseemly". To Carletti such behaviour was a bad example to Christian converts.³⁵ In specific relation to the E.I.C., the Company was informed that the greatest risk to its mariners in Surat was "toddy, rack and women".³⁶ However, it is clear that for most men whoring was seen as a problem involving disorder and discipline. At the most basic level, sailors were compelled to remain aboard ship whilst at port.³⁷ Hence any visits to brothels broke this commandment. There was also

³⁰ But see the case of William Keeling and his wife discussed below.

³¹ See Boxer, *Mary and Misogyny*, *passim*.

³² Leske's activities were condemned in a consultation drawn up by the Surat merchants. His licentious behaviour was carefully tabulated and testified to one by one by various factors. He had entertained a very low caste married woman in his inner chamber for half an hour "and by the manner and circumstances more condemned for carnal action", IOR; E/3/4 no. 429, f. 145; *Letters Received*, vol. 5, p. 36 (where the latter half of the sentence is removed). Leske was a frequenter of brothels, on one occasion twice in the same week. A "common noted whore" came to the factory to have Leske change a false coin he had given her "in lieu of the beastly lustfull use he had made of her bodye", IOR: E/3/4, f. 145v; *Letters Received*, vol. 5, p. 37 (again the latter quote is removed in the printed letter). Numerous additional charges include brawling, beating servants, striking the cape-merchant and generally preferring drunkenness, licentiousness and "epicurism" to the worship of God.

³³ See Keith Thomas' seminal article, "The double standard", *Journal of the History of Ideas*, vol. 20 (1959), pp. 195-216 and Bernard Capp, "The Double Standard revisited: plebeian women and male sexual reputation in early modern England", *Past and Present*, vol. 162 (1999), pp. 70-100.

³⁴ W. H. Moreland (ed.), *Relations of Golconda in the Early Seventeenth Century*, *Hakluyt Society*, Second Series, no. LXVI (1931), p. 17.

³⁵ Weinstock (ed.), *My Voyage*, pp. 180-81, 186.

³⁶ *Letters Received*, vol. 5, p. 57.

³⁷ Hence, Floris' angry reference to the mariner John Downes, "who lyke a factor lay on land", Moreland (ed.), *Voyage of Peter Floris*, p. 62. See, for example, Saris instructions to Cocks and Master James Foster upon his departure for Edo, *Voyage*, pp. 117, 118-19. It should be noted that mariners were not kept on ship continually. They often had to labour on land and even had the opportunity of

a belief that whoring, with its close associations with drink, would inevitably lead to disagreements over money and brawling.³⁸ The associations of whoring with drinking and gambling dens, and general disorderly behaviour, are quite explicit in contemporary English pamphlets.³⁹ As Peter Lake has shown, 'stew houses' were places where gentlemen could be bested in fights by social inferiors and forgot their honour by resorting to cowardly back-stabbing.⁴⁰ In voyage commissions, these ancillary disorders are regularly used to support objections to gambling.⁴¹ During the years of the Fleet of Defence in Hirado, 1620-22, gangs of sailors regularly ran out of money, were detained by hosts and pestered their commanders for money for their release.⁴² Both the Company and commanders also clearly realised the potential of brothels for souring relationships between merchants and host peoples. Invariably accounts could not be settled and sailors would allege that brothel owners kept them prisoner in order to accumulate huge debts.⁴³ Claim would follow counter claim, drawing in both Company representatives and local officials. As happened in Hirado, innocent local women were sometimes mistaken for prostitutes, with resulting embarrassment for the Company.⁴⁴ Both voyage commissions and personal instructions from departing commanders place a high priority on the careful treatment of locals. It is clear that the prevention of whoring was a matter of discipline and not the control of sex as suggested by Giles Milton.⁴⁵

meeting nobility by carrying the Company's gifts, e.g. *Voyage*, pp. 86, 94, 95, 105. Thirty years earlier, the chaplain Richard Madox clearly disapproved of allowing sailors on shore whilst at port. He believed that this led to much disorder for both ship and port town, Elizabeth Story Donno (ed.), *An Elizabethan in 1582: The Diary of Richard Madox, Fellow of All Souls, Hakluyt Society*, Second Series, no. 147 (1976), p. 105.

³⁸ Commanders were of course right in this respect, as was proved on later occasions in Hirado itself. During Saris' absence, Cocks reported that Christopher Evans and 'Boles' quarrelled over a whore, *Relation*, p. 150. However, the Japanese *bakufu* also faced similar problems amongst its own citizens. *Kabuki* shows became notorious for the public brawls stemming from inter-crowd jealousies over stage favourites. See Donald H. Shively, "Bakufu versus kabuki", in John Whitney Hall and Marius B Jansen (eds), *Studies in the Institutional History of Tokugawa Japan*, (Princeton, 1968), pp. 231-61.

³⁹ Peter Lake, "From Troynouvant to Heliogabalus'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. 229-30.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 232.

⁴¹ IOR: B/2 f. 140; Farrington, vol. 2, p. 975. Cocks also gave a personal warning to Wickham to avoid gambling in Edo, IOR: E/3/1 no. 127; Farrington, vol. 1, pp. 124-25. Contemporaries in England believed that gaming inevitably led to conflict, Susan Amussen, "Punishment, discipline and power: the social meaning of violence in early modern England", *Journal of British History*, vol. 34, no. 1 (1995), p. 26. In the Atlantic colonies drunkenness was believed to lead to further crimes, Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians*, p. 123.

⁴² The Company representatives were also pestered on earlier occasions, e.g., *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 5.

⁴³ IOR: E/3/8 no. 995; Farrington, vol. 2, p. 853. However, Cocks notes that some sailors would eventually own up to a true debt. The sailors' experiences were paralleled by Tome, a *jurebasso* in the house. He pawned clothes and weapons for whores, *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 376-77. A few days later he was taken prisoner by the "caboques". As he had no money, Cocks writes that he could be taken as a slave or they would, "set his body to sale", *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 5. However, the frequency of stripping and turning out doors is challenged in Massrella, *World Elsewhere*, p. 281. The reason for this is not specified.

⁴⁴ It will be remembered that François Caron cited prevention of the debauchment of common women as the reason for the prevalence of brothels in Japan. However, see the argument in n. above. This probably occurred elsewhere. The Ternatans were believed to dislike the Dutch because of their drunken "disorders" against women, Foster (ed.), *Voyage of Henry Middleton*, p. 54.

⁴⁵ Milton, *Samurai William*, p. 217.

As is the case with law and order and religion there is little information on the E.I.C.'s attitude towards mixed-race relations and marriage to local women. The Company preferred bachelors to man its factories although it did not forbid married factors or mariners from employment.⁴⁶ What it did forbid, however, was the taking of wives or any other women to the East. The most well-documented case is that of General William Keeling, who petitioned fervently to allow his wife to accompany him.⁴⁷ Valuing Keeling's services, the directors were divided for a long time over the matter. However, permission was finally refused under fears that a precedent would be set.⁴⁸ Hence, the Company cannot have been ignorant that female company would be urgently sought. As argued above, Company generals recognised that whoring amongst mariners led to a variety of disorders, and it was therefore forbidden. Many merchants liked to report lurid tales to the headquarters in London, but the line between fears over indiscipline and wastage and purely moral concerns is often unclear.⁴⁹ However, there seems to be no recognisable official view on the upkeep of consorts by resident merchants or even the rare practice of marriage. There are no orders concerning such practices in Saris' commission or indeed any of the other surviving commissions.⁵⁰ Although Saris advised Cocks to maintain friendly relations with the Japanese, his 'Remembrance' left no specifications of acceptable sexual behaviour.⁵¹ However, the privileges granted by Eastern rulers often made provisions for women and children (although not in the case of Japan). The Company must have been aware of the contents of such documents. Giles Milton's statement that the directors were horrified to learn that the Hirado factors had been dallying with local women has no basis in fact.⁵² None of the letters sent to the Company headquarters mention the women.

Although there is very little information on the E.I.C.'s attitude to mixed-race unions, other contemporary European nations that traded overseas had clearer policies. In the case of the V.O.C., its governor general, Jan Pieterszoon Coen, promoted the Christian model of marriage, leading to an ordinance of 20 December 1620 levying fines on the keeping of concubines, both slaves and free.⁵³ The ordinance was neither revoked nor renewed. As it was to be enforced by Company officers who were

⁴⁶ East India Company, *The Laws and Standing Orders of the East India Company* (London, 1621), p. 42. However, in March 1614 George Cullyner was rejected for the sole reason of being a married man, *CSPC*, vol. 1, no. 700 (p. 285).

⁴⁷ The affair is described in Massarella, *World Elsewhere*, pp. 230-32. For the protracted case see *CSPC*, vol. 1, nos 787, 789 (p. 336), 827, 831, 839. His wife stowed aboard but was eventually removed, *Ibid.*, nos 876, 879, 899, 902, 912, 974, 976, 989. No mention is made of the incident in Keeling's own journal, although he does note that he received an "extremelie unkind" letter from Sir Thomas Smythe, Michael Strachan and Bois Penrose (eds), *The East India Company Journals of Captain William Keeling and Master Thomas Bonner, 1615-1617* (Minneapolis, 1971), p. 53.

⁴⁸ On 1 February 1614, three Indian sailors who had been brought to England petitioned the Company to allow them to take their (presumably English) wives with them to the East Indies. They were refused on grounds of safety for the women and concerns over discipline amongst the unruly sailors, *CSPC*, vol. 1, no. 687.

⁴⁹ See the following section for stories reported back to the headquarters in London.

⁵⁰ IOR: B/2 ff. 140-48; Farrington, vol. 2, pp. 974-84. For sample commissions see Birdwood and Foster (eds), *First Letter Book*, pp. 4-9, 51-66, 114-136, 240-64, 295-304, 328-48, 369-88, 396-420.

⁵¹ IOR: E/3/1 no. 125; Farrington, vol. 1, pp. 119-22.

⁵² Milton, *Samurai William*, p. 274. Massarella takes the more sensible view that relations with women were widespread in the Indies and well-known to the Company, *World Elsewhere*, p. 230.

⁵³ Unlike the E.I.C., senior merchants and officers were not prevented from taking their wives with them. However, in the Deshima years the *bakufu* banned Dutch women from the island, Goodman, *Japan and the Dutch*, p. 21.

notorious for their maintaining of concubines, there was little hope of strict enforcement. Finally, following the abandonment of unsuccessful attempts to have Dutch women shipped to Batavia, the V.O.C. encouraged mixed unions and ignored open concubinage.⁵⁴ C. R. Boxer notes that in the early period of Iberian expansion racial prejudice was directed against Muslims and Jews and was more religious in character than colour-based. Africans were also sometimes despised due to their associations with racially-based slavery.⁵⁵ Interracial marriages with Arrawak Indians brought no stigma and were actively promoted. Significantly, there was no sex bias as both Iberian men and women were free to marry Indians, although the numbers of women in overseas possessions were always small.⁵⁶ In Western India the Portuguese conquistador Albuquerque encouraged his men to marry the "white and beautiful" widows and daughters of the defenders of Goa. He insisted, however, that they be Christian converts and of Aryan descent rather than the Dravidian "negresses" of Malabar. However, in practice the Portuguese were not so discriminating in their sexual mores.⁵⁷ The Portuguese *Estado da India* also openly tolerated concubinage despite periodic attacks from the religious orders trying to proselytise in the East. Like the Dutch, the Portuguese also had projects to send out orphaned European girls to the Indies, although unlike the V.O.C., senior personnel did not travel with their wives.⁵⁸ The Spanish empire was not so racially inclusive as the Portuguese. In Mexico conquistadors initially believed that association with royal Indian blood might confer nobility on their descendents. However, the practice quickly died out when Indians were accorded the basest social category, below black slaves. Hence, not wanting their descendents to fall into such a position, most Spaniards in the New World preferred to marry a white prostitute than a noble Indian. However, this restraint did not prevent informal sexual relationships. Despite popular attitudes, the Spanish state continued to promote inter-marriage with natives as an alternative to concubinage.⁵⁹ In North America English colonists prided themselves on their self-denial and the fact that unlike the Spanish, they did not take Indian wives. The English were unique in the New World in that concubinage was uncommon and mixed marriages were legally forbidden.⁶⁰

⁵⁴ James Fox, "For good and sufficient reasons: an examination of early Dutch East India Company ordinances on slaves and slavery", in Reid (ed.), *Slavery, Bondage and Dependency*, pp. 254-55. On plans to ship 'Company daughters' to the East see Taylor, *Social World*, pp. 12-15. In later years the policy fluctuated again. For the influence of Roman Law on these later V.O.C. provisions against inter-race, inter-class and inter-faith marriages see F. N. Zaal, "Roman law and the racial policies of the Dutch East India Company: an exploration of some historical inter-connections", *Comparative and International Labor Journal of Southern Africa*, vol. 29, no. 1 (1996), pp. 31-48.

⁵⁵ On the very early connection between negroes and slavery see Kim E. Hall, *Things of Darkness: Economies of Race and Gender in Early Modern England* (Ithaca and London, 1995), p. 19. Blacks in chains were a common feature of Portuguese coats of arms.

⁵⁶ Boxer, *Mary and Misogyny*, p. 36. The policy was noticed by the men of Cavendish's circumnavigation, who observed that the Indian lord of an island off Peru had a Spanish wife, *Pilgrimes*, vol. 2, p. 164.

⁵⁷ Boxer, *Race Relations*, pp. 64-65. In general marriage was unattractive anyway, unless a wealthy heiress could be found.

⁵⁸ Boxer, *Mary and Misogyny*, pp. 63-95. Orphans were also sent to Brazil, Stuart B. Schwartz, "The formation of a colonial identity in Brazil", in Nicholas Canny and Anthony Pagden (eds), *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World, 1500-1800* (Princeton, 1987), p. 21.

⁵⁹ Anthony Pagden, "Identity formation in Spanish America" in *Ibid.*, pp. 67-68.

⁶⁰ Michael Zuckerman, "Identity in British America: unease in Eden", in *Ibid.*, pp. 145-47.

As for the E.I.C. factors themselves, it is clear that mixed-race unions were not considered unnatural or repellent. Scholars used to believe that references to colour in the Elizabethan period, such as “Ethiop” and “tawny Tartar” in Shakespeare’s *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, were merely a rhetorical reflection of contemporary aesthetics of beauty. As a pale complexion was prized, darker skin was considered unattractive. The point is that remarks such as “Ethiop” related purely to colour, as a genuine racial awareness did not develop until the eighteenth century. However, scholars now believe that contemporaries were very aware of racial distinction and draw attention to comments such as “a Negro or woman blackamoore” and “knotty Africanisms”.⁶¹ Hence, terms such as ‘dark’ and ‘fair’ were not merely polarities but real concepts of race, with its concomitant geographical connections. Kim Hall draws attention to the racialised language used by writers in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. They were acutely aware of the African origins of their ‘Moors’. However, although broadly conscious of a biological distinction, it does not follow that black skin was placed at the bottom of a racial hierarchy, as evident in later, more overtly scientific categorisations of race.⁶²

Kim Hall’s *Things of Darkness* is important and groundbreaking in discussing perceptions of race alongside gender. Hence, it would appear to offer much food for thought for the current chapter. However, a major problem with the developing historiography on perceptions of race in the early modern period is that it concentrates on the image of the negro in contemporary literary works, notably plays and poetry, alongside visual art. Hence, racial depictions in these media are overtly stylised. Given Kim Hall’s argument that ‘black’ did not so much appose ‘white’ as oppose ‘beauty’ and ‘fairness’, it is perhaps predictable that images of the negro would concentrate on danger, mystery and feature black women having to justify why they were beautiful to the typically repelled white male.⁶³ Like most literary scholarship on European perceptions of non-Europeans, Hall’s work makes no attempt to compare stylised literary images with the attitudes evident in the letters and diaries of private men who came into direct contact with natives.⁶⁴ There is little evidence in the E.I.C. records of non-European women appearing as representations of death, the night, mourning, danger and sin, by virtue of their dark skin.⁶⁵ They were not seen as a binary opposite of European males. Although Hall provides some discussion of how ‘blackness’ was seen in Indians, Native Americans, and other peoples around the globe, there is a fundamental problem here in using her theories. As discussed in chapter 3, most European commentators saw the Japanese as essentially a white race. Although we have very few physical descriptions of the Japanese in the Hirado sources, it is clear that Saris followed this categorisation by describing Japanese women as “cleare skind and white”.⁶⁶ Hence, although Kim Hall’s pioneering study is

⁶¹ Hall, *Things of Darkness*, pp. 1-9.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 6n. On perceptions of various races and peoples of the world see ch. 3, which also discusses the importance of physiognomy and skin colour to contemporaries.

⁶³ See the collection of early modern poems published in *Ibid.*, pp. 269-90.

⁶⁴ The nearest Hall comes to looking at travellers reports are the sensationalist published reports in Abraham Hartwell’s, *A Report of the Kingdom of Congo* (London, 1597) and Leo Africanus’, *A Geographical Historie of Africa* (London, 1600), Hall, *Things of Darkness*, pp. 28-44. On the particular criticism of literary scholars for not addressing the far less polarised imagery to be found in private letters and journals see above, ch. 3.

⁶⁵ Similarly Hall concentrates on highly stylised metaphors, such as the fact that elephant ivory struck Europeans as white beauty in the midst of African darkness, *Ibid.*, p. 51.

⁶⁶ *Pilgrimes*, vol. 3, p. 445.

worth consideration, it is very difficult to reconcile the stylised literary image of black women in the early modern period with private non-literary views of the essentially white Japanese.⁶⁷

In the case of the contemporary Atlantic colonies, the only formal intermarriage was between John Rolfe and Pocahontas. There was some debate in England about the morality of the marriage, due to the Old Testament evidence of God warning Abraham not to marry the heathen. However, the ceremony was performed by the Rev. Richard Buck. K. O. Kupperman also notes that although intermarriage was prohibited, fornication between the races was punished with no greater severity than fornication within the English colony.⁶⁸ Any Company merchant or mariner travelling through the East Indies would have seen Portuguese and Dutch who were married to or at least had relationships with native women.⁶⁹ The relationships are blandly recorded in diaries and letters without any further comment and were evidently considered to be perfectly normal. In the case of the crew of the *Clove* itself, they encountered the Dutch fort of Bachian in which most of the men were married, some to Dutch women and other to natives.⁷⁰ Upon arriving in Japan it was also apparent that most of the Dutch survivors of *de Liefde*, including Adams, had married Japanese women.⁷¹ Although the women were obviously Japanese, there is never any reference to their ethnicity, only to the fact that they were wives to the Hollanders. Independent Iberian traders had also married local women.⁷² While it is unclear how private the merchants regarded their domestic correspondence to be, they made absolutely no secret of their involvement with local women.⁷³ If they feared disapproval they would presumably have remained silent about such matters. The simple and pragmatic recording of their consorts and children suggests a climate of acceptance. There is also no sense in the Hirado letters that the merchants believed themselves to have transgressed normal moral limits.

2. The Use of Prostitutes

⁶⁷ Of course, as discussed in ch. 3, the Japanese were considered to be at the peak of non-Christian civilisation, where as the Africans were evidently far more primitive. However, contemporaries realised that civility was not determined purely by skin colour. The achievements of the Inca were a world apart from the hunter gatherers of Brazil, despite obvious racial proximity, Joan-Pau Rubiés, *Travel and Ethnology in the Renaissance: South India through European Eyes, 1250-1625* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 174.

⁶⁸ Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians*, pp. 118-19.

⁶⁹ E.g. Foster (ed.), *Voyage of Henry Middleton*, p. 34 (Portuguese).

⁷⁰ *Pilgrimes*, vol. 3, p. 418. The Dutch women had been part of a shipment of 36 in 1609. However, it should be noted that they were the wives of soldiers and sailors and not single women sent out to marry, Massarella, *World Elsewhere*, p. 230. See also *Voyage*, pp. 22, 24.

⁷¹ These included Adams himself; Melchior van Santvoord, *Ibid.*, p. 103; 'Jacob', *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 300; Gilbert de Cunning, IOR: G/12/15, p. 13; Farrington, vol. 1 p. 192. There is also a reference to the eldest daughter of the hostess of Misaki being married to an unspecified Dutchman, *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 313.

⁷² For instance, Alvaro Muñes, *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 63 (where he is called a 'cornudo') and Jorge Durois, *Ibid.*, p. 97.

⁷³ The *Laws and Standing Orders* mentions that all incoming letters to London were to read before the assembled court. In addition there was a precedent for departing captains reading previous letters in preparation for their voyage. The Hirado factors should have copied all their correspondence into a book to be sent annually to Bantam. Whether they would have ever included their more private letters is debatable.

While the next section will deal with the complex phenomenon of the *kabuki* shows, this section will deal with the more familiar forms of prostitution. Although the *kabuki* entertainment of this period often included elements of blatant prostitution it could be an innocent dance show, as illustrated by the presence of mixed troupes.⁷⁴ Of course, not all the audience could be serviced. By contrast, this section examines the frequenting of brothels by the common sailors. It can be assumed that whilst at port sailors were not invited to the parties held for merchants and high-ranking naval officers.⁷⁵ As previously stated, it is not known whether the officers and merchants also ventured into brothels. It does not seem unlikely during the initial period in Hirado, although there is no evidence on which to base an analysis. An argument against their use of brothels might be the consequent loss of discipline amongst the sailors, who visited the establishments in defiance of orders, as discussed in the previous section. The officers would effectively lose the moral upper hand if they accidentally encountered sailors during nocturnal pursuits. The sources never mention any such problems. In Makassar, however, the “scandalous reports” of John Day accused General John Jourdain of urging others to use a different woman every night, a practice which the general led by example.⁷⁶ The Hirado factors almost certainly did not frequent common haunts following the establishment of the factory. Of this we can be fairly certain, as they quickly acquired regular consorts and frequently held *kabuki* parties at their residence. It may well have been the case that the factors dispatched to distant cities for long periods used local prostitutes but again no information exists on their mores.⁷⁷

Prostitution was illegal in contemporary Britain, although the state had toyed with the idea of brothels as an antidote to lure young men away from homosexuality.⁷⁸ In the early modern period, the sexual morality of individuals was believed to be a public concern. Unchecked immorality could disrupt the social and political order, and to

⁷⁴ *Pilgrimes*, vol. 3, p. 475; *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 374; vol. 2, p. 79.

⁷⁵ Even amongst the ship's officers there is only one reference to them being invited to a *kabuki* party at the house of Chinese merchant Li Tan, *Diary*, vol. 3, p. 190. Officers such as pursers and masters were invited to banquets held by local nobles but the sources do not indicate after dinner entertainment, e.g., *Relation*, p. 145.

⁷⁶ *Letters Received*, vol. 2, p. 55.

⁷⁷ In later years Eaton and Wickham travelled with their consorts to the Kansai economic belt of central Japan, *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 251. Cocks' instructions to Wickham prior to travelling to Edo mention no such matters, IOR: E/3/1 no. 127; Farrington, vol. 1, pp. 124-29. This does not preclude, of course, private advice.

⁷⁸ Ruth Mazo Karras, “The regulation of brothels in later medieval England”, in Judith M. Bennett *et al* (eds), *Sisters and Workers in the Middle Ages* (Chicago and London, 1989), p. 103. The last municipal brothel was closed in 1546 and an outright ban replaced what Paul Griffiths has termed “damage limitation”, “The structure of prostitution in Elizabethan London”, *Continuity and Change*, no. 8 (1993), p. 43. Open homosexuality was also encountered throughout the East Indian region, such as when Saris observed the governor's “buggering boys” in Mocha, *Pilgrimes*, vol. 3, p. 386. Although, of course, an important theme in the observation of alien sexuality, it has been decided not to deal with homosexuality in this chapter. Generally speaking, European observers of Japan were disgusted at the guiltless practice of homosexuality by Buddhist priests, *daimyō*, samurai and commoners alike, see Luis Frois' letter as reprinted in *Principal Navigations*, vol. 4, p. 197. See also Boxer (ed.), *True Description*, p. 43 (also pp. 23-24 for the shōgun Iemitsu's homosexuality) and Michael C. Cooper trans and (ed.), *This Island of Japan: João Rodrigues' Account of 16th-Century Japan* (Tokyo, 1973), pp. 338-39. However, there is only a tiny scattering of comments in the Hirado sources, e.g., *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 66 (Matsuura Nabumasa). These are mostly bereft of personal opinions due to the reporting of second-hand stories and are certainly not enough to base an analysis upon.

leave it unpunished would provoke God's wrath on the whole community.⁷⁹ The role of church courts in punishing moral offences is well known.⁸⁰ However, Faramerz Dabhoiwala has drawn attention to the fact that, particularly in towns, it was secular jurisdiction that punished adultery, fornication, whores and bawds.⁸¹ Indeed, despite London's reputation as a centre of vice, there were actually large numbers of convictions for moral offences throughout the seventeenth century.⁸² Prostitution did of course flourish despite its legal limbo. It was openly tolerated elsewhere in most European cities during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. However, by the mid-sixteenth century a more punitive attitude had developed under the aegis of both the Reformation and Counter-Reformation.⁸³ In early modern Amsterdam, the practice was illegal but open and tolerated according to the evidence of popular pamphlets, prints and ballads. However, as elsewhere, the punishment of prostitutes and brothel keepers fluctuated over time.⁸⁴

A major problem for historians is that contemporary perceptions of 'whoring' were much broader and more ill defined than what we would categorise as modern prostitution. In the early seventeenth century 'whores' and 'bawds' had a very general definition. They were participants in illicit sexual behaviour, either pre- or extra-marital, but financial remuneration did not have to be involved. It was not until the eighteenth century that prostitution became more precisely defined as soliciting for sex for money.⁸⁵ It should be noted that this imprecise definition was accepted in both legal terms and general discourse.⁸⁶ Hence, legal records make it difficult to separate prostitution from sexual immorality. The term 'prostitute' was rarely used as a verb or noun before the mid eighteenth century. The nearest equivalent term was 'whore', which only signified in the most general terms an unchaste woman.⁸⁷ The whore was depicted as the inversion of the sober and honest mother and wife. However, such honest women could be transformed into whores through extravagant and hence sexual display, either in clothes or bearing, or through lewd speech.⁸⁸ Similarly, as

⁷⁹ Faramerz Dabhoiwala, "Sex, social relations and the law in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century London" in Michael J. Braddick and John Walter (eds), *Negotiating Power in Early Modern Society: Order, Hierarchy and Subordination in Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge, 2001), p. 85.

⁸⁰ See Paul Hair and Edward Hedley (eds), *Before the Bawdy Court: Selections from Church Courts and other Records Relating to the Correction of Moral Offences in England, Scotland and New England, 1300-1800* (London, 1972) and Martin Ingram, *Church Courts, Sex and Marriage in Early Modern England, 1570-1640* (London, 1987).

⁸¹ Dabhoiwala, "Sex, social relations and the law", p. 85.

⁸² Ian Wallace Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability: Social Relations in Elizabethan London* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 238-39; Martin Ingram, "Reformation of manners in early modern England", in P. Griffiths, A. Fox and S. Hindle (eds), *The Experience of Authority in Early Modern England* (London, 1996), pp. 59-62.

⁸³ Lyndal Roper, *Oedipus and the Devil: Witchcraft, Sexuality and Religion in Early Modern Europe* (London and New York, 1994), pp. 40-42. Specifically on the role of the Reformation and Protestantism in the regulation of moral offences see Archer, *Pursuit of Stability*, pp. 248-54.

⁸⁴ Lotte C. van de Pol, "Prostitution in early modern Amsterdam", in Shirahata Yōzaburō and W. J. Boot (eds), *Two Faces of the Early Modern World: The Netherlands and Japan in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, International Symposium in Europe* (Kyōto, 2001), pp. 85, 88.

⁸⁵ Dabhoiwala, "Sex, social relations and the law", p. 99.

⁸⁶ Faramerz Dabhoiwala, "The pattern of sexual immorality in seventeenth and eighteenth century London", in Paul Griffiths and Mark S. R. Jenner (eds), *Londinopolis: Essays in the Cultural and Social History of Early Modern London* (Manchester and New York, 2000), p. 87.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

⁸⁸ Lake, "From Troynouvant", p. 244. The summary of the debate on the broader use of 'whore' can be found in *Ibid.*, pp. 243-46.

Dabhoiwala has shown, prostitution was often not a profession in terms of being an exclusive source of income. Many young girls supplemented their income from needlework or domestic service by selling sex. Casual prostitution could also bridge the gap between jobs.⁸⁹ The keeping of a bawdy house was similarly not an exclusive profession. Many bawds were also victuallers.⁹⁰ Because transactions with girls at all levels of society could involve nothing more than a glass of wine or even no payment at all, it is difficult to define prostitution in economic terms.⁹¹

The Company servants found that there were no such moral restraints against illicit sexuality in Japan. Contemporary literature on Japan available in English makes (confusing) reference to concubinage and marital practices but does not mention prostitution.⁹² However, prostitution in various forms was completely legal and had no apparent stigma attached.⁹³ Writing in the 1630s the Dutch *opperhoofd* François Caron noted that “Open Whorehouses” were legally approved “as well for the use and conveniency of Batchelors, as to prevent the debauching of young Maids and married Women”.⁹⁴ The Hirado sources indicated that Japanese from the nobility to servants indulged in the favours offered. On 9 June 1615 John Japan, an interpreter who had been picked up in Bantam, was found to be ill from the “French Disease”. Cocks makes no comment by which to judge his opinion on the matter but he does note that John Japan lodged at another house that night instead of the factory.⁹⁵ It is unclear if the decision was forced or voluntary. John Japan obviously had a reputation for debauchery. Following his dismissal from British service Cocks noted that he was descending into poverty, “p’r his folly and lewd experiences”.⁹⁶ Use of prostitution amongst the Japanese was not confined to the lower ranks according to the Hirado sources. Hideyori, the heir to one of the great unifiers of Japan, Hideyoshi, was reported to have had a son by a “band woman”, presumably a *kabuki* actress.⁹⁷ The mighty could also be close to home. Whilst in Edo protesting against Dutch abuses, Cocks’ party encountered Matsuura Shigetada, a member of the ruling house of Hirado. He was suffering from syphilis and close to death according to Cocks.⁹⁸ Following his visit in 1597, Carletti noted that women were prepared to “enter into

⁸⁹ Dabhoiwala, “The pattern of sexual immorality”, pp. 93-94, 98.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

⁹² References to concubines are discussed in the relevant section below.

⁹³ Louis G. Perez, *Daily Life in Early Modern Japan* (Westport, Connecticut, 2002), p. 263.

⁹⁴ Boxer (ed.), *True Relation*, p. 48. Although contemporary authorities substantiate the Japanese abhorrence to adultery, Caron’s reasoning with regard to “young Maids” is a little shaky. Caron had previously noted that married men could sleep with whores and common women with impunity. Contemporaries also commented on the low value placed upon virginity in Japan. See Carletti for the opinion that a career in prostitution caused no harm to a girl’s marital prospects, Weinstock (ed.), *My Voyage*, p. 127. It is therefore not unlikely that Caron was postulating his own theories rather than reflecting genuine social mores.

⁹⁵ *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 13.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 70. There are references to other servants using whores in IOR: E/3/2 no. 209; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 271 and *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 376-77; vol. 2, pp. 5, 246.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 24.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 373. Milton confuses Shigetada with the ruling *daimyō* Matsuura Takanobu, *Samurai William*, pp. 335-36. At the turn of the seventeenth century syphilis was associated with prostitution and loose sexual relationships. In St Thomas’ hospital in London the governor recommended that after treatment, victims of the pox should be physically punished as a deterrent to others, Archer, *Pursuit of Power*, p. 155.

every sort of venereal dishonour” and that the country was more abundant with venereal pleasure than anywhere else in the world.⁹⁹

Upon leaving Europe the merchants would have noticed that attitudes towards sex were generally more open, liberal and free from guilt and stigma.¹⁰⁰ Local rulers often offered women to passing ships. On arriving in Hispaniola, Columbus and his men were invited to have sex with the native women.¹⁰¹ Captain William Keeling of the Third voyage noted that at Sierra Leone the womenfolk were brought to the company “but feared we would carry them away”.¹⁰² It is unclear what actually transpired as the journal is presented in a truncated version. The reference may have been innocent but one suspects that it was not. Despite notices of more open sexuality, there is little evidence in journals and letters that merchants subscribed to the view that exotic women had an inordinate sexuality, as reflected in Leo Africanus’s *A Geographical Historie of Africa*.¹⁰³ Not all the local women were eager to be prostituted by their rulers. Captain John Jourdain noted that the Sultan of Socotra wished the traders to leave as soon as possible because all the women had fled and refused to return until they had left.¹⁰⁴ As in Japan, prostitution was often carried out in many regions without any shame on the part of the woman or the client. English merchant William Methwold made comments on prostitution in the Indian state of Golconda: “there never wants a sinfull succession of impudent harlots, which the lawes of the countrey do both allow and protect”.¹⁰⁵ The presence of numerous wives and concubines was also witnessed in Mughal India, Achin, Java, Indo-China and other localities.¹⁰⁶ Chinese merchants living throughout the East Indies could be polygamous.¹⁰⁷ Overseas Chinese were also accustomed to purchase or hire bonded women whilst in South East Asia.¹⁰⁸ Similarly, rich Portuguese *fidalgos* tended to keep troops of concubines.¹⁰⁹

⁹⁹ Weinstock (ed.), *My Voyage*, pp. 127, 128.

¹⁰⁰ Whilst in Bantam, Captain William Keeling noted the public celebration of the ‘king’, “having the last night, made conquest of his Wives virginities”, *Pilgrimes*, vol. 2, p. 545.

¹⁰¹ Urs Bitterli, *Cultures in Conflict: Encounters between European and non-European Cultures, 1492-1800*, trans Richie Robertson (London, 1989), p. 71. Some colonial writers on North America observed sexual licence and prostitution in Indian societies, Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians*, p. 59.

¹⁰² *Pilgrimes*, vol. 2, p. 506.

¹⁰³ Discussed in Hall, *Things of Darkness*, pp. 33-36.

¹⁰⁴ 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. 110-111.

¹⁰⁵ Moreland (ed.), *Relations of Golconda*, p. 17.

¹⁰⁶ William Foster (ed.), *The Voyage of Sir Henry Middleton to the Moluccas, 1604-1606*, *Hakluyt Society*, Second Series, no. LXXXVIII (1943), p. 59. The men on Drake’s circumnavigation noted that the Rajah of Bolamboam had 100 wives whilst his son had 50, *Pilgrimes*, vol. 2, p. 181. In his generic sketch of Sumatra, Ralph Croft noted that the ‘king’ (Iskander Muda) had one wife but threescore concubines, William Foster (ed.) *The Voyage of Thomas Best to the East Indies, 1612-14*, *Hakluyt Society*, Second Series, no. LXXV (1934), p. 176. In Agra, William Hawkins was obliged to wait for two hours until Jahangir had seen to his women, *Pilgrimes*, vol. 3, p. 12. With reference to Japan, Saris noted that Matsuura Shigenobu was constantly accompanied by his women, *Voyage*, pp. 83, 84. In the case of the New World, the Jesuit José de Acosta also noted that both Inca kings and commoners had many wives and concubines, Clements R. Markham (ed.), *The Natural and Moral History of the Indies*, 2 vols, *Hakluyt Society*, First Series, nos LX, LXI (1880), vol. 2, pp. 411-12, 424.

¹⁰⁷ Weinstock (ed.), *My Voyage*, pp. 176-77.

¹⁰⁸ Anthony Reid, “Introduction: slavery and bondage in south-east Asian history”, in Reid (ed.), *Slavery, Bondage and Dependency in Southeast Asia* (St Lucia, 1983), p. 26.

¹⁰⁹ Weinstock (ed.), *My Voyage*, p. 9; Boxer, *Mary and Misogyny*, p. 68.

Despite contemporary evidence of certain merchants and travellers showing a hostility to the idea and practice of prostitution, as seen in the previous section, it seems abundantly clear that the common sailor did not share their sentiments. Far from being ashamed, mariners openly and boldly declared their intentions. Christopher Evans, after being caught on a number of previous occasions “stoode bouldlye in it that he was a man, and would have a woman yf he could get hir”.¹¹⁰ Saris comments that swimming ashore and frequenting brothels was a “common practice”, and on 28 July 1613 he found three runaways ashore in the company of “hoses”.¹¹¹ As may be expected, prostitution accompanied the arrival of every new ship at Hirado.¹¹² Although neither Saris’ own journal nor the letters of others accuse him of inciting whoring, this was not the case with other commanders. As we have seen, Benjamin Farrie mentions John Day’s “scandalous reports” about John Jourdain. Jourdain was a senior figure, chief factor at Bantam for the sixth voyage of Joint Stock and the first English President of Bantam in 1618. However, Day characterised him as “a subverter of youth, wishing us in Mocassar to use one woman no more than one night, for that there was more pleasure in change, which you [Jourdain] give example accordingly”.¹¹³ The comments, whether true or not, reveal that there were men who were scandalised by open sexuality and yet there were others (Jourdain himself) who apparently felt no shame in their actions (if we believe the charges to be true). John Days’ comments are also interesting in suggesting that perhaps some of the factors and mariners were inclined towards a form of monogamy, a concept that will be further explored below.

Much that Giles Milton has written about the British sailors’ sexual behaviour in Hirado can be ignored as flights of fancy. Prostitutes were clearly enjoyed from the first days in Hirado but there is no evidence to support Milton’s claims that the men flew at it through having been celibate for two years.¹¹⁴ The claim is based on his belief that the mariners had refused to use the brothels in Bantam. Although they did indeed have an insalubrious reputation, like the region in general, there simply appears to be no evidence on which to base the claim that they weren’t used by the British sailors.¹¹⁵ On the contrary there is directly contradictory evidence in such an obvious source as the *Pilgrimes* version of Saris’ journal. Shortly after arriving in Bantam, Saris decided to disperse the ships of his fleet “our people dangerously disordering themselves with drinke and Whores ashoare”.¹¹⁶ The reference to “ashore” clears up any ambiguity as to whether Saris is referring to his own crew or the British presence in general at the factory (which at this time was skeletal anyway).

Milton also suggests that Adams’ disdain towards the *Clove*’s crew was “almost certainly” in response to their licentious behaviour.¹¹⁷ Again, this is unconvincing. There was certainly a clash of personalities between Adams and Saris but nowhere in

¹¹⁰ *Voyage*, pp. 119-20.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 99, 119-20.

¹¹² See *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 85, 147; vol. 2, pp. 91, 246, 280. Men would often lay ashore for days undetected.

¹¹³ *Letters Received*, vol. 2, p. 55.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 216-17.

¹¹⁵ The journal of John Jourdain, contemporary chief factor at Bantam, would help but contains no entry for the relevant period, Foster (ed.), *Journal of John Jourdain*, pp. 240, 247. Likewise, the extant letters for the period, as printed in *Letters Received*, vol. 1, make no mention of visits to brothels.

¹¹⁶ *Pilgrimes*, vol. 3, p. 406.

¹¹⁷ Milton, *Samurai William*, p. 218.

Saris' journal or the slightly later letters is there any suggestion that Adams held disdain for the common crew. This may be contrasted with Cocks' acidic comments about some of the British sailors arriving in Hirado in the later years of the factory.¹¹⁸ Adams, indeed, had very little to do with the crew, his business revolving around the merchants. There is also nothing to support Milton's claim in Adams' near-contemporary letters to the Company and Thomas Best of 1 December 1613.¹¹⁹ One would expect full candour in his letter to Best, whom he had previously mentioned as a friend in a letter of October 1611.¹²⁰ On the contrary, in his 1613 letter to Best, Adams writes: "I was most friendly intertayned by the Gennerall and m'r and the wholl Coumpani".¹²¹ Milton justifies his claim in part by noting that Adams himself never once mentions the use of concubines in his letters. However, only 11 of Adams' letters survive in contrast to over 430 documents in the hands of other factors. If one were to make value judgements on Adams' morality, it should be remembered that he fathered an illegitimate child by a Hirado woman, although this admittedly followed a period of estrangement from his Japanese wife.¹²² However, concerning casual sex, if Milton had made a more thorough study of Cocks' diary he would have noticed that Adams was a regular guest at *kabuki* parties which almost certainly featured post-prandial entertainments. On at least one occasion Adams is recorded as hosting his own party.¹²³ In any case, the behaviour of the *Clove's* crew was no different to that of Dutch crews which Adams would have seen arrive in previous years.

It must also be stressed that, despite Milton's claims, there is also no evidence to suggest that the "puritanical" governor of the E.I.C., Sir Thomas Smythe, was horrified by sordid stories filtering back from the East.¹²⁴ Prior to the closing of the Hirado factory there were certainly some scathing reports written from both Hirado and Jakarta which will be described below. However, as will be shown, many of the apparently obvious sexual references were decidedly ambiguous in tone. Terms such as "indulgence" may with equal probability have referred to general wastage of provisions and money. Indeed, one of the severest criticisms against Cocks was his squandering of money on the Chinese merchant Li Tan in the hope of gaining entrance to the China trade.¹²⁵ The Company itself was noticeable silent on matters of morality.

As they were the principal authors of the various letters, accounts and journals which form the Hirado archive, we know far more about the activities and feelings of the merchants than those of the common sailor. While it is apparent that mariners frequented brothels whilst in port, is there any evidence that they formed long-term

¹¹⁸ "For truly I neaver saw a more frow'rd & bad leawd company then most of them are", *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 107.

¹¹⁹ IOR: E/3/1 no. 122; Farrington, vol. 1, pp. 103-109 and IOR: E/3/1 no. 123; Farrington, vol. 1, pp. 110-115.

¹²⁰ IOR: E/3/1 no. 78; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 71.

¹²¹ IOR: E/3/1 no. 123; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 110.

¹²² *Diary*, vol. 3, pp. 57, 86. These are the only two references to the child's existence. William Corr believes the mother to be a maid, Jugasa, on the strength that she was provided with cloth and money in Adams' will, *Adams the Pilot*, p. 169. The claim is fully accepted in Milton without acknowledging its speculative nature, *Samurai William*, p. 358. W. Z. Mulder describes the woman as a third wife although there is no proof at all that they were married, *Hollanders in Hirado*, p. 62.

¹²³ *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 368.

¹²⁴ Milton, *Samurai William*, p. 217.

¹²⁵ See ch. 8 for further details.

relationships with women? An immediate reaction would be to say no, owing to the evident high cost of purchasing a woman and subsequently maintaining her household. Such expenses would be well beyond the reach of a common sailor. Yet surprisingly there are scattered references which suggest that such sustained relationships were formed. Some of the evidence for these relations is admittedly cryptic but elsewhere references are glaringly unambiguous. A major obstacle to any such relationship would be the fact that the sailors were restricted to their ship at most times. Of even more pressing concern however would be the short stay of most ships. Ships arriving in Hirado generally only remained for six months due to the demands of the monsoon winds. However, a certain grey area was occupied by those sailors and other ranks below merchant, such as cooks and surgeons, who remained at the Hirado factory, either to provide labour or because of sickness.¹²⁶ For instance, in August 1615, although no ship had arrived since the departure of the *Clove* in December 1613, Cocks described the factory as “we lying 4 or 5 of vs idell heare”.¹²⁷ He was clearly referring to mariners and not merchants. Men such as these would have had the time, in respect of an extended stay and the freedom to remain ashore, to pursue involved relationships.

There is an early clue in the case of a young sailor who arrived on the *Clove* but did not remain in Hirado. In a later letter to Saris, Cocks reported that “James Turner, the fiddling youth, left a wench with child heer, but the whore, the mother, killed it so soone as it was borne”.¹²⁸ As in many other cases there is an ambiguity of appellation. It is unclear if the woman referred to was actually a prostitute or whether Cocks was merely using “whore” as a general derogatory term.¹²⁹ Although Saris’ journal is full of sailors visiting prostitutes there is no mention of James Turner frequenting brothels. Therefore the pinpointing of Turner as the father of a child by a local woman by Cocks is interesting. The incident is discussed no further in the aforementioned letter but Cocks’ reference suggests that the pair enjoyed a continuous relationship. If it were any otherwise and the girl was a prostitute it would surely be impossible to pinpoint Turner as the father. The factors consistently refer to mariners’ women as ‘wenches’ and ‘whores’ but in some cases they may have been *bona fide* partners. Hence, imprecise language may conceal deeper relationships.

In June 1617 Cocks mentions that gunner Harry Shanks “entertaynd a wench” although the cape-merchant persuaded him to abandon her.¹³⁰ Shanks obviously employed her for a number of days and hence it cannot have been the same ephemeral prostitution normally found amongst sailors. There is therefore a suggestion that at

¹²⁶ A number of such men stayed in Japan for perhaps six years or seven years.

¹²⁷ *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 71.

¹²⁸ *Pilgrimes*, vol. 3, p. 554; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 254. Referring to this particular case, Corr, *Adams the Pilot*, p. 123 states that the child was killed by stepping on its throat. Although such a method of abortion in Japan is testified to in *Principal Navigations*, there is no evidence at all for it being employed in this particular case.

¹²⁹ See the argument above. There is a substantial historiography on gendered insults and female honour. See Laura Gowing, *Domestic Dangers: Women, Words, and Sex in Early Modern London* (Oxford, 1996), chapters 3 and 4; Laura Gowing, “Women, status and the popular culture of dishonour”, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Sixth Series, vol. 6 (1996), pp. 225-34 and Garthine Walker, “Expanding the boundaries of female honour in early modern England”, in *Ibid.*, pp. 235-48. The terminology used to describe the factors’ consorts is discussed in the final section. On the ambiguities of the term ‘whore’ see Dabhoiwala, “The pattern of sexual immorality”, p. 87; Dabhoiwala, “Sex, social relations and the law”, p. 99; Lake, “From Troynouvant”, pp. 243-46.

¹³⁰ *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 91.

least some sailors attempted to form sustained relationships with local women. In January 1619 Cocks mentions that, in addition to Eaton, Sayers, Neelson and Osterwick, the sailor John Portius, surgeon Robert Hawley and cook John Cocoro also had women.¹³¹ Although humble sailors, a number of men staffed the factory on a long-term basis, which seem to have allowed them to develop relationships with local women.

Prostitution was of course not unique to Hirado or even the East Indies in general. The Company archives contain numerous references to philandering adventures elsewhere. Thomas Best was forced to duck some of his men for swimming ashore and drinking with whores at Surat.¹³² Whilst drunk in Surat some of John Jourdain's men "fell to Lewde weomen, which went thither to that purpose".¹³³ Men lay ashore at Surat and Achin during William Keeling's voyage of 1615-17.¹³⁴ However, despite widespread evidence across the region from E.I.C. sources, Anthony Reid insists that actually prostitution of the kind found in Europe was rare in South East Asia.¹³⁵ Far more popular were the temporary contracted marriages described later on in this chapter. Although Reid acknowledges that transient prostitution did exist from the late sixteenth century onwards, he denies that it was an independent trend initiated by women. Rather, slave owners, including sometimes the state in the case of Siam, saw the practice as a financial opportunity. Reid also plausibly suggests that in Islamicised areas a sense of impropriety regarding marriages with unbelievers may also have prompted a break with traditional contractual prostitution. Whatever the reason, this move towards European-style prostitution seems to have predated the E.I.C.'s appearance in Asian waters.

3. Kabuki Performances

As noted in the introduction, it has been decided to treat *kabuki* performances as distinct from the visits to brothels, although an element of prostitution was also always present in the shows. *Kabuki* performances merit a distinct section as, in the case of the English house, their clientele was quite different from the common sailors who frequented drinking dens and common brothels. There are also a number of references in the sources to suggest that prostitution was not always an inevitable consequence of a performance, and the presence of mixed troupes may indicate that the often comic shows were enjoyed for their artistic merit. Although the subject is well served in both Japanese and European-language historiography, it tends to be seen exclusively from a Japanese perspective. Some studies, notably the work of Donald Shiverly, quote Cocks' diary but unfortunately only in the bowdlerised edition, which removes sexual references. As a subject, *kabuki* is probably unfamiliar to those who are not Japanese specialists and receives no attention in Michael Cooper's popular anthology, *They Came to Japan*.¹³⁶

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 412.

¹³² Foster (ed.), *Voyage of Thomas Best*, p. 116.

¹³³ Foster (ed.), *Journal of John Jourdain*, p. 132.

¹³⁴ Strachan and Penrose (eds), *The East India Company Journals*, pp. 114, 138, 139, 140.

¹³⁵ Anthony Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce, 1450-1680: Volume One, The Lands Below the Winds* (New Haven and London, 1988), p. 156.

¹³⁶ Michael Cooper (compl.), *They Came to Japan: An Anthology of European Reports on Japan, 1543-1640* (London, 1965). See Ury Eppstein, "The stage observed: Western attitudes towards Japanese theatre", *MN*, vol. 48, no. 2 (1993), pp. 147-166.

Although this section does not attempt to provide a history of *kabuki* as an art form, some details of its nature and rise to prominence will be useful for understanding the context in which it is mentioned in the Company sources.¹³⁷ Unfortunately, historical treatment of popular culture in general and *kabuki* in particular has centred around the golden age of *Genroku*.¹³⁸ The very earliest sensual flourishing of the art form has often been treated as merely a precursor to the pure acting-based later developments. *Kabuki* was not an ancient mode of entertainment when the British arrived in Hirado. Although an exact date for the rise of such stage performances has proved elusive, the traditional date for the first *kabuki* performance is 1603.¹³⁹ The mixture of sex appeal and lowbrow entertainment gave the art an instant mass following. From the very beginning the *bakufu* were shocked at the popularity and disruptive behaviour prompted by performances. The medium achieved great popularity amongst the rather downtrodden *chōnin*, or townsmen, as an escapist fantasy which transgressed the political and social trammels of the Neo-Confucian caste system.¹⁴⁰ Contemporary Japanese sources give a good idea of the prevalent themes of plays and their paraphernalia.¹⁴¹ They seem to have been originally open-air dances and farces performed by women. It appears that the actual sketches performed often sent up their own activities by depicting the accosting of customers and brothel revels. The dialogue was also laden with innuendo and sexual references. They were utilised as a stage for a primary or certainly secondary progression to prostitution. This aspect was widely acknowledged in contemporary Japanese sources.

Although in later years *kabuki* came to be the unsophisticated townsmen's entertainment *par excellence*, in its formative years it was particularly popular with samurai. Following the destructive Korean campaigns of the 1590s many soldiers craved such abandoned entertainments and had the money to indulge their pleasures. The Tokugawa *bakufu*, which believed very much in trying to control the hearts and minds of its subjects, saw *kabuki* as causing huge disruption to the moral fabric of society. It was shocking on many levels, with the disruption being of both the civil and moral variety. There were many contemporary accounts of men squandering their

¹³⁷ The following is based on Shively, "Bakufu versus *kabuki*"; Donald H. Shively, "The social environment of Tokugawa *kabuki*" in James R. Brandon, William Malm and Shively (eds), *Studies in Kabuki: Its Acting, Music and Historical Context* (Honolulu, 1978), pp. 1-61; Donald H. Shively, "Popular Culture", in John Whitney Hall and James L. McClain (eds), *Cambridge History of Japan, Volume 4: Early Modern Japan* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 749-761; Teruoka Yasutaka, "The pleasure quarters and Tokugawa culture", in C. Andrew Gerstle (ed.), *18th Century Japan: Culture and Society* (Sidney, 1989; 2000), pp. 3-32; C. Andrew Gerstle, "Flowers of Edo: *kabuki* and its patrons", in *Ibid.*, pp. 33-50; Masakatsu Gunji, "*Kabuki* and its social background", in Chie Nakana and Shinzaburō Ōshi (eds), *Tokugawa Japan: The Social and Economic Antecedents of Modern Japan* (Tokyo, 1990), pp. 192-212 and Cecilia Segawa Seigle, *Yoshiwara: The Glittering World of the Japanese Courtesan* (Honolulu, 1993).

¹³⁸ Traditionally taken as 1688-1704 although now often extended to encompass the rule of the fifth shogun Tsunayoshi, 1680-1709. The epoch spanned the flourishing of several major figures in art, literature and acting, Shively, "Popular Culture", p. 707.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 749.

¹⁴⁰ Although historians have moved away from the idea of Neo-Confucianism as the core ideology of the *bakufu*, its social consequences still remained. See the pioneering collection edited by Peter Nosco, *Confucianism and Tokugawa Culture* (Princeton, 1984) and Peter Nosco, "Rethinking Tokugawa thought", in Adriana Boscarro et al (eds), *Rethinking Japan: Social Science, Ideology and Thought*, 2 vols (Kent, 1990), vol. 2, pp. 304-312.

¹⁴¹ Shively, "Bakufu versus *kabuki*", p. 232.

fortunes and inheritances on *kabuki* actresses whilst leaving their families to starve.¹⁴² Fights often broke out in the drunken and adulatory audience, concerning such issues as the impolite booing of favourites and jealousies over actresses' affections. A gossipy letter from Wickham to Cocks in 1616 provides some supplementary evidence on the disruption caused by *kabuki*. Wickham reported that a prominent samurai had stolen a "cabuque" from Kyōto and entered into a suicide pact with her. The samurai committed ritual suicide, *seppuku*, and sorely wounded the actress who managed to survive.¹⁴³ He also reported that a nobleman had payed 10,000 *taels*, an enormous sum, to buy a *kabuki* girl from her master.¹⁴⁴ Cocks scorned such behaviour in his reply, noting, as Wickham had, that he would "rather have the money then the ware".¹⁴⁵

In addition to frenzied adulation and its concomitant outbreaks of violence, it was clear that *kabuki* morality was affecting society. It was even believed to have influenced the behaviour of court ladies. In 1608-09 it was reported that five court ladies brazenly toured Kyōto in bold *kabuki* style before meeting up with nine male courtiers and subsequently drinking and making love with them.¹⁴⁶ The *bakufu* was also concerned that the martial spirit of the samurai was becoming emasculated by the luxuriant and effeminate values of the theatre.¹⁴⁷ Particularly problematic was the blurring of gender roles and caste distinction which the state held in such esteem. While on stage, women could dress as men and act out male roles and vice-versa. The low-caste performers would also strut on the stage in the guise of samurai. There is a very obvious parallel here to the anxiety surrounding both class and gender roles on the Elizabethan and Jacobean stage. Most of the historiography has concentrated on female cross-dressers, who upset obvious visible boundaries of gender.¹⁴⁸ In the case of lower-class women who chose to dress extravagantly, they also contravened sumptuary laws intended to visibly separate social orders.¹⁴⁹ Participants were believed to threaten disorder by encroaching on privileges outside the boundaries of their birth.¹⁵⁰ Cross-dressing by both men and women was prohibited in the bible and denounced from the pulpits throughout the early modern period.¹⁵¹ In the case of the theatre, dressing boys for female roles was seen as subverting patriarchal domination by creating a feminised self. Besides personally shaming the cross-dresser, the wearing of female clothes by a man was believed to "adulterate" the male gender.¹⁵²

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 232-35 covers the *bakufu*'s fears.

¹⁴³ Suicide pacts between lovers was a popular motif in Japanese plays, Perez, *Daily Life*, p. 91.

¹⁴⁴ IOR: G/12/15, p. 32; Farrington, vol. 1, pp. 404-05.

¹⁴⁵ IOR: E/3/4 no. 358; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 409. The story of the 10,000 *taels* is repeated in *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 221.

¹⁴⁶ Shiverly, "Bakufu versus kabuki", p. 235.

¹⁴⁷ For the problem of changing roles for the samurai in a peaceful society see Eiko Ikegami, *The Taming of the Samurai: Honourable Individualism and the Making of Modern Japan* (Cambridge, Mass. And London, 1995; 1997).

¹⁴⁸ See Sandra Clark, "Hic Mulier, Haec Vir, and the controversy over masculine women", *Studies in Philology*, vol. 82 (1985), pp. 157-83.

¹⁴⁹ Jean E. Howard, "Cross-dressing, the theatre, and gender struggle in early modern England", *Shakespeare Quarterly*, vol. 39 (1988), p. 420. On the cultural importance of clothing see ch. 5.

¹⁵⁰ Mary Beth Rose, "Women in men's clothing: apparel and social stability in *The Roaring Girl*", *English Literary Renaissance*, vol. 14 (1984), p. 370. Being born a man was to have privileges unavailable to women.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 369; Howard, "Cross-dressing", p. 418;

¹⁵² Lauren Levine, *Men in Women's Clothing: Anti-theatricality and Effeminization, 1579-1642* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 10.

Contemporaries believed there was essentially one sex rather than two, with a woman's body being an inferior version of a male body.¹⁵³ Hence, cultural notions of gender roles were imposed on theories of anatomy. By the same token, differences in gender roles could be justified by grounding them on biological principles. The male and female genders were essentially mutable notions and Laura Levine shows that contemporaries feared an actual physical transformation in cross-dressing men.¹⁵⁴

Moral outrage led to a long series of edicts against the *kabuki* theatre of varying success. In 1629 all women were banned from the stage although due to a lack of strict enforcement the edict had to be reissued in 1630, 1640, 1645 and 1646. Although rigorous prescriptions after this date banished women from the cities, they continued to feature in provincial haunts. The *bakufu* also found it difficult to control private performances.¹⁵⁵ The close associations with prostitution were never hidden and some historians have interpreted the banning of women from the stage as an attempt to separate acting from prostitution according to the caste-specific Neo-Confucian codes adopted by the *bakufu*.¹⁵⁶ The epoch immediately prior to the establishment of Tokugawa authority in 1603 saw the licensing of pleasure quarters in major cities.¹⁵⁷ Hence licensed prostitution and *kabuki* arose at virtually the same time. At *kabuki* performances the acting and sex formed parallel sources of amusement. Such ambiguity of social and professional relationships grated against the prevalent social order of Japan, despite its obvious popularity with both male and female members of the public.

The banning of women from the stage led to even more moral confusion for the Tokugawa authorities as female leads were replaced by youths in wigs and makeup. Although as early as 1612 there are references to all-male troupes performing *wakashu kabuki*, or youth *kabuki*, they soared to prominence in the years following 1629. The explicit link between prostitution and acting survived the gender transfer and squandering of money and petty jealousies over performers remained. The youths were immensely popular with both sexes and came to be held as paragons of femininity. The *bakufu* attempted to limit their homosexual appeal by a number of edicts such as the shaving of the forelock, which were ingeniously evaded in turn.¹⁵⁸ There is no space to elaborate here on such aspects of *kabuki*, as the connection with male prostitution is never mentioned in the English sources.

¹⁵³ Early modern medicine was based on the concept of bodily humours as found in the theories of Aristotle and Galen. Sexual differences between men and women were not determined by reproductive organs, which were believed to be basically identical. The differences in outward appearance of the genitalia were caused by humoral deficiencies in the women that prevented the female genitalia from emerging externally, Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex: The Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990), pp. 34-35; Robert B. Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society, 1650-1850: The Emergence of Separate Spheres?* (London and New York, 1998), pp. 18-19. This theory was somewhat complicated by the 'discovery' of the clitoris in 1561 which, as it was viewed as a female penis, contradicted the notion of an inverted vagina, Anthony Fletcher, *Gender, Sex, and Subordination in England, 1500-1800* (London, 1995), pp. 34-43.

¹⁵⁴ Levine, *Men in Women's Clothing*, pp. 11-25.

¹⁵⁵ Shively, "Bakufu versus kabuki", pp. 235-36.

¹⁵⁶ Shively, "Social environment", p. 7.

¹⁵⁷ However, Shively points out the licensing of prostitutes as early as the late twelfth century, "Popular Culture", p. 742n.

¹⁵⁸ Shively, "Bakufu versus kabuki", pp. 238-39.

Kabuki Parties in the English Factory

Female musical entertainment was encountered shortly after the *Clove's* arrival in Hirado in the summer of 1613. Although there is little information about the content of the *kabuki* plays viewed by the factors, the multitude of references do reveal a lot about audience composition, general location, frequency of entertainment and relations with the actresses. Although some references are bland notices of payment the following day, others detail Cocks' opinions of particular actresses and performances. The account in Saris' journal appears to be the first English language description of *kabuki*.¹⁵⁹ It describes "[t]he kings women", who, although "somewhat bashfull" were ordered "to bee frolicke". They played instruments and sang for two hours, which Saris describes at some length.¹⁶⁰ Although this first reference could be to a female entourage, the second unmistakably refers to a *kabuki* troupe. Saris describes them as "Actors of Comedies" who travelled the country and were sent to the *Clove*. It is clear that they were the property of a merchant and sexually available to those who could pay. All deals were made through their owner, who apparently could not raise the price once it had been set under pain of death. Saris also observes that the greatest nobility in Japan held it no disgrace to send for a *kabuki* party at an inn, either to pour drinks or "have the use of them". Although they kept the best company in life, in death the actresses were thrown onto a dunghill to be devoured by dogs and fowl.¹⁶¹ Before departing Japan the local *daimyō* visited Saris aboard ship, bringing with him, "the dancing Beares or Curtesans of the Countrey". This was a mixed group of men and "whoores" who danced and made music "after the Countrey fashion, although harsh to our hearings".¹⁶² Saris also grasped the essentials of the *kabuki* business. Having detailed the performance and the slave-like condition of the women, Saris noted on 10 July 1613 that three Japanese men were executed for stealing a Hirado woman and selling her at Nagasaki.¹⁶³ It was highly likely that she was destined to be a contracted worker for merchants or at a brothel.

The *kabuki* performances mentioned in modern studies are characterised as public open air performances on a stage. Such an image is reinforced in a number of contemporary *byōbū*, or painted screens.¹⁶⁴ However, the factory merchants do not seem to have been interested in public performances of this type. Rather, the evidence suggests that the performers were invited to the factory to provide entertainment at a banquet and were an altogether more private affair. The Jesuit João Rodrigues provides a description of this form of *kabuki* when he notes that the principal room of a typical Japanese house featured a stage for plays.¹⁶⁵ It goes without saying that by a "typical room" Rodrigues referred to a room of the house of the nobility with which

¹⁵⁹ None of the early modern published accounts described in chapter 3 mention the practice.

¹⁶⁰ *Pilgrimes*, vol. 3, pp. 445-46.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 447-48. This was similar to the paupers' burial described by Frois in *Principal Navigations*, vol. 4, p. 206. Actors and actresses were outcasts in Japanese society, Masakatsu, "Kabuki and its social background", p. 194.

¹⁶² *Pilgrimes*, vol. 3, p. 475.

¹⁶³ *Voyage*, p. 102.

¹⁶⁴ In a *namban*, or southern barbarian screen, reproduced in Fernando G. Gutiérrez, "A survey of Namban art", in Michael Cooper (ed.), *The Southern Barbarians: The First Europeans in Japan* (Tokyo, 1971), p. 180, an audience sit around a railed-off stage. Notable in the audience are two Europeans.

¹⁶⁵ Cooper (ed.), *This Island*, p. 97.

the Jesuit was familiar. However his description, written c. 1620 but drawing on direct experience from no later than 1611, illustrates the importance of such plays to Japanese hospitality. It is not known whether the English house featured an accommodating stage, which Rogrigues considered so essential to a wealthy furnishing. The house did have a number of Japanese characteristics, as noted in chapter 5. Although a stage may seem like an expensive non-essential, it should be noted that the house had its own bathhouse, a luxury feature which did not become widespread in Japanese households until the early nineteenth century.¹⁶⁶ It seems not unlikely that a modest stage could have been erected due to the frequency of *kabuki* performances in the English house.

Although there are plenty of notices of *kabuki* being enjoyed in Hirado, the frequency of their visits seems to have increased dramatically whilst travelling to court.¹⁶⁷ Fortunately Cocks took part in the majority of missions and thus left a record of the daily entertainments. There were several reasons for the increased frequency of *kabuki* visits during the journeys. The factors were leaving behind their long-term consorts in Hirado for a period of up to four months and thus probably alleviated their loneliness with the available girls. The various Japanese hosts along the route sought to provide fitting entertainment for the merchants. Despite its recent origins *kabuki* seems to have quickly developed into a Japanese courtesy. For instance, Cocks records that a party of actresses was sent to Korean ambassadors in Tsushima in 1617.¹⁶⁸ Close relations developed between the British and Japanese hosts, who were used year after year. Hosts in a number of cities were used not only during the annual journeys but also helped with the day-to-day running of regional factories. Correspondence was maintained throughout the year. The hosts, therefore, appear to have taken genuine care in servicing the factors. *Kabuki* troupes were an expensive luxury and Cocks often records having to pay for their various maids and river transport, in addition to their services. As well as their fee, additional tips and expensive gifts were also bestowed for particularly special services.¹⁶⁹ One performer, 'Shezero' is unusually mentioned by name and was given money directly, in addition to a silk *katabira*, a light robe.¹⁷⁰ In October 1617 Cocks sent a piece of damask to 'Tangano' and divided 20 *taels* between her and 'Moonshine', 'Dilligence', 'Coye' and 'Marebatan', girls of Ōsaka.¹⁷¹ There was no established pattern for *kabuki* entertainment. In many instances it was the host who sent for the girls and Cocks presumably had little choice but to pay, although there are no complaints about such duties in his diary. However, on other occasions it appears to have been the cape-merchant who took the initiative. Cocks also records that in July 1618 Matsuura

¹⁶⁶ Perez, *Daily Life*, p. 221. For the structural features of the house and aspects of daily life see ch. 5.

¹⁶⁷ (1616): *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 300, 305, 306, 310, 311, 317, 327, 354, 355; (1617): *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 187, 188, 189, 191; (1618): *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 350, 351, 356, 357, 378, 396, 398, 408; (1621): *Ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 209-10, 214, 226, 227, 235, 243. Cocks did not go on the trips for 1615, 1620, 1622 and 1623 and the *Diary* is missing for the 1619 journey.

¹⁶⁸ *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 79.

¹⁶⁹ The practice is mentioned by Rodrigues, Cooper (ed.), *This Island*, p. 97. The factors' consorts also expected regular presents in addition to the upkeep of their house and servants.

¹⁷⁰ *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 311. This is unusual as money tended to be paid to the pimps.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 191. He had seen the girls over a number of days, *Ibid.*, pp. 187, 188, 189. Two other *kabuki* girls are mentioned by name in February, 1620, *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 53.

Takanobu sent the British and the Dutch a *kabuki* troupe, accompanied by apes and baboons.¹⁷²

It is tempting to speculate that *kabuki* was actually introduced to the factors whilst on the court journey of 1616. Although his diary is extant for the previous year, Cocks did not take part in the journey so we cannot know if *kabuki* girls were ordered on that occasion.¹⁷³ There does not seem to have been a 1614 journey. The view that inland Japanese hosts introduced the merchants to *kabuki* is based on the fact that Cocks' diary runs for 15 months without a single reference to a *kabuki* party. Then suddenly in September 1616, whilst in Ōsaka we find the frank comment that Neyemon Dono "provided caboques, or women plears, who danced & songe, & when we returned home, he sent eavery one of them to lye w'th them yt would have them all night".¹⁷⁴ Neyemon Dono also proved to be a procurer on later occasions in much the same fashion, when Cocks wrote that the merchants had "every one a wench sent to hym that would have her. I gaue one of them an *ichabo* but would not haue her company".¹⁷⁵ "Caboques" are henceforth frequently mentioned not only on the 1616 court journey but also upon return to the locality of Hirado.¹⁷⁶ The obvious conclusion would be that the British had been introduced to a new pleasure which they sought to take advantage of upon return to the factory.

The absence of *kabuki* from Company sources prior to 1616 is an intriguing puzzle. The fly in the ointment, however, is Saris' detailed and unmistakable description of *kabuki* on three occasions in his journal during 1613. Saris' journal is a problematic source as detailed elsewhere.¹⁷⁷ The descriptions of *kabuki* only appear in the *Pilgrimes* version of his journal, which had been specially extended for an independent publication which was never fulfilled.¹⁷⁸ There are no references to *kabuki* in the India Office version of the journal. However, a fact which has been neglected by historians is that the India Office journal is not Saris' original log but rather a copy presented to the Company.¹⁷⁹ It is feasible to suggest that in copying out his log (which is clearly in his own hand), Saris left out passages which he considered

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 318. It is unclear if the animals were real or simply examples of Cocks' inventive language.

¹⁷³ An illuminating source would have been the journal of Ralph Coppendale, commander of the *Hozlander*, who participated in the journey. The manuscript was referred to by Peter Pratt in the 1820s but has since disappeared, a victim of the great nineteenth century clearances of the Company's archives. Pratt quotes extracts from the journal in Montague Paske-Smith (ed.), *History of Japan Compiled from the Records of the East India Company at the Instance of the Court of Directors*, ms of 1822, 2 vols (Kobe, 1931; 2 vols in 1, London, 1972), vol. 1, pp. 124-26, 134-37, 145-46 (1972 single volume ed. is paginated as 2 volumes). John Bruce, *The Annals of the Honourable East-India Company*, 3 vols (London, 1810; 1968) contains numerous mistakes but had access to sources now lost. He mentions a now non-extant letter from Coppendale to the Company dated 5 December 1615, which would have given details of the court journey (but probably not of *kabuki* parties).

¹⁷⁴ *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 300.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 331.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 305, 306, 310, 311, 317, 327, 354, 355 (court journey). *Ibid.*, pp. 368, 374, 375; vol. 2, pp. 5, 9, 44, 79, 243, 257, 263, 265, 266, 269, 272 *inter alia* (*kabuki* in Hirado).

¹⁷⁷ See ch. 2.

¹⁷⁸ *Pilgrimes*, vol. 3, pp. 445-46, 447-48, 475. To my knowledge all previous historians have ignored the fact that notices from Saris' narrative appeared in the third edition of 1617 of Samuel Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimage or Relations of the world and the religions observed in al ages and Places discovered...* (London, 1613), pp. 669-684 before appearing in *Pilgrimes* in 1624-25.

¹⁷⁹ The Manuscript journal is IOR: L/MAR/A XIV. 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.

to be of no interest to the Company. The Japanese section comes right at the end of what is a sizeable manuscript and was probably the section most likely to be the victim of self-imposed editing through fatigue. Hence it is plausible to suggest that some of the observations appearing in the *Pilgrimes* version but not the India Office manuscript were drawn directly from the original log. It is certainly suspect that the India Office version contains virtually nothing about Saris' important court journey to secure trading privileges. The point is that evidence appearing only in the *Pilgrimes* version should not be disregarded out of hand, although it should be treated with caution. What is beyond doubt is that the descriptions of *kabuki* are too accurate to suggest a product of Saris' imagination. The actual word *kabuki* is mentioned a number of times in the form "caboque". It could be argued that Saris, like the Florentine Carletti, supplemented his account with published sources. However, there are no apparent English language works from which Saris could have drawn his description.¹⁸⁰ Saris' account will be put aside for the time being, although it should be mentioned incidentally that Cocks' contemporary *Relation* also makes no reference to *kabuki*. If we believe Saris, the factors were busy enjoying its pleasures at this very time and its absence from Cocks' account is surprising.

If we were relying purely on Saris' journal there would remain considerable ambiguity regarding the gap in the recording of *kabuki*. However, there is also other compelling evidence to suggest that the British factors were aware of *kabuki* prior to 1616. Very soon after arrival back from the 1616 journey, Cocks records that the men were invited by Adams to a banquet "w' th kabokes".¹⁸¹ Adams met the British at Edo that year and did not pass through Ōsaka. Hence he would not have been 'introduced' to this new delight. There is further evidence in the previously mentioned gossipy letter of Wickham to Cocks in April 1616., i.e. six months prior to the 'discovery'. In both this letter and its reply, both men refer to "cabuques" without any further explanation.¹⁸² This seems to be unequivocal evidence that the British were well acquainted with the term and by extension the participants. It would be possible to accept that not having encountered *kabuki* prior to September 1616, the British could not have invited the dancers to their banquets. However, if we follow Cocks' diary, the return to Hirado in December 1616 coincides with the time when local Japanese, Chinese merchant Li Tan and the Dutch began to hold *kabuki* parties. Surely British influence was not this potent.

The answer appears to be that the British were introduced to *kabuki* during the initial days and weeks of the factory, as Saris' journal suggests. The evidence from the other East Indian factories confirms that the merchants were quite circumspect about their sex lives, which is why there is little non-accusatory information in the sources. Saris genuinely did encounter the female performers but either excised these comments from his presentation journal or simply left them out of his original log. The fact that the euphemism "dancing bears" is found in both Cocks' diary and Saris' log indicates a common joke.¹⁸³ For his published work, however, such titillating descriptions were an essential part of the genre. E.I.C. journals were studied by various voyage

¹⁸⁰ The contemporary literature is discussed in ch. 3.

¹⁸¹ *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 368.

¹⁸² IOR: G/12/15 p. 32; Farrington, vol. 1, pp. 404-05 and IOR: E/3/4 no. 358; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 409.

¹⁸³ *Pilgrimes*, vol. 3, p. 475; *Diary*, vol. 2, pp. 187, 188, 189, 257, 263, 265, 266; vol. 3, pp. 34, 41, 73, 92, 100, 116, 117, *inter alia*.

commanders and merchants prior to sailing to their posts.¹⁸⁴ Merchants were often well-acquainted with each other from experience on past voyages. Saris, for instance, is mentioned in several narratives in *Pilgrimes* during both his 1605-07 employment and the voyage which took him to Japan.¹⁸⁵ It is hence understandable that he might not want to share sexual details with men whom he would encounter face to face. The anonymous reading public was presumably a different matter.

The British no doubt continued to enjoy *kabuki* following Saris' departure. It would appear that for the same reason as Saris before him, Cocks left out reference to these parties. Incidentally, this would also explain their absence from his *Relation* of 1613. It has never been explained whether Cocks' diary was a Company document or for his own private usage.¹⁸⁶ Several comments in the text suggest that he had a future readership in mind. Yet at the same time there is a frankness found in the journal which is uncharacteristic of Company documents. There are unflinching portraits of his opinions of fellow merchants, and historians have therefore assumed that the diary was intended to be a purely private document.¹⁸⁷ Whether intended to be private or not in inception, Cocks' death on his homeward journey in 1624 transferred the journal to Company hands, where it was promptly stored and forgotten. Purchas had no access to it. It is probable that Cocks restricted the content of his entries during the initial years in Hirado. However, as the isolation of the factory from any prying eyes became more apparent, he perhaps felt less inhibited about recording events.¹⁸⁸ For whatever reason, Cocks decided to become more frank in his journal in September 1616 and maintained this openness upon his return to Hirado. This would explain the sudden blossoming of use of *kabuki* by the Dutch and local Japanese as recorded in the diary, i.e. they had always used *kabuki* girls before, but Cocks had modestly brushed over the facts. A similar reason may explain the lack of references to *kabuki* in the factory domestic correspondence.

Relations with Kabuki Girls and the Form of Entertainment Provided

Although over the years Cocks mentions several Japanese plays without any sexual content we can be pretty certain that *kabuki* performances were merely a preparation to sex.¹⁸⁹ Music and dancing are continually mentioned throughout the history of the

¹⁸⁴ CSPC, vol. 1, no. 362; Foster (ed.), *Voyage of Thomas Best*, pp. 63, 70, 71, 177; 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. 6, 9-10, 26, 35-36, 37.

¹⁸⁵ *Pilgrimes*, vol. 2, pp. 522, 545; vol. 3, pp. 27, 28. See also Foster (ed.), *Voyage of Thomas Best*, p. 170; Foster (ed.), *Journal of John Jourdain*, pp. 210-11.

¹⁸⁶ For a full analysis of the source see ch. 2 and appendix 1.

¹⁸⁷ Cooper, "Second Englishman", pp. 158-59. Despite the practice of perusing other merchants' reports, Mary Fuller has highlighted the role of privacy in early modern exploration and trading companies. Personnel were advised to write in cipher, to despatch reports back to England and to keep their papers under lock and key, *Voyages in Print: English Travels to America, 1576-1624* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 7-9.

¹⁸⁸ There is a parallel in the treatment of consorts as discussed below. Initially Cocks was very coy, telling Wickham "You must be no blab of your tongue" and postulating if Neelson, whom he lived with, had found a woman, IOR: E/3/1 no. 135; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 140. The letter is from March 1614.

¹⁸⁹ E.g. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 9, 243; vol. 3, p. 243. However, Milton's characterisation of the 'Dancing beares' as simply prostitutes is belied by numerous references to music and dance, *Samurai William*, p. 217.

factory but it is unlikely that the merchants would have found plays entertaining night after night without their carnal conclusion. There are certainly many clear references to the merchants staying all night with a *kabuki* party.¹⁹⁰ As for the location of the parties, the girls were mobile and mostly came to visit the men wherever they were staying. There is one example of them serving at an outdoor banquet for the planting of trees.¹⁹¹ Much of the historiography on early modern Japan makes continual reference to the licensed pleasure quarters of its cities. However, references to these areas are largely absent from the Hirado correspondence. Of course, Hirado itself was too small to host a licensed quarter. However, there is one tantalising reference to the merchants visiting the pleasure quarters of Kyōto while on a court journey in 1618. There can be little doubt that licensed quarters are intended by the description of being invited “to a place of pleasure w’thout the citty, where the dansing beares were”.¹⁹²

The British were obviously good clients and in general relations were very cordial with the *kabuki* owners. In April 1618 Cocks was sent a letter and a present by ‘Shoyemon dono’, a *kabuki* master in Nagasaki. He requited the gift and kept up an occasional correspondence with Cocks for a number of years.¹⁹³ Cocks also seems to have maintained some sort of relationship with a *kabuki* girl named Taganō. The case is interesting as in contrast to the other evidence for *kabuki* her name reoccurs over a number of years, suggesting habitual relations. Farrington traces the relationship back to November 1616 and the hiring of *kabuki* in Ōsaka.¹⁹⁴ She is not mentioned by name on this occasion but two separate gifts were given to the “cheefe caboque”.¹⁹⁵ She is also mentioned in October 1617, sent a (non-extant) letter to Cocks in December 1617, received more money in Ōsaka in September 1618 and sent Cocks another letter in December 1618.¹⁹⁶ The evidence points to hosts using the same girls year after year, which adds an interesting angle to our perceptions of the encounter. Although the letters of December 1617 and 12 December the following year are not extant, a letter from Taganō does survive in its Japanese original from 13 December 1618.¹⁹⁷ The fact that the British met the same girls every year is confirmed in Taganō’s request to see Cocks again. This is mentioned several times in the letter: “I am expecting your coming up sooner, at a favourable opportunity...Will you please promise to meet me when you come up?”.¹⁹⁸ The absence of Cocks’ diary for most of 1619 and 1620 makes it impossible to follow further developments in the relationship. The correspondence is particularly thin for 1619 but we know that Cocks made the court journey that year, as Eaton addresses letters to him in Ōsaka, Fushimi, Kyōto “or elsewhere”.¹⁹⁹ Eaton also specifically sent a letter to Ōsaka, the home of Taganō,

¹⁹⁰ *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 300, 354; vol. 2, pp. 187, 396.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 41-42.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 284.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 283, 285.

¹⁹⁴ Farrington, vol. 1, p. 739n.

¹⁹⁵ *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 354, 355.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 191, 223, 352, 399.

¹⁹⁷ IOR: E/3/6 no. 749; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 739. There may have been more letters as the diary breaks off on 14 January 1619 and Cocks endorsement for the above letter shows that it was not received until 4 February 1619.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁹ IOR: E/3/7 no. 810; Farrington, vol. 1, pp. 759-60, IOR: E/3/7 no. 811; Farrington, vol. 1, pp. 761-62, IOR: E/3/7 no. 814; Farrington, vol. 1, pp. 763-65.

dated 31 August, 1619.²⁰⁰ Despite these notices there are no return letters to Taganō mentioned in the diary from Cocks and her own letter also complains that Cocks had not written.²⁰¹

Forms of entertainment provided by young women were also encountered elsewhere in the Indies. For instance, Peter Floris recorded that the Queen of Patani sent for them at her court to watch a “commedye” by women players “very pleasaunte to beholde”.²⁰² The lack of any specific references in this case preclude any attempts to link the performance with sexual favours, although it would not be unlikely.²⁰³ It is difficult to ascertain the specific form of entertainment enjoyed by the Company factors. Saris mentions that the plays were for the most part of war, love “and such like”.²⁰⁴ There is only one clear reference to the contents of a play viewed in Kyōto, which featured “an antik dance of saters or wild men of other Japons”.²⁰⁵ That *kabuki* was popular is illustrated by the huge number of references to “caboques” in Cocks’ diary, the principal sources of information for his subject.²⁰⁶ However, Cocks does not record many details concerning the actual performance itself. This may have been because the merchants were far less interested in the performance itself than its carnal associations. Alternatively, the sketches and farces probably lost a lot of their entertainment value on an audience that had little more than a rudimentary command of Japanese.²⁰⁷ Another possibility may be that the repertoire of the troupes was quite limited and by 1615, the start date for Cocks’ diary, was too familiar to merit any more than cursory reference in the diary. However, several Japanese plays are mentioned as leisure entertainments without any obvious sexual context.²⁰⁸ A series of plays was held over several days at a cost of two *conderins* entry.²⁰⁹ Cocks devoted a lot of space and praise to a “comœdie” acted out by the local nobility.²¹⁰ *Kabuki* troupes were also clearly mixed sex on a number of occasions.²¹¹ This mixed-sex arrangement also appears in Rodrigues’ description of *kabuki*, which is characterised as an entertainment for guests. There is no mention of respective male and female

²⁰⁰ IOR: E/3/7 no. 814; Farrington, vol. 1, pp. 763-65.

²⁰¹ IOR: E/3/6 no. 749; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 739.

²⁰² Moreland (ed.), *Voyage of Peter Floris*, p. 87.

²⁰³ An entertainment similar to *kabuki* was noticed by Fernão Mendes Pinto in China. Whilst on the north east coast, the Portuguese party was entertained by professional female musicians and singers, who were in great demand for parties. They were also owned by merchants, many of whom grew very rich, Rebecca Catz trans (ed.), *The Travels of Mendes Pinto* (Chicago, 1989), p. 130.

²⁰⁴ *Pilgrimes*, vol. 3, p. 447. Information on the actual repertoire can be found in Frank Hoff, “City and country : song and performing arts in sixteenth-century Japan”, in Elison and Bardwell (eds), *Warlords, Artists and Commoners*, pp. 133-162.

²⁰⁵ *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 396.

²⁰⁶ *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 221, 300, 305, 306, 310, 311, 317, 327, 354, 355, 368, 374, 375; vol. 2, pp. 5, 9, 44, 79, 187, 188, 189, 191, 243, 257, 263, 265, 266, 269, 272, 273, 274, 283, 285, 290, 350, 351, 356, 357, 378, 396, 398, 408; vol. 3, pp. 18, 27, 33, 34, 41, 53, 66, 73, 76, 82, 92, 100, 115, 116, 117, 154, 190, 191, 205, 209, 214, 226, 227, 235, 243. For an unknown reason *kabuki* is mentioned extremely rarely in the factory letters. None of the references are in relation to individual experience but rather gossip concerning Japanese: IOR: G/12/15, p. 32; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 404 and IOR: E/3/4 no. 358; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 409. The other references in Farrington’s index refer to his reprint of Saris’ journal and Cocks’ *Relation* rather than notices taken from the letters.

²⁰⁷ For my ideas on the linguistic abilities of the factors see ch. 4.

²⁰⁸ E.g. *Diary*, vol. 2, pp. 9, 243; vol. 3, p. 243.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 44. Acosta noted that the Chinese were great players of comedies which could last for several days, Markham (ed.), *Natural and Moral History*, vol. 2, p. 401.

²¹⁰ *Relation*, pp. 169-70.

²¹¹ *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 374; vol. 2, p. 79.

roles nor, despite abundant contemporary Japanese evidence, any connection with prostitution. Rodrigues also hints at *kabuki* girls fulfilling the role of later *geishas* by serving drinks and encouraging indulgence.²¹² However, there may be a tacit reference to extra-curricular activities in Rodrigues' specification that the public were only admitted when plays were performed "in a formal way".²¹³ Modesty and the needs of his intended ecclesiastical audience may have restrained Rodrigues from mentioning the more lurid aspects of *kabuki*.²¹⁴ However, as we have seen, in the case of the English factory there is little doubt that the plays were merely a preparation to prostitution.

4. The Role of Long-term Consorts

This section forms the final division of this chapter and in many ways is the most unique and interesting aspect of the Anglo-Japanese encounter. Although sharing obvious sexual similarities with the experience of prostitution and *kabuki* performances, the long-term relationships with concubines deserve an independent analysis. Although they were contractual and in that respect manufactured and false relationships, the evidence of both British and Japanese sources suggests that there existed genuine affection between lovers. Without doubt relations with consorts assisted British integration into a Japanese life-style; a fact downplayed by Massarella but evident in many examples, as discussed below.²¹⁵ Of course, such concubinal relationships between merchant and native population were not unique to Japan. The Portuguese *fidalgos* were renowned for their troupes of exotic concubines found across the Lusitanian trading empire. Commentators noted that the poorest soldier would forsake his food for their upkeep.²¹⁶ Carletti noted the practice in China.²¹⁷ D. E. G. Hall notes that both shipwrecked sailors and merchants were given 'wives' if they intended to stay in Burma for a protracted period. However they were unable to take their wives and children with them upon departure.²¹⁸ The long-term contracting of girls was not merely a considerate provision for foreigners in Japan but had a historical native precedent. Caron noted that the Japanese had but one wife although they kept as many concubines as means allowed.²¹⁹ The early European literature on Japan fails to present a clear picture of the situation. The Jesuit Luis Frois noted the monogamy of the Japanese but failed to mention concubinage, a fact which perhaps would have tainted the view of the prosperous missionary field.²²⁰ The subject is not broached at all in Linchoten's *Itinerario*, whilst Robert Parkes' translation of *History of the Great and Mightie Kingdom of China* describes the Japanese as taking many wives, an obvious reference to concubines.²²¹ The paucity of information and

²¹² Cooper (ed.), *This Island*, pp. 97, 212. Saris had also noted that nobles had *kabuki* girls fill their drinks at inns, *Pilgrimes*, vol. 3, p. 447.

²¹³ Cooper (ed.), *This Island*, pp. 97, 212 and see also p. 121.

²¹⁴ The notion of homosexuality amongst the Japanese is implied rather than stated in his work, *Ibid.*, pp. 338-39.

²¹⁵ Massarella, *World Elsewhere*, p. 241.

²¹⁶ Boxer, *Mary and Misogyny*, p. 68.

²¹⁷ Carletti, *My Voyage*, pp. 176-77.

²¹⁸ D. E. G. Hall, *Early English Intercourse with Burma, 1587-1743* (London, 1928; 1968), pp. 100-101.

²¹⁹ Caron, *Brief Description*, p. 48.

²²⁰ *Principal Navigations*, vol. 4, p. 197.

²²¹ Juan Gonzales de Mendoza, *The Historie of the Great and Mightie kingdome of China*, trans Robert Parke (London, 1588), p. 378.

generally confused picture probably prevented the factors from gaining much knowledge about marital issues prior to arrival in Japan. Hence it agrees with the thesis proposed in chapter 3 that the reading of early modern literature had little influence on the perceptions of the men on the ground. This would have been of little concern, however, as they were soon able to experience such intricacies first-hand.

Although concubinage was practised elsewhere in the world, at least in the case of the British, there is very little detailed evidence for this period from any other locality. Describing transient ‘marriages’ between merchant and concubine in Burma, D. E. G. Hall is left merely to speculate that many such relationships took place.²²² Despite quoting an impressive array of archival and published sources, Hall can only uncover a single second-hand reference to such a relationship in Burma in the records of Fort St George at Madras.²²³ Certainly the Hirado factors’ relations with mistresses closely parallels the Dutch experience, in the sense that they were similarly contractual, lengthy and produced off-spring.²²⁴ However, Dutch historians largely have to rely on ancillary data to retrieve names of concubines and children, as the sources are of a less personal and intimate nature than those of the E.I.C..²²⁵

William Adams

As outlined in chapter 1, much that has been written about the British presence in Hirado has been seen through the figure of William Adams. As such, a great deal of attention has been devoted to Adams’ family life and the circumstances and implications of his supposed marriage to a Japanese woman. This thesis attempts to move away from such a narrow and derivative scholarly field. Although a recent article by Derek Massarella was able to offer some new information on the usages of Adams’ Japanese title ‘Anjin’, virtually no fresh information on Adams has appeared for decades and it seems unlikely that there is any more to discover.²²⁶ This thesis has nothing to add on Adams. However, within the context of sexual relations it is important to clarify briefly a few details of Adams’ relations with women.²²⁷

Adams was the only member of the English factory to have been already married before his arrival in Japan.²²⁸ In England he left behind at least one child and a wife,

²²² Hall, *English Intercourse with Burma*, p. 100.

²²³ *Ibid.*

²²⁴ Cocks records that ‘Albertus’ – Elbert Woutersen, the Dutch factor for the Kinai area – had a “woman” and child, *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 22. He eventually had three children, who he took with him alongside his consort, when he left Hirado in 1620, Massarella, *World Elsewhere*, p. 234.

²²⁵ The most relevant study, which acknowledges the limitations of the source material, is Mulder, *Hollanders in Hirado*. Direct detail about the consorts is lacking. Everything has to be drawn from inference, *Ibid.*, p. 135. The Spanish were similarly taciturn in their letters with relation to native concubines in the Yucatan, Inga Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquests: Maya and Spanish in Yucatan, 1517-1570* (Cambridge, 1987), p. 44.

²²⁶ Derek Massarella, “William Adams/Miura Anjin: man/myth”, *London School of Economic and Political Science Discussion Papers Series: International Studies*, 15/00/394 (2000), pp. 1-25.

²²⁷ Further information can be culled from the numerous books and articles on Adams listed in the bibliography.

²²⁸ Adams’ contract of employment to the Company expired in 1616. For details of Cocks’ unsuccessful attempts to find a partner prior to arrival in Japan see Derek Massarella, “The early career”. The Company itself preferred bachelors, as did the Levant Company, East India Company, *Laws and Standing Orders*, p. 42; Wood, *Levant Company*, p. 244. However, this was a preference and not an absolute requirement.

Mary Hyn, to whom his earliest letter from Japan is addressed.²²⁹ In his three letters prior to the arrival of the British, Adams makes no mention of remarrying in Japan. However, the presence of Adams' Japanese wife is noted quite casually by Saris, an indication that the British were informed probably by the Dutch during Adams' initial absence from Hirado.²³⁰ Much has been written in speculation about Adams' native wife and her family. The early panegyrist insisted that she was of samurai stock.²³¹ However, it seems probable that her father, Magome Kageyu, whom the British had several dealings with, was the superintendent of a packhorse exchange.²³² There is absolutely no firm evidence linking her with the name 'Oyuki'. The name is suggested by William Corr, who gives no source for this, and also by Giles Milton, who presumably follows Corr's work.²³³ Corr also neglects to explain the presence of a Japanese name when the woman was so obviously a Christian. As can be seen from numerous examples, Japanese converts always used their baptismal name.²³⁴

Although Adams' wife receives frequent mention in Cocks' diary, there is really very little for historians to go on. She is never referred to as anything but 'Mrs Adams' or 'Mistres Adams'.²³⁵ Whether the couple were married or not is a difficult question. Massarella devotes some space to discussing marriage laws in contemporary England and noting that a recent act would have freed Adams to marry again through a period of extended separation from his first wife.²³⁶ However, as Adams had no contact with

²²⁹ There is some controversy regarding the dating. *Pilgrimes*, vol. 2, pp. 340-46; Farrington, vol. 1, pp. 50-55. The letter is undated and survives only in *Pilgrimes*. Purchas suggests that it was carried (and censored) by the Dutch. As it is known that Adams' erstwhile crewmates Jacob Quaeckernaek and Melchior van Santvoort secured permission to leave Japan in 1605 it has been popularly assumed that they carried the letter. However, both Portuguese and Spanish channels would have been available to Adams. Later British observers noted his many Iberian friends, although he certainly had clerical enemies. Worries about the Dutch interception of letters are expressed in *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 26, 56; *Letters Received*, vol. 4, p. 36. However, the Dutch did sometimes leave the letters sealed and unmolested, *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 37. It is also apparent that the E.I.C. tried to intercept Dutch letters, *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 298. Despite this there is no certainty as regards dates and indeed Purchas, who may have seen the original date, sets the letter after another example of October 1611. However, Massarella's assertion that there is no evidence to support a date of 1605 is perhaps a little harsh considering the fact that Quaeckernaek and van Santvoort's voyage was the first *secure* avenue available to Adams, *World Elsewhere*, p. 385n. It seems extremely unlikely that either Adams would have missed such an opportunity or that if his printed letter does not date from 1605, that the original letter would not have been passed on to a man such as Hakluyt. It should be remembered that Purchas did not keep to strict chronological order. Saris' observations on Japanese commodities written c. 1605-1609 is preceded by his account of the voyage of the *Clove*, 1611-1613, *Pilgrimes*, vol. 3, pp. 357-519.

²³⁰ *Voyage*, p. 135.

²³¹ Naojiro Murakami and K. Marakawa (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), p. viin.

²³² Tames, *Servant of the Shogun*, pp. 27-28; Farrington, vol. 2, p. 1562.

²³³ Corr, *Adams the Pilot*, pp. 12, 84; Milton, *Samurai William*, p. 135. The complete absence of her name from the sources is puzzling. The factors usually tried a phonetic approximation of Japanese names.

²³⁴ See *inter alia*: 'Andrea', *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 45, 57, 63, 64, 65, 66, 72, 96; 'Barnardo', *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 267, 268, 270; vol. 3, pp. 20, 35; 'Domingo', *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 154, 165, 166, 219, 243, 256; 'Maria', vol. 1, p. 91; vol. 3, pp. 124, 253; 'Susanna', vol. 2, pp. 200, 339, 412, 414; vol. 3, pp. 21, 42, 44, 48.

²³⁵ Following the couple's estrangement Cocks refers to her as "Capt. Adams woaman", *Diary*, vol. 3, pp. 27, 32, 48.

²³⁶ Massarella, "William Adams", pp. 9-10. This was a 1603 statute that made bigamy a civil offence. However, it allowed remarriage after a period of seven years separation, whether the death of the partner was known or not.

the British prior to 1613 and hence would have been completely unaware of the act, the thesis has little bearing on his situation. It is clear that Adams did not envisage returning to England and was content to settle down to a profitable existence in Japan. His wife appears to have been a Christian but it seems unlikely that Adams would have consented to a Catholic marriage ceremony, given the friction between him and the missionaries.²³⁷ Yet at the same time the couple appear to have led a fully respectable family life as husband and wife, rather than lover and consort. What is without doubt is that the British factors believed that the pair were engaged in *bona fide* marriage, as is clear by references to "Mrs Adams" and "Captain Adams' wife". However, recent work has shown that in England the taking of a lover's surname was quite loose and often adopted by mistresses, irrespective of any legal right to do so.²³⁸ Such terminology was never used for the non-monogamous and non-committal relationships enjoyed by the other factors. To my knowledge modern historians have not cast any doubt on the couple's marital status. Such a respectable and ordained picture was also formed of the other survivors of *de Liefde* who had apparently married in Japan.²³⁹ Again, the circumstances of their marriages are a mystery as it seems unlikely that they would have consented to a Catholic ceremony. A Japanese ceremony may have been a possible alternative but it is unclear how this would have appeased either party.²⁴⁰ Presumably there was no problem when both parties were Catholic. In his account of Christian persecutions, the Dutch Hirado factor Reyer Gisbertszoon reported that five lay Portuguese were condemned to death after returning to Japan to see their wives and children.²⁴¹ Adams' wife could have married him and then converted. However, the fact that her sister bore the name 'Magdalena' and her brother 'Andreas' suggests that Adams' wife was born a Christian, rather than being a later convert.²⁴² Further details of Adams' family life, such as his relationships with his children and the question of his wife's Christianity, will be discussed in context below. Adams' Japanese family was no secret to the Company, despite their knowledge of his English wife. Cocks informed the Company of the division of Adams' estate between his English family and his Japanese children.²⁴³

²³⁷ PRO: CO 77/1 no. 43; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 264. Adams' mudslinging against the Jesuits to Ieyasu is mentioned by the Spanish historian Diego Aduarte in E. H. Blair and J. A. Roberts (eds), *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, 55 vols (Cleveland, Ohio, 1903-1905), vol. 32, p. 32. The Jesuits in India alleged that William Hawkins had asked them to marry him and an Armenian Christian chosen by Jahangir to be his wife. The missionaries agreed but only on condition that Hawkins acknowledged the pope as the head of the universal Church, which he refused to do, C. H. Payne, *Jahangir and the Jesuits* (London, 1930), p. 81. The veracity of the story is unclear as there is no mention of such an arrangement in contemporary East Indian sources. Only the truncated version of Hawkins' journal survives, as printed in *Pilgrimes*, and in it he makes no allusion to such an arrangement. However, it would not be unreasonable to expect him to conceal a request for a marriage ceremony from Jesuit missionaries. See below for more on Hawkins' marriage. The journal is printed in *Pilgrimes*, vol. 3, pp. 1-51.

²³⁸ Dabhoiwala, "The pattern of sexual immorality", pp. 90-92. This took place at all social levels. Samuel Pepys was often clearly confused about the marital status of couples with whom he was quite familiar.

²³⁹ E.g. Melchior van Santoordt, *Voyage*, p. 103; 'Jacob', *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 300; Gilbert de Cuning, IOR: G/12/15, p. 13; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 192.

²⁴⁰ In the case of Melchior van Santvoort, when he and his consort were expelled from Japan in 1639, he married her in a Protestant ceremony on Formosa, Boxer (ed.), *True Description*, p. 131n; Mulder, *Hollanders in Hirado*, p. 50. There are a number of examples of Dutchmen following this practice in the Indies, *Ibid.* p. 135.

²⁴¹ Reprinted in Boxer (ed.), *True Description*, pp. 77-78.

²⁴² 'Magdalena' referred to in IOR: E/3/3 no. 331; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 365.

²⁴³ IOR: E/3/7 no. 911; Farrington, vol. 2, p. 822.

The long period of separation was probably enough of a justification in their eyes. Cases of bigamy on the part of both sexes were common following a husband's absence overseas.²⁴⁴ However, it should be noted that Cocks was scandalised by news that the wife of mariner Thomas Harod had "married & plaid the whore in his abscense".²⁴⁵

The Factory Consorts

Almost nothing is known for certain of the background or status of the women contracted by the factors as long-term partners. In keeping with the respectable image which the factors sought to foster through their clothes and social company it seems likely that the women were also of reasonably high social status.²⁴⁶ This was particularly true in the case of Matinga, Cocks' woman, who needed no outside interference in her business affairs. She is portrayed in a letter as a "gentelwoman" and Cocks describes her father as previously serving a "cauelero" (noble).²⁴⁷ As identified in chapter 5, most references to 'servants' of noblemen actually describe samurai retainers and there is no reason to suppose that this is not the case here. Massarella perceptively highlights the threat of the mother of Eaton's consort, Ō-man to take him before the *bakufu*'s deputy in Kyōto as indicative of a reasonably high status.²⁴⁸ As many contemporary Europeans reported, the fact that the women were essentially mistresses would not have harmed their social standing.²⁴⁹ Indeed, the practice of maintaining concubines was viewed as an indication of wealth in Japan and was seen as quite normal. The high standing of the consorts also has parallels in what is known of the Dutch concubines. The name of merchant Carol Hartsinck's consort is unknown but a memorial to her son, who achieved success in Europe, yields some clues. The Latin inscription to Pieter Hartsinck in St Jakobi's in Osterode states that Pieter was "a man of very high birth" and that "[h]is mother came of a good Japanese pagan family".²⁵⁰ There is conflicting evidence as to whether the factory women were treated with respect by the merchants. The factors sometimes used Japanese honorific terms (which the merchants understood) in addressing their women, such as the prefix 'Ō'. Hence we find Sayer's woman Maria, styled "Omaria" and Wickham's woman referred to as "Ō-man".²⁵¹ Yet the factors generally referred to the consorts as "my woman", "your women" or "his gerle".²⁵² Cocks also does not hesitate to describe Femaja as a "wenche".²⁵³ The merchants had a talent for

²⁴⁴ Susan Dwyer Amussen, *An Ordered Society: Gender and Class in Early Modern England* (New York, 1988), pp. 124-25. Amussen provides examples of men in the East Indies.

²⁴⁵ *Diary*, vol. 3, p. 184.

²⁴⁶ For more details on this practice see ch. 5. Cocks mentioned that the Company provided ships with silver tableware for the officers' quarters, *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 82, 135. He also advised Wickham to lodge with only the most respectable Japanese traders, IOR: E/3/1 no. 127; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 124.

²⁴⁷ IOR: E/3/1 no. 135; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 140 and *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 218. Massarella notes that he had been a retainer of the Matsuura, although Cocks actually leaves the name of the nobleman blank in his diary, *World Elsewhere*, p. 233. There are a number of other references to Cocks buying presents and giving money to Matinga's father: *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 173, 360; vol. 2, pp. 236, 245.

²⁴⁸ Massarella, *World Elsewhere*, p. 233.

²⁴⁹ See Weinstock (ed.), *My Voyage*, p. 127.

²⁵⁰ Seiichi Iwao, "The life of Pieter Hartsinck, the Japanner (1637-1680): 'Grand-pupil' of Descartes", *TASJ*, Third Series, vol. 20 (1985), pp. 148, 157.

²⁵¹ IOR: E/3/7 no. 894; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 802. IOR: E/3/3 no. 340; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 370.

²⁵² E.g. *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 216.

²⁵³ IOR: E/3/3 no. 321; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 358.

nicknames, as explored in chapter 5, and quickly turned ‘Ō-man’ into ‘woman’.²⁵⁴ Of their actual names there can be little certainty. ‘Matinga’ is believed to represent ‘Ō Matsu san’ and ‘Femaja’ has been postulated as ‘Fumika’.²⁵⁵ A list of the consorts’ names and the names of Anglo-Japanese children follows below:

Table no. 3. Names of consorts and Anglo-Japanese children identified in the sources.

<i>Factor/Mariner or other</i>	<i>Consort</i>	<i>Children</i>
Cocks	‘Matinga’	
Wickham	‘Femaga’, ‘Ō-man’	Daughter (name unknown)
Osterwick	? ‘Haya’ ²⁵⁶	
Eaton	‘Ō-man’, ‘Kamezo’	1 daughter (Helena), 2 sons (William, ?) ²⁵⁷
Sayers	Maria	Daughter (Joan)
Nealson	? Helena ²⁵⁸	? Daughter (Helena)
John Porteus	Magdalena	Son (name unknown)
Henry Smith		Son (Henry)
Robert Hawley	‘Fantes dono’	
Hernando Ximines	‘Maria’/‘Toraga’ ²⁵⁹	
Abraham Smart		Child (sex unknown)
Thomas Flood		Child (sex unknown)

It seems probable that all the long-term residents of Hirado secured consorts although we don’t know their names.²⁶⁰ Unfortunately the actual circumstances of the contracting of these consorts are lost to the historical record. It presumably occurred sometime around the turn of 1613-1614 and hence escaped notice in both Saris’ journal and Cocks’ diary. Only a handful of letters has survived from these early months although there must once have been an extensive collection. The first mention is of Maria, who is described as “Hernando’s woman”.²⁶¹ No doubt this refers to Hernando Ximines, a Spanish *jurebasso* brought from Bantam. He seems to have been in temporary Company employment and alternated between Bantam and Japan. His movements are difficult to follow as he was also a private trader. As Cocks

²⁵⁴ *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 194, 195, 196, 216; vol. 2, pp. 20, 195, 272, 354, 377, 382, 404, 408, 412, 414.

²⁵⁵ Paske-Smith, *Western Barbarians*, p. 58; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 323n. *Diary*, vol. 3 index suggests ‘Fumi’ for Femaja.

²⁵⁶ ‘Haya’ is not mentioned in Cocks’ diary or any factory letters and is only known through a letter that she sent to Osterwick on the eve of the closure of the factory in December 1623, BL: Cart. Cotton III. 13. XXVI. 28., ff. 53-54; Farrington, vol. 2, p. 954. However, the intimate nature of the letter leaves little doubt that she was Osterwick’s consort.

²⁵⁷ Eaton’s second son was born after he had left Japan and is known only by a Dutch letter that describes the boy as round and fat, “just like his father”, Massarella, *World Elsewhere*, p. 234; Farrington, vol. 2, p. 956n.

²⁵⁸ ‘Helena’ is described as Nealson’s “girl” but it is not known if she was a mistress or a daughter. The *Diary* index gives both suggestions. She was probably a daughter as the only mention of her is when Cocks provides clothes for Wickham and Nealson’s “girls”. Wickham left Japan a year previously so it would be unusual for Cocks to continue giving gifts to his consort. She is accepted as a daughter in Massarella, *World Elsewhere*, p. 234.

²⁵⁹ As argued below this could be the same woman.

²⁶⁰ Cocks writes collectively of the women of Eaton, Sayers, Nealson, Osterwick, John Porteus, Robert Hawley and John Cook, *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 412. Some of the long term residents included Englishmen who had arrived from Spanish shipping and personnel left from visiting E.I.C. vessels.

²⁶¹ IOR: E/3/1 no. 130; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 130 and IOR: E/3/1 no. 133; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 136.

mentions a non-extant letter from Ximines at Bantam dated 1 June 1614, he cannot have been in Hirado in January/February 1614.²⁶² Therefore, Ximines must have left on the *Clove*. The relationship was probably temporary due to the Spaniard's long absences and Ximines eventually married another woman called Toraga.²⁶³

It is very difficult to trace many of the women due to the abundance of baptismal names such as 'Maria'. Nealsen's satirical letter of February 1614 mentions Matinga, Cocks' long-term consort.²⁶⁴ Richard Wickham, the addressee, left for Edo on 18 January 1614.²⁶⁵ The name is given in a riddle, as are other sexual allusions, but Nealsen clearly expected Wickham to be familiar with the women. There is nothing relevant in Saris' journal prior to his departure from Japan on 5 December 1613.²⁶⁶ Hence we should presume that the women were contracted sometime between 5 December 1613 and 18 January 1614. There are a couple of letters that fall within these dates but they are of a formal nature and do not mention the girls. Cocks himself makes a probably reference to Matinga in a letter to Wickham of 9 March 1614, that refers to her as "I think a gentelwoman of your accoyntance".²⁶⁷ This could be a euphemism for Wickham having slept with her, as the letter is jocular in tone. It also reinforces the Nealsen letter in suggesting that some form of arrangement had been made prior to Wickham's departure on 18 January 1614. Cocks also notes that he had no doubt that Wickham and Nealsen either already were or soon would be provided with girls.²⁶⁸ Nealsen clearly had his own relationship with a woman by 25 May 1614. Wickham sent a fair pair of *tabi* socks to his "language tutor", noting, "it is but a token of our forpassed frendshipp". Farrington has interpreted this, accurately I believe, as suggesting that Nealsen had taken over Wickham's woman.²⁶⁹ Hence Wickham's "forpassed frendshipp" must have been enjoyed prior to 18 January 1614. Some other women are mentioned later, for instance Wickham's girl 'Femaja' in October 1615.²⁷⁰ There are no reference to her in Cocks' diary until June 1616 and hence she was probably contracted after Wickham's departure from Hirado in January 1614.²⁷¹

The consorts burst onto the letter pages without prior mention. However, the contracting of girls from pimps in Nagasaki is mentioned in a number of sources and there is no reason to suspect that the British factors in Hirado did not follow a similar path.²⁷² Describing the activities of Nagasaki pimps, Carletti relates that they sought out the Portuguese merchants in Nagasaki at their dwellings. Girls could be had for the duration of their stay, months, weeks, days or even hours. Sometimes the agreement was made directly with the parents, who also took an active role by approaching Portuguese or visiting them at their houses. Carletti describes the girls as characteristically being virgins of 14 or 15 and concludes "Many of the Portuguese

²⁶² IOR: E/3/2 no. 190; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 235.

²⁶³ *Diary*, vol. 3, p. 107. However, for an alternate postulation of her identity see below.

²⁶⁴ IOR: E/3/2 no. 155A; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 132.

²⁶⁵ Firando Ledger B; Farrington, vol. 2, p. 1276.

²⁶⁶ *Voyage*, pp. 183-84.

²⁶⁷ IOR: E/3/1 no. 135; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 140.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁹ IOR: G/12/15, p. 6; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 164.

²⁷⁰ IOR: G/12/15, p. 23; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 323.

²⁷¹ *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 240, 251.

²⁷² See Weinstock (ed.), *My Voyage*, p. 145.

find this Land of Cockaigne much to their liking".²⁷³ There is a tantalising reference to Cocks purchasing a twelve-year-old girl. Cocks happily reported to Wickham on 9 March 1614 that he had "bought a wench", that cost him three *taels*. After five year's service the money had to be repaid by her or representatives or else she would remain a perpetual captive. Cocks also admitted that being only 12 she was "over small yet for trade".²⁷⁴ Hence, a clear reference here suggest that girls were purchased under similar conditions to bonded servants.²⁷⁵ Yet the notices by Cocks are clearly sexual: the girl was too small for "trade"; and there was also another girl forthcoming who was more "lapedable".²⁷⁶ Presumably the girl was purchased through her parents but there are no further details and there is no obvious later reference to her in the sources.²⁷⁷ In June 1617 gunner Harry Shanks "entertaynd a wenche" for a number of days but when they fell out he went to her father's house to settle matters.²⁷⁸ This supports Carletti's descriptions of parents handling the prostitution of their daughters. The fact that Eaton sold her erstwhile consort Ō-man to Wickham also shows that relationships were not (initially at least) based on affection but were business transactions.²⁷⁹ However, this would not be at deviance from normal Japanese practice. Caron states that marriages were not formed by love or wooing but were contracted by parents or next of kin.²⁸⁰

As may be expected, the contracting of girls was a private affair and not an expense that the factors dared to put to Company account along with food, servants and housing.²⁸¹ There was, however, presumably a great similarity with the contracting of bonded servants, for which there is ample evidence in the factory archives. These are described in detail in chapter 5, however some brief comments will help to shed some light upon the present subject. Servants, almost always male, were taken on whilst still children or adolescents. Hence the deal for their servitude was concluded with the parents. In contrast to concubines, household servants and 'boys' were paid for by the Company and it is clear that they entered into contract with the E.I.C. rather than with individual factory members. The contracts were of varying lengths but generally a period of 5 years was common.²⁸² Some deals allowed the charge to be taken anywhere in the world until the expiration of their contract whilst others limited the horizon to Bantam. The fact that the mother of Ō-man complained that her owner would remove her from Japan and sought the intervention of a local justice may be

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp. 127-28.

²⁷⁴ IOR: E/3/1 no. 135; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 140.

²⁷⁵ See ch. 5.

²⁷⁶ This was a variation of 'lap clap', an early modern term for sexual intercourse.

²⁷⁷ In Guiana Raleigh was shocked by parents selling their daughters to the Spanish. The Europeans could buy a maid of 12 or 13 and resell her for an enormous profit in the West Indies, Neil L. Whitehead (ed.), *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich and Bewtiful Empyre of Guiana* (Manchester, 1997), p. 153.

²⁷⁸ *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 91.

²⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 194, 195; IOR: E/3/3 no. 340; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 370.

²⁸⁰ Boxer (ed.), *True Description*, p. 48.

²⁸¹ There is no mention of girls in the surviving factory account books, which admittedly only represent a fraction of the original material. A fuller sample of the original sources can be found in the pre-destruction Peter Pratt, *History of Japan*. Farrington presents much of Pratt's abstracts in vol. 2 of his collection. However, it is still necessary to consult Pratt, whose general estimates based on now lost figures are not repeated in Farrington.

²⁸² This also tallies with the length of servitude of Cocks' twelve-year-old girl, IOR: E/3/1 no. 135; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 140.

evidence of such a clause in the case of consorts.²⁸³ However, there is little further evidence of such niceties. Eaton, the owner of Ō-man, was a junior member of the factory and presumably quite young in 1616. His chosen consort was hence probably also of a young age and had her monetary affairs handled by her mother. In the case of the other factors, the absence of parental control suggests that they chose partners who were clearly capable of handling their own affairs. In the absence of further evidence there is little more that can be said of the contractual nature of such relationships. Carletti's comments on Nagasaki and the picture sketched by others of maritime Southeast Asia probably provide a very close template for the forms of contracts.

As usual, through the evidence of Cocks' unique diary we know more about Matinga than the other consorts. However, there are very few references considering the size of the diary.²⁸⁴ We know that the relationship continued until the 1620s. Yet what is included in the diary are mostly impersonal notes of presents sent, money paid for her rent, servants, rice, clothes and clothes for her servants. The notices are very business-like as if Cocks were grouping her expenses alongside those of official presents. This practice may support the theory that the diary is not as personal and private as is often assumed. If Cocks understood that it would later be used for information on Japan by the Company, he might understandably be circumspect about personal details. Alternatively, of course, he may genuinely have cared very little about Matinga and simply thought of her as a service that had to be paid for. Numerous letters between the couple are recorded in the diary, which would have been immensely useful for the historian. However, the fact that none of them survive can surely be attributed to Cocks destroying them after discovering Matinga's infidelity.²⁸⁵

The merchants' consorts were provided with separate accommodation and furnished with a number of servants.²⁸⁶ Although the women didn't live at the factory, a Japanese who accused Femaja of being a whore had to come to the English house to apologise to her.²⁸⁷ At least in the case of Cocks and Wickham the factors even paid for the consorts' food.²⁸⁸ In contrast to servants and acquaintances, the consorts were often given finished articles of clothing rather than the raw materials that were usually doled out.²⁸⁹

Massarella has suggested that the factory consorts were probably Christians.²⁹⁰ While this is not unlikely given the large Christian presence in the Hirado area, there is no firm evidence for such a general claim. The table above shows that most of the known

²⁸³ IOR: E/3/3 no. 340; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 370.

²⁸⁴ The virtual absence of consorts from the written records is paralleled in the Dutch sources, Seiichi, "Pieter Hartsinck", p. 149.

²⁸⁵ On 2 March 1621 Cocks set her servant Oto free, "she discovering her mrs villany & that she had abused her selfe w'th vj or 7 p'rsns, as apereth under 3 witnesses", *Diary*, vol. 3, pp. 61-62.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 149 (Matinga's house). Hence, strictly speaking Iwao Seiichi is wrong to describe the women as common-law wives, "Pieter Hartsinck", p. 146.

²⁸⁷ IOR: E/3/3 no. 321; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 358. The casting of rhymes up and down the streets against the consorts is mentioned in *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 280.

²⁸⁸ Cocks paid six *taels* in small plate for Matinga's rice, *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 49. Whilst temporarily stationed in Bantam, Wickham provided a payment for Ō-man's 'diet', *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 20-21.

²⁸⁹ E.g. *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 33-34. For the usual provision of raw materials see IOR: E/3/3 no. 275; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 292.

²⁹⁰ Massarella, *World Elsewhere*, p. 20.

consorts bore Japanese names. With names such as 'Maria' and 'Magdalena', the women were obviously Christians. However, the consorts about which we know the most bear resolutely Japanese names, rather than the characteristic Iberian baptismal names.²⁹¹ Of course, it could be argued that the abandonment of Christian names was merely a political expedient during the era of persecution.²⁹² However, this is belied by the large number of local people who are consistently referred to by Iberian names until the close of the factory.²⁹³ If the consorts retained their Christian names it is highly likely that the British would have felt free to use them in their private correspondence amongst themselves. Lastly there is the evidence of surviving letters from two consorts and a maidservant to the factors in Bantam, following the abandonment of the Hirado factory. Although the letters were carried on a Dutch ship and hence were highly unlikely to be seen by the Japanese authorities, they contain no Christian formulae or any evidence hinting at the Christian faith.²⁹⁴ Although activities of Japanese Christians during the persecution phase are recorded in the factory sources, there is never any mention of the consorts taking part. Some E.I.C. ships also carried Christian paintings that were given to hosts but not to consorts according to the extant sources.²⁹⁵

Exactly how important it was to the merchants that partners were Christian is difficult to answer. The fact that Matinga, Femaja and Ō-man were apparently not Christians does not seem to have troubled the Hirado factors. As illustrated in chapter 5, household servants and employees bore a mixture of Japanese and Christian names with no obvious favouritism shown to either. The previously mentioned memorial inscription to the Dutch-Japanese scholar Pieter Hartsinck, who died in Europe, describes his Japanese mother as pagan, which indicates that faith was not a pressing concern to the Dutch factors.²⁹⁶ However, there are examples from elsewhere in the Indies that suggest that at least to some men faith was an important consideration. The privileges of Shah Abbas of Persia mention provisions for the offspring of liaisons. However, it was assumed that merchants would marry "any of those Christians in our country". This presumably referred to Armenians, other Eastern Christians and perhaps the mixed-race offspring of European merchants. The explicit reference to

²⁹¹ Names are used by Mulder as a justification that neither of the Japanese women married by Dutch *opperhoofd* Cornelis van Nijenroode were Christians, *Hollanders in Hirado*, p. 63.

²⁹² Described in ch. 8. It is impossible to draw firm conclusions about trends due to limited knowledge of names, which seem to be the most obvious indication of faith. For the theory that Christian names may have been abandoned there is a small clue in a reference to Hernardo Ximines' Japanese wife. She is described by Cocks as "Toraga allia[s]...", with the alternate name being left blank, *Diary*, vol. 3, p. 107. Blank spaces for the insertion of personal names are found throughout the diary. Perhaps the reference is to a missing Christian name, which had been dispensed with. Although there are earlier references to 'Toraga' in Cocks' diary stretching back to 1617, she may well be the 'Maria' linked to Ximines in 1614. For references to Toraga see, *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 19; vol. 3 (2 in the index), p. 82. Maria is mentioned as "Hernando's woman" in IOR: E/3/1 no. 130; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 130 and IOR: E/3/1 no. 133; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 136. The latter case may provide a precedent for name changing, although it is impossible to trace the movements of the original 'Maria' due to the prevalence of this baptismal name in the Hirado locality.

²⁹³ There are numerous examples: Miguel (*jurebasso*): *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 27, 45, 83, 86, 192; Domingo (boy), *Ibid.*, pp. 154, 165, 166, 219, 243; Paul (boy), *Ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 96, 149, 150, 187, 198, 207; Paul (gunpowder man), *Ibid.*, pp. 14, 26, 35, 37; Pedro (porter), *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 125, 130, 192, 205, 223, *inter alia*.

²⁹⁴ BL: Cart. Cotton III. 13. XXVI. 28, ff. 47-50, 53-54; Farrington, vol. 2, pp. 954-56.

²⁹⁵ See ch. 8.

²⁹⁶ Seiichi, "Pieter Hartsinck", pp. 148, 157. Neither of the two consorts of Cornelis van Nijenroode were Christian, Mulder, *Hollanders in Hirado*, p. 63.

Christianity suggests that the privileges did not legitimate liaisons with Muslim women.²⁹⁷ However, despite the aforementioned proscriptions, Indian factor Thomas Kerridge mentions an independent trader, John Midwal, who had two children by a local woman in Persia.²⁹⁸ The Mughal emperor Jahangir also took the trouble to find a Christian wife for William Hawkins during his unofficial embassy to India. In relation to Jahangir's proposal to have him marry a palace woman, Hawkins wrote: "In regard she was a Morre, I refused, but if so bee there could bee a Christian found, I would accept it".²⁹⁹ However, the extent to which such practices reflect the mores of local rulers rather than Company personnel is unclear. It is also apparent in Hawkins' own narrative that he didn't particularly want to marry and specified a co-religionist because he "little thought a Christians Daughter could bee found".³⁰⁰ Hence, his insistence on a Christian wife cannot be taken at face value.

Details of the Anglo-Japanese Relationships

To a certain extent Massarella is accurate in describing the relationships between Japanese consorts and British merchants as being beyond historical reconstruction.³⁰¹ The details in surviving documents are nowhere near as frequent or precise as social historians would like. That said, however, there is a fair amount of diverse evidence across the ten-year time span of the factory. Although there are no extensive personal comments on the consorts, it is clear that the factors enjoyed talking (and boasting) about their partners. A considerable amount of information can be gained by reading between the lines and analysing what is not said and much as what is mentioned.

As far as the actual status of the relationships is concerned, the historian has to rely more on guess work than clear statements. The common practice in the Malay world, Siam and Burma was for a temporary marriage contract which would expire at the merchant's departure.³⁰² In these areas it seems that women were relatively powerful both sexually and economically.³⁰³ As in Japan, very little premium was placed on virginity and there is some evidence from a wide geographical region that it was actually considered undesirable to have a virgin bride.³⁰⁴ Anthony Reid conjectures that this was part of a general Austronesian belief in the polluting properties of hymen blood. If true there would be a cogent parallel in Japan, where Shinto belief held menstrual blood to be similarly unclean. In the case of the Malay areas, Islam made divorce no more than the repetition of a set formula by the male.³⁰⁵ However, the older indigenous traditions also allowed females to initiate divorce with relative ease; a facet which was contrary to orthodox Islam. Both European and Asian observers of

²⁹⁷ *Letters Received*, vol. 6, p. 297. This was also the case with the Levant factors. To instigate a relationship with a Muslim was a capital offence. Restrictions were later broadened to all subjects of the Ottoman Empire, Wood, *Levant Company*, pp. 244-45.

²⁹⁸ *Letters Received*, vol. 2, p. 105.

²⁹⁹ *Pilgrimes*, vol. 3, pp. 15-16.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

³⁰¹ Derek Massarella, "William Adams", p. 4. The relationships are briefly discussed in *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5, 9-10.

³⁰² Hall, *English Intercourse with Burma*, p. 100; Reid, "Introduction", p. 26; Reid, *Southeast Asia*, vol. 1, p. 156.

³⁰³ *Ibid.*, pp. 151-55, 165-66.

³⁰⁴ The Iberian Church complained that virginity was unattractive from Peru to Japan, Boxer, *Race Relations*, p. 108.

³⁰⁵ Caron states that in Japan all but nobles could dismiss their wives as long as it was concluded in a civil and honourable manner, Boxer (ed.), *True Description*, p. 48.

the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries commented that it was common to find women in their early twenties who were into their fifth marriage.³⁰⁶ It was such a sexually open and permissive climate which sanctioned the practice of temporary marriage for financial gain. In fact, it is clear that at least up to the early seventeenth century such transient marriages were far more common than 'orthodox' prostitution.³⁰⁷

Although the British without a doubt secured partners for themselves who were expected to remain with them for the duration of their contract, that is where the similarities with South East Asia end. Unlike the partners of Adams and the other survivors of *de Leifde*, the factors never describe their consorts as 'wives'.³⁰⁸ In South East Asia, despite the convenience and superficiality of contractual relationships, commentators often remarked that the women expected the merchant to remain faithful.³⁰⁹ Unspecified dire consequences could result if he betrayed her. In the sole example of such a relationship which D.E.G. Hall was able to find for Burma, he relates the fears of a man who wished to bring his Indian 'wife' to Pegu. The official records note that he was unable to do so because he feared that his Burmese 'wife' would poison her rival. Carletti relates similar stories of mistresses in India poisoning lovers that they believed to be unfaithful. He also comments on their own extreme fidelity.³¹⁰ The relationships in Japan appear to have been far looser, at least on the male side. Of course, this also corresponds with what is known of attitudes to infidelity in Jacobean England.³¹¹ In the case of Cocks' woman, Matinga, the relationship also appears to have been loose on her part.³¹² The factors give little indication that they felt jealousies or practised commitment in the marital sense.³¹³ There is, however, a reference to two non-extant letters in which Wickham in Kyōto accused Cocks of misusing Ō-man, a claim expressly denied.³¹⁴ The factors felt quite free and guiltless in their attending of *kabuki* parties. Wickham was so little concerned about possible jealousy that he brought his two consorts to live together with him in Ōsaka.³¹⁵ Yet on the other hand, Hernando Ximines' woman, Toraga, maintained

³⁰⁶ Reid, *Southeast Asia*, vol. 1, p. 154-55.

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 156.

³⁰⁸ Unlike older historians such as Paske-Smith, *Western Barbarians*, *passim*. The subject of relationships and marriage is discussed in Massarella, "William Adams", pp. 4-5, 9-10, in which he attempts to reconcile Adam's behaviour with Jacobean practices.

³⁰⁹ Reid, *Southeast Asia*, vol. 1, p. 155.

³¹⁰ Weinstock (ed.), *My Voyage*, p. 209. In the New World Iberian mistresses were expected to be as faithful as a wife yet the husbands were generally unchaste, Boxer, *Race Relations*, pp. 109-10.

³¹¹ Allegations of some form of sexual deviance –whore, jade, quean- were the most common insults against women yet had no male equivalents. Numerous cases of slander brought to the church courts reveal that men's infidelity could be openly and blamelessly discussed whilst the onus was laid on the woman with whom they had slept. Wives did not feel that they were harming their husband by calling another woman, "my husband's whore", Gowing, *Domestic Dangers*, p. 1.

³¹² *Diary*, vol. 3, pp. 61-62. Eaton also informed Wickham of Coppendale's report that Femaja, "hath used mirth w'th meritrix", IOR: E/3/3 no. 331; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 364. The phrase meant that she had played the whore. However, Eaton later clarified the report as untrue, IOR: E/3/3 no. 332; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 366.

³¹³ Not so the Dutch. Their native "Comprador (or cats buyer)" (?) was dismissed "for a lecherous knave", because being a married man, he had relations with Jacob Swagger's woman, *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 32. Cocks seems to be genuinely indignant in reporting the adultery. "Knave" is used three times. See also *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 184.

³¹⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 216. Although one would expect a sexual allusion here the detail are not entirely clear.

³¹⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 251.

their relationship over several years whilst the Spaniard was in Bantam. It is not clear when the relationship started, but Toraga sent two letters to Bantam in January 1617. The couple were eventually married in June 1621.³¹⁶

There were further important differences from the relationships found in Southeast Asia. Although the factors entered into contractual relationships which were not meant to be broken, it is clear that the women did not act like servants nor were they treated as such. Despite expectations of and insistences upon commitment in both South East Asia and India, sources often note that the women were not only bedfellows to merchants. Whilst acting as the wife at night they would play the role of maidservant in the day. The women would cook and clean for their 'husband' as well as acting as translator and local commercial broker.³¹⁷ There was also a parallel in the Portuguese practice in São Tome of hiring a *lavadeira* (washerwoman). She would look after the house and act as a mistress.³¹⁸ There was little precedent for such behaviour in Japan and the factors' partners were clearly kept women who contributed little outside of the bedroom. Despite some comments referring to gifts and consorts' expenses, the relationships were intensely private affairs. There is no evidence that the women were ever invited to the banquets held for the Matsuura, the Dutch or the local Chinese. They also took no part in Christmas or Easter celebrations. In fact, Cocks reports that he sent Matinga a barrel of wine on Easter Sunday, 1618, clearly indicating that she was not present at the banquet to which Li Tan and 10 neighbours were invited.³¹⁹

The correct terminology with which to describe the women is unclear. Some earlier historians favoured 'geisha' but this is a vulgar anachronism, as true *geisha* did not make their appearance in Japan until at least a century after the closure of the factory.³²⁰ The relationships were anyway of a more exclusive and permanent nature than those associated with a hired hostess. The term 'concubine' also seems incorrect, as it is associated with alternatives to a legal wife, a distortion of the situation in Japan where all factory members were unmarried. Concubines also generally lived with their partner, as did the temporary brides of Southeast Asia. By contrast, none of the Japanese women made their home in the factory complex; rather they expected to be provided with separate accommodation. I have favoured the term 'consorts' as being neutral in implication, although it is not a term that contemporaries would have

³¹⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 20; vol. 3, p. 107. Nothing is known of what from the marriage took but as both partners were Catholic, the most obvious conclusion is that they were married by an underground priest. For more details on the relationship see p. 31. A 'Tora' also sent a non-extant letter to Cocks in January 1624, following the closure of the factory, BL: Cart. Cotton III. 13. XXVI. 28, f. 48; Farrington, vol. 2, p. 956.

³¹⁷ Anthony Reid, "Introduction", p. 26; Reid, *Southeast Asia*, vol. 1, p. 153. The economic prominence of women in the region was often remarked upon by both Europeans and Asians. A probable reason is that in the absence of professional armies, all adult males were expected to take up arms whenever necessary. The relatively low casualty rates in Southeast Asia also did little to hamper the propensity for conflict. Key attributes for women were thriftiness and a business mind.

³¹⁸ Boxer, *Mary and Misogyny*, pp. 19-20. Boxer stresses that this was not casual prostitution, which was persecuted in the Portuguese realms. On the equation between domestic service, sex and language transferral amongst native women see Francis Karttunen, *Between Worlds: Interpreters, Guides and Survivors* (New Brunswick, 1994), p. 250.

³¹⁹ *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 276.

³²⁰ Montague Paske-Smith, *A Glimpse of the 'English house' and English Life at Hirado, 1613-1623* (Kobe, 1927), p. 25; David Harris Wilson (ed.), *A Royal Request for Trade: A Letter of King James I to the Emperor of Japan in its Historical Setting* (no date or place of publication), p. 20.

chosen. 'Consorts' are frequently mentioned as both male and female companions of varying intimacy.³²¹ With reference to the sources themselves, there does not appear to have been a particular favoured term with which the factors described their partners. Jocular phrases could be brought into play, such as "language tutor".³²² Elsewhere the women were simply referred to by name, as everyone was familiar with the girls.

The consorts did not cohabit with either lover or parent (presumably). Hence they were outside the hierarchy of household and concomitant patriarchal authority. In this period, the household unit was a model of order that mirrored the state in the subjection of families to father and subjects to monarch.³²³ It is not clear how factors felt about this dilution of their male authority. Historians have stressed the importance of gender roles to maintaining order and harmony in early modern communities. Transgressors of order on both sides, but mainly women, could be informally ostracised or formally punished through the courts. Disorderly behaviour might, for example, be cross-dressing as discussed earlier, inappropriate sexual behaviour in women or a husband who allowed his wife to beat or cuckold him. However, it should be stressed that non-cohabitative concubinage was common amongst the wealthy in Japan. As we have examined, consortship of various lengths with visiting Europeans did not hamper a girl's marriageability. Hence there was no social pressure to conform to a familiar patriarchal pattern. Conformity in sexual and marital fields was enforced in early modern England by gossip and the courts. As living in loose, extra-marital relationships was no problem in Japan and openly practised, factors did not have to worry about their personal honour being insulted by charges against the women. Of course, although the factors exchanged presents, found employment and bought produce from their neighbours, it is not likely that the merchants were considered to be part of the community. They were clearly a transitory trading presence who lived in a walled and gated complex. As shown in chapter 5, it was Li Tan who tended to arrange the communal obligations that would otherwise have fallen on the factory. However, there is the interesting case of the Company boy Richard Hudson, as discussed in chapter 4 and appendix 2. As part of Cocks' project to have him learn to read and write Japanese, he was sent up to the Kyōto factory with Wickham. However, he appears to have had separate accommodation, where he was treated as part of the *gonin-gumi* ward system, used for civil and criminal duties.³²⁴

Moving into cloudier water, it is difficult to judge the depth of these particular relationships. It is in such areas that Massarella's statement about the impossibility of reconstructing sexual interaction holds particularly true. The fact that Wickham brought up two consorts to stay with him hints at a purely sexual rather than emotional relationship.³²⁵ However, it certainly seems that the factors were fond of their consorts, although the many gifts which they sent to them were customary

³²¹ *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 49, 50; vol. 2, pp. 7, 52, 243; vol. 3, p. 30; *Letters Received*, vol. 1, p. 265; vol. 5, p. 30.

³²² IOR: G/12/15, p. 6; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 163 and IOR: G/12/15, p.6; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 164.

³²³ Susan Dwyer Amussen, *An Ordered Society: Gender and Class in Early Modern England* (New York, 1988), pp. 64-65; Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society*, p. 87. However, Shoemaker points out that unattached females were not alone in being viewed suspiciously. Men who were not members of the family unit were viewed in a similar way, *Ibid.*, p. 88.

³²⁴ IOR: G/12/15, p. 51; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 505. On the *gonin-gumi* system see ch. 7.

³²⁵ IOR: G/12/15, p. 33; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 407.

perquisites.³²⁶ Wickham wrote to Hirado inquiring after the health of Femaja when he heard that she was ill.³²⁷ The couples also kept up a correspondence when apart. Eaton in Sakai mentions being informed of junk movements in Hirado by “my woman”.³²⁸ The women, of course, had not chosen the men but had been purchased, in some cases through their parents’ negotiations. However, the survival of a small number of Japanese letters from such consorts indicates that a warmth of feeling was shown towards their partners. Haya, Osterwick’s woman, addressed him as “Jiwan sama” (John) and described her sadness at his departure. She also wished that she could have seen him one more time before he left.³²⁹ Kamezō, Eaton’s consort in Hirado, noted that she was relying more on Cocks than her own father for her son’s welfare.³³⁰ However, the factors were clearly untroubled by their own dalliances at *kabuki* parties and seem to have made no attempt to shield such encounters from their consorts. Cocks, at least, seems to have continued some form of relationships with an Ōsaka *kabuki* girl named Taganō, as described in the preceding section.

Children Born of Anglo-Japanese Relationships

Cocks was alone of the original members of the factory not to father at least one child in Hirado.³³¹ He enjoyed a relationship with Matinga over a number of years and his lack of issue may have been due to his advanced years, although this was evidently no problem to the similarly aged Jorge Durois.³³² The various factors generally did not mention their children in their correspondence and most of the information on them has to be drawn, like so many other facets, from Cocks’ diary.³³³ This lack of mention seems quite unusual because Cocks, at least, took an interest in his servants’ children. Their births are recorded and Cocks bestowed presents and clothes on them and was sometimes invited to name them.³³⁴ Although the fathers brought back gifts for their children and made some provisions for their education it does not seem that they took a particular interest in their offspring.³³⁵ Indeed, most of the provisions for children and their mothers were paid by Cocks. For instance Cocks paid one *tael* to the woman and child of a mariner Abraham Smart, even though Smart remained in Japan for

³²⁶ There are numerous references: IOR; G/12/15, p. 23; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 323 (includes a present for Femaja’s mother), IOR: E/3/3 no. 321; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 359, IOR: G/12/15, p. 3; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 407.

³²⁷ IOR: G/12/15, p. 23; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 323.

³²⁸ IOR: E/3/3 no. 332; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 366.

³²⁹ BL: Cart. Cotton III. 13. XXVI. 28, ff. 53-54; Farrington, vol. 2, p. 954.

³³⁰ BL: Cart. Cotton III. 13. XXVI. 28, ff. 47-48; Farrington, vol. 2, p. 956. There must have once been more letters as the latter mentions correspondence from Kamezō’s mother and ‘Tora’ – probably Ximines’ woman Toraga.

³³¹ Despite having studied Cocks’ diary and noting it as a, “never failing source of information and entertainment”, C. R. Boxer mistakenly writes that Cocks had several children by Japanese women, *True Description*, pp. xxvi-xxvii. The Anglo-Japanese children are discussed in Massarella, *World Elsewhere*, pp. 233-34 and Paske-Smith, *A Glimpse*, p. 38.

³³² IOR: E/3/2 no. 143; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 156 and IOR: G/12/15, p. 12; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 191.

³³³ There is also confusion in phrases such as “Mr Eaton’s boy” as to whether a son is meant or a boy servant.

³³⁴ *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 91 (birth). Saris also gave cloth to Melchior van Santvoort’s child, *Voyage*, p. 103.

John Gorezano’s daughter was named ‘Elizabeth’, a Christian name also bestowed by Cocks on Li Tan’s daughter, *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 118; vol. 2, p. 414.

³³⁵ Gifts were often sent by factors to each other’s children: *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 403, 414; vol. 3, p. 39. The mariner Thomas Harod also divided 100 *rials* of eight between Sayers and his daughter Joan in his will, *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 184.

several years after the birth of his child.³³⁶ There are other notices of abandoned children amongst mariners. Whilst on the court journey of 1616, Cocks noted “I gave an Englishmans child called Tho. Flood, a *tay* in *tagemon* plate”.³³⁷ Flood does not appear elsewhere either in the diary or letters. It can only be presumed that he was a sailor who arrived either on the *Clove* or the *Hozlander*.³³⁸ The lack of reference highlights his lowly status.

The merchants’ offspring were probably seen as little more than the inevitable consequences of sex. There are a few partial exceptions, such as Cocks writing to inform a departed officer of the birth of his son or writing to Sayers and Osterwick with the words “Comend me to all our she frendes, namely to the new mother, & tell her I wich her much joy of her yong doughter”.³³⁹ Without exception the children were brought up by the mother and hence did not live in the factory complex.³⁴⁰ Although they were presumably bilingual there is little indication that they were given anything of a European upbringing. The children were raised as Japanese rather than Anglo-Japanese. Many references to gifts of clothing illustrate that they were dressed in typical Japanese attire.³⁴¹ A key exception to this trend is their English names (see the above table). Adams had also bestowed the names of ‘Joseph’ and ‘Susana’ on his children and Dutch offspring were accorded Dutch names.³⁴² This aspect, although incongruous with the otherwise wholly Japanese upbringing of the children, may have its roots in British and Dutch Christian belief.

The raising of mixed-race children by the mother in the culture of the host country is entirely typical of the period. Where there was no strong colonial presence, European/non-European children formed a bridge between merchants/soldiers and the natives. In the Portuguese and Dutch-controlled Indies, mixed-race offspring had more to do with native female slaves than their own parents and would rarely feel attached to a white European identity.³⁴³ Similarly, Inga Clendinnen has shown that children sired by Spanish soldiers and colonists in the Yucatan would have spoken Maya as their first language, through their almost exclusive contact with Indians.³⁴⁴ The only well-documented exception to this trend was in the Portuguese colony of São Tome. Early sixteenth century observers noted the accepted practice of marriage between Portuguese and a West African slave population. However, the women raised their children in the Portuguese way of life in terms of customs and dress.³⁴⁵

³³⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 111. No doubt Smart also faced financial constraints from supporting his family. The incident is not noted in the index of the *Diary*.

³³⁷ *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 311.

³³⁸ He is not included in any of Farrington’s crew lists in vol. 2, pp. 1581-1583 of his collection.

³³⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 174; BL: Cart. Cotton III. 13. XXVI. 28, f. 34; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 727.

³⁴⁰ There is also reference to William Eaton junior having a nurse, for whom Cocks paid for the lining of her *kimono*, *Diary*, vol. 3, p. 45.

³⁴¹ Kimonos are often mentioned: IOR: G/12/15, p. 33; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 412; *Diary*, vol. 2, pp. 25, 414; vol. 3, pp. 39, 45. Cocks gave Eaton’s daughter Helena a present of kimonos, *obi* (belt), *tabi* (socks) and straw sandals, *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 402. Eaton’s son, William, was given a girdle, sandals, *tabis* and *fan*, *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 413.

³⁴² Blussé, “Butterfly”, p. 187. The Goan Portuguese Jorge Durois named his son ‘Jonico’, *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 259.

³⁴³ Boxer, *Race Relations*, pp. 78-79. In Batavia they grew up in designated ethnic quarters, Taylor, *Social World*, pp. 8, 17.

³⁴⁴ Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquests*, pp. 43-44.

³⁴⁵ Boxer, *Mary and Misogyny*, p. 17; Boxer, *Race Relations*, p. 15.

Throughout the early modern period the care and raising of babies and children was believed to be the wife's responsibility. Maternal dominance in childcare was seen as absolutely natural, almost to the exclusion of a male role. Throughout the period, thinkers reasoned that the supposedly natural gifts of men and women fitted each sex to particular occupations. The world of work became increasingly gendered towards the nineteenth century, as female occupation in heavy agricultural labour became replaced by service industries, hawking, domestic service, and, as literacy improved, teaching.³⁴⁶ Men's work occupied the public sphere, whilst married women often worked from home, in laundry, growing fruit or vegetables, raising poultry or brewing ale.³⁴⁷ However, the household division of labour between the sexes overlapped far more in actuality than conduct books advised.³⁴⁸

Scholars now recognise that fathers played an important peripheral role in child rearing in early modern England. The division of household labour was less gendered in the early seventeenth century than it was to become in the following 200 years. Although childbirth and infancy were essentially female domains, fathers had a more important role after the age of about seven, particularly in the case of boys.³⁴⁹ Fathers had the primary role in disciplining children and were supposed to lead family prayers. It is also clear from private documents that they played with their children, read with them and took them on outings.³⁵⁰ It seems clear from what is known that fathers only took a more prominent role in children's upbringing as they grew into adolescence. It was at this stage that fathers began to consider the choice of schooling, apprenticeships, careers and marriage partners. They also took a role in teaching what would now be called 'life skills' such as handling money and various outdoor activities. Dependent on wealth and social class, fathers would also help their children to prepare for school lessons, such as assisting with their Latin. Fathers were also the main conduits through which children secured employment.³⁵¹ It was only in the nineteenth century that child-rearing manuals were aimed exclusively at mothers rather than both parents. Despite recent scholarship's findings that fathers took a greater role in family life than has previously been accounted for, we cannot realistically apply these findings to the situation in Hirado. Aside from the fact that early modern studies of England deal with genuine cohabiting families and not man and lover, the E.I.C. merchants all left Japan before their children reached the age when it is believed that early modern fathers became more involved in their upbringing. Hence, the example of the Hirado factory doesn't really provide food for thought on the parenting debate. We also have insufficient evidence to contribute to the debate on childhood shaping of gender roles. Historians have drawn attention to the provision of different male and female toys, the division of chores, the male ritual of 'breeching' and the deliberate fostering of different gender personality traits.³⁵²

³⁴⁶ See Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society*, pp. 145-208 for the general discussion and particularly pp. 113-122 for the work patterns of spouses.

³⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 13. It should be noted that these were occupations typically followed by lower class women. Paid employment was less likely the higher up the social scale.

³⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 117.

³⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 123; Anthony Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination*, p. 184.

³⁵⁰ Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society*, p. 124.

³⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 124-26.

³⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 129-35; Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos, *Adolescence and Youth in Early Modern England* (New Haven and London, 1994), p. 42. 'Breeching' involved the ceremonial exchange of childhood (and female) petticoats for breeches; a ceremony that constituted the first step towards adulthood.

It is not known whether the Anglo-Japanese children were baptised. It is highly likely that at least Adams' children received the sacrament, as his 'wife' was Catholic and the children were born prior to the banning of Christianity. It is unclear what course was followed by the British or for that matter the Dutch. Underground priests were available and the British were directly warned by the authorities not to have their children baptised by such figures.³⁵³ However, whether they would have consented to a Catholic ceremony in lieu of any alternative seems unlikely. That said, baptism was presumably important to contemporary Christians and such a ceremony would explain the English names borne by children. As argued in chapter 8, there were very few opportunities to utilise Protestant ministers. There is a precedent for a baptism performed by Arthur Hatch, preacher of the *Palsgrave*, but Cocks' diary mentions nothing of the actual merchants' offspring.³⁵⁴ The gaps in the diary during Hatch's stay in Japan render any further analysis impossible.

In general the childbirth pattern in the English factory matched what is known of the Dutch factory very closely.³⁵⁵ However, an important distinction is the fact that prior to the 1638 act prohibiting Japanese from travelling abroad, a number of Dutchmen left Japan with their consorts and children.³⁵⁶ François Caron even secured a special dispensation to perform the same even after the act had been passed. By contrast it was only William Eaton Jnr who left Japan with the closure of the factory and even this appears to have been an afterthought as he did not leave with his father but was carried to Batavia on a Dutch ship.³⁵⁷ There is no indication in the Court Minutes that Eaton had anything to do with the boy in England. Unfortunately, very little personal information survives from the closing years of the factory due to the drying up of interpersonal letters and the loss of Cocks' diary.³⁵⁸ However, none of the other factors appeared desirous to bring their consorts or even children back home.³⁵⁹ Even in the case of Eaton it was only the child who was sent and not the mother. Hence, the sentimental gloss placed by Milton on the leaving of the children in Hirado is inappropriate.³⁶⁰ As has been shown, there is little indication that the factors had extensive dealings with them prior to departure. This very much suggests that the factors were not interested in family life at that stage of their lives. Alternately they wished to leave behind any baggage accumulated in the Indies. On the other hand, the

³⁵³ *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 303; IOR: E/3/4 no. 394; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 482. For relations with missionaries and the effects of prohibition on the factory see ch. 8.

³⁵⁴ This involved Henry Smith, purser of the *James Royal*. Although Smith had long left Japan, Hatch appears to have had no problem performing the ceremony. The baby was given its father's name. Visiting cape-merchant Joseph Cockram and Eaton acted as godfathers whilst Sayer's woman Maria was the godmother, *Diary*, vol. 3, p. 124.

³⁵⁵ Many of the *de Liefde* survivors also had children: Adams, Melchior van Santvoort and Gilbert de Cunning, *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 216, 291, 311, 314 and *passim* (Adams' children); *Voyage*, p. 103 (Santvoort); IOR: G/12/15, p. 13; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 192 (de Cunning).

³⁵⁶ These included Elbert Wouterson, who had three children, Massarella, *World Elsewhere*, p. 234.

³⁵⁷ See the biographical note in Farrington, vol. 2, p. 1555 and Massarella, *World Elsewhere*, p. 321. The boy was the son of Kamezō, a Hirado consort who is not mentioned elsewhere. He was carried back to England and became the first Japanese to attend a British university when he joined Trinity College Cambridge in the late 1630s. It would be fascinating to follow his career but there is virtually no information on him as he does not appear in the college records. The relevant information can be found in PRO: SP 16/4/74, f. 38; SO/3/12, f. 18; C/66/2825, *Ibid.*, p. 422n; Farrington, "Some other Englishmen", p. 6. Sayer's woman, Maria, and their daughter Joan were recorded in Dutch sources as having arrived in Batavia 1639 after being expelled, Mulder, *Hollanders*, pp. 258-59.

³⁵⁸ See appendix 1 for the dating of the diary.

³⁵⁹ However, by 1623 Nealson, Wickham and other non-mercantile staff were dead.

³⁶⁰ Milton, *Samurai William*, pp. 367-68.

evidence of the few surviving letters from the Japanese consorts indicates that the women also understood the transient nature of their relationships with the merchants. Although the letters touchingly express how they will miss the men, there is no pining to be with them in Batavia or England.³⁶¹ 'Haya's letter, written before the factory closed, concludes "I feel very unhappy to hear that you are going home" but does not ask if she could accompany Osterwick.³⁶² Of course, this does not all mean that the merchants did not enjoy genuine, meaningful relationships but it must be remembered that they did not cohabit with their consorts or children.

Conclusion

Without doubt, extended relations with local consorts helped to integrate the merchants into the Japanese lifestyle. As examined in chapter 5 there was certainly no complete cultural adaptation to a Japanese way of life. However, this thesis proposes that accommodation with local practices was greater than has previously been recognised by historians who have seen the encounter as an earlier version of Victorian imperialism. The role of women as bridges into new cultural worlds has been highlighted by a number of historians. William Corr observes that in overseas possessions it was the arrival of European women in large numbers that signified the practical application of theories of European superiority amongst European colonists. This was caused by a distancing of Europeans from a native populace with whom they had previously worked in close co-operation.³⁶³ Directly in the case of Japan, Leonard Blussé has argued that the Dutch chief Jacques Specx gained important insights into the Japanese psyche both through knowledge of the language and through his local consorts.³⁶⁴ These insights evidently had practical implications in the eyes of the Hirado populace. The regional lord Matsuura Takanobu strongly advised the Dutch authorities not to replace Specx as chief and to let him make the court journey of 1621. He reasoned that the combined English-Dutch party needed someone "that knew the orders of Japan".³⁶⁵ Although Wickham was no doubt writing euphemistically by referring to the consorts as "language tutors", this description probably holds some truth.³⁶⁶ There are obvious parallels in the *bibi* or mistress/wife of Company factors in India. In the eighteenth century they were often referred to as sleeping dictionaries and regarded as an enjoyable way of learning the local language.³⁶⁷ The question of the factors' competence in Japanese is handled in detail in chapter 4. However, it should be considered that their consorts, probably being monolingual, were an added incentive for the factors to learn Japanese.

In the later years of the factory there is little sense that the merchants were embarrassed or ashamed of their activities. After all, none of the men were married.³⁶⁸ Japan clearly was something of a sexual utopia for the E.I.C. men. There were no strict prohibitions on moral behaviour or supervision from Bantam or London. Of

³⁶¹ BL: Cart. Cotton III. 13. XXVI. 28, ff. 47-50, 53-54, 63; Farrington, vol. 2, pp. 954-57.

³⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 954.

³⁶³ Corr, *Adams the Pilot*, p. 147.

³⁶⁴ Blussé, "From inclusion to exclusion", p. 28.

³⁶⁵ *Diary*, vol. 3, p. 153.

³⁶⁶ IOR: G/12/15, p. 6; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 163 and IOR: G/12/15, p. 6; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 164.

³⁶⁷ Wild, *The East India Company*, p. 105.

³⁶⁸ See Massarella, "The early career" pp. for Cocks failed attempts to find a partner.

course unruly sexuality also took place in Stuart Britain but it was clandestine and constantly threatened by humiliating revelation and slander.³⁶⁹ One of the advantages that this study can offer over earlier treatments is the availability of Wickham's letter book and the complete version of Cocks' diary, both of which yield much information about the sex lives of the factors. At least after an initial period in Hirado most sexual relations were open and it is difficult not to detect a sense of liberation in the factory sources.³⁷⁰ For instance, Cocks reported a story of Nealson discovering a phallus at an altar and bringing it back to the factory. It was an experience that he could relate to his observations in Bayonne.³⁷¹ There are many jocular references to sex in letters. Cocks congratulated the elderly Jorge Durois on his fatherhood with "well fall (or fare) an ould knocker".³⁷² The joke was continued by Wickham in his reply "The news you write me of S'r George Droyt makes me half out of conceyt with myself, but you ould chipps are most dangerous fuell standing neere such tinder boxes, etc".³⁷³ He also concluded a letter to Sayers by hoping "Commend me to the little vixen & the rest of the same crue and fabricke".³⁷⁴ Letters were often ended with comments such as "Comend me to all our frendes, both hees & howes" or "Comend me to all our shee frendes".³⁷⁵ Of course, such an attitude agrees with the comments made by mariner Christopher Evans that "he would haue a woman yf he could get hir", as noted earlier in this chapter.³⁷⁶ It also corresponds to the ribald advice attributed to John Jourdain, that there was pleasure in variety.³⁷⁷ However, the Hirado sources provide a fresh angle in that they were directly written by men involved in sexual relationships. Much of the comparative material from the other E.I.C. factories consists of damaging accusations and 'negative' reporting, where there is no question that the activities were regarded as sinful. By contrast, it appears the Hirado employees were liberated from the moral constraint of authorities and described most activities with a remarkable candour. That being said, although in Massarella's words the factors were "unbound" in Japan, it must be stressed that they continued to enforce certain behaviour on their employees.³⁷⁸ Adultery amongst their Japanese servants was harshly condemned, as were generally 'lewd' practices such as whoring.³⁷⁹

³⁶⁹ See, for instance, G. R. Quaipe, *Wanton Wenches and Wayward Wives: Peasants and Illegal Sex in Early Seventeenth Century England* (London, 1979); Ingram, *Church Courts, Sex and Marriage*.

³⁷⁰ Particularly so in Nealson's 'satirical' letter to Wickham of February 1614, which is full of rhymes, riddles and allusions of a sexual nature, IOR: E/3/2 no. 155A; Farrington, vol. 1, pp. 131-33. Nealson closes the letter with, "I say no more, affaires call me away, / My mare in the stable for provender doth stay", *Ibid.*, p. 132. William Foster singles this letter out as an "extraordinary document" and indicative of the special intimate material found in the Hirado factory. However, he doesn't attempt to interpret the references in the letter, *Letters Received*, vol. 2, p. xxiii.

³⁷¹ *Diary*, vol. 2, pp. 34-35. This was one of the sexual comments trimmed from the Victorian editions of the diary.

³⁷² IOR: E/3/2 no. 143; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 156.

³⁷³ IOR: G/12/15, p. 12; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 191.

³⁷⁴ IOR: G/12/15, p. 22; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 322.

³⁷⁵ BL: Cart. Cotton III. 13. XXVI. 28, ff. 16, 34; Farrington, vol. 1, pp. 628, 727.

³⁷⁶ *Voyage*, pp. 119-20.

³⁷⁷ *Letters Received*, vol. 2, p. 55.

³⁷⁸ Massarella, "William Adams", p. 4.

³⁷⁹ See, for instance, *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 32. Indeed, despite harsh penalties in Japan, adultery seems to have been common. The British *jurebasso* John Gorezano, "put away his wife this day for trix", *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 41. See also *Ibid.*, pp. 55, 57, 62.

There is every indication that the factors did not consider the different race of their consorts to be important and the subject is never mentioned in the sources. Perhaps this should not be unexpected. Carletti often noted the various skin tones and physical characteristics of women around the world. Although he assumed that a canon of beauty would hold a white European at the pinnacle, he obviously found many races attractive.³⁸⁰ In addition to noting that the Portuguese frequently had relations with West African women, Carletti voices his own comments: "And in this I confess to being deceived also, because some of them seemed to me very beautiful, and that black covering did not annoy me at all".³⁸¹ The crew of the *Clove* also encountered mixed marriages amongst the Dutch on their way between Bantam and Japan. There was also of course the case of the survivors of *de Liefde*. We have no physical descriptions of any of the prostitutes or consorts, apart from the general details sketched in the *Pilgrimes* version of Saris' journal.³⁸² It seems sensible to conclude that race and different physiognomy were did not trouble either the factors or their E.I.C. employees. That said, however, the factors were not anachronistically respectful towards the rights of women and thought little of exploiting the poverty that forced women into prostitution. Although they noted on several occasions the slave-like conditions of *kabuki* girls, the merchants clearly felt no remorse at employing them. Similarly Cocks saw nothing wrong with purchasing a 12-year-old girl from her parents, nor did Eaton in selling his partner to Wickham.

³⁸⁰ Weinstock (ed.), *My Voyage*, pp. 9, 205-16.

³⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

³⁸² For details of physical descriptions of the Japanese see ch. 2.

Chapter 7- Law and Order

Introduction

The Japan which the E.I.C. servants entered in 1613 was without doubt a civilised and well-governed country. Most European commentators of the time admired the highly ordered and restrained nature of the populace.¹ In his early letters Adams wrote that the people were “governed in great civility, I mean not a land better governed in the worlde by civil pollecy”.² Again, he wrote of “the peopell very subjectes to ther governors or superiors”.³ The Renaissance traveller Giovanni Botero concluded that “Japan may well be called a politicke bodie”.⁴ The Dutch *opperhoofd* François Caron commented that systems of checkpoints and night watchmen ensured that, “they never have any tumults in their streets, robberies, murthers, house-breakings or any such unwarantable disorders”.⁵ Observers were also almost unanimous in attributing the *status quo* to the severe application of justice operational in the country. Although the rigorously organised society appealed to many European reporters, as we shall see, opinion seems to have been divided as to whether such harsh legislation was ultimately desirable.

It should be noted that very few Europeans in Japan were directly involved in the criminal justice process, the exceptions of course being during the years of the Christian persecution.⁶ Comments in both printed and private sources were usually based on either peripheral observation of the society around them or else on the reports of others. By contrast the personnel of the English factory in Hirado had several direct dealings with the Japanese legal system, involving both their native employees and themselves.⁷ William Eaton killed a man in a neighbouring fiefdom during a brawl and was subsequently imprisoned and feared for his life. It may therefore be argued that their accounts lose some of the objectivity to be found in neutral retrospective sources. However, this thesis does not intend to utilise the E.I.C.

¹ See Michael Cooper, *They Came to Japan: An Anthropology of European Reports on Japan, 1543-1640* (London, 1965), chps 3 and 9.

² IOR: E/3/1 no. 78; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 73.

³ IOR: E/3/1 no. 96; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 78. Linschoten also described *daimyō* as “absolutely Lords of the land”, in his *Itinerario*, translated by William Phillips as *John Hvighe van Linschoten his Discours of Voyages into the Easte and Weste Indies...* (London, 1598), First Book, p. 46.

⁴ Giovanni Botero, *The Travellers Breviat, or an historical description of the most famous kingdoms*, trans Robert Johnson (London, 1601), p. 198.

⁵ C. R. Boxer (ed.), *A True Description of the Mighty Kingdoms of Japan and Siam*, (London, 1935), p. 56. Of course Caron’s statement was hyperbolic. However, he paints a convincing picture of a stable, ordered society under the complete control of the authorities.

⁶ See ch. 7. Even in this instance the vast majority of victims were native Christians, although European priests were certainly involved. However, their reports of interrogation and execution represent an extreme reaction of the *bakufu* rather than the judicial norm. For examples of the atrocity genre see Anon, *A Briefe Relation of the Persecution lately made against the Catholike Christians, in the Kingdom of Iaponia*, trans. W. Wright (St Omer, 1619); Pedro Morejon, *The Theater of Iaponia’s Constancy...*, trans William Lee (St Omer, 1624); Various authors, *The Palme of Christian Fortitude: or the glorious combats of Christians in Iaponia*, trans Edmund Neville (Douai, 1630).

⁷ Even with this provision it is worth noting that a surprising number of references are not first-hand observations.

material for the production of narrative history but rather to examine the perceptions and underlying attitudes of British merchants in an alien cultural environment. The mercantile sources hence have the advantage of contextualisation and immediacy of rapport that is largely absent from many other European sources of the period.⁸ The merits of the E.I.C. material for the study of law and order have not been unacknowledged by historians. Michael Cooper notes that despite the eloquence of reporters such as the Jesuit Luis Frois, the low value of human life in Japan is conveyed far more vividly by the terse comments of Cocks.⁹ Using a pool of over 30 different European accounts, Cooper draws 13 of his 27 vignettes related to law from the Hirado sources.¹⁰

Perhaps more so than in any other area, the E.I.C. sources are particularly rich for the study of attitudes to law and order in early Tokugawa Japan. The application of justice receives frequent mention in both the annual letters to the Company and the ephemera of daily contact with Japanese society. The nature of recording hence reveals sweeping, overall impressions alongside the nuances of individual cases. Indeed the severity of Japanese justice stands out as one of the salient impressions in the Anglo-Japanese encounter as recorded in the E.I.C. archive. The very frequency of its appearance in contemporary sources indicates its impact on the British factors, whose opinions do not appear to have differed considerably from those of numerous other European commentators.¹¹ However, due to the frequency of references, this chapter does not attempt to handle every single mention of law and order issues. Rather, it has been chosen to provide representative portions under different thematic headings.

This chapter will examine perceptions of the Tokugawa legal approach alongside both the legal context of early modern England and more specifically of the E.I.C., within which the factory was located. As with many other themes explored in this thesis, there is virtually no established historiographical debate with which to engage. The study of law and order in early modern England has been well served over the years and continues to inspire fresh approaches.¹² However, the remaining aspects of the chapter have not received historiographical attention. The theory of Tokugawa legislature is represented by a rather bare list of articles in European languages.¹³

⁸ Boxer (ed.), *Brief Description*, pp. 36-41 gives a detailed synopsis of Japanese legal perspectives. However, it is a detached report, divorced from any spontaneity or personal perspective.

⁹ Michael Cooper, "Japan described" in Cooper (ed.), *The Southern Barbarians: The First Europeans in Japan* (Tokyo, 1971), p. 117.

¹⁰ Cooper, *They Came*, pp. 151-168.

¹¹ Cf. the sample of European opinion on law and order in Japan provided in Cooper (ed.), *They Came*, pp. 151-168.

¹² E.g. J. A. Sharpe, *Crime in Early Modern England, 1550-1750* (London, 1984); J. M. Beattie, *Crime and the Courts in England 1660-1800* (Princeton, 1986); Robert B. Shoemaker, *Prosecution and Punishment: Petty Crime and the Law in London and Rural Middlesex, c. 1660-1725* (Cambridge, 1991); John Briggs et al (eds), *Crime and Punishment in England: An Introductory History* (London, 1996) and J. M. Beattie, *Policing and Punishment in London, 1660-1750: Urban Crime and the Limits of Terror* (Oxford, 2001).

¹³ See for instance, John, C. Hall, "The Tokugawa Legislation, IV", *TASJ*, vol. XLI, part V (1913), pp. 683-804 and Dan Fenno Henderson, "The evolution of Tokugawa law", in John C. Hall and Marius B. Jansen, (eds), *Studies in the Institutional History of Early Modern Japan* (Princeton, 1968), pp. 203-229. Peter Kornicki's online bibliography, which is claimed to be comprehensive, provides only eight references under 'law', including the above articles, www.oriental.cam.ac.uk/jbib. However, the list is of little relevance to criminal law, concentrating instead on civil and commercial law. Two of the

Very little specific information can be found in major reference works for the period such as *The Cambridge History of Japan, Volume 4: The Early Modern Period* and Conrad Totman's, *Early Modern Japan*.¹⁴ Modern essay collections, which are otherwise definitive, also neglect the socio-legal aspect of early modern Japan.¹⁵ The core source-book in European languages is the material gathered under the editorship of John Henry Wigmore in *Law and Justice in Tokugawa Japan: Materials for the History of Japanese Law and Justice under the Tokugawa Shogunate, 1603-1867*.¹⁶ Assembled over 100 years by a team of Japanese and European scholars, the work unfortunately concerns only civil law. Criminal law is not touched upon.¹⁷

The factors' descriptions of Japanese justice, and in particular executions, have been related in narrative form in a number of works.¹⁸ However, they have never been analysed in terms of their revelations about attitudes towards Japanese law and order, what they reveal about self-image and many other themes conveyed by the accounts. There is a similar deficiency in cultural studies of perceptions of non-Europeans. Joan-Pau Rubiés includes strict justice as a component in his tables of the thematic contents of travel accounts but never discusses the descriptions in the body of his work.¹⁹ Massarella treats the issue mainly in terms of the conflict between Cocks' trading privileges and issues of Matsuura/Tokugawa sovereignty.²⁰ Rodrigues' monumental work also contains virtually nothing about Japanese law. There are brief descriptions of blade-testing on criminals and anecdotal comments. However, the nearest Rodrigues comes to venturing his own opinions is a description of the

articles deal with Tokugawa translations of foreign legal texts. The historiography also characteristically examines the question from an exclusively legal perspective, rather than considering social issues.

¹⁴ John Whitney Hall (ed.), *Cambridge History of Japan, Volume 4: The Early Modern Period* (Cambridge, 1991); Conrad Totman, *Early Modern Japan* (Berkeley and London, 1993). There are relevant brief comments in the encyclopaedic works of George B. Sansom, e.g. *Japan: A Short Cultural History* (Stanford, 1931; 1978), pp. 450-54, *A History of Japan, 1334-1615* (Stanford, 1961) and *A History of Japan, 1615-1867* (Stanford, 1963).

¹⁵ The following examples attempt to cover a wide range of subject matter, including economics, art, warfare, literature and entertainment: John Whitney Hall and Toyoda Takeshi (eds), *Japan in the Muromachi Age* (Los Angeles, 1977); John Whitney Hall et al (eds), *Japan Before Tokugawa* (Princeton, 1981); George Elison and B. L. Smith (eds), *Warlords, Artists and Commoners: Japan in the Sixteenth Century* (Honolulu, 1981); Kenneth A. Grosberg, *Japan's Renaissance: The Politics of the Muromachi Bakufu* (London, 1981).

¹⁶ Published in 10 parts (Tokyo, 1970-1986).

¹⁷ The first part (1970), however, contains a useful introduction to legal offices and the complexities of the Tokugawa court system.

¹⁸ E.g. Ludwig Riess, "History of the English factory at Hirado (1613-1622[sic])", *TASJ*, vol. XXVI (December, 1898), pp. 1-114, 162-218; Michael Cooper, "The second Englishman in Japan: the trails and travails of Richard Cocks, 1613-1624", *TASJ*, Third Series, vol. 17 (1982), pp. 121-159; William Corr, *Adams the Pilot: the Life and Times of Captain William Adams: 1564-1620* (London, 1995). The many hagiographies of Adams usually provide samples of the descriptions.

¹⁹ Joan-Pau Rubiés, *Travel and Ethnology in the Renaissance: South India through European Eyes* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 60, 216, 218.

²⁰ The 1613 privileges are found in IOR: E/3/1 no. 115; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 9. 89-90. The Japanese version is held in the Bodleian Library: Ms Jap. b.2; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 88. The 1616 revised version is IOR: E/3/4 no. 379A; Farrington, vol. 1, pp. 508-09. The Japanese version given to the British has not survived but copies are held in Japanese collections. A translation is provided in Murakami Naojiro 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), pp. 114-15. Murakami's translation is reprinted in Farrington, vol. 1, p. 507. For a discussion of the confused history of the privileges see, Derek Massarella and Izumi K. Tytler, "The Japonian Charters: the English and Dutch *shuinjō*", *MN*, 45:2 (1990), pp. 189-205.

philosophy of justice in Japan: “rewarding the good people with honours, favours and offices in the nation, and punishing the wicked and rebellious with penalties, exile, and when it is deserved, death”.²¹

As previously noted, the studies of all aspects of early modern British and European crime are legion. However, there is virtually nothing available concerning the legal attitudes and procedures of the early E.I.C.. Despite its promising title, C. H. Alexandrowicz’s study is Euro-centric in the extreme and concentrates upon the legal problems facing inter-European disputes in the East Indies.²² The focus is upon international relations rather than the administration of justice on a personal level. The judicial aspects of the running of East Indian factories are neglected in both traditional and modern studies of the Company.²³ A major reason for the lacuna may be the fact that in these works the very earliest years of the Company are often neglected in favour of its better-documented eighteenth-century activities. Studies of the entire history of the Company rarely base the opening years on original research but rather rely on established accounts. It is surely not inconsequential that the most recent studies are written by professional writers and journalists rather than academics who are specialists on the period. It must also be conceded that the absence of judicial issues from historical writing is perhaps not unexpected. Although a very prominent theme in the Hirado sources, the subject of legal issues is not particularly conspicuous in the accounts of other East Indian localities.²⁴ Legal proceedings which involved E.I.C. servants typically related to the recovery of debts and other civil matters rather than criminal actions.²⁵ In addition, prior to 1623 only a handful of servants were executed by the E.I.C. authorities and the majority of these were attached to Hirado.²⁶

1. The East India Company Legal Background

Prior to studying the merchants’ descriptions, an analysis of E.I.C. attitudes to justice and punishment has been attempted in order to provide a context for their opinions. It also casts some light on a little known subject. As noted above, the lack of detailed historiographical study of the legal aspects of the Company in this period makes it impossible to engage with scholarly opinion. However, there is a considerable amount of material available to piece together the legal groundings of the Company and its trading voyages. Application of justice is consistently mentioned in the various

²¹ Michael Cooper, trans and (ed.), *This Island of Japan: João Rodrigues’ Account of 16th-Century Japan* (Toyko, 1973), p. 299.

²² C. H. Alexandrowicz, *An Introduction to the History of the Law of Nations in the East Indies (16th, 17th and 18th centuries)* (Oxford, 1967).

²³ E.g. K. N. Chaudhuri, *The English East India Company: the Study of an Early Joint-Stock Company, 1600-1640* (London, 1965) and Sir William Foster, *England’s Quest for Eastern Trade* (London, 1933) represent the classic treatment. A. Wild, *The East India Company: Trade and Conquest from 1600* (London, 1999); S. Sen, *Empire and Free Trade: the East India Company and the Making of the Colonial Marketplace* (Philadelphia, 1998); Anthony Farrington, *Trading Places: The East India Company and Asia* (London, 2002) and Huw Bowen, (ed.), *The Worlds of the East India Company* (London, 2002) are representative of more recent work on the Company.

²⁴ The most accessible and frequently used sources are the 6 volumes of *Letters Received*, various journals printed by the *Hakluyt Society* and the 20 volume 1905 reprint of Purchas’ *Pilgrimes*. However, there is much of value in the individual factory records held in the India Office which remains unpublished, in particular the Court Minutes, which are very economically calendared in *CSCP*.

²⁵ E.g. *Letter Received*, vol. 6, p. 305.

²⁶ Discussed in detail below.

surviving voyage commissions. References to the execution of punishment can also be found in logbooks and less frequently within letters from the East. The most immediate and evident detail of the Company's relationship with law and order is the fact that the organisation actually played a very small role in dictating policy. Commissions do not refer to any specific mode of punishment as being appropriate for a named offence.²⁷ The types of disorders mentioned in Saris' commission are blasphemy, swearing, theft, drunkenness and gambling. The orders were to set up a notice prohibiting such behaviour "and such punishm't appointed for such offences as may give notice to ev'ry man whatt he ought to avoied".²⁸ Without a doubt some aspects of the early *laissez-faire* attitude of the Company were due to the committees' inexperience in governing men and ignorance of naval matters.²⁹ As has been noted elsewhere, early Company commissions devolved authority to the fleet 'general' in many non-commercial matters which would not impede investors' profits.³⁰ Saris' 'Remembrance' to Cocks refers to his dual duty to maintain "such prinsipalls as they decreed of in England" but also advising him of such matters "w't by experience I finde fitting & likely to be benyfitiyall for them".³¹ Although urging frugality, Saris refused to prescribe any particular limits on spending but left the matter to Cocks' discretion.³² Saris also left the government of the *Clove's* crew to the discretion of Master James Foster, whist he was away at court.³³

In the case of the administration of justice there was an overriding principle which the Company was forced to obey. In theory all royal subjects were bound to maintain the monarch's peace and were entitled to his/her protection.³⁴ The latter covenant appears to have applied to royal subjects in international waters and 'uncivilised' lands, such as the fledgling Atlantic colonies.³⁵ It did not, however, extend to the lands of foreign

²⁷ Early commissions are printed in George Birdwood and William Foster (eds), *The First Letter Book of the East India Company, 1600-1619* (London, 1893; 1965), pp. 4-9, 51-66, 114-136, 240-264, 295-304, 328-348, 369-388, 396-420.

²⁸ IOR: B/2 ff. 140-41; Farrington, vol. 2, p. 975.

²⁹ Many members had, however, been previous investors in the earlier chartered companies such as the Muscovy Company and the Levant Company. On the E.I.C.'s debt to the Levant Company in terms of structure, leadership and capital see Peter J. Marshall, "The English in Asia to 1700", in Nicholas 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, New York, 1998), pp. 267-68.

³⁰ E.g. the choice of suitable factors to remain in established factories. See IOR: G/40/25, p. 129; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 300 for the relative flexibility given to ships' captains regarding itineraries in the Indies.

³¹ IOR: E/3/1 no. 125; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 119.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 120. See also p. 122.

³³ *Voyage*, p. 118.

³⁴ The subsequent argument will refer to King James I and VI, although it should be noted that the Company was granted a royal charter under Queen Elizabeth I on the last day of 1600. The first voyage under James Lancaster was also dispatched prior to the queen's death in 1603. The notion of the keeping of the King's Peace at sea can be found in early naval documents. See R. G. Marsden (ed.), *Documents Relating to Law and Custom of the Sea*, 2 vols, *Navy Records Society* (1915-1916), vol. 1, p. 142. Sir Thomas Smith wrote that "the death of everie subject by violence is accounted to touch the crowne of the Prince, and to be a detriment unto it, the Prince accounting that his strength, power, and crowne doth stande and consist in the force of his people, and the maintenance of them in securitie and peace", Mary Dewar (ed.), *De Republica Anglorum* (Cambridge, 1982), p. 108.

³⁵ For the importation of English law see Michael Braddick, *State Formation in Early Modern England, c. 1550-1700* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 407-08 and W. M. Billing, "The transfer of English law to Virginia, 1606-50" 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* (Liverpool, 1978), pp. 215-44. The question of the privileges and responsibilities of royal subjects abroad is not adequately

rulers. In such 'civilised' climes the British subject was bound by local laws or able to obtain an early form of extra-territoriality in which factory personnel judged their own members according to their own legal precedents.³⁶ Such privileges were established at a number of East Indian locations including Japan.³⁷ Privileges included the investment of power of attorney in the cape merchant upon the occasion of natural death. Goods would also not be confiscated if an E.I.C. servant was executed under local law. The privileges were secured on an individual basis from local rulers rather than being determined in London. However, their potency largely depended on the vicissitudes of relations with local rulers.

The E.I.C. had no legitimate authority to inflict corporal or capital punishment on royal subjects. As Sir Thomas Smith wrote: "The supreme Justice is done in the kinges name, and by his authorietie only".³⁸ As stated above, this condition applied to both domestic conditions and activities carried out in international waters. However, the Company realised that punishment and the threat of punishment was essential for the maintaining of discipline aboard ship and in foreign ports. Hence letters patent granting the right to judge and punish the king's subjects were sought and granted. The prestige and wealth of Company shareholders no doubt greatly influenced the Crown and facilitated the obtaining of various privileges. Subscription lists reveal large numbers of investors drawn from the aristocracy, gentry and holders of offices of state. Powerful domestic merchants were also counted amongst its numbers. The king's son himself, Prince Charles, was even made a member of the Company in 1619.³⁹ The royal letters patent authorised senior Company servants to execute both corporal and capital punishment upon royal subjects. There were few conditions attached to these licences but it was presumably expected that the relevant authority would comply with contemporary domestic legal custom. The Company originally applied for letters patent to be granted to each individual voyage. However, in February 1623 a royal seal was provided which obviated this tiresome necessity and allowed the Company to execute justice upon its servants in the name of the Crown.⁴⁰ The privilege authorised the "Captaine or Captaines, or Principall Commander or

covered in Alexandrowicz, *History of the Law of Nations*. On the general role of the English state in the Atlantic colonies, see Braddick, *State Formation*, pp. 410-19.

³⁶ Self-government of trading communities had been the norm in China for hundreds of years prior to the European arrival. This was not regarded as a privilege to be granted or claimed but rather a mark of contempt for foreigners who were thought to be incapable of understanding the civility of Chinese practices, Urs Bitterli, *Cultures in Conflict: Encounters between European and Non-European Cultures, 1492-1800*, trans Ritchie Robertson (München, 1986; Cambridge, 1989).

³⁷ However, Giles Milton's statement that Tokugawa Ieyasu had bestowed in Cocks the right to kill any Englishman in Japan is not exactly true, *Samurai William*, p. 266. The *bakufu* or the Matsuura would not have interfered in domestic factory justice but this did not give Cocks the right to kill E.I.C. employees at will. Other examples of extra-territoriality can be found in *Letters Received*, vol. 1, pp. 2, 3-4; vol. 3, p. 137.

³⁸ Dewar (ed.), *De Republica Anglorum*, p. 87.

³⁹ Chaudhuri, *English East India Company*, p. 36.

⁴⁰ The original document, IOR: A/1/8, is largely illegible. An abstract is provided in Sir William Foster, *A Supplementary Calendar of Documents in the India Office Relating to India or to the Home Affairs of the East India Company, 1600-1640* (London, 1928), pp. 134-35. The complete text can be read (with slightly modernised spelling) in Thomas Rymer (comp.), *Fœdera, Conventiiones, Literae et Cujuscunque Generis...*, 20 vols (London, 1704-1732), vol. 17, pp. 450-52. The petition by the Company to try its servants by common and martial law is highlighted as the major event of 1623 (1624 in the book) by John Bruce, *The Annals of the Honourable East India Company*, 3 vols (London, 1810; 1968), vol. 1, p. 252.

Commanders” to punish the disobedient and transgressors of the peace. Offenders were to be punished:

“according to the Qualitie of their Offences, with such punishments as were comonlie used in all Armies at sea when they are not capital, and for capitall offences...the same being duly and justly proved against any of the person or persons aforesaid, to use and put in execution the said Lawe called Martial Lawe”.

A verdict of 12 approved jurors was also required.⁴¹

The E.I.C. factors were perfectly aware of their privileges as royal subjects and understood the royal basis of judicial grant. David Middleton’s sub-commission to John Millworth and William Nichols for a venture in India directly mentions the power to punish upon the authority granted by the Crown.⁴² An unruly master’s mate on the Tenth Voyage, John Johnson, did not trust the impartiality of the men appointed to try him. He therefore declared that he would appeal to the king and privy council.⁴³

The testimony of various letters and journals reveals that the royal letters and seal had great symbolic value and were often produced before the defendant during criminal trials.⁴⁴ In cases of attempted and actual mutiny the commission authorising the fleet ‘general’ to govern his crew was often produced.⁴⁵ Certain specific memoranda and minutes preserve the details of individual cases involving the application of justice. One may assume that all judicial matters were originally recorded in such a fashion but have only survived in a fragmentary state. However, the anecdotal evidence of ships’ logbooks facilitates the reconstruction of the basic process between accusation and punishment. The results yield much information concerning contemporary legal thinking in England. Through personal remarks the evidence also taps into the legal mentality of Company servants and allows something of a foundation and context upon which to view impressions of justice in Japan. Rather than relate various case-studies of the E.I.C. evidence in abstract it has been preferred to collate internal information with the material available on Japanese justice. The attitudes of the

⁴¹ Rymer (comp.), *Fœdera*, vol. 17, p. 451.

⁴² *Letters Received*, vol. 3, p. 57.

⁴³ 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. 65. For litigious mariners see the recent article by George F. Steckley, “Litigious mariners: wage cases in the seventeenth century admiralty court”, *Historical Journal*, vol. 42, no. 2 (1999), pp. 315-45.

⁴⁴ E.g., *Letters Received*, vol. 5, pp. 128-29.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. 6, pp. 15-16. In his discussion of the power of the written word and royal decrees, Miles Ogborn discusses how commissions gave captains the right of legitimate violence over others, “Writing travels: power, knowledge and ritual on the English East India Company’s early voyages”, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, New Series, vol. 27, no. 2 (2002), p. 164. Ogborn includes a very short description of punishments, where the role of execution is overstated. Executions were actually very infrequent. Susan Amussen’s thesis on violence in early modern society is that one of the only legitimate circumstances for its use was as punishment of inferiors by social superiors, “Punishment, discipline, and power: the social meaning of violence in early modern England”, *Journal of British History*, vol. 34, no. 1 (1995), pp. 4, 27. This of course occurred through court action but was also manifest in masters’ correction of servants and the way higher social orders might chastise children who startled their horses, for instance. For the general debate surrounding the role of violence in the transition to modernity see Robert van Krieken, “Violence, self-discipline and modernity: beyond the ‘civilising process’”, *Sociological Review*, vol. 37, no. 3 (1989), pp. 193-218.

Company, and presumably its servants, will thus be viewed juxtaposed against an alien legal system. This will allow them to be marshalled in a thematic manner in order to highlight similarities and differences between the two systems.

Prior to leaving the subject of E.I.C. attitudes to law and order it will be worth clarifying some important concepts. Absolutely central to the argument is that it was an absence of any enforceable legal code of behaviour for Company factors, as opposed to mariners.⁴⁶ The Company carefully ordered the activities and provisions for its large force of potentially unruly mariners. However, at the same time, the instructions regarding resident merchants' conduct in host countries were somewhat opaque. Fleet 'generals' were usually charged with providing guidelines based upon past personal experience in the East Indies. One would possibly have expected such important duties to be more tightly regulated but this does not seem to have been so in the Company's early period. Although the royal letters patent effectively licensed the judgement and punishment of all royal subjects, the ultimate dispenser of justice was the fleet 'general' and not the cape-merchant. He would of course travel home with the departing fleet, leaving the resident factors to be supervised by the cape-merchant. As with religious duties, the authority encapsulated in the Company's commission evidently referred only to the government of mariners during the voyage.⁴⁷ In the recently discovered letter of John Osterwick he refers to the pride of mariners and their hostility to merchants due to "their large comitions granted them whereon they depend so much as almost they forget themselves".⁴⁸ There was very little provision for the established factories, which would exist independently during the absence of visiting shipping.⁴⁹ The situation was also made hazy by the practice of leaving sick mariners at a factory on the departure of ships, rather than having them risk the hardships of a voyage. A key problem of the period was also the relative duties and authority of the respective cape-merchants and maritime captains. In theory the captain/general held the ultimate authority at sea and the cape-merchant on land.⁵⁰ However, these duties were often mutable, as witnessed by Saris' continued dominance of affairs in Hirado until his departure in November 1613. There thus appears to have been no legal apparatus with which to punish Company merchants as opposed to mariners. This apparent legal loophole was not remedied until 4 February 1623 and the granting to presidents and chief officials of royal authority over merchants on similar lines to voyage commissions.⁵¹ This stipulation authorised them to punish offences committed outside the narrow jurisdiction of naval vessels. Factors were to abide by "the Lawes and customes of this our Realme of England", or other orders given by the Company. The same law was to be applied on sea and land. Punishments, both corporal and capital, were to be based on acknowledged

⁴⁶ Although analysing commissions and punishment on E.I.C. voyages, Miles Ogborn fails to identify this crucial point about punishing merchants, "Writing travels", p. 164.

⁴⁷ See ch. 8.

⁴⁸ 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. 48.

⁴⁹ Following its establishment in June 1613, the Hirado factory was not visited by a E.I.C. ship until August 1615. There was a further break in communications from 1617 to 1620.

⁵⁰ The merchants often complained that they were treated contemptuously by sailors at the encouragement of naval officers, *Letters Received*, vol. 2, pp. 126, 192, 320.

⁵¹ The grant is found in IOR: A/1/8; printed in Rymer's *Fædera* vol. 17, pp. 450-52. The actual authorities mentioned in the commission were the recently appointed President at Batavia or a future Council of Defence, *Ibid.*, p. 451.

practices.⁵² The verdict of a jury was required for capital offences. The commission also expressed the royal will for moderation and discretion in using the grant.⁵³ There are clear parallels on the royal insistence on consistency between any new laws and established English practice. King James I required the laws of Virginia to reflect those of England as much as possible.⁵⁴

Fortunately circumstances did not try the inadequacies of legal provisions prior to 1623. The most common grievance against Company merchants was of course accusations of private trade. Rather than any form of punishment in the Indies, the Company preferred to address grievances by refusing to pay factors' wages upon their return to London.⁵⁵ Legal suits were also taken out in Star Chamber against prominent offenders.⁵⁶ Upon death, the rights of relatives to claim large estates were also routinely challenged on the grounds that merchants could not have amassed such fortunes honestly.⁵⁷ Prior to voyaging to the East Indies, factors were obliged to provide substantial bonds for good behaviour.⁵⁸ The sum was often provided by patrons or sometimes family. Clearly the Company's emphasis was upon fiscal deterrents. Rather than receiving demeaning corporal punishment, merchants, or even preachers, were sent back to London in disgrace. They were usually refused reemployment and the payment of wages was challenged. The numerous brawls that occurred between the Hirado factors (as opposed to mariners) were apparently left unpunished other than by a verbal reprimand from Cocks.⁵⁹

The actual application of punishment in the factory is dealt with towards the end of the chapter so that the reader can first be introduced to the judicial norms of Japan. This structure has been chosen with the aim of highlighting the incongruities between British and Japanese systems of justice.

2. Japanese Justice as Observed by the British

After a brief examination of the legal characteristics underpinning Company voyages we may move on to consider the factors' observation of Japanese justice. Having established the likelihood that the Hirado factors read at least some printed material

⁵² *Ibid.*, p 540.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ K. O. Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians: The Meeting of English and Indian Cultures in America, 1580-1640* (Totowa, 1980), p. 138. In addition to categories of offences and punishments, the colonial courts also behaved like their counterparts in England. They frequently voided accusations against people of high birth or meted out less severe punishments, *Ibid.*, p. 154.

⁵⁵ Fears of private trade motivated the practice of paying no more than a third of wages whilst in the Indies. The concept of bonds for good behaviour was prevalent in the Elizabethan period. See Marsden (ed.), *Law and Customs of the Sea*, vol. 1, pp. 142, 161 (1549), 173 (1563), 177-79 (1563), 190 (1571), 243 (1585), 246 (1586), 395-96 (1617). The previous examples are taken from privateering licenses and were intended to prevent piracy against friendly states rather than good behaviour aboard ship.

⁵⁶ See *CSPC*, vol. 1, no. 902; vol. 2, nos 347, 377, 1138, 1152, 1154, 1161, 1173; vol. 3, no. 301, pp. 122-23, nos 41, 90, pp. 133, 148, 170, no. 351, p. 232, no. 393, pp. 248, 255; vol. 4, nos 18, 304, 305, 321, p. 289, no. 395, 599, 658, p. 504; vol. 5, nos. 183, 263, 273, pp. 407, 411, no. 479, pp. 455, 457, 488-89, no. 515, p. 493, nos 548, 591, 593.

⁵⁷ This happened in the case of Richard Wickham's mother, who only obtained her son's estate several years after his death. The Company was forced to hand over the estate on an order from Chancery, *Farrington*, vol. 2, p. 1576.

⁵⁸ See *CSPC*, 5 vols, *passim*.

⁵⁹ E.g. *Voyage*, pp. 94-95 (Wickham); *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 180.

concerning Japan, we can examine possible influences on impressions revealed 'on the ground'.⁶⁰ The stable civil order and harsh legal system are two themes which emerge as a constant in the range of published material on Japan available in English prior to 1613.⁶¹ Both civil order and the legal system generally run together as interconnecting threads. However, authors were not averse to separating the two themes. Characteristically the good government and civil order of the land was praised whilst the harsher aspects of justice were roundly condemned. In the absence of pin-point accuracy within the Hirado documents concerning what evidence (if any) was taken from contemporary literature, it has been judged inappropriate to devote an independent section to speculation on possible sources of information. By contrast, literary images will be examined alongside the major themes which emerge from the Hirado sources, taking into account any apparent influences. We will soon see that, although harsh laws were a dramatic feature of contemporary literature on Japan, they apparently had the least impact on the factors' opinions. Executions were visible everywhere and empirical observations are more evident in the Hirado sources than literary borrowings. The information on law and order from the factory shows that attitudes did not change over time. Hence, a thematic structure has been chosen.

Collective Responsibility

The following section examines the interconnected subjects of Japanese communal punishment and popular participation in the apprehension and execution of criminals. Despite its dramatic nature, the punishing of kin or of proximate residents for the offences of another is not mentioned in the early modern English language literature on Japan. However, it was a regular feature of contemporary eye-witness reports, as evinced in Michael Cooper's *They Came to Japan*.⁶² Caron wrote that a male criminal was "punished in his person and posterity".⁶³ After describing crucifixion, Carletti continued "A form of justice no less cruel than barbarian, it being the custom to punish for the misdeeds of one person all of the family in his house and often also all of his relatives".⁶⁴ In cases of fires (?arson/accidental), neighbouring families were also punished.⁶⁵ European sources describe the *goningumi* system in use in Tokugawa Japan for civil duties but mainly as a criminal deterrent.⁶⁶ Demarcated wards were required to watch over their neighbours and report crimes to the headman, described as an "elder" or "captain" in European sources.⁶⁷ Headmen were compelled both to report crimes to magistrates and to deliver the offender for justice. Failure to comply would result in punishment for the whole ward. The system was frequently applied during the efforts to extirpate Christianity in the years following 1614. The logic was

⁶⁰ The literary image of Japan is discussed in detail in ch. 3.

⁶¹ In his analysis of printed reports on Japan in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, Michael J. Huissen observes how extreme judicial severity is a recurrent theme, "England encounters Japan: English knowledge of Japan in the seventeenth century", *Terrae Incognitae*, vol. V (1973), p. 44.

⁶² Cooper (ed.), *They Came*, pp. 151-168.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 154; Boxer (ed.), *True Description*, p. 34.

⁶⁴ Weinstock (ed.), *My Voyage*, p. 106.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 106-07.

⁶⁶ The system was noted by several European sources. See Caron, *Brief Description*, p. 36; Weinstock (ed.), *My Voyage*, p. 121. See Perez, *Daily Life*, p. 133. The application of the system is considered in more detail in Wigmore (ed.), *Law and Justice*, pp. 44-45. The system was also used to organise community works such as road improvements, street cleaning or putting out fires. See *Relation*, pp. 152, 155.

⁶⁷ E.g., Carletti in Weinstock (ed.), *My Voyage*, p. 121.

that if faced with collective punishment, neighbours would be particularly vigilant in seeking and apprehending criminals. Collective responsibility was also remarked upon in China, where it was called *ba-jia*, but does not seem to have been a feature of East Indian justice in general.⁶⁸ Collective responsibility was found across the Malay world and Siam but only in the form of fines rather than execution.⁶⁹ Cognate with the concept of collective punishment was the notion of a popular role in the apprehension and possible execution of criminals. Contemporary European literature often mentioned the rights of the public to kill thieves if caught in the act.⁷⁰ This was, indeed, considered an honour, according to the Spanish visitor Jorge Alvares.⁷¹ Collective responsibility was intimately connected to group justice.

Saris' first reference to punishment in Japan implies the notion of a collective responsibility for the keeping of order. Saris warned his men that the drawing of a weapon in anger would be punished by death in Japan.⁷² If anyone was injured as a result, not only the guilty but their "hole kindred" were put to death.⁷³ The reference is garbled and it is clear that Saris had not communicated with the Matsuura regarding the matter of quarrels, as his concerned remarks warn against the *presumption* that aliens would escape such judicil measures. Circumstances point towards the Dutch as the sources of Saris' information. Although the general evidently intended the threat to discourage his crew from duelling, it is unclear how the notion of punishment of kindred would have related to the sailors. For obvious reasons, the E.I.C. employees had no relations in Japan to be punished. The detailed recording of the incident indicates that Saris was preoccupied by the matter. His language is redolent of injustice in remarking "albeit he doe no hurt therewith" and "doing but a smalle hurt".⁷⁴ The motivation behind Saris' garbled warning is probably the fact that, not having yet been granted formal privileges, he was unsure if local laws would apply to his men. Although he had certainly read William Adams' harsh portrait of Japanese jurisprudence in his letters, he was probably also unsure as to the legal autonomy of the Matsuura.⁷⁵ He may have questioned whether Tokugawa law applied in the

⁶⁸ In 1605 the archbishop of Manilla wrote that the Chinese emperor, rather than making war on Japan, threatened any Chinese trading there to lose his mother, father and relations. Although referring to a historical incident, the archbishop mentioned that the practice continued to his day. Quoted in William Lytle Schwartz, *The Manila Galleon* (New York, 1939; 1959), p. 115. Edward Webbe's *The rare and most wonderfull things...* (London, 1590) also mentions the punishment of whole families for debt in Muscovy, reprinted in Kenneth Parker (ed.), *Early Modern Tales of Orient: A Critical Anthology* (London, 1999), p. 38.

⁶⁹ Anthony Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce, 1450-1680*, 2 vols (New Haven and London, 1988-1993), vol. 1, p. 145.

⁷⁰ E.g. Frois' letter in *Principal Navigations*, vol. 4, p. 197.

⁷¹ Summarised in Boxer, *Christian Century*, pp. 32-36.

⁷² This information may have been culled from Saris' reading of Linschoten's *Itinerario*. The reference is in First Book, p. 45. It may be noted that duelling occurred sporadically in the English factory and generally went unpunished, e.g. *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 80. On the debates surrounding the legality and ethics of duelling in England see Donna Andrew, "The code of honour and its critics: the opposition to duelling in England, 1700-1850", *Social History*, 5 (1980), pp. 409-34 and Keith M. Brown, "Gentlemen and thugs in seventeenth century Britain", *History Today*, 40 (October, 1990), pp. 27-32. The specifically Jacobean debate on duelling is covered in Markku Peltonen, "Francis Bacon, the earl of Northampton, and the Jacobean anti-duelling campaign", *The Historical Journal*, vol. 44, no. 1 (2001), pp. 1-28.

⁷³ *Voyage*, p. 95.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ Adams' letter of 1611 was read at Bantam to all the merchants prior to the *Clove's* departure for Japan, *Pilgrimes*, vol. 3, p. 406.

provinces.⁷⁶ On returning from Edo, Saris noted that two *bugyōs* arrived aboard the *Clove* to warn the men in person about duelling ashore. The master and the men were told that if they “drew weapon” the law of the country required bystanders to kill them. This would be enforced “in paine of ruining all their generation if they did not kill both parties”.⁷⁷

The first execution mentioned by Saris involves several core motifs which characterise the British perception of justice in Japan. The case involved a woman conducting an adulterous affair with two separate men who accidentally met and fought.⁷⁸ The offenders were seized by the community, summarily beheaded without trial and subsequently hacked into pieces after death.⁷⁹ As will be subsequently illustrated, the latter chain of events is an archetypal criminal case as reflected in the E.I.C. sources. The various aspects of the case will be dealt with in the appropriate context. The incident is recorded slightly differently in the two versions of Saris’ journal.⁸⁰ However, neither version clarifies the identity of the executioner(s). Saris was not a witness and presumably may not have known himself. The descriptions suggest that the action was carried out by bystanders, although official executioners operated in Hirado and enjoyed a high social position according to Cocks.⁸¹ What is beyond doubt is that the bystanders were free to mutilate the bodies of the dead. This particularly idiosyncratic aspect of law and order in Japan will be dealt with below. Saris’ description suggests that every aspect of the case was deeply disturbing to him and contradicted familiar legal paradigms.

Communal participation in the dispensing of justice was present at all levels of society in Japan. According to Cocks, following the fall of Ōsaka fortress in 1615 the prominent men in Hideyori’s forces were all discovered decapitated. This had apparently been done to prevent identification which would have led to retribution against their family and even their friends, if we believe Cocks.⁸² Also in connection with the siege of Ōsaka, Cocks notes that prices were put on the heads of defenders of the castle. The policy was apparently very successful and resulted in many being taken and killed on a daily basis.⁸³ Adam’s letter to Augustine Spalding had also mentioned the success of placing bounties upon the heads of fugitives.⁸⁴ The cape-merchant offered no comment on the morality of practices such as these, perhaps

⁷⁶ The answer to this question is that the *daimyō* were accorded a large degree of autonomy in both criminal and civil cases in regard to cases exclusively within their own dominion. The differences between lands directly controlled by the *bakufu* and the provinces administered by *daimyō* was largely administrative. The Tokugawa bureaucracy was proverbially weighty with different courts and officials ordained to deal with disputes within Edo, between non-*bakufu* provinces, between external provinces and *bakufu* lands etc. See Wigmore (ed.), *Law and Justice*, part 1, pp. 39-58.

⁷⁷ The comment occurs in the Purchas version of events, *Pilgrimes*, vol. 3, p. 474.

⁷⁸ This incident is misinterpreted as three local men engaged in a street brawl in Giles Milton, *Samurai William: The Adventurer Who Unlocked Japan* (London, 2002), p. 180.

⁷⁹ *Voyage*, pp. 100-101. Caron notes that over familiarity with another’s wife was scandalous and that both parties were punished equally. A wife put herself in danger of her life by speaking to another man in private, Boxer (ed.), *True Description*, pp. 47, 32, 48. Carletti also made similar comments on his stay in Japan, Weinstock (ed.), *My Voyage*, pp. 126-27. The seclusion of Japanese women is a common theme in the sources, e.g., Parker, trans, *History*, p. 379.

⁸⁰ The other version is in *Pilgrimes*, vol. 3, p. 450.

⁸¹ See e.g. *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 44-45.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 21.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁸⁴ IOR: E/3/1 no. 96; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 78.

because he had lived in Japan for several years prior to making the statement. He was thus accustomed to the severer aspects of the justice system.

An interesting document attached to the Dutch factory suggests that the Hollanders adopted certain notions of collective responsibility for their own purposes. Like the British the Dutch also fitted out junks for South East Asia, supplied with their own merchants and local mariners. There exists a ship's article from 1615 concerning the employment of Japanese on a Dutch voyage. The Japanese were compelled to sign a guarantee that they would refrain from fighting, gambling and other disorderly activities. Any attacks or threats on authority were to be punished by death. Crucially, the Dutch included a clause that parents, wives, children and other guarantors would suffer "prosecution" if the agreement was broken "[t]he latter having *apriori* undertaken this obligation".⁸⁵ The term 'prosecution' has unclear implications. It seems unlikely that the Dutch would have contemplated killing the relatives. More likely is the levying of a fine. However, the document is interesting in illustrating Dutch willingness to adapt to local precedents. As illustrated in chapter 5, the British obtained written guarantees from the parents of bonded serving boys. Although they took these agreements to local justices when the boys ran away, there is no evidence of them seeking redress from the parents, either in compensation or more physical punishment.⁸⁶

The concept of punishing the relatives or neighbours of an offender was alien to European jurisprudence. It thus shocked members of the factory in the same way as it had been reported with relish in contemporary literature. Bystanders had no involvement in the execution of E.I.C. justice. The master was usually expected to administer corporal punishment. The only role played by the observers was to occasionally protest against a particularly harsh or undeserved punishment.⁸⁷ There existed a clear concept of and respect for a legitimate legally-enshrined authority who had the sole right to jurisprudence.⁸⁸ However, community involvement in the apprehension of criminals was common in early modern Britain. The community were expected to observe their neighbours and maintain harmony within the village.⁸⁹

⁸⁵ *Algemeen Rijksarchief, KA, OBJ*, bundle 972. Printed in Mulder, *Hollanders*, pp. 243-49. The relevant quote is on p. 248.

⁸⁶ See ch. 5. However, on the return of the *Sea Adventure* from its first voyage, three *bugyōs* came aboard to see that all Japanese mariners were returned and ensure that they had provided good service, *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 13.

⁸⁷ For more detail see below.

⁸⁸ Keith Wrightson, "Two concepts of order: justices, constables and jurymen in seventeenth-century England", in J. Brewer and J. Styles (eds), *An Ungovernable People: The English and their Law in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (London, 1980), pp. 21-46; Joan Kent, "The English village constable, 1580-1643: the nature and dilemmas of the office", *Journal of British Studies*, vol. 20, (1981), pp. 26-49.

⁸⁹ See Bruce Lenman and Geoffrey Parker, "The state, the community, and the criminal law in early modern Europe", in V. A. C. Gatrell, B. Lenman and G. Parker (eds), *Crime and the Law: the Social History of Crime in Western Europe Since 1500* (London, 1980), pp. 11-48; J. A. Sharpe, "Enforcing the law in the seventeenth-century English village", in *Ibid.*, pp. 97-119; Cynthia Herrup, *The Common Peace: Participation and the Criminal Law in Seventeenth Century England* (London, 1987) and Steve Hindle, "The keeping of the public peace", in P. Griffiths, A. Fox and S. Hindle (eds), *The Experience of Authority in Early Modern England* (London, 1996), pp. 213-248. On the waning away of communal participation in upholding the law see James Sharpe, "The people and the law", in Barry Reay (ed.), *Popular Culture in Seventeenth Century England* (London, 1985), pp. 262-64. By the early eighteenth century there were moves toward the professionalisation of legal officers, coupled with the presentation of facts against the accused rather than the judgement of communal reputation.

Cocks' mention of a Japanese form of hue and cry involving over 500 people to catch a thief would have been familiar to the early modern mind.⁹⁰ Perhaps his mention of the communal policing of gated check points during a curfew would have been less familiar.⁹¹

The historian gets the sense from the sources that despite well-organised attempts to catch criminals, the methods of investigation were inferior to contemporary England. Cocks describes the *bugyō* responsible for justice in Hirado as a "simple fellow".⁹² The Company factors genuinely admired the high level of communal involvement found in preparations for honoured guests, public works and religious festivals.⁹³ However, to the Jacobean mind the rightful legal authorities had a clearly defined role in the judicial process. In early modern England communal pressure was exerted on others in order to force conformity. The victims could be husbands who refused to control their wives or people engaged in generally antisocial behaviour.⁹⁴ Pressure involved methods of humiliation such as 'ridings', harassment in the form of 'rough music' and ostracisation.⁹⁵ However, the community were neither expected nor tolerated to judge and punish criminals themselves. This was quite contrary to the concept of village legal autonomy in early modern Japan, as described below. In Japan this type of summary communal punishment in the form of execution was frequently witnessed by the Company servants and was actively encouraged by regional *daimyō*.

Absence of Trials

The early published sources for Japan frequently refer to executions as taking place instantly without the intervention of a justice or trial. Both Willes and Frois mention the right to execute criminals caught in the act.⁹⁶ The early Spanish visitor to Japan, Jorge Alvares, reported that it was quite permissible and honourable to kill a thief, no

⁹⁰ *Relation*, p. 173. See Herrup, *The Common Peace*, pp. 64, 70-72, 204. The practice is described in Dewar (ed.), *De Republica*, pp. 107-08.

⁹¹ *Relation*, p. 173. However, curfews were not unknown and Cocks states that he actually made the suggestion to the *daimyō* himself of imposing a curfew and checkpoints during a spate of arson attacks, *Ibid.*, p. 174. A similar system of gates and watchmen are mentioned by Caron 20 years later, Boxer (ed.), *True Description*, pp. 36, 56. See also Cooper (ed.), *This Island*, p. 112; Rodrigo de Vivero y Velasco's report in Cooper (ed.), *They Came*, p. 152 and Weinstock (ed.), *My Voyage*, p. 121. Householders in England had the responsibility to maintain the nightly watch, Faramerz Dabhoiwala, "Sex, social relations and the law in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century London", in Michael Braddick and John Walter (eds), *Negotiating Power in Early Modern Society: Order, Hierarchy and Subordination in Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge, 2001), p. 94.

⁹² *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 320.

⁹³ Detailed in chs 5 and 8.

⁹⁴ David Underdown, "The taming of the scold: the enforcement of patriarchal authority in early modern England", in Fletcher and Stevenson (eds), *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England* (London, 1985), pp. 116-36; Steve Hindle, "The shaming of Margaret Knowsley: gossip, gender and the experience of authority in early modern England", *Continuity and Change*, vol. 9, no. 3 (1994), pp. 391-419 and Martin Ingram, "'Scolding women cucked or washed': a crisis in gender relations in early modern England?", in Jenny Kermode and Garthine Walker (eds), *Women, Crime and the Courts in Early Modern England* (London, 1994), pp. 48-80.

⁹⁵ Martin Ingram, "Ridings, rough music and mocking rhymes in early modern England", in Reay (ed.), *Popular Culture*, pp. 166-97; Adam Fox, "Ballads, libels and popular ridicule in Jacobean England", *Past and Present*, vol. 145 (1994), pp. 47-83; Alastair Bellany, "'Rayling rymes and vaunting verse': libellous politics in early Stuart England, 1603-1628" in Kevin Sharpe and Peter Lake (eds), *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England* (London, 1994), pp. 285-310

⁹⁶ *Principal Navigations*, vol. 4, pp. 192, 197.

matter how trivial the theft.⁹⁷ Echoing Saris' later observation, Linschoten describes how drawing a sword in a brawl was punishable by death.⁹⁸ Although Linschoten doesn't specify summary justice in the context, later E.I.C. sources make clear that in practice such offenders were killed by bystanders. Frois interpreted summary justice as a way of ensuring order through fear in the public. He wrote "No publike prisons, no common gayles, no ordinary Justicers...Thus usually the people is [sic] kept in awe and feare".⁹⁹

The summary dispensal of justice ranks alongside popular participation as a prominent feature of the factory members' legal experience in Japan. As a prefatory remark it may be noted that none of the executions mentioned by Saris appear to refer to any formal system of judgement of the accused. This absence is also attested by the majority of other references from the Hirado sources. However, there is a single exception in Saris' journal which is of rather confused provenance. This concerns the aforementioned incident of the adulterous threesome that was disturbed by the neighbourhood. The Purchas version of Saris' account, which is interlarded with retrospective comments, refers to the case being reported to Matsuura Shigenobu. The *daimyō* immediately decreed that the perpetrators were to be beheaded.¹⁰⁰ There is no reason to doubt the authenticity of Saris' addition; it may be the case that the prosaic demands of his original Company journal negated the need for elaboration. By contrast, the preparation of his journal for publication invited the addition of any interesting exotic material.¹⁰¹ However, in this particular case there is no reason to doubt Saris' integrity. Of course, even though this example may illustrate that justice was not without exception summary, it still involved an immediate decision by a feudal ruler. The crucial aspects of jurisprudence that were held sacrosanct to the early modern British conscience were all conspicuously absent in many cases in Japan. The latter case illustrates the absence of a jury of peers, of any form of evidence, and also of the participation of a recognised legal professional. The accused parties seem to have had no involvement in the process, either in defending themselves or providing a confession to their crimes. A similar case is mentioned by Rodrigo de Vivero y Velasco, ex-Spanish ambassador to the Philippines, in which a petty thief is executed for stealing a small coin. Although not killed on the spot, probably because he was caught by the Spanish and not the Japanese, the Spanish ambassador was obviously shocked that it took only three hours for him to be condemned to death. Vivero y Velasco does record that a magistrate listened to the victim of the theft and verified guilt, but there is no mention of the thief defending himself.¹⁰²

Moving away from mainland Japan, there are a number of examples to consider from the practice of Japanese crews on E.I.C.-chartered junks. Throughout its existence the

⁹⁷ The account is summarised in C. R. Boxer, *Christian Century*, pp. 32-6. Hatred of theft is a common observation in the sources, e.g., Gerard Mercator, *Historia Mundi, or Mercators atlas*, trans W. Saltonstall (London, 1635), p. 883; Rodrigo de Vivero y Velasco's comments in Cooper (ed.), *They Came*, p. 156.

⁹⁸ Linschoten, *Itinerario*, First Book, p. 45.

⁹⁹ *Principal Navigations*, vol. 4, p. 197.

¹⁰⁰ *Pilgrimes*, vol. 3, p. 450.

¹⁰¹ Of course it must also be stated that contemporary standards approved of the unacknowledged 'borrowings' from the accounts of others. The various versions of Saris' journal are dealt with, alongside other source material, in ch. 2.

¹⁰² Cooper (ed.), *They Came*, pp. 155-56. No entreaty from Velasco could stay the execution.

Hirado factory made a number of largely unsuccessful attempts to purchase commodities directly from South East Asia.¹⁰³ Local junks were either chartered or purchased for the purpose, and local maritime officers and crews hired. One or more of the Company merchants would accompany the junk and a number of their logbooks survive, providing fascinating insights into life aboard ship and in foreign ports.¹⁰⁴ The first voyage under Adams, which got no further than the Ryūkyū Islands, provides examples of the justice system at work on *shūinsen* voyages.¹⁰⁵ In contrast to many cases on the mainland of Japan, the crimes committed on board the *Sea Adventure* were judged before a council of Japanese officers. This was a very similar practice to that followed by the E.I.C. The Company employees present on the *Shūinsen* voyage do not seem to have influenced the decisions, although the ship was chartered as a factory vessel. It certainly appears that the *shūinsen* crews had their own privileges and customs, which sometimes clashed with Company decisions.

The practice of summary justice was not, however, completely extinguished from the junk. A thief caught amongst the crew would apparently have been hacked to death had Adams not intervened. Instead, he insisted that the crew wait for a return to Japan and presumably the decision of a legal authority.¹⁰⁶ The limitation of the source is that it is unclear if the sailors had reached a judgement and decided on execution and mutilation as the punishment. However, Adams' insistence upon waiting until the return to Japan would suggest that the decision was arbitrary and immediate. As an experienced sailor, Adams would have been familiar with petty crimes committed aboard ship.¹⁰⁷ As the pilot of the *Sea Adventure* he also seems to have enjoyed the authority of a legal veto which he used on this particular occasion and others. The case of the thief also highlights omissions in the account such as the role of the aforementioned officers' council in the decision to execute the man. There is no indication of any involvement of such a council in the proceedings.

Despite his long years in Japan, the personal journal of Adams reveals that he still preferred the normal legal trial. Despite Saris' famous comment that Adams appeared to have become naturalised to Japan, Adams' own letters and logbooks never suggest

¹⁰³ See Anthony Farrington, "The Japan base: English East India Company attempts at inter-Asiatic trade from Japan, 1613-1623", in *London School of Economic and Political Science Discussion Paper Series: International Studies*, 15/00/394 (July, 2000), pp. 27-37. The dates and destinations of the various voyages and the crews involved are listed in Farrington, vol. 2, pp. 1586-1588.

¹⁰⁴ The logs are transcribed in *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 1048-1172.

¹⁰⁵ The best source for the red-seal or *shūinsen* voyages is Seiichi Iwao, *Shūinsen Bōeki-shi no Kenkyū* (Tokyo, 1965). I have not been able to consult the work. However, Seiichi's study is based overwhelmingly on European sources, many of which I have used in this thesis. Tables of Japanese overseas licenses drawn from Seiichi's work are quoted in Robert LeRoy Innes, "The door ajar: Japan's foreign trade in the seventeenth century" 2 vols, University of Michigan, Ph.D (1970; microfilmed 1987).

¹⁰⁶ Bodleian Library, Saville MS 48; Farrington, vol. 2, p. 1060.

¹⁰⁷ The various E.I.C. journals printed by the *Hakluyt Society* and Purchas provide ample examples of crimes and various punishments: Ducking: Moreland (ed.), *Peter Floris*, p. 133; Foster (ed.), *Voyage of Thomas Best*, pp. 109, 116, 152; *Letters Received*, vol. 6, p. 157; Foster (ed.), *Voyage of Nicholas Downton*, p. 67; Strachen (ed.), *East India Company Journals*, pp. 74, 111-112, 114, 115. Keel-hauling: Moreland (ed.), *Peter Floris*, pp. 125-26. Whipping: Foster (ed.), *Voyage of Thomas Best*, pp. 102, 117; *Letters Received*, vol. 3, p. 81; Strachen (ed.), *East India Company Journals*, pp. 59, 63, 69, 111-112, 114. Bilboes: Foster (ed.), *Voyage of Thomas Best*, pp. 116, 126, 130, 141, 157; *Letters Received*, vol. 2, p. 118. The offences were typically stealing, drunkenness, gambling, lying ashore, false accusations and brawling.

that he approved of Japanese methods of justice.¹⁰⁸ The latter case of the thief aboard the *Sea Adventure* illustrates Adams' respect for the due process of trial and invested legal authority. During an argument about pay with returning Japanese sailors who had served on the *Clove*, one of the men struck Adams and had to be restrained. Paske-Smith has noted that as a *hatamoto* (shōgunal retainer) and obvious social superior, Adams had the right to kill the man or cause another to perform the act.¹⁰⁹ He refused to excise this right and there is no indication in Cocks' diary that he threatened the sailor or ever contemplated killing him. Like the other factory employees, Adams evidently did not subscribe to the harsh local laws and resisted legal privileges to execute men.

The general attitudes towards Japanese severity are handled below. The only obvious description of a trial is in Arthur Hatch's report, written at the bequest of Purchas. Hatch describes how "they proceed both in controversie and criminall causes according to the verdict of the produced witnesses, and the sentence being once passed, they will not revoke or mitigate the severitie of it".¹¹⁰ Although he had been to Japan, Hatch's report is evidently condensed from published sources. Apart from reproducing exact details found in other accounts and replicating their order, it is unlikely that Hatch could have gained such detailed knowledge of Japanese culture. There is no indication in the factory sources that Hatch left Hirado whilst in Japan.¹¹¹ As the minister for the *James Royal* much of his time was presumably spent aboard ship, servicing the needs of the sailors who were mostly forbidden from coming ashore.

The immediate application of justice grated against contemporary legal thinking in Britain. In his naval commentaries, Sir William Monson noted that seamen should receive and give punishment according to the law of the sea "and not otherwise in the fury of passion of a dissolute, blasphemous, swearing commander. Punishment is fittest to be executed in cold blood, the next day after the offence is committed and discovered".¹¹² In cases of serious crimes on E.I.C. ships, offenders were judged before a council of men. The concept of a fair trial before peers and the correct procedures were overtly important. These attitudes are revealed in David Middleton's commission to John Millworth and William Nichols: "Neither he nor you do inflict any punishment on any person either on shipboard or on shore but by a council that the truth of the cause may be debated before you, and you shall see occasion to so inflict the punishment, and both the offence and punishment be registered".¹¹³ The main characteristics of a trial aboard an E.I.C. ship was as follows: a council of superiors would gather; the accused would be brought before them to answer charges; and then, based on answers given, the groups would decide guilt and subsequent punishment. During the trial of Master's Mate John Johnson for theft, Peter Floris notes that he was given a choice of 16 officers from which he had to choose 12 for a jury. Problems arose, however, because Johnson charged the men with never having

¹⁰⁸ The much quoted comment occurs in, *Voyage*, p. 109.

¹⁰⁹ Montague Paske-Smith, *Western Barbarians in Japan and Formosa in Tokugawa Days, 1603-1868* (Kobe, 1930), p. 51.

¹¹⁰ *Pilgrimes*, vol. 10, p. 87; Farrington, vol. 2, p. 948.

¹¹¹ On the activities of Hatch see ch. 8.

¹¹² M. Oppenheim (ed.), *The Naval Tracts of Sir William Monson*, 5 vols *Navy Records Society* (1902, 1912-1915), vol. 3, p. 436.

¹¹³ *Letters Received*, vol. 3, pp. 58, 60.

sat on a jury before and being ignorant of “the lawes of the lande”.¹¹⁴ The concept of a one-man jury and executioner, as found in Japan, was anathema to the contemporary British observers.

Blade Testing

The act of slicing limbs and hacking corpses to pieces immediately following execution is repeatedly mentioned in the Hirado sources. Along with decapitation, summary execution and popular participation, it is one of the key motifs which formed the quintessential ‘execution’ in Japan. Very rarely are executions mentioned without the codicil of blade testing.¹¹⁵ The grisly practice clearly shocked European eyewitnesses but it is not found in the English-language published sources. However, the British factors were almost unique amongst observers in misunderstanding and misinterpreting the nature of the ritual. It is usually described in the Company sources as a sickening act of voyeuristic mutilation, practiced with gusto by the common bystanders to the execution. The act must have been particularly shocking because the perpetrators were often neighbours of the victim. The latter representation of blade testing fits both the relatively spontaneous genre of diary entries and the detached, retrospective style of annual letters sent to the Company. Descriptions of the mutilation were clearly chosen for their shock value and grisly nature. Both Saris and Cocks warned their men against crimes in Hirado by relating the process of summary decapitation and defilement of bodies.¹¹⁶

Once again, the first execution mentioned by Saris proves itself to be model for so many subsequent descriptions in the Hirado sources by including the motif of blade-testing. Following the decapitation of the adulterous love-triangle (by whom?) the men who had apprehended the offenders chopped the bodies up until the pieces were “no bigger than a mans hand”.¹¹⁷ The second execution described by Saris involved three men who were killed “as the former”; beheaded and then cut into pieces.¹¹⁸ Similarly, on 20 July 1613 Saris wrote that a local governor had been cut to pieces in the street, apparently for the crime of incest.¹¹⁹ However, Saris didn’t witness these events, and if we follow the information in the *Pilgrimes* version of his journal it is unlikely that he saw any executions. Saris describes execution processions as leading out of Hirado town into the countryside.¹²⁰ It was hence unlikely that he would have witnessed killings by chance. Therefore, if Saris wasn’t witnessing all the executions mentioned in his journal, he must have simply assumed that decapitation followed by mutilation was a standard practice in Japan.

Although obviously an unpalatable practice, the main reasoning behind popular mutilation of corpses was rarely grasped by the British. As Tokugawa Ieyasu had declared, the sword was the soul of the samurai. The wearing of the *daisho* or two sword arrangement, was restricted to the samurai caste and symbolised their authority.

¹¹⁴ Moreland (ed.), *Peter Floris*, p. 65.

¹¹⁵ See, for instance, *Voyage*, pp. 101, 102, 110. *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 121, 124, 197, 245, 273; vol. 2, pp. 239, 240; vol. 3, pp. 45, 185. IOR: G/21/6 f. 191; Farrington, vol. 2, p. 863 *inter alia*.

¹¹⁶ *Voyage*, p. 95.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

¹²⁰ *Pilgrimes*, vol. 3, pp. 450-51.

Far more reverence was placed on the sword in Japan than in contemporary Europe. The respect for and value placed on edged weapons is frequently commented on in European sources, but is curiously absent from the E.I.C. accounts.¹²¹ However, it is clear that factors owned examples of both *katana* and *wakazashi*, the long and short swords respectively. They also dispatched examples as presents to friends in Britain.¹²² Although valued for decoration and external craftsmanship, the *katana* was very much a serviceable weapon in this period. Hence its renowned cutting capacity was of utmost importance. Blades were often tested with a plain wooden hilt prior to being formally mounted and sold. Alternatively, as many swords were inherited or of some antiquity, samurai could pay officials to test their blades.¹²³ In the later Tokugawa period the post of blade tester was hereditary and drawn from certain clans. Tests would often be conducted on wet straw bound around bamboo poles, which was believed to approximate the consistency of flesh and bone.¹²⁴ Alternatively, the bodies of criminals could be used for the same purpose, as theoretically these belonged to the state after death. The results of a series of cuts of varying difficulty were sometimes inscribed on the tang of blades. Describing the practice of *tameshi-giri*, Bottomley and Hopson note that official permission had to be first sought and that the bodies of murderers were taboo.¹²⁵ Neither of these limitations seem to be reflected in the Company sources, which clearly describe what they perceived as the spontaneous hacking of murderers.¹²⁶

¹²¹ References to blades can be found in Rodrigues, pp. 283-84, 310 (keenest blades in the world); Willes' *History of Trauayle*, reprinted in *Principal Navigations*, vol. 4, p. 192. See also the letter from Luis Frois translated in *Ibid.*, p. 196; Juan Gonzales de Mendoza, *History of the Great and Mighty Kingdome of China...* trans. Robert Parke (London, 1588), p. 377; Linschoten, *Itinerario*, First Book, p. 45; Pierre d'Avity, *The Estates, empires and principalities of the world...*, trans Edward Grimstone (London, 1615), p. 747; Weinstock (ed.), *My Voyage*, p. 131.

¹²² IOR: G/12/15, p. 22; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 321, IOR: G/40/23, ff. 4-7, *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 18-19 (Wickham). *Voyage*, pp. 101, 134-35 (Saris). *Relation*, p. 158, *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 98 (Cocks). IOR: G/12/15, p. 63; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 584, *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 367 (presents for Sir Thomas Smith). The Dutch who attacked the English factory in 1620 arrived with both European blades and *katana*, IOR: E/3/7 no. 841; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 785, *Diary*, vol. 3, p. 122. The export of Japanese weapons was banned by Hidetada in 1621 for strategic reasons. Details can be found in Ronald Toby, *State and Diplomacy in Early Modern Japan: Asia in the Development of the Tokugawa Bakufu* (Princeton, 1984), pp. 122-167.

¹²³ A preference for antiquity is mentioned in IOR: E/3/5, no. 565; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 641. See also Linschoten, *Itinerario*, First Book, p. 46.

¹²⁴ The art of *tameshi-giri*, which seeks to perform a series of clean cuts on bamboo and straw, is practised to this day in Japan.

¹²⁵ Ian Bottomley and A. P. Hopson, *Arms and Armour of the Samurai: The History of Weaponry in Ancient Japan* (London, 1996), p. 167.

¹²⁶ The taboo tallies with what is known of the *shintō* concept of *shokue shisō* or pollution, a subject which has received recent attention in Japanese historiography. Householders characteristically turned out servants and even relatives who were close to death to avoid the taint of death from their houses, Jurgis, S. A. Elisonas, "The Jesuits, the devil and pollution in Japan", *Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies*, vol. 1 (December, 2000), pp. 16-19. However, the examples of Elisonas are drawn from at least 50 years prior to the arrival of the British in Japan. In this period many old taboos were overturned according to Rodrigues, Cooper (ed.), *This Island*, pp. 78-80. In addition, Laurel L. Cornel argues that geronticide did not exist as a cultural practice. Its prevalence in folklore can be attributed to the fact that 90% of women in her sample spent time as widows, with over half spending over a decade in this state. Tension between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law may have encouraged fantasies of abandonment, "The deaths of old women: folklore and differential morality in nineteenth-century Japan" in Gail Lee Bernstein (ed.), *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600-1945* (Berkeley, 1991), pp. 71-87. Cornel deals with peasant society but does not reconcile her theory with the hard literary evidence provided by Elisonas. At least a relic of this taboo seems to have been encountered by the merchants.

References to the hacking of corpses in the Hirado sources should be viewed in the context of the importance of formal blade testing, rather than as distasteful mutilation. A number of European sources, including missionary, secular Iberian and Dutch, appear to have grasped this aspect of the activity. Rodrigues notes that lords would ask each other for condemned men in order to test their blades. This was done so that they might know that they could rely on the swords in the future. Rodrigues also notes that corpses were sometimes sewn up for repeated blows and commented “[t]he delight and pleasure which they feel in cutting up human bodies is astonishing, as is also the way that young boys sometimes indulge in this”.¹²⁷ Carletti leaves the reader with no doubt that the Japanese tested blades and valued those with cutting power. However, the process is far less spontaneous in his account than in the Hirado sources. He describes how “quickly examining the sword, they see whether or not it remains intact. And those scimitars are upbraided or praised according to the one condition or the other”.¹²⁸ Although the practice is frequently described in the E.I.C. sources, there is little indication of their understanding of its purpose. It is, by contrast, viewed as an inevitable savage conclusion to an execution.¹²⁹ A survey of the Hirado sources reveals that the practice of blade testing was conceived of as an absolutely integral to Japanese punishment, revenge and attack. An assault, fatal or otherwise, tended to be placed alongside the image of being cut to pieces.¹³⁰

There is an opaque reference in Cocks’ diary to Dutch involvement in a case of hacking to pieces. Cocks noted that on 8 July 1615 the Dutch had a ‘slave’ of theirs cut to pieces for theft. It is quite clear that they did not directly participate in the act and it was not summary but rather “p’r order of the justice”.¹³¹ As Cocks was not a witness the details are unclear. He did not condemn the Dutch but there is little sense of approval in his entry. However, later evidence proves that like the British, the Dutch were reluctant to have men killed for minor crimes. Cocks relates how Dutch chief Leonard Camps asked the local *daimyō* for justice against Japanese who had assaulted a Dutch captain. He asked that they be beaten with cudgels but “[a]t w’ch the king smiled & said it could not be, but, yf he would haue them cutt in peeces, he would doe it”.¹³² Not desiring their lives, the Dutch chief was forced to leave without any justice.

In general, a lack of respect for the bodies of the dead was noticed by Europeans in Japan. Saris and Carletti both observed that the bodies of dead prostitutes were treated with contempt and left on dunghills to be eaten by dogs.¹³³ Frois also notes that the bodies of paupers were buried at night in a dunghill.¹³⁴ The recently buried mariner, Thomas Davies, had his coffin dug up and his winding sheet and shirt stolen in

Whilst travelling to court in October 1618 Cocks was taken ill and noted “Our new host, seeing me sick, would not let me stay in his house”, *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 364.

¹²⁷ Cooper (ed.), *This Island*, pp. 69-70.

¹²⁸ Weinstock (ed.), *My Voyage*, pp. 107-08.

¹²⁹ For various examples see *Voyage*, pp. 101, 102, 110. *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 121, 124, 245, 197, 273; vol. 2, pp. 239, 240; vol. 3, pp. 45, 185.

¹³⁰ *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 52.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

¹³² *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 185.

¹³³ *Pilgrimes*, vol. 3, p. 448.

¹³⁴ In Willes, *History of Trauayle*, reprinted in *Principal Navigations*, p. 205.

Hirado.¹³⁵ Whilst passing through Fushimi Cocks saw the body of a murdered man cast up on a river bank “yet the country people let hym lye, & not geveing hym burial”.¹³⁶ Quite evidently there was nothing to compare to the hacking of corpses in the repertoire of E.I.C. punishments. However, one may draw parallels with some aspects of early modern European judicial thinking. The punishment for treason of hanging, drawing and quartering was designed not only for pain but also the visual terror of destroying the body. One may compare the revenge taken against the corpses of the regicides following the restoration of King Charles II. Hence, although European observers in Japan were evidently appalled at the desecration of bodies, it must be reflected that early modern Europeans could also judicially mutilate corpses.

General Severity

Certain specific themes which struck the British observers have been detailed above. However, a common thread which runs throughout their accounts is the severe nature of the justice system in Japan. Crimes which would be considered as petty offences in Britain are frequently mentioned as resulting in execution.¹³⁷ Describing the crimes punishable by death, Caron included offences such as gaming and petty theft and pithily continued “and all the Delinquents which deserve the rigour of Justice with us in Europe, undergo the same penalty [death] here”.¹³⁸ Caron clearly implies that minor crimes do not deserve the penalties accorded them in Japan. In Hirado, Cocks record that a man was executed for not following the directions of the Matsuura concerning preparations for the *Ō Bun* festival.¹³⁹ Whilst it is argued elsewhere that Cocks may have been reporting hearsay or excusing his own participation in the pagan festival, the incident is entirely typical of many recorded by the company factors.¹⁴⁰ During his time in Ōsaka, Wickham noted that an independent weigher was appointed for the trading post during his dealings with a *bakufu* order. The man was threatened with death if he showed favour either to Wickham or to the Japanese purveyors.¹⁴¹ One of the sailors on Adams’ first voyage on the *Sea Adventure* was accused of illicit sex with an Okinawan girl. The circumstances of the incident are unclear but it did not seem to involve adultery.¹⁴² Although abduction is initially implied, the fact that Adams mentions jealousy amongst the ship’s officers probably hints at the girl’s consent. A ship’s council condemned both parties to death, although it is unclear how the matter would have been treated by the local *bugyō*, under whose jurisdiction the girl lay. The eventual punishment is not recorded but Adams overturned the death sentence using a form of judicial veto.¹⁴³ Although adultery with a married woman could incur the death penalty in England, most forms of illicit sex

¹³⁵ *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 105.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 282.

¹³⁷ On the appropriate punishments for various offences in contemporary England see Ian Wallace Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability: Social Relations in Elizabethan London* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 237-56.

¹³⁸ Boxer (ed.), *True Description*, p. 37.

¹³⁹ *Relation*, p. 144.

¹⁴⁰ The argument is presented in ch. 8.

¹⁴¹ IOR: G/12/15 p. 5; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 161.

¹⁴² Many of the printed sources on Japan refer to the absence of adultery and its harsh punishments.

¹⁴³ Bodleian Library: Saville MS 48; Farrington, vol. 2, p.

were dealt with in ecclesiastical courts.¹⁴⁴ Punishments usually involved no more than a ceremony of penance that could sometimes be commuted to a fine.¹⁴⁵

Even when not explicitly indicated, subtle references to judicial severity in the Japanese mentality exist between the lines of a number of recorded incidents. The governor of Nagasaki, 'Bon Diu's' pleading for the lives of British runaways from the *Clove* reveals something of his outlook on justice. He requested as a condition of their return from Nagasaki the granting of clemency to every man. The reasoning behind his stipulation was apparently his abhorrence at being the cause of another's death. Cocks does not comment on his suggestion but the remark indicates that he expected the Cape-Merchant to have the absentees executed.¹⁴⁶ The Company sources reveal a sense that the Japanese viewed execution as the obvious corollary of apprehension of a criminal. Their reactions to the rather less harsh actions of the E.I.C. are unrecorded. There are, however, examples of the Hirado factors showing a certain callousness towards Japanese actions. Wickham reveals no sense of surprise or outrage that six *bugyōs* were condemned to commit *seppuku* following accusations of theft of English goods. Although the men were eventually saved and Wickham appeared glad that the truth eventually emerged, there is no indication that he petitioned for their lives.¹⁴⁷

As some form of antithesis to the unrelenting severity of Japanese justice, it may be noted that the factory sources sometimes overturn traditional writing on the subject. Many European sources, both published and private, tended to note that death was the only punishment in use in Japan. It was claimed that prisons existed but they were used to house prisoners prior to execution rather than as a punishment in themselves.¹⁴⁸ However, a carpenter who stole from the English house was put in prison.¹⁴⁹ Death is certainly ubiquitous in the sources both as a threat and a very real action. However, the use of banishment is often mentioned in the Company sources. In the initial months of the factory, suspects of arson attacks were threatened with banishment from the domain.¹⁵⁰ *Bakufu* proscriptions against tobacco were also

¹⁴⁴ Sharpe, *Crime in Early Modern England*, p. 159. See Martin Ingram, *Church Courts, Sex and Marriage in Early Modern England, 1570-1640* (London, 1987) and G. R. Quaife, *Wanton Wenches and Wayward Wives: Peasants and Illicit Sex in Early Seventeenth Century England* (London, 1979).

¹⁴⁵ Moral offences such as drunkenness, bastardy and scolding were punished by shaming, either exclusively or as an element to violent punishment: the pillory; whipping at the cart's tail; ducking; bridling, Amussen, "Punishment", p. 11. See Gail Kern Paster, *The Body Embarrassed: Drama and the Disciplines of Shame in Early Modern England* (London, 1993) and W. I. Miller and J. Waldron, "Humiliation, and other essays on honor, social discomfort, and violence", *Michigan Law Review*, vol. 93, no. 6 (1995), pp. 1787-1804.

¹⁴⁶ *Relation*, p. 157. The actions of the runaways has been described in detail elsewhere. The implications of 'Bon Diu's' handling of the case are discussed below. The act of deserting a Company ship for the Iberian enemy was generally considered treasonous even though England and Spain were not at war at the time. A later example from the time of the Fleet of Defence illustrates how ringleaders were sometimes executed. In general, however, their 'followers' were spared death.

¹⁴⁷ IOR: G/12/15 p. 5; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 161.

¹⁴⁸ Linschoten, *Itinerario*, Book One, p. 45 mentions that prisons were not used in Japan. Exceptions would be the practice of questioning suspects during attempts to extirpate Christianity in the 1620s and 1630s. Missionary reports note that Christians were often asked to recant and upon refusal were left to rot for several months in an overcrowded prison. The practice of course had the effect of a punishment in itself. See George Elison (Jurgis Elisonas), *Deus Destroyed: The Image of Christianity in Early Modern Japan* (Cambridge, Mass., 1973; 1988), pp. 188-192.

¹⁴⁹ *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 248.

¹⁵⁰ *Relation*, p. 173. See also *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 96.

largely ignored, according to the evidence of casual comments within the sources.¹⁵¹ Referring to hearsay and rumours, Wickham commented that the factors would have to pack away their pipes.¹⁵² Cocks noted that he owned four pipes and he bought a package of tobacco for 'Susan', a housemaid.¹⁵³ It was not only the factors who ignored the proscription. Cocks recorded the receipt of a box of tobacco as a present by a local *kimono*-seller.¹⁵⁴

The record of law and order in the Hirado sources leaves puzzling ambiguities about the application of harsh punishments for various offences. There are certainly a plethora of references to summary executions for offences deemed trivial by the diarist and letter writers. However, there are also notices of murders and assaults which appear to go completely unpunished. The first voyage of the *Sea Adventure* witnessed a mutiny and small-scale skirmishes between the mariners and Japanese merchants who took passage on the junk. The leader of the mariners' mutiny was killed by Shoby Dono, an important merchant who appears sporadically in the English sources. As with much of the information contained in Adams' log the circumstances are cloudy. Shoby Dono had an armed retinue so it is unclear who actually committed the murder, which took place several days after a truce. Following the killing there is no further mention of any legal problems or involvement of the aforementioned officer's council.¹⁵⁵ Whether the leader of the mutiny was killed during a skirmish is unclear. The Hirado town executioner and his compatriots also had no qualms about assaulting John Gorezano through a slur on his reputation.¹⁵⁶ Hence, in the midst of descriptions of children executed for stealing pieces of cord, the E.I.C. sources also record a constant readiness among certain Japanese to use lethal force with seeming impunity.

3. Law and Order in the Hirado Factory

A clear ideology motivated the thinking on punishment in E.I.C. vessels and in early modern Britain in general. It was believed that judicial violence essentially maintained the power of the state and was carried out in public for all to see.¹⁵⁷ Although there was an element of retribution involved, punishment was primarily intended to deter future offenders.¹⁵⁸ The surgeon Ralph Standish evidently believed in the efficacy of corporal punishment. After a cup was stolen by a boy, Standish advised the master to whip the guilty boy very well and not to worry about the harm caused as he would tend to him afterwards.¹⁵⁹ The prevailing attitude also tended to favour singling out ringleaders rather than punishing indiscriminately. Clemency was shown to the 'flock', especially if they were young and impressionable.¹⁶⁰ If

¹⁵¹ IOR; E/3/4 no. 362; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 416.

¹⁵² IOR; G/12/15 p. 39; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 448.

¹⁵³ *Diary*, vol. 3, pp. 207, 42.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 55.

¹⁵⁵ Bodleian Library, Saville Ms 48; Farrington, vol. 2, p. 1059.

¹⁵⁶ *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 49. See also p. 68.

¹⁵⁷ Amussen, "Punishment", pp. 6, 11.

¹⁵⁸ This is stated in *Voyage*, p. 120.

¹⁵⁹ Foster (ed.), *Voyage of Thomas Best*, p. 117.

¹⁶⁰ *Relation*, p. 157; William Foster (ed.), *The Journal of John Jourdain, 1608-1617, Describing his Experiences in Arabia, India and the Malay Archipelago*, Hakluty Society, Second Series, no. XVI (1905), pp. 42, 80. Cynthia Herrup has shown how discretion and clemency were an important part of the judicial process. Juries and common people typically distinguished between citizens and criminals.

malefactors were penitent, sentences were sometimes softened or clemency granted.¹⁶¹ Saris instructed the master of the *Clove* to “punish according to there [the crew’s] misdemeanour, and to forgive and remit as they shalbe trulye penytent”.¹⁶² Two objectives of punishment were stated in a council of merchants in Surat; the punishment of offenders and the creation of a warning for future transgressors.¹⁶³

The punishments used on board E.I.C. and other naval vessels of the day were continued whilst at port, where sailors were obliged to remain aboard ship. Punishments were ordered by the captain and generally carried out by the master. There was no role for the cape-merchant. As previously noted, prior to 1623 the E.I.C. was deficient in regulations governing the disciplining of factors. Therefore the study of the application of law and order relies on examples drawn from the common mariner. Company commissions are generally unspecific regarding details of appropriate punishments but understood a commonly accepted canon of punishment. The ambiguity is also reflected in records of courts of merchants in the East Indies. For instance, a court in Siam in 1615 ordered that servants not attending watch in the house should be treated to the “usual” punishments.¹⁶⁴ In departing advice to Thomas Aldworth in Surat, Nicholas Downton recommended giving “sharp reprehensions” to disorderly persons, followed by unspecified punishment if behaviour did not improve.¹⁶⁵ Details of these were noted down by Sir William Monson in his *Naval Commentaries* and appear sporadically in logbooks. According to the naval writings of Monson, punishments would be made “according to the offence committed”. His list of suitable punishments is well represented in the logbooks of the E.I.C. and includes the bilboes (a form of stocks), fasting, ducking at yard arm, keel-hauling and flogging.¹⁶⁶ Certain punishments were clearly tailored for severity in order to meet more heinous offences. There was no concept of a blanket punishment. Monson also neglects to mention capital punishment. The death penalty was only levied on the most serious offences, namely desertion and murder. Offences such as theft, brawling, insubordination and insults against officers received corporal punishment. For instance, in Hirado a black sailor was beaten for stealing John Japan’s cloak, as was Jasper Malconty for abusing Li Tan’s hospitality.¹⁶⁷ Ducking was also used, as was keel-hauling on occasions. References in British sources also indicate that the Dutch meted out very similar punishments against employees in their Hirado factory.¹⁶⁸

The day-to-day application of justice and punishment in the English factory throws up a number of problems. For instance, Cocks, as cape-merchant, had the power to punish the resident British mariners and discipline his factors, but what of the non-

The former committed crimes through transitory weakness, whilst the latter were genuinely sinful and evil, “Law and morality”, p. 110. Most law breakers were seen not as criminals but as errant souls.

¹⁶¹ *Voyage*, p. 120.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 118. Saris later refers to clemency granted for being “sorrofull”, i.e., repentant, *Ibid.*, p. 120.

¹⁶³ *Letters Received*, vol. 5, p. 139.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 108.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

¹⁶⁶ Monson, *Naval Tracts*, vol. 3, p. 436. For punishments listed in naval commissions see *Ibid.*, vol. 4, pp. 199, 200-201 (in particular), 216-17. Again, these follow closely the punishments mentioned in E.I.C. sources. See n. 108 above.

¹⁶⁷ *Voyage*, pp. 90, 94.

¹⁶⁸ E.g. *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 63.

British employees?¹⁶⁹ A number of local Iberians were contracted to the Company from time to time. On hearing that the Italian Damian Marin intended private trade in Company ambergris, Cocks wrote that he would take him to "the justice".¹⁷⁰ The comment is strange, as Marin was clearly an employee and bound to the Company. As if there was any doubt on the matter, the following entry of 12 June 1615 makes it clear that he was considered an E.I.C. servant.¹⁷¹ The exact procedures for the punishment of Japanese staff of the Hirado factory is also unclear.¹⁷² There are some instances of direct punishment by Cocks and others of his seeking the attention of local authorities. Adams mentioned that on his trading voyages to South East Asia a "justis of Jappan" would handle any complaints of mariners against him.¹⁷³ It is also unclear how native servants were punished is also cloudy in the other East Indian factories. James Lancaster's privileges from the Sultan of Acheh in 1602 allowed the English to exercise their own laws on internal factory matters. However, in cases involving subjects of Acheh, the sultan would provide justice.¹⁷⁴ The clauses leave an ambiguity concerning provisions for Achenese employed in the factory.

What is clear is that Japanese servants were punished according to the familiar legal standards of the merchants rather than the more severe Japanese modes.¹⁷⁵ A similar trend was followed in other East Indian factories. Edmund Scott noted that the English did not desire the death of a Javanese arsonist although local law allowed them to kill him on the spot, as in Japan.¹⁷⁶ Hence we find floggings for theft, and clemency shown towards the penitent and the young. The legal standards of trial and evidence were also transplanted from early modern Britain to the Japan factory. It is clear that Cocks valued witnesses and proof during accusations against his staff, mariners and factors.¹⁷⁷ The case of 'Man', a former boy servant of the factory, illustrates several points about the prevailing judicial thinking of the factory members. In 1621, 'Man' was apprehended in Nagasaki for a previous theft from the factory. He was imprisoned in the English house and interrogated for several days until he confessed, whereupon he was whipped.¹⁷⁸ The cases shows that Cocks certainly believed in the use of punishment and went to the trouble of bringing the boy back from Nagasaki and interrogating him for a number of days. Cocks did not punish him immediately, although he was certain of his guilt by describing him as a thief on the incident's first mention on 24 February 1621.¹⁷⁹ He was content to wait a long time for the case to be resolved, which lasted from February to April, in order to obtain a true confession. According to Japanese law, Cocks was quite free to execute the boy,

¹⁶⁹ Although able to punish mariners, whilst away at court Saris advised Cocks that he was not to trouble himself with the crew of the *Clove*. Discipline was to be handled by the master, *Voyage*, p. 117.

¹⁷⁰ *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 14.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷² The judicial punishment of serving boys has already been touched upon in ch. 5.

¹⁷³ Bodleian Library: Saville Ms 48; Farrington, vol. 2, p. 1053. "The justice" is also mentioned several times in connection with terrestrial disputes with Japanese, e.g. *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 21.

¹⁷⁴ *Letters Received*, vol. 1, pp. 2, 3-4.

¹⁷⁵ For examples of punishments see *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 364, 365; vol. 2, pp. 150, 221, 284; vol. 3, pp. 121, 122, 210. IOR: E/3/8 no. 995; Farrington, vol. 2, pp. 852-3, 854.

¹⁷⁶ Edmund Scott, *An Exact Discourse of the Subtilties...of the East Indians, as well Chyneses as Javans...* (London, 1606), reprinted in William Foster (ed.), *The Voyage of Sir Henry Middleton to the Moluccas, 1604-1606*, *Hakluyt Society*, Second Series, No. LXXXVIII (1943), p. 92.

¹⁷⁷ *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 45-6.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 58-82, *passim*.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 58.

both for his crime and as Cocks' privilege as a master. Indeed, his diary records many such trivial executions in the locality of Hirado.¹⁸⁰

As befits the litigious nature of the period, there is a consistent sense in the diary of Cocks' legal rights and responsibilities towards others.¹⁸¹ His early relation of an incident where he was reluctant to trouble the local *daimyō* because visiting nobles had paid only what they thought right for English goods (and not the price asked) was probably an attempt to appear modest and unfussy.¹⁸² He was unwilling to perform outside of the law and negotiate extra-legal deals, a mode of justice which was traditionally encouraged in Japan.¹⁸³ However, to Cocks' credit it must be acknowledged that his legal sabre-rattling often paid off in intimidating the Dutch and Japanese.¹⁸⁴ There is a constant sense in his diary that his legal privileges were being infringed by Japanese and other Europeans. Cocks resented the Dutch or Iberians who disciplined servants belonging to the English house.¹⁸⁵ Recourse to the shōgun was the ultimate appeal but was inevitably time consuming.¹⁸⁶ In certain cases Cocks made clear declarations of his thoughts on his privileges "that no justice in Japon might meddel w'th me nor no servant in my house, but p'r the Emperou[r]s p'rmitiōn".¹⁸⁷ It is unclear if this statement was intended to encompass both British and Japanese employees or only the former. Cocks also often remarked that he held Europeans to be no justices in Japan.¹⁸⁸

4. Similarities and Differences between British and Japanese Legal concepts

Stated succinctly, there were few similarities between Japanese justice and the paradigm familiar to E.I.C. servants, that of early modern Britain. However, a number of parallels may still be drawn. These examples tend to be consistent with the socio-legal ideas of early modern British/European society rather than being specifically relevant to the E.I.C.. For example, the Japanese authorities appear to have placed value on the notion of reputation and suspected guilt. A local governor was cut to pieces in Hirado because he was believed to have committed incest.¹⁸⁹ Caron makes an interesting statement concerning women being executed on suspicion of having had illicit conversation with men: "it being no less criminal to be thought ill than to be really so".¹⁹⁰ It is not known whether Caron was speaking figuratively or in earnest. The absence of trials and generally summary nature of punishment in Japan has

¹⁸⁰ *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 24 (for stealing a small boat); vol. 2, p. 140 (a small barque); *Pilgrimes*, vol. 3, p. 451 (a sack of rice from a burning building). William Eaton's boy was put to death for stealing a piece of cord, IOR: E/3/4 no. 370; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 435.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 8, 91-92.

¹⁸² *Relation*, p. 161.

¹⁸³ See use of reconciliation below.

¹⁸⁴ E.g. *Dairy*, vol. 1, p. 45. Wickham wrote that from experience Magome Kageyu, Adams' father-in-law, feared having to deal with the justice Honda Masanobu and usually caved in to Wickham's threats about using the law, IOR: G/12/15, p. 16; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 295.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 44, 81.

¹⁸⁶ E.g., *Ibid.*, pp. 80, 82.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.* See also vol. 2, pp. 8, 91-2.

¹⁸⁸ E.g., *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 44, 81.

¹⁸⁹ *Voyage*, p. 110.

¹⁹⁰ Boxer (ed.), *True Description*, p. 32.

already been touched upon. However, the majority of cited examples have involved criminals being caught in the act by their neighbours rather than rumours of guilt. A common belief amongst the local community that a person was guilty was an important consideration in early modern Britain.¹⁹¹ The legal logic reasoned that popular rumours had to be rooted in reality to some extent. Indeed, even in the English factory in Japan, examples can be found of the factors subscribing to the theory of repute and common belief in the absence of proof.¹⁹² Describing a fight between Rowland Thomas and John Hatch, Cocks recorded that the whole of the crew placed the blame for the affray on Thomas, based on his previous reputation.¹⁹³

Both the Japanese authorities and local people showed a wariness and suspicion of strangers that was entirely typical of early modern Britain.¹⁹⁴ People committing crimes outside of their home parish risked losing much of the clemency typically granted to offenders in terms of the harshness of their sentence. Evidence presented by Cynthia Herrup for East Sussex shows that whilst only 13% of local residents were hanged for a felony this rose to 56% of felons identified as strangers.¹⁹⁵ Idle men of Kyōto were blamed for the arson attacks in Hirado in the summer of 1613. Similarly, the Matsuura warned people to be diligent in observing strangers.¹⁹⁶

Another aspect of consideration in Japanese law which would have been familiar to the factors is the concept of defending reputation. In this particular example the implications were not concerned so much with slander or libel but rather the notion of crimes having surrogate victims. For instance, Cocks was aggrieved that the factory *jurebasso* John Gurozano was assaulted, and championed his case before the justice.¹⁹⁷ Such a course would have been expected in Britain as part of Cocks' patriarchal duties towards his servants. Cocks was not only using his superior influence and financial backing to defend a wronged employee. Early modern thinking decreed that Cocks was effectively the surrogate victim of the assault, due to the damage done to his prestige and authority.¹⁹⁸ The notion may be compared with

¹⁹¹ Sharpe, "The people and the law", pp. 262-64.

¹⁹² E.g. *Voyage*, p. 120.

¹⁹³ *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 80.

¹⁹⁴ Nagahara Keiji sees this phenomenon as a development in the frequency of *ikki* or peasant revolts. Social unity was essential for strength and many commoners became introvert. In central Japan motes were even dug around villages for defence. A sense of exclusivity sometimes prompted village codes to prohibit the accommodation of travellers. "Village communities and daimyo power", in John Whitney Hall and Toyoda Takeshi (eds), *Japan in the Muromachi Age* (Berkeley, 1977), p. 121. See also Perez, *Daily Life*, p. 137.

¹⁹⁵ Herrup, "Law and morality", p. 118. A key point in the mentality was that strangers hadn't temporarily lapsed in their behaviour but rather planned their crimes.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 172, 173.

¹⁹⁷ *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 49. Gurozano was a quarrelsome figure and caused much trouble for the factory prior to his dismissal. See Farrington's biographical sketch, vol. 2, p. 1556.

¹⁹⁸ For the concept of personal honour see Fox, "Ballads, libels and popular ridicule", pp. 47-83 and Bellany, "Raylinge rymes and vaunting verse", pp. 285-310. There has been a lot of attention to the role of women as both perpetrators and victims of slander. See Laura Gowing, "Language, power and the law: women's slander litigation in early modern London", in Kermode and Walker (eds), *Women, Crime and the Courts*, pp. 28-47; Laura Gowing, *Domestic Dangers: Women, Words and Sex in Early Modern London* (London, 1996), chapters 3 and 4 and Laura Gowing, "Women, status and the popular culture of dishonour", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Sixth Series, vol. 6 (1996), pp. 225-34. On the gendered concepts of personal honour see Faramerz Dabhoiwala, "The construction of honour, reputation and status in late seventeenth century and early eighteenth century England", in

the concept of the King's Peace, which decreed that crimes committed against royal subjects were also committed against the monarch.¹⁹⁹ The Japanese authorities appear to have been familiar with such thinking and dealt directly with Cocks rather than his employee. A second similar case also involves the troublesome John Gorezano. Matsuura Takanobu presented Cocks with a number of options to solve the estrangement between Gorezano and his wife. If we follow Cocks' diary, it is quite clear that Takanobu presented the options and was not responding to Cocks' suggestions.²⁰⁰ Hence he subscribed to familiar notions of paternity and damage to reputation by association. Cocks' wording leaves little room for doubt that a similar paradigm had been found by the factory.

Attitudes to infanticide were very different in Jacobean England and Japan. The fact that infanticide was widely practiced in Japan is clearly stated in much of the contemporary published literature. Willes wrote that it was justified by scarcity, the inhabitants "preferring death to want".²⁰¹ Frois mentioned that girls were especially prone to be victims.²⁰² The prevalence of infanticide also struck European eye-witness in their private accounts. According to a Jesuit critique of Japanese religions, "Sumário dos erros en que os gentios do Japão vivem e da algumas seitas gentílicas en que principalmente confia" (c.1556), it was the influence of the devil as manifest through Shinto that encouraged abortion and infanticide.²⁰³ To some extent the Buddhist belief in reincarnation was responsible for "sending back", as infanticide was euphemistically termed.²⁰⁴ Caron was horrified by the practice of infanticide even within the *bakufu* court. It is described as "so black a deed" and was "cruelly performed".²⁰⁵ Carletti also makes interesting observations on the practice, loosely linking it, along with suicide, to the belief in reincarnation. Perpetrators did not believe that they were committing a sin but rather freeing a poor soul to be reborn into a better life. Like Willes, he also likened abortion to poverty.²⁰⁶ Carletti was also astute in observing that despite the Buddhist patina of legitimacy, infanticide contravened religious prohibitions on the taking of life.²⁰⁷

Ibid., pp. 201-13 and Garthine Walker, "Expanding the boundaries of female honour in early modern England", in *Ibid.*, pp. 235-48.

¹⁹⁹ Shōgunal protection of *shuinjō* voyages against pirates and molestation also has a parallel with the King's Peace.

²⁰⁰ *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 59.

²⁰¹ *Principal Navigations*, vol. 4, p. 192.

²⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 196.

²⁰³ Jurgis Elisonas, "The Jesuits, the devil, and pollution in Japan", *Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies*, vol. 1 (2000), p. 9.

²⁰⁴ See William R. LaFleur, *Liquid Life: Abortion and Buddhism in Japan* (Princeton, 1992), particularly, pp. 69-118 on the Tokugawa period. The importance of abortion and infanticide to Japanese culture has received little historiographical attention. Laurel L. Cornell's article, "Infanticide in early modern Japan? Demography, culture and population growth", *Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 55, no. 1 (1996), pp. 22-50 examines qualitative evidence and presents statistical analysis. However, it concentrates on the eighteenth century and generally sums up the available secondary literature. Cornell's article is important in stressing factors such as sick children who would have died anyway had they not been killed.

²⁰⁵ Boxer (ed.), *True Description*, p. 24.

²⁰⁶ Weinstock (ed.), *My Voyage*, p. 125.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 177.

In Jacobean England infanticide and abortion were viewed as murder as punished in the same way.²⁰⁸ Contemporary pamphlets represented child murder as a complete inversion of the natural ties between mother and baby. As most culprits were unmarried servants, the crime also illustrated the depravity of masterless women who were not under the patriarchal control of a father or husband.²⁰⁹ A number of cases of infanticide were reported by Cocks over the ten-year span of the factory. In the case of the children of visiting British mariners, Cocks gave financial support to the women and pleaded with them not to dispose of their children. He reported to Saris that he gave two *taels* to a “whore” to discourage her from aborting her baby “it being an ordinary thing here”. However, despite the gift she killed it as soon as it was born.²¹⁰ In describing the privileges of householders to sell their children or wives, Cocks continued “But the most horriblest thing of all is that parentes may kill their owne children soe sowne as they are borne yf they have not the wherew’thall to nourishe them”. He continued “I have knowne [it done] by parentes to two yonge children since I came to Firando”.²¹¹ Commentators particularly noticed that not only was the practice socially acceptable, it was also practised in the full knowledge of the law. Reporting indignantly on the activities of prostitutes in Hirado, visiting captain Robert Adams wrote that “when the woemen have children here, if they will keepe them alive they may, if they will kill them they may”.²¹²

A very common theme in contemporary descriptions of Japan, both published and private, was the right of heads of households to kill their own families and of masters to kill their servants.²¹³ This privilege was described by Robert Parkes as “a thing far different from any good policie”.²¹⁴ Linschoten noted that the right to beat, punish as thought best and execute was extended not only to governors and military leaders but also to household heads.²¹⁵ It should be noted that extreme punishment within the household was always described in negative terms by European commentators on Japan. Carletti wrote that “the system of subjugation is such that each one can kill someone because of his position, without danger of being questioned as to why, and superiors have that authority over their vassals, masters over their servants and slaves”.²¹⁶ As described in chapter 5, under the section on servants, early modern thinking believed that the householder should maintain discipline in his own house. He was not only free to do this largely without legal interference but it was a responsibility in order to avoid disorder in the community. Contemporaries saw an

²⁰⁸ Keith Wrightson, “Infanticide in earlier seventeenth century England”, *Local Population Studies*, 15 (Autumn, 1975), pp. 10-22; Keith Wrightson, “Infanticide in European history”, *Criminal Justice History*, 3 (1982), pp. 1-20; Laura Gowing, “Secret births and infanticide in seventeenth century England”, *Past and Present*, 156 (August, 1997), pp. 87-115. The criminalisation of abortion is dealt with in Shelley Gavigan, “The criminal sanction as it relates to human reproduction: the genesis of the statutory prohibition of abortion”, *Journal of Legal History*, 5, no. 1 (1984), pp. 20-43.

²⁰⁹ 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. 226. However, as Lake illustrates, not all the murderers in pamphlet literature were female, *Ibid.*, pp. 226-27.

²¹⁰ *Pilgrimes*, vol. 3, p. 554; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 254.

²¹¹ PRO: CO 77/1 no. 42; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 260.

²¹² IOR: E/3/7 no. 908; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 813.

²¹³ E.g. Frois in *Principal Navigations*, vol. 4, p. 197; Jorge Alvares, summarised in Boxer, *Christian Century*, pp. 32-36.

²¹⁴ Parkes, *History*, p. 379.

²¹⁵ Linschoten, *Itinerario*, First Book, p. 47.

²¹⁶ Weinstock (ed.), *My Voyage*, p. 125.

analogy between the village constable and the family head.²¹⁷ The notion of patriarchy was very important and close analogies were drawn between family and state; the one being the microcosm of the other.²¹⁸ However, there was never any suggestion in early modern England that a household head should be allowed to kill his own family or servants under the pretext of disciplining them. The Japanese practice is described by Cocks as “the most horrible thing” and notes that it was committed “w’thout incurring any danger of the law”.²¹⁹

According to the evidence of the E.I.C. sources, Japanese punishments were always carried out. By contrast, the Company factors often mitigated punishments for various reasons. Sentences were often commuted or men were relieved from the bilboes (a form of stocks) on the entreaty of others, sometimes the victims themselves.²²⁰ In trying to maintain discipline the Company faced a continual problem. They possessed no independent authority who could punish their servants. Minor naval officers were requested to punish erstwhile colleagues and friends; men with whom they would have to cohabit for the duration of the voyage. This apparent quandary often led men to refuse to carry out punishments. Richard Monke was sentenced to be flogged for abusing the boatswain. The men refused to carry out the sentence, at which point Captain Harris produced the voyage commission, apparently to little effect.²²¹ Thomas Best intended to hang runaways to the Portuguese. However, objections from the ship’s company forced him to reduce the sentence to hanging the ringleader. Even this was not acceptable and he was eventually forced to let all the men go.²²² Thomas Brockedon complained to the Company that his captain was afraid to punish misdemeanours and venture incurring the wrath of the men.²²³ Pragmatic reasons sometimes forces the mitigation of justice. Captain Pepwell described the pardoning of a group of mariners who combined with Dutch freebooters. They apparently deserved death but the loss of such a large number of men would render the return voyage impossible.²²⁴

European writers of both published sources and private letters, including Adams, often mention the equality of all before the law in Japan, which left not the highest lord free from prosecution. Some of the factory letters to the Company and Sir Thomas Wilson also note this egalitarianism. In truth however, the Japanese legal system was segregated according to the four castes and the casteless, such as doctors

²¹⁷ Amussen, “Punishment”, p. 5.

²¹⁸ See G. Schochet, *Patriarchalism in Political Thought* (London, 1975) and R. A. Chapman, “Leviathan writ small: Thomas Hobbes on the family”, *American Political Science Review*, vol. 49 (1975), pp. 76-90. For the practical application of patriarchal thinking see Amussen, *An Ordered Society*.

²¹⁹ PRO: CO 77/1 no. 42; Farrington, vol. 1, pp. 259, 260. Unfortunately the ms is damaged for the following six centimetres so we don’t know how Cocks elaborated on the latter point.

²²⁰ E.g., *Letters Received*, vol. 3, p. 81. The most effective entreaties usually came from visiting foreign officers, merchants or ambassadors. See Strachan (ed.), *East India Company Journals*, p. 140 (Portuguese ambassador to Achin); Foster (ed.), *Journal of John Jourdain*, p. 132 (pleas by locals); Moreland (ed.), *Peter Floris*, pp. 125-26 (local nobles); Foster (ed.), *Voyage of Thomas Best*, p. 115 (governor of Amadabar), *Ibid.*, p. 162 (Siamese ambassador). However, E.I.C. commanders also pleaded for the lives of natives when at port, e.g., *Ibid.*, p. 134.

²²¹ *Letters Received*, vol. 6, pp. 15-16.

²²² Foster (ed.), *Voyage of Thomas Best*, pp. 126-27. Best excused himself in his journal by claiming that after such a stout attack on Portuguese shipping in Surat, he could deny the men nothing.

²²³ *Letters Received*, vol. 2, p. 65.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 5, p. 156.

and priests. Different courts would try the cases of each respective caste. Commoners would be held in a *rōya* or general prison whilst samurai were sent to the *agarizashiki* or samurai prison. Major lords would be held in house arrest at a fellow noblemen's residence.²²⁵ The vast majority of the Company sources refer to the legal procedures affecting commoners. Of course, the Company did not have a caste system. However, different procedures were operation for dealing with mariners and merchants, as noted earlier.²²⁶

The sensational nature of early accounts of Japan meant that notions as mundane as reconciliation of disputes did not interfere with accounts of crucifixions and disembowelments. However, this tends to obscure the high importance placed upon disputes being resolved within the community without troubling the legal authorities. The strong socio-communal grounding of early Tokugawa Japan is reflected in the role of the *gonin-gumi* system (the five-family ward unit which was compelled to monitor the behaviour of its members). The most immediate corollary of this system in the Company sources is communal participation in apprehension of criminals and group punishments. The feudal system which existed in contemporary Japan frowned on the concept of a litigious community which spent valuable time pursuing legal disputes through courts. A commoner was expected not to waste the time of his land owner in such a fashion, and his responsibility was to maintain harmony wherever possible. In his study of early modern Japanese legal documents, Wigmore observed how a recalcitrant plaintiff often fared no better than the defendant.²²⁷ There was hence a tendency towards conciliation and arbitration, although legal courses were available. Local *daimyō* wished to prevent discord and turbulence amongst their peasants and thus sought to instil an attitude of compromise. Litigious communities lost both labour and money and were hence generally poor. This is seen by modern commentators as a defining aspect of the Japanese character; the willingness to endure annoyance for the sake of communal harmony. Indeed the evidence of the material assembled under Wigmore's editorship would suggest that reconciliation was the primary method of settling disputes.²²⁸

Unlike accounts such as Willes' *History of Travel* and Linschoten's *Itinerario*, the Company sources were not written with an eye to publication. However, human nature tends to mean that the extremely mundane will be ignored in favour of the extraordinary. Therefore, whilst the sources note frequent executions and an uncompromising attitude, they may well have missed the more pacific aspects of law enforcement. In the early months of the factory, a British sailor made a drunken unprovoked attack on a local man. However, the man didn't want to involve the law and actually entreated for the sailor's pardon.²²⁹ As we have seen, the Nagasaki official 'Bon Diu' also pleaded for clemency for the runaways from the English

²²⁵ Wigmore (ed.), *Law and Justice*, part 1, p. 56.

²²⁶ The Company was granted license to execute the King's Peace *in absentia* but only on behalf of maritime servants. Regulations which allowed the punishment of merchants were not introduced until February 1623, far too late to be effected in Hirado, which closed in December of that year. Hence even quite serious offences were dealt with separately from the men and were usually reserved for judgment upon return to London. Punishments were generally pecuniary and related to dismissal rather than more serious consequences.

²²⁷ Wigmore (ed.), *Law and Justice*, part 1, p. 41.

²²⁸ The system is discussed in *Ibid.*, pp. 40-45.

²²⁹ *Relation*, pp. 149-50.

factory.²³⁰ In another example concerning a dispute between the *jurebasso* John Gorezano and the “Sea bongew”, the Matsuura sent their “cheefe man” to counsel Cocks to drop his legal support of his *jurebasso*. Cocks was told that both plaintiff and defendant may have to commit *seppuku* depending on the findings of the magistrate, and was hence persuaded to drop the matter.²³¹ In the same diary entry ‘Skidayen dono’ promised to make an accord between Gorezano and his estranged wife.²³² Matsuura Shigetada told Cocks that he could make Gorezano’s wife return to her husband whether she consented or not.²³³ However, it is unclear to what extent the ruling family played a role in community reconciliation, like the J.P.s of contemporary England, or whether Cocks was interpreting actions through a familiar paradigm. There is an interesting reference in January 1617, in connection with a dispute over possession of *sappan* wood from a factory-sponsored voyage to South East Asia. Cocks claimed that the wood belonged to the English factory, whilst the Japanese mariners who had staffed the vessel argued that they bought a loading of *sappan* for resale in Japan, as part of their privileges.²³⁴ ‘Taccamon dono’ was sent by the Matsuura to persuade Cocks to give the mariners a small grant from the cargo “otherwais, yf law proceeded, it would cost them their lives”.²³⁵ According to his diary Cocks immediately relented. The above incidents show that although the factors typically characterised Japanese justice as strict and severe in theory, informal reconciliation could often by-pass the legal process.

The use of reconciliation as discussed above was also a popular method in early modern Britain. Despite the litigious reputation of the country in the early modern period, evidence suggests that mediation played a large role in potential conflicts.²³⁶ The instigator could be a local Justice of the peace, or less formally family members, prominent village figures, local clergy, gentry or aristocracy.²³⁷ Despite being approved as a means of curbing unnecessary litigation, extra-legal arbitration was not completely informal. Third parties would often draw up legally-binding agreements, according to established precedents.²³⁸ It was also a tactic advised by E.I.C. officers and widely deployed aboard ship and in factory life. Cocks personally was keen to avoid disputes through a process of reconciliation.²³⁹

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

²³¹ *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 52.

²³² *Ibid.*

²³³ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

²³⁴ *Sappan* was used to dye clothes a bright red and proved to be a popular commodity for Japan.

²³⁵ *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 7.

²³⁶ On litigious reputation see James Sharpe, “The people and the law” in Read (ed.), *Popular Culture*, pp. 244-70; C. W. Brooks, *Pettyfoggers and Vipers of the Commonwealth: The ‘Lower Branch’ of the Legal Profession in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 1986); C. W. Brooks, “Interpersonal conflict and social tension: civil litigation in England, 1640-1830”, in A. L. Beier *et al* (eds), *The First Modern Society* (London, 1989), pp. 201-240. The bulk of Sir Thomas Smith’s treatise, *De Republica Anglorum* is taken up by discussing the law, Dewar (ed.), pp. 88-144. The shift away from litigation through the courts in the later seventeenth century is handled in J. M. Beattie, “Patterns of crime in England”, *Past and Present*, 62 (1974), pp. 47-95

²³⁷ See Craig Muldrew, “The culture of reconciliation: community and the settlement of economic disputes in early modern England”, *Historical Journal*, 39, no. 4 (1996), pp. 930, 932. People generally looked above their social station for a mediator.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 931.

²³⁹ E.g., *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 43-53.

In conclusion, despite similarities, there were a number of differences between the Japanese and English conceptions of justice. There were obvious parallels in the value of reputation, popular rumour and reconciliation. However, the standing of the law in relation to treatment of dependents varied greatly between the two countries. As we have seen, although wives, children and servants could be 'corrected' by family heads in England, there was no question that the patriarchal figure was allowed to freely kill either his family or employees, as was the situation in Japan.²⁴⁰

Conclusion

The harshness of the legal system in Japan is a central theme that comes across very powerfully in the Hirado sources. As stated in the introduction, the merchants were not just peripheral observers of crimes and executions; there were many instances of direct involvement. A number of their friends and servants were executed and Cocks made efforts to defend his employees against legal action.²⁴¹ He also made earnest attempts to try and stay the execution of local people for what he would have considered to be trivial crimes.²⁴² Because of their influential position, both the Dutch and British were forced to make regular recourse with local justices in order to voice grievances.

In an attempt to excuse the Japanese of the Tokugawa era, many historians have been keen to stress the fact that Japanese society was not uniquely cruel or unjust. Writers typically cite the fact that similar atrocities to those described in visitors' reports took place in contemporary Europe.²⁴³ Often mentioned are the activities of the Holy Inquisition, witch-hunts and the massacres of the Thirty Years' War.²⁴⁴ Such reasoning may well be true. However, what is not accounted for is the fact that the Hirado merchants, like their contemporary Europeans in Japan, obviously found something particularly shocking in early modern Japan. Historians have not considered why they were indignant despite supposedly being used to gruesome executions at home. The Europeans were not simply hypocritically castigating the excesses of one culture whilst ignoring similar behaviour in their own. E.I.C. merchants of the period would have been reasonably hardened to naval warfare, public executions and the omnipresence of death, either by disease or violence. On the way to Japan, Saris reported gruesome details of a skirmish between Ternate and Tidore, which included the presentation of enemy heads.²⁴⁵ The incident was worthy of comment in his journal but there is no indication that he was necessarily shocked or even condemnatory towards the practice. Cocks heard a report from a Spaniard that the visiting English captain Robert Adams had beheaded another English captain in

²⁴⁰ See ch. 5.

²⁴¹ Eaton's boy was killed for stealing a piece of cord, IOR: E/3/4 no. 370; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 435.

²⁴² E.g., *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 24.

²⁴³ Sansom, *Short Cultural History*, p. 431; Cooper, "Second Englishman in Japan", p. 157n; Milton, *Samurai William*, p. 228. On a slightly different angle, Dan Fenno Henderson's article stresses throughout that the harsh penalties and judicial torture of criminal law have tended to obscure the refinements of Tokugawa civil law, "The evolution of Tokugawa law", pp. 203-29.

²⁴⁴ However, only continental merchants amongst the British might have had any contact with the Inquisition, Pauline Croft, "Englishmen and the Spanish Inquisition, 1558-1625", *English Historical Review*, vol. LXXXVII (1972), pp 249-68. The Thirty Years' War was also fought on the continent and punishments such as burning at the stake were relatively uncommon in Britain as compared to continental Europe. See Archer, *Pursuit of Stability*, pp. 237-56

²⁴⁵ *Voyage*, p. 55.

the Philippines.²⁴⁶ The Dutch also beheaded a condemned sailor in their house.²⁴⁷ There are abundant and prosaic notices of deaths of his crew throughout the voyage to Hirado.²⁴⁸ The answer to the dilemma appears to be that the main difference between the cruelty and brutality of England on the one hand and Japan on the other, was that in the former country mutilation and executions were carried out under trial and by recognised legal authority. In Japan, on the other hand, harsh punishments were typically summary and carried out by bystanders. Given that early modern Englishmen were so litigious and that all aspects of justice in the Hirado factory were carried out according to commissions, there must have been a clear difference between mutilation, for example, in England, and its counterpart in Japan. It was this crucial difference that shocked the Hirado factors. Despite a certain conditioning to death and hardship it is clear that certain themes could not be separated from each other in the British mind. For instance, following the duel between Wickham and Hernando Ximines, Saris quotes the strict law applicable in Japan. Immediately the practices of collective responsibility and blade-testing are mentioned.²⁴⁹ As examined earlier, it may have been that Saris tried to discourage and frighten his crew by quoting extreme responses but the language of his entry suggests genuine injustice. The harsh laws also struck Carletti as particularly reprehensible. In his travel account various regional punishments and methods of execution are sparingly treated everywhere in the world apart from Japan, were they receive detailed and condemnatory discussion.²⁵⁰

The Hirado letters and journals show a marked difference from the handling of law and order in contemporary published sources. As has been shown throughout this chapter, the picture of the unfairness and severity of Japanese law in one of the most striking features of the Hirado sources. Although the subject of justice is referred to in some of the contemporary sources it was not a ubiquitous feature, nor was the treatment typically detailed. The table below contrasts the frequency of descriptions of harsh legal punishments with other common themes found in the literature:

Table no. 4. Mention of harsh law in published accounts of Japan.²⁵¹

	Harsh law	Food	Character	Truculence	Appearance	Silver wealth
Willes (1577)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes
Frois (1577)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Federici (1588)						Yes
Parkes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

²⁴⁶ *Diary*, vol. 3, pp. 120-21.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 3, 48, 69, 74, 85. From Bantam Cocks wrote that 75 men had died so far on the voyage, *Letter Received*, vol. 1, p. 91. The First Voyage of the Company under James Lancaster lost 182 men, two-thirds of the crew, Keay, *The Honourable Company*, p. 24. However, not all voyages took such a toll on life. John Yates reported how only seven men had been lost between England and Bantam, *Letters Received*, vol. 2, p. 320. Nicholas Downton's voyage was even more fortunate in having only four sick men in the crew upon reaching Swally Hole, *Letters Received*, vol. 2, p. 168.

²⁴⁹ *Voyage*, p. 95.

²⁵⁰ See Weinstock (ed.), *My Voyage*, pp. 95-135.

²⁵¹ See ch. 3 for full details of the works described below.

(1588)						
Linschoten (1598)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Abbot (1599)			Yes		Yes	
Botero (1601)		Yes	Yes	Yes		
d'Avity (1615)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
W. Wright (1619)		Yes	Yes		Yes	
Heylyn (1621)						
Mercator (1635)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	

As the above table demonstrates, the harsh law of Japan was only mentioned in six out of eleven published accounts. There are also more specific differences in the information provided in the Hirado sources. The published accounts only refer very generally to the strict application of law in Japan. The only detail characteristically provided is the writer's abhorrence at the right of heads of households to kill their own families and servants.²⁵² There are no specific references to many of what the Hirado merchants considered to be key aspects of Japanese justice. The absence of trials, collective responsibility for crimes and participation in the execution of felons is only alluded to by published writers when they mention the right to kill thieves on the spot. Despite its obvious salacious value, blade testing is not mentioned at all in the English language sources.

Overall, the factors' impressions of both the legal system and its application were negative. Eaton described how he was imprisoned in a "vile & extreme manner".²⁵³ Although they rarely explicitly compared the Japanese system with contemporary England, there is a constant underlying theme of alienation. Only very occasionally do the factors ever express an appreciation of the harsh laws, or try to justify them.²⁵⁴ For instance, after seeing crucified bodies and heads on trestles by the roadside, Cocks remarked "Yf it were not for this strict justice, it were no living amongst them, they are so villanouse desperate". As if to strengthen his point, Cocks reported that the reward offered to catch the killers of a *bonze* had been stolen and that the murderers "haue vowed to kill many men".²⁵⁵ Although such a vindication of Japanese law is very rare, Cocks' words are actually borne out by the factors' experience in Japan.

²⁵² Frois in *Principal Navigations*, vol. 4, p. 197; Parkes, *History*, p. 379; Linschoten, *Itinerario*, First Book, p. 47.

²⁵³ IOR: E/3/4 no. 370; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 435.

²⁵⁴ It is not hard to see why Ludwig Reiss insisted that the British were reluctant to report injuries to the local justices because of the inevitably severe punishments dealt out, "History of the English factory", p. 76. A similar attitude is also evident in the Rodrigo de Vivero y Velasco's report. When a Japanese stole a coin from a sailor, the man complained to the local justice "without considering the consequences", Cooper (ed.), *They Came to Japan*, p. 155. The British also had the option of killing thieves but never took it.

²⁵⁵ *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 282. Descriptions of roads lined with crucified bodies and severed heads occur in Saris' journal, *Pilgrimes*, vol. 3, p. 459n and Weinstock (ed.), *My Voyage*, p. 107.

Despite such harsh and summary legal penalties, incidents of theft are continually recorded in Hirado.²⁵⁶ Many of the items stolen are of little or no value – iron hoops, stockings, dishes – yet the Japanese were prepared to risk their lives to take them.²⁵⁷ Again, despite laws that punished not only the offender but also his whole family or ward with death, the merchants saw how locals would not hesitate in attacking the Company *jurebasso* in the street over a perceived slur on their reputation.²⁵⁸ Hence, drawing on empirical observation, strict laws were not successful in curbing crime but rather a source of needless suffering.

The factors did find a few things to admire in Japan, however. The equality of all before the law was often commented upon. Because it was so different from the contemporary situation in Europe, foreign observers often commented on the lack of favouritism based on social standing. Caron provides an illustrative tale that demonstrated how friends in high places could not protect offenders.²⁵⁹ When asked to list the most serious crimes in Japan, Caron also chose to include the “ill governing of those in authority”, referring to bribes and corruption amongst the judiciary.²⁶⁰ Also interesting is that despite the legion of references to summary executions and harsh punishments for minor crimes, Cocks records how legal officers fiercely defended their own actions. They were very keen to refute charges of groundless execution, even when it was merely gossip.²⁶¹ In contemporary England, treatment by the courts and judicial punishment depended on social status. In many cases of crimes such as rape and bastardy involving lower class women and higher status men, there was little chance of the male being convicted on the woman’s testimony. When the higher orders were convicted of crimes, certain punishments such as whipping were deemed unsuitable for gentle people.²⁶² The merchants also admired the fact that however severe the justice system was in Japan, it was generally honestly administered without favouritism. Cocks describes how it was forbidden to practice the customary present exchange with an *bakufu* official whilst seeking justice.²⁶³

In analysing the depiction of law and order through the Hirado accounts an important factor that has to be kept in mind is the question of genre restrictions. The problem can be illustrated most lucidly by comparing the first six months in Hirado as recorded in both versions of Saris’ journal and Cocks’ *Relation*. Cocks’ account is phlegmatic in relation to the application of punishment, whereas Saris’ log is sensational and dramatic (in both versions). One may contrast the stress on summary executions, communal participation and absence of impunity from the law for the factors with Cocks’ description of Matsuura Shigenobu’s rather gentle warning to keep the men in order.²⁶⁴ Cocks also notes a duel amongst the British but makes no reference to Japanese intervention, despite Saris’ previous comments that anyone who

²⁵⁶ E.g., *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 24, 86, 124, 125, *inter alia*.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 86, 145; vol. 3, p. 157. Saris saw a man executed for taking a sack of rice from a burning building, *Pilgrimes*, vol. 3, p. 451.

²⁵⁸ *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 49.

²⁵⁹ Boxer (ed.), *True Description*, p. 39. Lying to magistrates was punishable by death, *Ibid.*, p. 40.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*. Caron’s report consists of his written replies to a series of questions on Japanese society posed by his V.O.C. superiors.

²⁶¹ Illustrated in *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 43-53.

²⁶² Amussen, “Punishments”, p. 10. Sir Thomas Smith includes a chapter on specific trials for barons and the higher nobility, Dewey (ed.), *De Republica Anglorum*, pp. 118-19.

²⁶³ *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 44.

²⁶⁴ *Relation*, p. 143.

drew a weapon in anger would be cut to pieces.²⁶⁵ Cocks also openly portrays himself as insisting on a tougher approach by the Matsuura towards the crew of the *Clove*. The Matsuura had originally intended to take the *Clove*'s runaways dead or alive but understanding the need for a full crew for the return voyage, they pledged not to kill a man. It was Cocks who noted that there were sufficient honest men available and hence granted the Matsuura free license to apprehend the men as they saw fit.²⁶⁶ In general, the attitudes of the factors towards Japanese justice fluctuated over time. In the early months of the factory Cocks praised the fair treatment of the British personnel. He commented on the fact that foreigners were given the same protection as natives under the law.²⁶⁷ However, as we have seen, the summary executions for trivial crimes that claimed the lives of a number of servants and friends rapidly changed Cocks' outlook on law and order in Japan.

The factory letters certainly contain a prevalence of negative descriptions of a far greater variety than contemporary published sources. Despite this, the Hirado sources provide a more balanced picture of the legal situation in operation in Japan than any other source. The historian is able to read of the everyday use of reconciliation and clemency which, due to its mundane connotations, would have been unlikely to appear in the retrospective reports of the missionaries or the Dutch letters to the Governor General. These more malleable aspects of jurisprudence provide something of a contrast to the unremittingly harsh portrait of Japan painted by men such as Carletti and Caron.²⁶⁸ The recording of ephemeral events in Cocks' diary in particular, add a unique angle to the legal perspective. The sources also reveal that just as in Europe, non-violent extra-legal mediation was used in Japan; it is just that ultimately mundane matters such as these are left unrecorded in the vast majority of European reports. Some European reports praised the harshness of laws in Japan and China and cited the stable and compliant societies that they produced. For instance, the Portuguese Galeote Perriera extolled the Chinese legal system despite being a victim of its severity and judicial torture.²⁶⁹ Despite seeing a few positive points in the Japanese legal system, the factors did not see the result of a law-abiding Japanese society as justifying the legal severity.

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 150; *Voyage*, p. 95.

²⁶⁶ *Relation*, pp. 154-55. However, it is still clear that the Matsuura's original objection was pragmatic rather than humanitarian.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 160-61.

²⁶⁸ Both sources describe Japan from a detached perspective. Carletti was recalling his stay in Nagasaki many years later at home in Europe. Caron wrote from Japan but was replying to general questions about the country rather than chronicling events as they happened.

²⁶⁹ Perreira was a participant in one of the early Portuguese embassies to China, whose members were imprisoned. His report appeared in *Principal Navigations*, vol. 4, pp. 163-91

Chapter 8- The Religious Perspective

Introduction

Within the complex and multifaceted relationship which the British enjoyed with religion in Japan, key facts appear clear; they expected to encounter Christians in Japan and they were intrigued by but not necessarily condemnatory towards Buddhism and Shinto. Fortunately the E.I.C. servants in Hirado recorded a modest corpus of general comments and observations regarding both Christianity and the Eastern religions encountered in Japan. The only other observations of equivalent richness and detail in this period are the notices of Islam in Surat and its subordinate factories.¹ However, the Surat letters and journals are wholly lacking in any comments on Christianity in the era and hence miss a more nuanced discussion of Self and Other. In Japan, interaction with the native Christian population was liable to friction given the ambiguous relationship of the British with the Iberian commercial enemy. On an individual basis, relations were often cordial with both European Catholics, (who could include Dutchmen), and native converts.² However, in the eyes of the Company factors it appears that a general air of suspicion surrounded Japanese Christians as an entity.

Despite the importance of religion to Jacobean, the Hirado factors' perceptions of Christians and Buddhists in Japan has only received cursory treatment from historians.³ This is curious, as a glance at any contemporary travel and geographical literature shows how religious practice was an essential part of the canon of description.⁴ The historiography of the early European Christian presence in Japan is vast and covers both sides of the encounter.⁵ However, far less well known is how Protestant Christians responded to the initial triumph and subsequent persecution of Catholic Christians. Presumably due to source limitations, this angle is not covered in W. Z. Mulder's study of the contemporary Dutch factory in Hirado.⁶ Whilst the English sources do not offer distinctive comments on Buddhism, they do provide remarks on Christian activities in Japan. Hence, they are able to offer a detailed perspective on a little studied and consequently little understood mentality in Europe's early modern expansion.

¹ All 6 volumes of *Letters Received* are relevant, as are the numerous journals printed for the *Hakluyt Society*. The early modern English image of Islam is handled in Nabil Matar, *Turks, Moors and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery* (New York, 1999). Matar, however, concentrates on the Islamic encounter in the Levant and North Africa. India and South East Asia are left unexplored.

² Dutchman Vincent Romeijn, a pilot resident in Nagasaki, was a prominent Catholic, *Diary*, vol. 3, p. 145.

³ Various episodes and conflicts between the merchants and Iberian missionaries are described as they arise in Massarella, *World Elsewhere, passim* but the subject is not studied as a unique entity.

⁴ See ch. 3.

⁵ Pace, Giles Milton, *Samurai William: The Adventurer who Unlocked Japan* (London, 2002) who believes that the field is under researched.

⁶ W. Z. Mulder, *Hollanders in Hirado, 1598-1640* (Haarlem, n.d., ?1986).

Although this chapter intends to deal with perceptions of and interactions with religion in Japan in general, Christianity has been accorded precedence for a number of reasons. Although a certain amount of material on Buddhism was available to those who chose to seek out such knowledge in contemporary travel literature, it was evidently not a subject with which the factors were familiar. The majority of anecdotes concerning Buddhism only appear in Cocks' diary. Japanese history, culture and religion obviously interested Cocks, and he recorded what he could learn in his journal. On a social level there appears to have been some moderate interaction with local Buddhist priests. However, they were very much a marginal presence in the lives of the Company factors. By contrast, the merchants had daily dealings with local workmen and artisans, many of whom remained Christian despite edicts of prohibition. Being Christians themselves, the Company servants also had a familiar point of reference through which to view Christian activities around them. Buddhism remained on the periphery as an oddity whilst Christianity was at least comprehensible and familiar. If nothing more, the weight of evidence accords priority of place to the discussion of Christianity in Japan. Hence, perceptions of and responses to Buddhism are handled as fully as possible but the bulk of the chapter concentrates on the factors' relationship with Christianity.

1. Buddhism

Prior to the 1970s scholars tended to treat Buddhism and Shinto as two distinct entities to be studied as separate religions. However, the researches of Okada Seishi and Kuroda Toshio discovered that such a method produced an imbalanced understanding of the historical relationship between the two religions. By the late medieval period of Japanese history, Buddhism and Shinto had become absolutely entwined and inseparable. Native Japanese deities were widely believed to be regional incarnations of traditional Chinese and Indian originals.⁷ Buddhist divinities were worshipped through Shinto ritual just as Shinto sacred places and objects were incorporated into Buddhist ceremonies. The misleading situation prior to the 1970s was the result of Edo and Meiji-period scholars inaccurately treating the historical faiths as distinct entities.⁸ This chapter follows the contemporary practice of considering the *historical* religions in Japan as a single amalgamated faith. Long before the arrival of the Europeans in Japan, Shinto elements had been clearly overshadowed by Buddhist practice.⁹ For this reason the label of 'Buddhism' has been favoured over the awkward 'Buddhism-Shinto'.

⁷ On the history of Buddhism in Japan see Anesaki Musaharu, *History of Japanese Religion: With Special Reference to the Social and Moral Life of the Nation* (Rutland, Vermont and Tokyo, 1963), *passim* but especially pp. 259-325 (Tokugawa period) and Bitō Masahide, "Thought and religion", pp. 373-424.

⁸ Neil McMullin, *Buddhism and the State in Sixteenth-Century Japan* (Princeton, 1984), pp. 8-9; Bitō Masahide, "Thought and religion", p. 379. The earliest Jesuit missionaries also made the mistake of dealing with the religions as two separate identities, Jurgis Elisonas, "The Jesuits, the devil, and pollution in Japan", *Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies*, vol. 1 (2000), p. 5. Shinto was not set in an independent footing until the Meiji Restoration of 1868, when the imperial government utilised it as a prop of state.

⁹ C. R. Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan 1549-1650* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, London, 1951; 1974), p. 44 even argues that the very survival of Shinto was due to the compromised doctrine of *Ryōbu* or duel-form worship. For the specifically Shinto motifs noticed in early missionary reports see Georg Schurhammer S.J., *Shin-to the Way of the Gods in Japan According to the Printed and Unprinted Reports of the Jesuit Missionaries in the 16 and 17 Centuries* (Leipzig, 1923).

Buddhism is rarely discussed in particular detail in early modern European descriptions of Japan and its people.¹⁰ The principal reason for this absence is the fact that all contemporary literary sources for Japan were culled from Jesuit reports.¹¹ Hence, reports were hardly impartial and objective with regard to the missionaries' principal spiritual competition in Japan. Although the missionaries' manuscript letters contain abundant notices of Buddhism and Shinto, these were censored from the published versions of letters by the Society's headquarters in Rome.¹² Although descriptions of Buddhism do appear in some printed Jesuit letter compilations, they are generally cursory in detail. In his independent account of Japan, drawn from his own reading, Richard Willes has nothing specific to say about Buddhism, although he sketches a confused picture of the true emperor as the spiritual head of Japan.¹³ However, the report of the Jesuit Luis Frois, translated by Willes, contains the most detailed description of Buddhism and Shinto in contemporary literature. The description inevitably concentrates on flaws. Buddhism had many sects, the Japanese were allowed to follow any of their choice. They had great libraries and made use of bells and idols. Many holy days were observed and saints worshipped.¹⁴ Both monks and nuns could be found and the *bonzes* were wealthy, living in sumptuous houses with large revenues. A key feature of Frois' description is the worldly, financial aspects of their lives, which evidently reflects religious hostility. *Bonzes* were great moneymakers and sold scrolls as protection against "the devils", as well as borrowing

¹⁰ See ch. 3 for a thorough discussion of the literary image of Japan. As elsewhere, through reasons of economy this sections addresses only English language sources.

¹¹ There had been secular visitors to Japan who wrote reports prior to the arrival of the Dutch and English but their views were not published until long after their visits, e.g. Jorge Alvares, Garcia de Escalante Alverado, Fernão Mendes Pinto and Francesco Carletti. Linschoten's *Itinerario* was also a secular source for Japan but was not an eye-witness report. For the reception of Buddhism in sixteenth century Europe (via the Jesuit letters) see Kerstin-Katja Sindermann, "Japanese Buddhism in the sixteenth century: letters of the Jesuit missionaries", *Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies*, vol. 2, (2001), pp. 111-133. However, the article is very simplistic and draws the most obvious conclusions. Sindermann also makes no consideration of Jugis Elisonas' important article on the very earliest Jesuit sources for Japan, "An itinerary to the terrestrial paradise: early European reports on Japan and a contemporary exegesis", *Itinerario*, vol. XX, no. 3 (1996), pp. 25-68.

¹² The origins and development of the Jesuit letter format are discussed in John Correia-Afonso, *Jesuit Letters and Indian History, 1542-1773* (Bombay, 1955; 1969), pp. 1-10. Descriptions of Buddhism did appear in some published collections as José de Acosta was familiar with Buddhist penance, 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. 339. On censorship see Donald F. Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, multiple volumes, ongoing (1965-), vol. 1, book 2, pp. 675-76 and J. F. Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits: Alessandro Valignano in Sixteenth-Century Japan* (London and New York, 1993), p. 35. The policy of censorship was first implemented under Ignatius Loyola's secretary Juan de Polanco. However, uncensored letters were circulated in ms from an early date, Lach, *op cit.*, pp. 681, 685.

¹³ Richard Willes, *The History of Trauayle in the West and East Indies...* (London, 1577), reprinted in *Principal Navigations*, vol. 4, pp. 192-93. The *dairi* (emperor) was often described in sources as the 'pope' of Japan; the religious counterpart of the secular shogun. Although the shogun was usually mistakenly referred to as the "emperor", most Europeans clearly understood the difference between the roles. See Giovanni Botero, *The Travellers Breviat* (London, 1601), pp. 199, 200, where the shogun is described as a usurper and "enemie to the State and libertie of Iapan".

¹⁴ Superficial similarities to Catholicism have been cited as a reason why such large numbers of Christians were won in Japan. The new faith was mistaken as a sect of Buddhism, Michael Cooper, "The early Jesuits and Buddhism", in Peter Milward (ed.), *Portuguese Voyages to Asia and Japan in the Renaissance Period* (Tokyo, 1994), pp. 45, 50. Another point of confusion was the fact that the Japanese language had no approximate word for a supreme god. Similar problems were encountered in the New World, where variations on the Spanish *Dios* were adapted, Markham (ed.), *Natural and Moral History*, vol. 2, p. 302.

money to be repaid in the next life. Their involvement in funeral rituals was strictly graded according to financial means. Elaborate funeral rituals coupled with the continuation of regular ceremonies in the years after death were an obvious vehicle of profit for the *bonzes*.¹⁵ The arrangements for the wealthy are starkly contrasted with the impoverished, who were buried at night on a dunghill.¹⁶ Priests took a vow of chastity and were typically noblemen's sons who were not accorded a patrimony. The shaving of heads and beards is mentioned, along with the practice of penance on mountains. Despite the generally negative description and frequent references to the devil, it is clear that Frois understood the significance of many rituals. For instance, he describes the circling of a torch above the head as symbolising the fact that the soul has no beginning and no end.¹⁷ Frois does not state from where Buddhism came but observed that Japan shared religion and customs with Siam and China.¹⁸

None of the other early modern published sources add any details not found in Frois' account. The description found in Pierre d'Avity's *The Estates, empires and principalities of the world* is transparently lifted from Frois' letter.¹⁹ D'Avity mentions *bonzes*, priests and the Shinto "comes" (*kamis* – spirits of the dead which inhabit natural places). Again the role of the devil is prominent in the report: "The diuell useth great art, and some force to cause himselfe to be adored by these miserable wretches". Apparently the erection of Buddhist temples was obtained by the devil entering bodies of humans and compelling them to raise monuments on his behalf.²⁰ Following Frois, d'Avity describes the "follie" of extensive funeral ceremonies as a means of obtaining wealth, and highlights how the poor were cast on dunghills.²¹ In general the report mixes horror and folly in equal measures. However, the descriptions of Buddhism in most sources are far more concise. For instance, Robert Parkes and Linschoten merely record that the priests are named "Bonsos", with no further elaboration.²² Robert Stafforde describes the people of Japan as great idolaters but gives no further details.²³ Gerard Mercator similarly characterises the Japanese as erring in religious matters.²⁴ A number of geographical/anthropological descriptions of Japan pay no attention to Buddhism, presumably due to the deficiencies of their original Jesuit source material.²⁵ Elsewhere there are tacit suggestions of religious ritual. One of the popular 'topsy-turveyisms' was that the

¹⁵ Catering towards the salvation of souls was known as "funerary Buddhism" and was regarded by later scholars as a degeneration of Buddhism's true purpose for the benefit of the "ignorant masses", Bitō Masahide, "Thought and religion, 1550-1700", in John Whitney Hall (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Japan Volume 4: Early Modern Japan* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 380-81.

¹⁶ *Principal Navigations*, vol. 4, pp. 199, 205.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 204.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 195-96.

¹⁹ Trans Edward Grimstone (London, 1615), pp. 749-50.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 749.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 750.

²² Juan Gonzales de Mendoza, *The History of the great and mightie kingdome of China...* trans Robert Parkes (London, 1588), p. 379; Jan Hughen van Linschoten, *John Hvghen van Linschoten his Discours of Voyages into the Easte and Weste Indies...* trans William Philips (London, 1598), First Book, p. 48. The name is also found in Fernão Mendes Pinto's account, Rebecca Catz trans and (ed.), *The Travels of Mendes Pinto* (Chicago and London, 1989), pp. 277, 281.

²³ Robert Stafforde, *A Geographical and anthropological description of all the empires in the globe* (London, 1607), p. 59. The same charge is levelled against the Incas, *Ibid.*

²⁴ Gerard Mercator, *Historia Mundi, or Mercators atlas*, trans W. Saltonstall (London, 1635), p. 883.

²⁵ E.g., Botero, *The Travellers Breviat*; Peter Heylyn, *Microcosmus or a little description of the Great World...* (Oxford, 1621); Anthony Linton, *Newes of the complement of the Art of Navigation and the mightie empire of Cataia* (London, 1609).

Japanese mourned in white. The practice had religious significance, but it is unclear if this was realised by early modern writers.²⁶

If any of the E.I.C. factors had read the various accounts of Japan to be found in Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*, they would have been able to find detailed descriptions of Buddhist ritual in Japan. However, the observation of Buddhism in the Company sources is so basic that it is impossible to isolate a literary source that they would have consulted. The descriptions could easily have been gleaned from empirical observation or questioning of the native interpreters. Saris mentions that his (somewhat fanciful) information on the *Tenshō Daijin* temple in Yamata was provided by Adams.²⁷ Buddhist ritual permeated Japanese life in the early modern period, despite the drastic reduction in temple power during the wars of the *Sengoku Jidai*.²⁸ Festivals based upon the lunar calendar were popular occasions which received regular notice in the letters and diaries of the English factory.²⁹ However, the Company merchants were merely curious about the alien culture surrounding them. They did not seek to understand Buddhism at an intimate doctrinal level like the missionaries, and hence little valid comparison can or should be made with the detailed accounts of Frois and Rodrigues. This chapter does not seek to analyse the accuracy of the merchants' descriptions but rather their perceptions of an alien faith, and social interaction with the tangible facets of Buddhism.

As noted in the introduction, Cocks is the dominant figure through which to observe the impression that Buddhism made on the British factors. Remarks exist from some of the other merchants but are largely bland notices of temples and idols, and reveal little about perceptions and interaction.³⁰ Initial impressions of Buddhism and its omnipresent clergy were not particularly positive or even neutral in character. The earliest mention of *bonzes* in the Hirado sources concern a popular role as diviners.³¹ The impression, as noted by Cocks in his *Relation*, seems to have been both laughable and sinister. Hence, Cocks' description largely agrees in tone with the contemporary literary image of Buddhist ritual. The priests appear to have received money in return for predicting imminent weather conditions such as typhoons. A running problem for many days was the prediction that Hirado town would burn to ashes in one of the frequent fires which plagued the wood-built settlements. The priests are continually

²⁶ E.g., d'Avity, *Estates, empires and principalities*, p. 747. The washing of newborns in rivers also had ritual significance but it is not attached to religion in the sources, e.g., Botero, *Travellers Breviat*, p. 198; Stafforde, *Geographical*, p. 59; Heylyn, *Microcosmus*, p. 360. Botero was the original source for the other accounts.

²⁷ *Pilgrimes*, vol. 3, pp. 462-63. The description is fanciful due to its account of virgin sacrifice in which, incidentally, the sex of the god is changed from female to male.

²⁸ The destruction of temple institutions is dealt with at length in McMullin, *Buddhism and the State*.

²⁹ *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 68-70, 120-21, 285; vol. 2, pp. 16-17, 81-2, 135, 142, 243, 293, 301; vol. 3, pp. 85, 100, 187, 242, 244.

³⁰ E.g. IOR: E/3/1 no. 96; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 78 (Adams). IOR: G/12/15, pp. 35-36; Farrington, vol. 1, 430 (Wickham). *Pilgrimes*, vol. 3, pp. 462-63 (Saris).

³¹ A plethora of Japanese terms exist for the Buddhist clergy, e.g. *sō*, *sōryo*, *bō*, *bōzu*. It was the latter which formed the basis of the standard European term, *bonze*, found in various manifestations throughout English, Dutch, Spanish and Portuguese sources. An adequate translation of the term is difficult to find. Clergy certainly existed who lived a monastic lifestyle and are best termed monks. However, from the late medieval period the religious men of most schools of Buddhism may be best termed priests or ministers. They often married and had families and led neither communal nor cloistered lives. The factors themselves usually term them 'pagan priests' in letters back to London, e.g., IOR: E/3/3 no. 342A; Farrington, vol. 1, 554.

referred to by Cocks in his *Relation* as ‘coniurers’, a term which held pejorative connotations in the early modern period and was later used by the factors to belittle Jesuit ‘miracles’.³² The fact that money was accepted for the service evidently provoked the factors’ contempt, in the same way that funeral ceremonies were derided in literature as lucrative opportunities.³³ However, Cocks did not view the ‘coniurers’ merely as charlatans, but accused them of using the voice of the devil for their oracular work.³⁴ Comments such as “God be thanked, the Deuill was proued a lyer therein”, suggest that the notion was not an empty insult against pagans but genuinely plausible.³⁵ In annotating Cocks’ *Relation*, Purchas describes local Buddhist priests as “Conjuring coosening Knaves” and laments, “A shame to belye the Divell so often”.³⁶ Although the *bonzes* were initially accorded light scorn, Cocks subsequently seems to have noted a sinister threat. It was apparent that the ruling Matsuura family fully heeded all predictions and ordered every house in the town to be ready with a tub of water. Cocks also noted how men ran through the streets all night bidding warning “that it was strange and fearefull to heare them”.³⁷

The initial few months in Hirado also coincided with the annual *Ō Bun* festival which celebrated the spirits of the dead.³⁸ The English house was obliged to take part in the community festival, with the arrangements being made by their landlord. It may have been a sense of uncomfortableness or a need for justification that prompted Cocks to note that the factors were compelled to join the celebrations. He recorded that arrangements were quickly made to spread gravel outside the house and hang lanterns because a man had already been executed for disobeying these orders.³⁹ Despite this there is no indication in his narrative that he was opposed to celebrating a pagan festival, and the three-day event is described in some detail.⁴⁰ Although described as “the great Feast of the Pagans”, Cocks’ tone is one of curiosity and marvel rather than condemnation. Whether Cocks failed to appreciate the solemnity of the occasion is unclear, as he also depicts the people “banqueting and making merry all night” before the graves of their ancestors. His description is of a cheerful event, accompanied by

³² *Relation*, p. 153. Native soothsayers in Peru are described by Acosta as “coniurers”, Markham (ed.), *Natural and Moral History*, vol. 2, pp. 367, 368.

³³ *Principal Navigations*, vol. 4, pp. 199, 205.

³⁴ *Relation*, pp. 155, 165. Similar accusations are repeated in Saris’ muddled account of a Buddhist temple, *Pilgrimes*, vol. 3, pp. 462-63. A recurrent feature of travel and ethnographic writing from the middle ages onwards is the equation of ‘pagan’ gods (often Hindu) with genuine incarnations of the Christian devil, Joan-Pau Rubiés, *Travel and Ethnography in the Renaissance: South India through European Eyes, 1250-1625* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 37.

³⁵ It may be noted that several years later Cocks berated his superior in Bantam for accusing the head of Hirado’s Chinese community of worshipping the devil. The incident is discussed below. The influence of the devil is scattered through early Jesuit reports. The missionaries had expected great things from the reports of Jorge Alvares and the Japanese convert Anjiro. However, how could a white-skinned and civilised people be ignorant of the truth of Christianity and commit depravities? Instead of being doomed to ignorance as natural savages, it was often simply conceded that the Japanese were in the clutches of the devil. See Elisonas, “The Jesuits”, pp. 3-4 and *passim*. The missionaries hence found a way of resolving a troubling contradiction.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 528, 541.

³⁷ *Relation*, pp. 166, 167.

³⁸ See Ensho Ashikaga, “The festival for the spirits of the dead in Japan”, *Western Folklore*, vol. IX (1950), pp. 217-28.

³⁹ *Relation*, p. 144.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 144-146.

music and dancing.⁴¹ However, this appears to tally with modern historiography on the festival, which had little of the dread and foreboding of All Souls Day in Europe.⁴²

The initial encounter with Buddhism seems to indicate surprise and curiosity on Cocks' part which may be taken as a sign that the factors had not read about the religion in the available sources. Observations of prophetic practice and the festival of the dead provided the image of Buddhism with a strong supernatural grounding. The initial references to the devil in the opening months of the factory would indicate that this was not passively and neutrally observed by the factors. However, following initial surprise there are no longer any references to the work of the devil in the Hirado sources. Cocks' *Relation* of the *Ō-Bun* festival is similarly free from devil images.⁴³ Hostility was replaced by familiarity and by the beginning of Cocks' diary in June 1615 Buddhist ritual practices are observed without comment. For instance, Cocks records how the China Captain visited a temple concerning his brother's ill health.⁴⁴ Gifts were exchanged with local people during the *Ō Bun* festival every year. Over the years Cocks' diary records considerable social interaction with the *bonzes*. They were usually the only available people in the locality who were able to read and write the recondite court language required for official communication with the *bakufu*.⁴⁵ Gifts were regularly received from and given to them.⁴⁶ Letters were exchanged.⁴⁷ On a number of occasions the clergy were feasted at the English house and invited to their bathhouse.⁴⁸ Religious differences clearly didn't prevent social interaction.

A tangible theme that recurs in the Hirado factory descriptions of Buddhism is the equation of Japanese temples and religious rituals with those of the Catholic Church. Cocks compared the Shinto "comes" (*kamis*) to saints but subsequently opined that they were actually more important than saints.⁴⁹ On visiting the temple of Atago in Edo, Cocks noticed lamps and idols "nether more nor lesse then in the papist churches...before w'ch idalles the Japons did lykewais fall downe and worship".⁵⁰ Amongst the comparisons made by Cocks in a letter to Sir Thomas Wilson were the practices of Buddhist and Catholic nuns and the apparent use of halos in religious statuary.⁵¹

Although negative comments could slip into his descriptions, such as sketching the "sorserars or witches" who performed outside temples, Cocks was generally respectful towards Buddhist ritual.⁵² He was evidently impressed by the sincerity of faith shown by pilgrims. Following his depiction of the richness of the Yumiga

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 144-45.

⁴² Louis G. Perez, *Daily Life in Early Modern Japan* (Westport, Connecticut, 2002), pp. 68, 289, 296. Perez draws a parallel with the *Dios de los Muertos* in Latin America.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 144-46.

⁴⁴ *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 210, 211.

⁴⁵ IOR: E/3/3 no. 342A; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 554.

⁴⁶ E.g. *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 191, 192, 193, 213, 341, 342; vol. 2, pp. 16, 273; vol. 3, p. 236. BL: Cotton Vesp. F. XVIII; Farrington, vol. 2, p. 1340.

⁴⁷ *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 53.

⁴⁸ E.g. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 199, 333, 334; vol. 2, p. 66; vol. 3, p. 116.

⁴⁹ *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 327. An early Jesuit criticism of Japanese religious errors written c. 1556, refers to Shinto as "seita dos camins" or "sect of the *kami*", Elisonas, "The Jesuits", p. 5.

⁵⁰ *Diary*, vol. 2, pp. 375-76.

⁵¹ Kent Record Office: Sackville Ms On. 6014; Farrington, vol. 1, pp. 542, 544.

⁵² *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 377.

Hachiman temple, Cocks continues “[b]ut that w’ch I took most notis of was of the liberaletie & devotion of these heathen people”.⁵³ Cocks also understood the Shinto belief that upon death the spirit passed into natural objects.⁵⁴

Genuine tolerance towards ‘pagan’ beliefs was not actually uncharacteristic of many secular accounts of the period. Travellers were often impressed by the tolerance evident in non-mono-theistic countries. The Florentine traveller Francesco Carletti marvelled that in China no one was forced to worship a particular sect.⁵⁵ He also enthusiastically recorded a Goan Hindu’s opinion that as long as a moral life was followed, all men could achieve salvation irrespective of faith.⁵⁶ Carletti’s attitude towards pagans was not intemperate condemnation of their errors but rather sympathy that they had no one to teach them the truth of Christianity.⁵⁷ Cocks was also prepared to acknowledge the antiquity of ‘the pagon religion’, which he admitted surpassed Christianity in this respect.⁵⁸ However, the tolerance and understanding shown by established factors was not necessarily replicated by those who had only recently arrived. In 1623 the newly arrived preacher Arthur Hatch gave a sketch of Buddhist festivals and rituals, noting that they “use many foolish and apish ceremonies”.⁵⁹ Occasionally conflicts were caused by Buddhist beliefs interfering with the running of the factory. For instance in the early months of the factory the members were forced to make funeral arrangements for a dead sailor. However, the position of a Buddhist temple in the path of the procession forced the Company servants to take a circuitous water route to avoid offence. They also found that local boatmen would not carry a Christian body and it was very difficult to secure a grave digger.⁶⁰ Propheying activity continued to be lambasted and condemned, even by Cocks. In April 1621 Cocks mentions dire warnings of a flood by “a lying profit or pagon prist”.⁶¹ Apart from rare incidents such as the above, the factory’s relationship with Buddhism was unobtrusive and co-operative. The factors would often record details of festivals and offerings without the need to decry the folly of paganism.

2. Christianity in Japan

East India Company Attitudes Towards Christianity

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ The Historical Institute edition of his diary seems to have confused the particular reference. In describing the funeral arrangements for the *Daimyō* of Higen, Cocks was told that “a new groue [sic] shall be erected where his body is to be burned, & a pagod built in it”, *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 327. In their correction the editors presumably imply that Cocks meant to write “grave”. However, surely the original “groue” (grove) is more likely. After all, a grave cannot be erected and one would not expect a pagoda to be built *in it*. In a letter to Sir Thomas Wilson, Cocks described how pagodas were typically set in pine groves, Kent Record Office: Sackville Ms On. 6014; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 542.

⁵⁵ Herbert Weinstock trans and (ed.), *My Voyage around the World by Francesco Carletti a 16th Century Florentine Merchant* (London, 1965), p. 174.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 206.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 74, 82-83.

⁵⁸ *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 338.

⁵⁹ *Pilgrimes*, vol. 10, pp. 87-88; Farrington, vol. 2, pp. 946-49.

⁶⁰ *Relation*, pp. 151-52.

⁶¹ *Diary*, vol. 3, p. 82.

It will initially be helpful perhaps to consider what is known of the E.I.C. and merchant attitudes towards Christianity during the early seventeenth century. Unfortunately this aspect of Company history has been little studied, especially in the formative years of the seventeenth century.⁶² Chaudhuri makes no reference to religious provisions in his study of the nascent trading company.⁶³ The provisions are also absent in what is, despite its age, still the best narrative source for the early Company, Sir William Foster's *England's Quest for Eastern Trade*.⁶⁴ This historiographical chasm is in direct contrast to the detailed studies available for the religious motivations and provisions of the Iberian enterprises, within which a religious grounding was admittedly far more central.⁶⁵ However, much can be drawn from empirical observations of the Hirado sources, in particular the court minutes and voyage commissions, rather than the correspondence, which is disappointingly empty. As may be expected of the period, Company documents often refer to religious instruction and Christian morals in otherwise secular contexts.

Despite the often pious language of its documentation, it can be stated quite bluntly that the E.I.C. made no efforts to proselytise in this period. However, religious terminology and rhetoric are often found in instructions to the Company servants. The Company's commission to Lancaster mused "forasmuch as the daies of mans lyfe are lymitted and the Certentie thereof for their continuance and end onelie knowne vnto god..." and contains phrases such as "yf yt shall happen by Godes appointment".⁶⁶ The directors of the Company also spoke of themselves as "men that feare god".⁶⁷ The nearest the Company came to taking an active role in the propagation of Christianity however, was in bringing back East Indian youths and instructing them in the rudiments of the faith at E.I.C. expense. Interestingly, one of the preachers charged with this duty on Thomas Best's voyage was the Rev. Patrick Copland, who

⁶² There have been some studies of later eras, for example, P. Carson, "The Company and the Cross", *Indo-British Review*, vol. XXI, no., 2 (1996), pp. 72-83.

⁶³ K.N. Chaudhuri, *The English East India Company: The Study of an Early Joint-Stock Company, 1600-1640* (London, 1965).

⁶⁴ Sir William Foster, *England's Quest for Eastern Trade* (London, 1933). The latest studies on the Company are similarly deficient, e.g., John Key, *The Honourable Company: A History of the English East India Company* (Glasgow, 1991); S. Sen, *Empire of Free Trade: The East India Company and the Making of the Colonial Marketplace* (Philadelphia, 1998); Antony Wild, *The East India Company: Trade and Conquest from 1600* (London, 1999); Huw Bowen (ed.), *The Worlds of the East India Company* (London, 2002); Anthony Farrington, *Trading Places: The East India Company and Asia* (London, 2002).

⁶⁵ See for example, C. R. Boxer, *The Church militant and Iberian Expansion, 1440-1770* (Baltimore and London, 1978); J.S. Cummins (ed.), *Jesuit and Friar in the Spanish Expansion in the East* (London, 1986); G. D. Winus, "Iberian historiography on European expansion since World War II", in P. C. Emmer, and H. L. Wesseling (eds), *Reappraisals in Overseas History* (The Hague, 1979), pp. 101-121; Wolfgang Reinhard, "Missionaries, humanists and natives in the sixteenth-century Spanish Indies: a failed encounter of two worlds?", *Renaissance Studies*, vol. 6, nos 3-4 (1992), pp. 360-76; Paul Rule, "Goa-Macao-Beijing: the Jesuits and Portugal's China connection", in Anthony Disney and Emme Booth (eds), *Vasco da Gama and the Linking of Europe and Asia* (New Delhi, 2000), pp. 248-60. Relevant essays can also be found in John Correia-Afonso (ed.), *Indo-Portuguese History: Sources and Problems* (Oxford, 1981).

⁶⁶ George Bridwood and William Foster (eds), *The First Letter Book of the East India Company, 1600-1619* (London, 1893; 1965), p. 7.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

was later to visit Hirado from July to December 1620.⁶⁸ The Company did also occasionally pay for the reading of sermons and lectures in local parishes.⁶⁹ As will be illustrated, the Company's provisions of preachers appears to have been sporadic and inconsistent. Some fleets were accorded a preacher per ship whilst others appear not have carried a single minister. Unfortunately the normally helpful *Laws and Standing Orders of the East India Company* are silent on the matter.⁷⁰ It is clear that the preachers were to administer to the needs of mariners and resident merchants during their stay at port, rather than proselytise amongst the natives.⁷¹ A rare example of the forms of these religious services survives in a pamphlet containing a sermon by Rev. Samuel Page.⁷² In addition to his sermon preached before the E.I.C. directors and the company of the ship *Hope Merchant*, Page includes an appendix of *Divine Sea-Service: containing sundry necessary and vsefvll formes of prayer and thanks-giving for the helpe of svch as travaile by sea, fitted to their severall necessities.*⁷³ It cannot be ascertained for sure if Page's various prayers were ever used on E.I.C. ships but the appendix provides an idea of the type of service likely to have been conducted. Page makes provisions for illness, bad weather and landfall among other subjects.⁷⁴ The later disgraced minister William Leske also published a sermon preached before the *Globe* at Saldanha bay in 1617.⁷⁵ It is generally concerned with sin and iniquity and ironically, considering his own behaviour, particularly mentions the perils of whoredom.⁷⁶

The Company began its trade with rather loosely organised guidelines for the behaviour of its mariners and merchants. All outgoing voyages were initially provided with an individual royal commission granting the right to trade and judicially punish subjects of the monarch.⁷⁷ They were also given a lengthier and more specific Company commission regulating, among other things, the behaviour of servants. The Company's commission to Captain James Lancaster for the First Voyage to Bantam is relatively simple compared with later examples and makes no provision for religious worship.⁷⁸ However, Lancaster was given a great deal of autonomy over the selection

⁶⁸ Copland's charge was 'Peter Pope', a Bengali. He was presented to Capt. Thomas Best along with another Indian by a Dutch ship off Ceylon, William Foster (ed.), *The Voyage of Thomas Best to the East Indies, 1612-24, Hakluyt Society*, Second Series, no. LXXV (1934), p. 156. Pope's Latin letters are transcribed in Copland's pamphlet, *Virginia's God be Thanked...* (London, 1622), Sig., A1, A1v-A2, A3-A3v. He was baptised by Dr John Weed in a "famous assembly" before the E.I.C. at St Dennis' in Fan-Church Street, London, on 22 December, 1616, *Ibid.*, Sig. A1. Pope may have even visited Japan aboard the *James Royal*. His last letter aboard the ship is dated 20 May, 1620. The ship sailed from Batavia the following month.

⁶⁹ E.g., *CSPC*, vol. 1, no. 789.

⁷⁰ (London, 1621).

⁷¹ References to Copland's sermons can be found in, Foster (ed.), *Voyage of Thomas Best*, pp. 102, 106, 107, 109, 112, 114-15, 116, 117, *inter alia*. These were recited every Sunday according to Ralph Standish. Some of William Leske's sermons are recorded in Michael Strachen and Boies Penrose (eds), *The East India Company Journals of Captain William Keeling and Master Thomas Bonner, 1615-1617* (Minneapolis, 1971), pp. 54, 55, 62-63.

⁷² Rev. Samuel Page, *God be thanked: a sermon of thanksgiving for the happy successe of the English fleetes...* (London, 1616).

⁷³ *Ibid.*, Sig. E3.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, Sig. F-G3v.

⁷⁵ William Leske, *A Sermon preached aboard of the Globe the 18. of May, Anno 1617* (London, 1617).

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, Sig. B3v, B4. The Surat factors alledged that he had given a whore a false coin "at the brothel-house aforesaid in lieu of the beastly lustfull use he had made of her bodye", IOR: E/3/4 f. 145v.

⁷⁷ On the question of punishment of royal subjects see ch. 7.

⁷⁸ Birdwood (ed.), *First Letter Book*, pp. 4-9.

of the appropriate factors to remain in Bantam. He was also accorded the choice of instructions governing behaviour, to be based on his own experience in the East and West Indies. It was hence by his own judgement, rather than Company dictate, that he asked the remaining Bantam factors to meet morning and evening for prayer so that "god whom yee serve shall the better blesse you in all your affaires".⁷⁹

From the Second Voyage under Henry Middleton the Company became more regulatory in its commissions. Middleton was instructed to gather all men, presumably including the merchants, for daily prayer.⁸⁰ For the Third Voyage this was extended to morning and evening prayer to be observed in every ship of the fleet. Blasphemy was to be punished and the attendance of all at prayers was to be strictly enforced.⁸¹ For every subsequent voyage almost identical instructions were provided, with the Company sometimes specifying that a bible and Books of Common Prayer were to be delivered to the purser to facilitate the service.⁸² The latter provision may indicate that preachers were not provided for every ship. Indeed, there appears to be little consistency in references to preachers aboard ships.⁸³ As previously stated the loss of Court Minutes makes it difficult to identify a common Company policy.

Whilst useful for clarifying official ideas about the religious care of Company servants, voyage commissions are only of limited value. The problem is that they were clearly intended exclusively for the government of the maritime crew at sea rather than the settled factors who would reside in the East Indies.⁸⁴ Thus, only clauses 23, 24 and 25 of Saris' commission concern the establishment of the Japan factory. As with Lancaster before him, Saris was accorded discretion in the choice of merchandise and factors to be left at Hirado. Although he was ordered to secure a house for the factors, the Company left Saris no instructions about the moral behaviour and conduct expected of its servants. The keeping of the Sabbath is mentioned in the commission, but once again this appears to refer solely to the fleet's crew.⁸⁵

Preparations were made for ship and factory chaplains and instructions from departing fleet 'generals' to cape-merchants often referred to provisions for common prayers. However, it does not seem that the *Clove* especially, or indeed the Eighth Voyage in

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

⁸² *Ibid.*, pp. 241, 296, 323, 329, 370, 397. In this respect the Eighth Voyage which carried the factors to Japan was no different. Giles Milton depicts the crew assembling on deck for prayers every morning and evening but there is no evidence for this, *Samurai William*, p. 213. In preparation for the Fifth Voyage four or five pounds were provided for a bible, Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* and a good collection of sermons, *CSPC*, vol. 1, no. 435.

⁸³ For references to preachers see *Letters Received*, vol. 3, pp. 76, 92 (Peter Rogers); vol. 4, p. 100; vol. 5, pp. 36-40 (William Leske); vol. 4, p. 205n (John Hall); vol. 5, pp. 90, 141 (Thomas Darly); *CSPC*, vol. 1, nos 700, 706, 709, 711, 717 (William Evans); *Ibid.*, nos 362, 370 (Henry Levett); *ibid.*, no. 393 (Francis Shapton); *Ibid.*, nos 395, 397 (Simon Tyndall); *Ibid.*, no. 400 (Mr Brownsmith), *inter alia*. A typescript catalogue prepared by S. J. McNally is also available in the Oriental and India Office Collection of the British Library entitled, "The chaplains of the East India Company" (1971). Diligent enquiries were made into the life, doctrine and reputation of proposed ministers. Candidates were typically invited to preach before the Company directors. See *CSPC*, vol. 1 nos 359, 361, 362.

⁸⁴ The commissions also concerned behaviour of crews during the brief time spent on land and at anchor prior to the return voyage.

⁸⁵ Birdwood (ed.), *First Letter Book*, p. 419.

general, carried a preacher.⁸⁶ The loss of the Court Minutes for 1610-1612 compounds the problem of exact identification of crew members. However, there is no mention of a pastoral presence in the surviving documents concerning the voyage, which are admittedly sparse in comparison with later years. However, the Eighth Voyage did carry out John Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* and the works of the Calvinist William Perkins.⁸⁷ Although, like Hakluyt's works they were intended for the Surat factory rather than the Eighth Voyage in particular, the provision that they were to be read on the Sabbath gives some insight into the importance of religion to the Company.⁸⁸ In its provisions for common prayer and religious guidance the E.I.C. was entirely typical of the epoch. Such services had been provided on earlier trading and privateering voyages.⁸⁹ However, there is no evidence of intense spiritual preparation made prior to sailing in the same manner as Portuguese voyages to the Indies.⁹⁰

Religious Life in the Hirado Factory

It is very easy to gain a distorted view of the religious motivations of individuals in English pioneering trade voyages through the reading of accounts published in the works of Hakluyt and Purchas.⁹¹ Both scholars were members of the clergy and their acknowledged advocacy of English commercial expansionism went hand in hand with the spreading of the Gospel. In the case of Purchas, scholars are divided as to whether his works were predominantly theologically or geographically motivated.⁹² L. E. Pennington has stressed that Purchas' current low reputation as an editor stems from the judgements of eighteenth and nineteenth critics, who applied anachronistic guidelines to scrutinise his handling of source material.⁹³ Caviel accepted, it is

⁸⁶ Tentative crews lists for the E.I.C. ships to visit Japan are provided in Farrington, vol. 2, pp. 1581-1586. The members of the *Clove* are given on pp. 1581-82. The list referring to the *James Royal*, Rev. Patrick Copland's ship, should be reviewed in light of information provided in Copland's own pamphlet, *Declaration of how the monies...were disposed* (London, 1622). This describes a collection on board ship for the building of a school in Virginia. Its value is in the exhaustive list of contributors. 153 officers, mariners and merchants are named. Reprinted in Susan M. Kingsbury (ed.), *The Records of the Virginia Company of London* 4 vols (Washington, 1906-1936), vol. 3, pp. 537-40.

⁸⁷ Foxe's *Martyrs* appeared in its sixth reprint in 1610. The collected works of Rev. William Perkins (1558-1602) appeared in five editions between 1603-1609.

⁸⁸ IOR: B/2 f. 148; Farrington, vol. 2, p. 983.

⁸⁹ See for instance, Elizabeth Donno (ed.), *An Elizabethan in 1582: The Diary of Richard Madox, Fellow of All Souls, Hakluyt Society*, Second Series, no. 147 (1976), pp. 130, 143-44, 151, 163. Madox for the minister for Capt. Edward Fenton's ill-fated voyage to the Moluccas in 1582.

⁹⁰ John Villiers, "Ships, seafaring and the iconography of voyages in the age of Vasco da Gama", in Disney and Booth (eds), *Vasco da Gama*, p. 77. Jesuits missionaries acted as popular preachers, doctrinal teachers and confessors whilst sailing to their posts, Liam Brockley, "Largos caminhos e vastos marres: Jesuit missionaries and the journey to China in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries", *Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies*, vol. 1, (2000), pp. 62-63.

⁹¹ A key argument of this thesis is the fact that scholars utilise a narrow range of literary texts to assess Jacobean mentalities and attitudes, e.g. James A. Boon, *Other Tribes, Other Scribes: Symbolic Anthropology in the Comparative Study of Cultures, histories, Religions and Texts* (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 154-77.

⁹² See H. C. Porter, "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*, Second Series, nos 185-86 (1997), vol., 1, pp. 181-89. Samuel Purchas, *Purchas his pilgrim: Microcosmus, or a historie of man* (London, 1619) is clearly a wholly theological work. The title page of *Purchas his Pilgrimage* (London, 1613) also describes the work as a "Theological and Geographical Historie".

⁹³ L. E. Pennington, "Purchas through four centuries", in Pennington (ed.), *The Pruchas Handbook*, vol. 1, pp. 4-5.

undeniable that Purchas' works were not rational, secular vistas of the globe but had a distinct theological grounding. Pennington even suggests that Purchas' works were not actually intended as recreational vicarious travel literature or guides.⁹⁴ Evangelical expansion in both Purchas and Hakluyt was seen as a didactic appendage to English overseas growth, under the threat of eclipse by the Iberian powers.⁹⁵ For instance Hakluyt's dedication to Sir Francis Walsingham in the 1589 edition of *Principall Navigations* reveals the pregnant missionary zeal which was to find full expression in Virginia. Speaking of Japan and the Philippines he opines "I doubt not in time they shale be by vs carried the incomparable treasure of the trueth of Christianity, and of the Gospell, while we use and exercise common trade with their merchants".⁹⁶ Such a path of interlarding trade with proselytising did not appeal to the E.I.C. and never occurred as a feature in its early years.

Hakluyt and Purchas represented passionate, partisan, Protestant expansionism, in which gains were achieved in the face of Hispanic Catholic power.⁹⁷ Key achievements in this genre were Drake and Cavendish's circumnavigation of the globe and the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588.⁹⁸ There is a tendency in the early promotional literature to berate Iberians, like Muslims before them, for unfairly possessing navigational knowledge that were rightfully the property of the godly.⁹⁹ However, such militant and patriotic Protestant leanings are not evident in the early

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 15. For Hakluyt see Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago and London, 1992), pp. 151-91. A shorter version of the Hakluyt chapter appeared as "Camões, Hakluyt, and the Voyages of two nations", in Nicholas B. Dirks (ed.), *Colonialism and Culture* (Ann Arbor, 1992), pp. 27-63. Helgerson breaks the mould of analysing individual voyages by looking at the source collection as a whole. For a critique of Helgerson's influential analysis see Maria Kostaridou, "England's Travell: Empire and experience in Hakluyt's *Voyages*", University of York, D.Phil (1998), pp. 35-51.

⁹⁵ On the spiritual motivation of Hakluyt see Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood*, pp. 167-68. In his translation of Sebastian Münster's work, Richard Eden also urged that overseas expansion led to temporal and spiritual rewards, *A Treatyse of the Newe India*, trans Richard Eden (London 1553), title page. For the specific significance of the ordering of Hakluyt's 1589 version of *Principall Navigations* see Jason Patrick Finch, "Richard Hakluyt and the English nation", University of Oxford, M.Phil (1994), p. 16.

⁹⁶ Richard Hakluyt (comp.) *The Principall Navigations, voiages and discoveries of the English nation...* (London, 1589), p. 3.

⁹⁷ Pamela Neville-Sington, "A very good trumpet: Richard Hakluyt and the politics of overseas expansion", in Cedric, C. Brown and Arthur F. Marotti (eds), *Texts and Cultural Change in Early Modern England* (London and New York, 1997), pp. 66-79; David Armitage, "Literature and empire", in Nicholas Canny (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire, vol. 1: The Origins of Empire: British Overseas Enterprise to the Close of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, New York, 1998), pp. 99-123.

⁹⁸ Drake's voyage is printed in *Pilgrimes*, vol. 2, pp. 119-49 (after Hakluyt). Cavendish's voyage appeared in *Ibid.*, pp. 149-85. See K. R. Andrews, *Elizabethan Privateering during the Spanish War, 1585-1603* (Cambridge, 1963). The background is discussed in K. R. Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement: Maritime Enterprise and the Genesis of the British Empire, 1480-1630* (Cambridge, 1984). The achievements are praised in Linton, *Newes of the Complement*, Sig. B2.

⁹⁹ See John Parker, *Books to Build an Empire: a Bibliographical History of English Overseas Interest to 1620* (Amsterdam, 1965), *passim*. In the development of the "Black Legend" of Spain a clear stereotype of an enemy was marketed, which is seen by William S. Maltby as akin to modern propaganda, *The Black Legend in England: The Development of Anti-Spanish Sentiment, 1558-1660* (Durham, North Carolina, 1971), p. 41. See Kostaridou, "England's Travell", pp. 137-51 and Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood*, pp. 181-87 for the image in Hakluyt.

materials of the E.I.C., either in its pamphlet literature or private minutes.¹⁰⁰ The imagery of the halcyon days of Queen Elizabeth, as evinced in the writings of Edmund Spenser, is absent from documents produced both by the Company and its servants.¹⁰¹ The emphasis was overwhelmingly commercial rather than ideological or religious. However, Company material reached the public mainly through the medium of Purchas in his four editions of *Pilgrimage* and the multi-volume *Pilgrimes*.¹⁰² The prefaces and marginal comments which Purchas was apt to include tended to lend a superficial gloss of piety and divine involvement. The fourth book of the first volume of *Pilgrimes* contains a typically bombastic preface to the accounts of English voyages beyond the East Indies, praising “[t]heir just commerce, nobly vindicated against Turkish Treachery, victoriously defended against Portugall Hostility, gloriously advanced against Moorish and Ethnike Perfide”.¹⁰³ His marginal notes to Saris’ journal warn against the dangers of idolatry.¹⁰⁴ Cocks’ allegation that the Dutchman Adam Westewood placed a bounty on his head is annotated “Unchristian, uncivill, inhumane, immane, Devillish Impietie”, words which Cocks himself may not necessarily have chosen.¹⁰⁵ Hence, it is possible to gain a distorted picture about the pious motivations of both the Company and its servants. This is not to suggest of course that the language of faith did not embellish otherwise mercantile letters. In a similar vein to Purchas’ aforementioned annotation, Kellum Throgmorton describes Dutch abuses against the English as “domineering and unchristianlike behaviour”.¹⁰⁶ Similarly, in furnishing the English with a topsail, Dutch mariners are described by E.I.C. employees as “very honest and Christian-like”.¹⁰⁷

As stated earlier, it does not appear that the Eighth Voyage, which carried the first British ship to reach Japan, was supplied with a preacher. It is known for certain that the Hirado factory did not have a resident preacher to supervise religious worship in the initial years of the venture. However, two preachers were to arrive in Japan along with the various ships which visited the port over the ten years of the factory’s existence. It is not known how the Japanese authorities reacted to their presence in the wake of the expulsion of missionaries in 1614. Nor has this question been adequately addressed by scholars working in this field. In all probability Cocks would have instructed the arriving captain to have the preacher maintain as discreet a presence as

¹⁰⁰ The very earliest Court Minutes are printed in full in 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). See also Birdwood (ed.), *First Letter Book* and of course *CSPC*, vols 1-5.

¹⁰¹ See R. H. Wells, *Spenser's 'Faerie Queene' and the Cult of Elizabeth* (Berkenham, 1983). Whilst proselytising was not important to factors, there is some evidence of vicarious pleasure derived from Dutch maritime truculence against the Iberians. See Cocks to Sir Thomas Wilson, PRO: CO 77/1 no. 43; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 262.

¹⁰² Former Company servants did, of course, publish accounts of their travels in E.I.C. service independently of the monolithic Purchas collections. See, for example, Robert Coverte, *A True and almost incredible report of an Englishman...being cast away in Cambaya* (London, 1612); Edward Terry, *A Voyage to East India...* (London, 1622); Christopher Farewell, *An East India Colation...* (London, 1633). Some accounts, although not all, subsequently appeared in extracts in the Purchas collections.

¹⁰³ *Pilgrimes*, vol. 3, p. 355. Similar comments were affixed to the account of Jesuit treachery against William Hawkins in India, *Ibid.*, pp. 7, 9, 10, 14, 20, 21.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 445.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 566.

¹⁰⁶ *Letters Received*, vol. 5, p. 307.

¹⁰⁷ *Pilgrimes*, vol. 2, p. 548.

possible on land.¹⁰⁸ Although a logical assumption, there is no reference in the Hirado sources to any anxiety felt towards the presence of clergymen in the wake of the expulsion edicts, of which the British factors were most certainly aware. It may of course have been the case that the British believed that persecution was only focussed upon Roman Catholics. However, as will be subsequently discussed, the evidence for this assumption is somewhat ambiguous and Cocks makes it clear that even at a relatively late stage the Japanese authorities were unable to distinguish between Catholic and Protestant creeds.¹⁰⁹

Although large numbers of letters and various other documents from the Hirado factory have disappeared over the years, the surviving material is copious in scale and scope. For this reason it is fairly certain that no preacher arrived in Hirado prior to the activities of the Anglo-Dutch Fleet of Defence, which assembled in 1620.¹¹⁰ As has been established, preachers were generally provided by the Company to shepherd large numbers of mariners during the long voyages and the monsoon-enforced stay in eastern ports. Chaplains were also attached to important individuals such as Sir Thomas Roe.¹¹¹ Pastoral care was only considered necessary for the uneducated mariners who were susceptible to the menace of Catholic conversion. Thomas Kerridge complained to Sir Thomas Smith that a man of greater learning than Rev. Peter Rogers was needed in Ajmere to defend “God’s cause against these cunning Jesuits”.¹¹² As was the case with the legal apparatus for punishment, the Company seems to have followed a rather *laissez faire* attitude concerning resident factors.¹¹³ The merchants would have been of a higher social and educational standing than mariners. It appears that the Company believed that they were capable of administering to their own religious needs, being of course able to read the bible. The provision of a resident minister for the small Hirado factory would also have been expensive considering the small and dispersed staff in the early years. The Surat factory, which was regularly served by visiting preachers, had a larger workforce and served as a calling point for almost all E.I.C. ships crossing to the East Indies.¹¹⁴ Hirado, by contrast, was on the way to nowhere and it is not surprising that preachers

¹⁰⁸ During the Deshima years, from 1642 onwards, the Dutch were expressly forbidden from holding religious services aboard ship or on land, Grant K. Goodman, *Japan and the Dutch, 1600-1853* (Richmond, 2000), pp. 16, 21.

¹⁰⁹ See, e.g., IOR: E/3/3 no. 342A; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 554.

¹¹⁰ There is no mention of a preacher in the documents concerning the *Clove*’s outward voyage. Rowland Thomas’s journal of the next ship to visit Hirado, the *Hozlander*, notes a crew of 26. 25 of these can be clearly identified and there was no minister amongst them. The *Thomas* and the *Advice* both arrived in 1616 and the *Advice* again in 1617. No preachers are mentioned in contemporary letters and, importantly, in Cocks’ diary. It is unlikely that such a relatively senior figure would pass unnoticed in contemporary sources, particularly considering the coeval practice of qualifying name with vocation.

¹¹¹ Roe, first official English ambassador to the Mughal empire, was initially accompanied by John Hall. Upon his death in August 1616 Roe asked for the services of William Leske, who refused to stay in India. The position of chaplain was finally taken by Edward Terry, who served Roe throughout his tenure, *Letters Received*, vol. 4, p. 205n.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 92. The factor Edward Connock was felt to be particularly under threat and was not “in religions and manners...a good Christian”, *Ibid.*, vol. 6, p. 12. See also *Ibid.*, p. 282.

¹¹³ The legal aspects of the overseas factories, with particular reference to law and order are discussed in ch. 8.

¹¹⁴ However, even at Surat William Leske complained that there was no auditorium or congregation suitable for a minister. Acknowledging only three men and a boy in the factory, he returned aboard ship to administer the Word, *Letters Received*, vol. 5, p. 186. The Dutch also had a resident minister in Surat, *Ibid.*, vol. 6, p. 163.

do not make an appearance until the closing years of the factory. However, understanding that there would be a much larger resident population as a cause of the Fleet of Defence, the Company in London or Bantam may well have decided to include preachers in the ships which were to visit Hirado.¹¹⁵

Not a great deal is known of the activities of the two ministers to visit Japan. Rev. Patrick Copland of the *James Royal* stayed in Hirado from July to December 1620.¹¹⁶ Cocks records that he performed a service at the death of John Wilkin, a purser's mate from the ship. The nature of the service, whether it was performed on land or aboard ship, is not known. Cocks merely notes that Copland "made a speech out of the chapter read in the burial".¹¹⁷ The latter is the only mention of Copland in the diary. He also receives no notice in contemporary letters. Arthur Hatch, preacher of the *Palsgrave*, is fortunately mentioned more frequently. He also remained in Hirado for a longer duration, from August 1620 until October 1622, although a considerable amount of this time was spent at sea on the first and second Manila voyages. Hatch is accorded some very interesting references in Cocks' diary which suggest that Christian ritual was being practised openly amongst the British, despite the contemporary persecutions. In general notices of Hatch correspond to the practice and behaviour of preachers in the other East Indian factories but are noteworthy because they occurred against the backdrop of persecution. On 6 July 1621 Hatch performed the christening of the half-Japanese child of Henry Smith, purser of the *James Royal*. William Eaton and Joseph Cockram, the man who would eventually close the factory, acted as godfathers while Eaton's woman, 'Maria', served as godmother.¹¹⁸ There is no indication from Cocks' entry that the ceremony was performed in secret. The tone of the various entries concerning Christian ritual never seems to suggest surreptitious behaviour. A few days later Hatch gave the sacrament to John Roan, a mariner who was to be hanged for the murder of a Dutch sailor.¹¹⁹ As mariners were hung from the yardarm and were confined to the ships in general, this ritual obviously took place out of the sight of the Japanese authorities. On Sunday 16 September 1621 Hatch administered a communion in the English house. Unfortunately Cocks does not state who was present, either merchants and officers or large numbers of mariners.¹²⁰ The holding of common prayers is often mentioned in voyage commissions and is referred to on several occasions in Surat and its subordinate factories.¹²¹ One must assume that the ritual referred to here closely followed the duties which Hatch had presumably administered at sea.

There are several more scattered notices of Hatch in Hirado, as paying money for the improvement of the cemetery, borrowing money and receiving letters from Cocks.¹²² However, the above references represent the sum of knowledge about religious

¹¹⁵ There is no specific evidence for this plan but this is not surprising considering the loss of documentation from the archive.

¹¹⁶ A biographical note on Copland's career can be found in Farrington, vol. 2, pp. 1552-53. However, more detail is contained, particularly regarding his later career, in Foster (ed.), *Voyage of Thomas Best*, pp. xix-xxii.

¹¹⁷ *Diary*, vol. 3, pp. 3-4.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 124. See ch. 6 for the factors' relations with women and their children.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 163.

¹²¹ Birdwood (ed.), *First Letter Book*, pp. 53, 116, 296, 323, 329, 370, 397; *Letters Received*, vol. 6, p. 122.

¹²² *Ibid.*, pp. 135, 185, 212, 229, 240, 246. None of Hatch's letters to and from Cocks survive.

activities within the English factory. It may be that the holding of religious services and Christenings was untypical of the factory and were rather an aberration prompted by a vast increase in the number of Company personnel in the small port. Undoubtedly, far more religious activity took place than is recorded in the sources.¹²³ Like Copland, Hatch also contributed published information on Japan upon his return. His general description of Japan appeared in Purchas' *Pilgrimes* alongside accounts by other factory members.¹²⁴ However, Hatch includes very few personal observations about his stay and nothing is revealed of his ministerial activities for the factory.

The letters of factors from Surat, Siam and Patani occasionally provide negative references to common prayer, namely complaints about people's failure to observe religious duties and poor examples set by 'generals' and cape-merchants.¹²⁵ Nicholas Downton's departing advice to Thomas Aldworth in Surat was to take a religious care over Company servants. However, the aim seemed to be the prevention of scandal and disorder rather than the intention of genuine piety.¹²⁶ A commission developed by David Middleton for a voyage to Sumatra required both morning and evening prayers both at sea and on land.¹²⁷ A court of merchants held in Siam in 1615 decreed that common prayers were to be held at the house at due times.¹²⁸ The outward show of religion was clearly important to some commanders. Sir Thomas Roe wrote to the Surat factors about the provision of a preacher "that you may have the Word and the Sacraments, and that in outward show we may live to profess the service of our gracious God, who keepeth us among His and our enemies".¹²⁹ The Hirado factory does not seem to have followed such a course. The explanation may of course be the repressive conditions under which Christian activity would have to be conducted in Japan. However, if this was the case one would expect to find at least some reference to opposition either in Cocks' daily account or in the annual letters sent back to the Company. The evidence for the keeping of the Sabbath is also intriguing. Although Cocks castigates the local Christians amongst his workforce for their keeping of 'blind feast' whilst neglecting the Sabbath, there seems to have been little consistency in working patterns amongst the British factors in Japan.¹³⁰ Once again Cocks' dairy

¹²³ The period of both Copland and Hatch's arrival coincides with a gap in Cocks' diary extending from January 1619 to 5 December 1620, i.e. twelve days before Copland left Hirado. Although Copland mentions Hirado in his sermon preached before the Virginia Company, *Virginia's God be thanked*, he gives no clues of what his pastoral duties had been. Similarly, the initial months of Hatch's activities are lost due to the lacuna in Cocks' diary. Contemporary letters also tend to neglect the familiar and hence make no mention of the religious life of the factory. From the two years in which Hatch was stationed in Hirado, slightly over a year must be subtracted due to his absence at sea during the Manila voyages. The diary also comes to an end in March 1622, whilst Hatch did not leave Hirado until October of that year. Added to this, Cocks' absence on the court journey of 1621 also overlapped with Hatch's presence in Hirado by a month, leading to further lost opportunity to record his activities.

¹²⁴ *Pilgrimes*, vol. 10, pp. 83-88; Farrington, vol. 2, pp. 946-49.

¹²⁵ *Letters Received*, vol. 3, p. 92; vol. 6, p. 112.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 31.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. 6, p. 122.

¹³⁰ On Deshima the Dutch were forbidden by shogunal decree from observing the Sabbath. Goodman, *Japan and the Dutch*, p. 16. Whilst voyaging to the Indies, Edward Dodsworth recorded that all activity ceased on the Sabbath. Sir William Foster (ed.), *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. 76. However, the account does not run from day-to-day so it is impossible to check

is invaluable as a day-by-day account of Hirado life. The entries reveal a somewhat arbitrary approach to working patterns. Some Sundays are clearly devoid of labour whilst others were unashamedly occupied with inessential work. Cocks never gives the occasion of the Sabbath as a reason for cessation of labour and it is only in his castigation of the Japanese Christians that he refers to Sabbath-keeping.

There seems no reason to credit the Hirado factors either with a particular religious zeal or a lack of faith. Despite the intimate nature of their letters and in particular Cocks' diary, the question of individual faith remains largely hidden. Of course, as was entirely typical of a pre-secular age, references to the "allmightie" and "Laus Deo" abound in their letters. As previously stated this feature is completely predictable and remains a constant in the *Letters Received* collection as well as the various surviving journals from the period. It is known that Cocks brought St Augustine's *City of God* on the voyage to Japan and possessed a Spanish bible.¹³¹ It is also highly likely that he owned an English bible.¹³² An Old Testament appears in the inventory of Wickham's goods and Adams records that he had been sent a bible from Bantam.¹³³ Bibles were also generally present in the factory. Morris Jones, surgeon of the *Hozlander*, swore an oath upon a copy and Thomas Harod's bible was left to Edmund Sayers upon his death.¹³⁴ Historians have tended to emphasise Cocks' comments against the Nagasaki missionaries and describe him as "a solid old Protestant" and "so staunch a Protestant".¹³⁵ It is a mistake to cast Cocks as an overly zealous defender of the Reformed Church. His diary entries do not indicate a particularly devout man. However, whilst in Bayonne there is evidence that Cocks had taken an interest in the religious rights of English traders in Spain.¹³⁶ Cocks' diary reveals that he distributed money to the poor and needy but this need not be taken as indicative of religious motivation. However, it does appear that these were personal acts of charity involving his own money rather than Company funds.¹³⁷ Both the diary and the numerous surviving letters are almost wholly lacking in references to the daily prayers so often mentioned in Company commissions. This may be due to the banality of recording such a commonplace activity. Alternately the repressive climate with gripped Japan immediately following British arrival may explain the lack of outward religious observation. However, the latter theory is somewhat belied by the apparently open activities of native converts and the activities of the Fleet of Defence. In

the consistency of such behaviour. There is also a lack of consistent Sabbath-keeping on Richard Madox's voyage, Donno (ed.), *An Elizabethan in 1582, passim*.

¹³¹ *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 194; vol. 2, p. 86.

¹³² The Goan Jorge Durois sent him the Spanish bible from Nagasaki, which point to the fact that Cocks may have bestowed his English edition on a college, *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 86.

¹³³ IOR: G/40/23 ff.4-7; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 734. IOR: E/3/1 no. 96; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 78. Adams mentions that Augustine Spalding had also sent three other books. Adams was left bereft of his bible due to the confiscation of all his books and instruments in 1600, IOR: E/3/1 no. 78; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 70.

¹³⁴ *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 174; vol. 3, p. 184.

¹³⁵ Montague Paske-Smith, *Western Barbarians in Japan and Formosa in Tokugawa Days, 1603-1868* (Kobe, 1930), p. 54; William Corr, *Adams the Pilot: The Life and times of Captain William Adams, 1564-1620* (London, 1995), p. 85. Similarly, Dutch *opperhooft* François Caron is characterised as a "militant Protestant" in Neil S. Fujita, *Japan's Encounter with Christianity: The Catholic Mission in Pre-modern Japan* (New York, 1991), p. 177.

¹³⁶ PRO: SP 94/9 f. 19. The letter, which is only a fragment, was sent to an unknown recipient.

However, the addressee was unlikely to have been the usual Thomas Wilson, Cocks' patron, judging by a lack of deference.

¹³⁷ See, for example, *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 8, 11, 37, 298.

conclusion it is very difficult to draw any certainties about the religious climate within the factory based on the evidence provided by its archive. A number of generalisations can be made about Company policy but beyond that there is little available to the historian.

Japanese Christianity in Early Modern Literature

As discussed in detail in chapter 3, the expanded three-volume edition of Richard Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* which appeared in 1598-1600 contains a number of references to and descriptions of Japan. Two accounts in particular make explicit mention of the presence of Christians in Japan. John Dee's advice to Arthur Pet and Charles Jackman in their attempted discovery of the North-West Passage notes that they may have the opportunity to sail to "Japan Island", "where you shall finde Christian men".¹³⁸ Dee had presumably gleaned his information from continental reports, and he was aware that Jesuits of many countries operated in Japan.¹³⁹ The second source of reference to a Christian presence in Japan is the lengthier account of Richard Willes. Originally published in 1577, *The History of Trauayle in the East and West Indies* contains the first mention of Japan to appear in print in England.¹⁴⁰ Willes' own synthesis of Jesuit source material and the letter of Luis Frois translated within the account condense a great deal of general information on Japan, which is reprinted in its entirety in *Principal Navigations*.¹⁴¹ The presence of Christians in Japan is mentioned a number of times, although no specific details are provided. Their presence is casually noted, indicating that even by the original date of publication, 1577, Willes expected his readership to be aware of Christian converts in Japan.¹⁴² Willes states that the high rates of literacy would serve to advance the process of conversion in future years.¹⁴³ By contrast, the Frois letter (described above) concentrates almost exclusively on Buddhist ritual. Doubtless Willes selected a letter which would appeal to his readership and exotic eastern religions took precedence over the gains of the Catholic Church.¹⁴⁴ No reference to converts is made in the letter but the fact that it was written by a Jesuit would have left the readership with no doubt of the missionary presence in Japan. Any factor who had read *Principal Navigations* would thus have been alerted to the presence of missionaries and converts in Japan.

¹³⁸ *Principal Navigations*, vol. 2, p. 213.

¹³⁹ Indeed, the majority of Dee's library was composed of continental works. A catalogue of the geographical books in the library can be found in E.G. R. Taylor, *Tudor Geography, 1485-1583* (London, 1930), pp. 193-243.

¹⁴⁰ The early printed references to Japan are dealt with at length in chapter 3. A comment from Willes' *History of Trauayle* had appeared in the smaller 1589 edition of *Principal Navigations*, p. 782. This was merely a marginal note to John Davis' second attempted discovery of a North Western passage, stating that, like the native Americans, the Tartars and Japanese also had small eyes.

¹⁴¹ *Principal Navigations*, vol. 4, pp. 191-208.

¹⁴² It is unclear to what extent continental Jesuit letters and reports were read in England. It may be expected that the market for didactic Roman Catholic literature was small. However, there is an interesting notice by Anthony Linton, "Parson of worth, in the Countie of Sussex", who addressed his geographical work to the subjects of King James I and commented "with what greate contentment you reade the Reports of Iapon, and China, contained in the yearly letters and missiues of the Iesuite Friers", *Newes of the Complement*, Sig. A2.

¹⁴³ *Principal Navigations*, vol. 4, p. 192.

¹⁴⁴ Willes had briefly joined the Society of Jesus but renounced Catholicism on his return to England from the continent in 1574. *Dictionary of National Biography*, sub. Willes. Frois' letter was selected from the fifth book of Giovanni Pietro Maffei's, *Rerum a Societate Jesu in Oreinte Gestarum Tractatus* (Naples, 1573). Stated in *Principal Navigations*, vol. 4, p. 195.

However, he would have remained unaware of specific details regarding shogunal attitudes towards conversion, numbers of converts and any peculiarities of worship to be found in Japan.

There is a high probability that another major source of information on Japan was read by the factors of the Eighth Voyage. There are a number of cross references in Saris' logbook to directions given in Linschoten's *Itinerario* and their respective accuracy.¹⁴⁵ The work is not mentioned in Saris' commission and was probably a private possession, unlike the *Principal Navigations*. This collection of pirated Portuguese *roteiros* was extremely popular for many years and is continually mentioned in E.I.C. sources.¹⁴⁶ It is hence quite plausible that even factors who did not arrive on the Eighth Voyage may have been familiar with the work. Although Jan Huighen van Linschoten never visited Japan he was able to collect first-hand information from Portuguese merchants and it is also likely that he met Japanese whilst stationed in Goa. Linschoten's information is predominantly commercial, concerning the silver-silk trade of Macoa and Nagasaki. However, he also provides a description of the 'island' of Japan which makes a number of references to Christianity. Linschoten describes missionary success and the embassy of the Kyūshū nobles to Catholic Europe. The hated Jesuit predominance in the missionary field is also mentioned: "since the time of the Jesuits being among them, there have been divers baptised and become Christians".¹⁴⁷

Almost all descriptions of Japan in the literature of the period make some form of reference to the spread of Christianity in the country.¹⁴⁸ As the Jesuit reports were the basis of all information on Japan, it was unavoidable that the issue of conversion would be an integral feature of reports on the country. According to Robert Parkes "[t]he faith of Christ is very well planted in some of these islands". The Japanese were better Christians than their East Indian peers but were still inclined to war and pillage.¹⁴⁹ Botero doesn't give details of missionary efforts but mentions Hideyoshi's persecution of Christianity.¹⁵⁰ D'Avity, whose report is based on Botero, describes the efforts of Xavier and later missionaries and comments on the numerous Christian converts "which are more zealous than we".¹⁵¹ There are no specific references in George Abbot's *Brief Description*, although the reader is left in no doubt about the Christian influence, as the Jesuit discovery of the country is related.¹⁵² Again in Mercator the mission is not specifically described but the presence of seminaries where Europeans learn Japanese and Japanese learn Portuguese is highlighted.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁵ *Voyage*, p. 188.

¹⁴⁶ For further details see ch. 3.

¹⁴⁷ Linschoten, *Itinerario*, First Book, p. 48. The Japanese embassy to Europe is also mentioned in First Book, pp. 142-43. The European mission is described in Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 1, part 1, pp. 688-706; Boxer, *Christian Century*, p. 297. See also Adriana Boscaro, *Sixteenth Century European Printed Works on the First Japanese Mission to Europe: A Descriptive Bibliography* (Leiden, 1973).

¹⁴⁸ The only source that does not is Caesar de Fedrici's, *The Voyage and trauaile of M. Caesar Frederick, merchant of Venice, into the East India...*, trans Thomas Hickock (London, 1588). Although he had travelled for 18 years in the East, Fedrici had never visited Japan and based his report on the Macao-Nagasaki silk trade on oral testimony, p. 19.

¹⁴⁹ Parkes, trans, *History*, pp. 378-79.

¹⁵⁰ Botero, *Travellers Breviat*, p. 201.

¹⁵¹ d'Avity, *Estates, empires and principalities*, p. 750.

¹⁵² Abbot, *Brief Description*, Sig. D5.

¹⁵³ Mercator, *Historia Mundi*, p. 883.

Japanese Christianity is also mentioned several times in a sixteenth-century manuscript report detailing the kingdoms of the mightiest rulers in the world.¹⁵⁴ Once again there is little sense of the broaching of fresh information. Hideoyoshi's persecution of Christianity is related in the manuscript independent to any prior mention that the faith had taken root in Japan. Indeed, Christianity was linked with Japan in a number of diverse publications from the Jacobean period.¹⁵⁵ It would seem therefore that the Jesuit achievements in Japan had reached the general public domain by the early seventeenth century at the latest.

Christianity in Japan

To any of the factors who had read either Hakluyt, Linschoten or the other available accounts, the presence of Christians in Japan would not have surprised them. It certainly appears by the evidence of Saris' journal, which is the earliest source for the factory, that their presence was entirely expected.¹⁵⁶ Of course, the factors would have encountered native converts throughout the Portuguese trading world through which they passed to arrive at Japan. They may even have encountered Japanese converts in Bantam during the *Clove's* sojourn in 1612-13 prior to sailing to Hirado.¹⁵⁷ A number of factors had also previously spent time in the East, where they would have been likely to meet native Christians.

The first Japanese Christians were encountered before the *Clove* had even landed on Japanese soil. Saris' logbook informs us that on the 10 June 1613 before coming to anchor in Hirado, the *Clove* was approached by four local boats. One of these belonged to "the Portingales at Langasaque and weare new Christians".¹⁵⁸ This initial contact with the Nagasaki Christians is missed by Massarella who states that "[t]he English had become aware of the existence of Christians on their second day in

¹⁵⁴ BL: Harleian Ms 6249. Printed in Thomas Rundall (ed.), *Memorials of the Empire of Japon in the XVI and XVII centuries*, *Hakluyt Society*, First Series, no. VIII (1850), pp. 3-14 and Murakami Naojiro 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), pp. 282-94. Entitled, *The First Book of Relations of Modern States*, the manuscript is undated but internal evidence points to a date of composition between 1587 and 1598. The report is evidently based on Jesuit material and displays many characteristic motifs found in the sixteenth century letter collections. The aforementioned Kyūshū embassy to Rome is noted in a marginal comment and Hideyoshi's 1587 proscription of Christianity is also criticised. Japan occupies the twenty third chapter of the second book, ff. 106v-110, Rundall (ed.), *Memorials of the Empire*, pp. 9, 12-13.

¹⁵⁵ E.g. Edward Brerewood, *Enquiries touching the diversity of languages, and religions throughout the Chiefe parts of the world* (London, 1614), reprinted in *Pilgrimes*, vol. 1, pp. 256-402. Japan is referred to on p. 313.

¹⁵⁶ For the subject of Christianity in Japan, Boxer, *Christian Century*, is indispensable, as ever. However, George Ellison, *Deus Destroyed: The Image of Christianity in Early Modern Japan* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1973; 1988) is of particular relevance for the failure of Christianity in Japan. The recent article by John Nelson adds little to the historian, "Myths, missions, and mistrust: the fate of Christianity in sixteenth and seventeenth century Japan", *History and Anthropology*, vol. 13, no. 2 (2002), pp. 93-111. Neil S., Fujita's, *Japan's Encounter with Christianity* also seeks to explain the mission's ultimate failure with similarly unsatisfactory results.

¹⁵⁷ There is no solid evidence for this theory but it is worth noting that over 60 years previously Xavier had encountered Christian Japanese in Goa and South East Asia. See George Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier: His Life, His Times (1506-1552). Vol. III: Indonesia and India (1545-1549)* trans Joseph Costelloe S.J. (Rome, 1982).

¹⁵⁸ *Voyage*, p. 78. Local Christians are also casually noted on later occasions, e.g., *Relation*, p. 159.

Hirado when the *Clove* was visited by a stream of people anxious to view her".¹⁵⁹ By describing a dawning awareness, Massarella's comments would seem to imply that the British had no preconceptions of Japan or did not expect to find Christians there. This is unlikely for a number of reasons. We have previously looked at the availability and opportunity to read material on Japan, much of which mentioned the presence of Christians. The fact that merchants' letters casually note the presence of converts suggest that there was a relatively common awareness of Christianity in Japan. Adams' early letters, which the E.I.C. and a number of factors had evidently studied, mention both missionaries and converts.¹⁶⁰ A further argument against any surprise is the rather prosaic notice which the Christians are accorded by Saris. The apparent lack of surprise in Saris' account is entirely typical of contemporary E.I.C. sources. Captain Thomas Best left a similarly prosaic record of Christians in Kerala, noting that they had "a Portugall frier or priest that dwelleth amongst them".¹⁶¹ Despite the high probability that the factors had read Hakluyt or Linschoten, it is not necessary to assume that expectation of Christian souls in the East is indicative of knowledge of travel literature on their part. The Portuguese presence in the East Indies was over a century old by 1600 and knowledge of Eastern converts had long filtered down into popular knowledge. It may be noted that the Portuguese are referred to in both quotations and their presence was mentally inseparable from Christianity in the minds of the Company servants. From an early date Cocks was intimately aware that the Christian concentration in Nagasaki was connected to the Portuguese mercantile presence.¹⁶² The existence of native Christians was also taken for granted in letters written to the Company. There is no evidence that the factors believed that they were divulging fresh information in recounting their presence.

Returning to the initial contact between the Company factors and the Japanese converts, it should be noted that the meeting was not auspicious. The Christian boat represented the Iberian community in Nagasaki and had initially mistaken the *Clove* for the annual *não da trado* coming from Macao.¹⁶³ Saris did not display any hostility but noted that they would stay "vpone no intreatye", and hurried back presumably to inform the missionaries in Nagasaki.¹⁶⁴ Although Saris does not predict any future trouble from the Christian community, the image of native Christian as colluder with an Iberian enemy was to be an enduring one in the minds of the Hirado factors.¹⁶⁵

¹⁵⁹ Massarella, *World Elsewhere*, p. 232. The initial meeting at sea on 10 June 1613 is mentioned in both the IOR and *Purchas* versions of Saris' journal.

¹⁶⁰ The earliest letter survives only in *Purchas*, *Pilgrimes*, vol. 2, pp. 340-46; Farrington, vol. 1, pp. 50-55. See also, IOR: E/3/1 no. 78; Farrington, vol. 1, pp. 65-74. A third letter also mentions Christianity but arrived in Bantam too late for the *Clove*'s crew to gain any benefit from it, IOR: E/3/1 no. 98; Farrington, vol. 1, pp. 76-80.

¹⁶¹ Foster (ed.), *Voyage of Thomas Best*, pp. 43-44.

¹⁶² *Relation*, p. 144.

¹⁶³ There was no direct voyage from Macao to Nagasaki that year, João Paulo Olivera e Costa, "A route under pressure: communications between Nagasaki and Macao (1597-1617)", *Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies*, vol. 1 (2000), p. 92. On the activities on the *não* see C. R. Boxer, *The Great Ship from Amacon: Annals of Macao and the Old Japan Trade, 1555-1640* (Lisbon, 1960; 1963) and Michael Cooper, "The mechanics of the Macao-Nagasaki silk trade", *MN*, vol. 27, no. 4 (1972), pp. 423-33.

¹⁶⁴ *Voyage*, p. 78.

¹⁶⁵ On this point it is interesting to note that Saris apparently resisted inserting a comment about future treachery in the *Purchas* version of his journal, which is saturated with retrospective opinions. See *Pilgrimes*, vol. 3, pp. 441-442. The exact reference includes an elaboration on Japanese use of oars and rowing techniques but the arrival of the Christians is repeated almost *verbatim* from the IOR account.

Indeed, the defining aspect of relations with local Christians was their link with Iberian competitors, real or imaginary. At a broad level the contemporary British-Iberian relationship in the East Indies was characterised by mutual suspicion and hostility.¹⁶⁶ Occasionally simmering tensions boiled over into outright violence, as in the English-Portuguese naval battles outside Swally Hole in 1612 and 1614. This rather sour *modus operandi* evidently tainted relations with the local Christians, who of course aligned themselves with the Catholic Church as administered by the Iberians.

The initial contact of 10 June 1613 was obviously innocent in inception. The Japanese Christians could only be expected to carry news of the absence of the Macao *não* back to Nagasaki. The Portuguese merchants and missionaries would naturally be informed of the arrival of further Protestant northern European competitors.¹⁶⁷ The Christian boat evidently came within speaking distance, as revealed by Saris' attempts to persuade them to stay, and the Japanese on board would presumably have spoken Portuguese, as did the British factors. They were not sent as spies, but it must have been difficult for the British to avoid this conclusion. Saris later wrote of his suspicions that two visiting Spaniards in Hirado were spies.¹⁶⁸ It is also pertinent to note that Iberians and local Christians were characteristically not accused of spying for the united Spanish-Portuguese state, but rather for the "preeistes of Langasaque".¹⁶⁹ Hence the suspicion was specifically directed at the international Catholic Church rather than the commercial interests of Spain and Portugal. The desertion of seven members of the *Clove's* crew during Saris' absence must have been a formative experience for the staff of the nascent factory. The details are described elsewhere in this thesis as an early example of poor relations between the factory and the Iberian religious authorities.¹⁷⁰ Of course, the desertion of crews upon reaching landfall was not confined to Hirado or the E.I.C. but was rather a relatively common conclusion to a hard voyage of deprivation and appalling conditions.¹⁷¹ However, in Hirado the explicit involvement of the missionaries rather than simply Iberians in the desertion of the crew was cited by Company servants. Cocks informed the Company directors that the men "tooke sanctuary in the papist churches & weare secretly conveyed away for the Phillipinas per the Jesuits".¹⁷² The problem of Jesuits accepting British runaways also occurred in the Indian factories, where the Society of Jesus was not suppressed as it was in Japan.¹⁷³ Such desertion of posts was a capital offence in the eyes of the Company and deprived the ships of essential manpower. It is also apparent that the event would have reflected badly upon Cocks, who was left in charge during Saris' journey to Edo and Suruga. The legacy of Queen Elizabeth's

¹⁶⁶ However, it must be conceded that on a personal level relations could be a lot more cordial. The British had a number of Spanish and Portuguese acquaintances during the Hirado years, as William Adams had prior to E.I.C. arrival in 1613.

¹⁶⁷ The Dutch had arrived in 1609.

¹⁶⁸ *Voyage*, p. 100

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁰ See particularly ch. 8. These relations were to reach their nadir with the case of Zuñiga and Flores, which will be described presently. There were further desertions in 1620-21, again blamed on the missionaries.

¹⁷¹ Such fears of desertion motivated the E.I.C. practice of paying the majority of servants' wages upon return to London, Chaudhuri, *The English East India Company*, pp. 74, 84.

¹⁷² IOR: E/3/1 no. 121; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 99.

¹⁷³ See the case of John Midnal in *Letters Received*, vol. 2, pp. 105-06. The Jesuits were also believed to pose a great threat to lone Company factors, isolated from Protestant religious guidance, *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 92; vol. 5, p. 186.

reign had also left the Jesuits as the demon face of the continental Counter-Reformation, singled out for particular opprobrium in pamphlet literature.¹⁷⁴

Bearing in mind the contemporary hostility to Catholicism in England it is not surprising that Japanese Christians were given typical Protestant terms of abuse in letters and journals. Saris describes the female Christians who visited the *Clove* as “portingale-made papestes”, which again reinforces the mental link with Portugal that was so strong in E.I.C. servants’ minds.¹⁷⁵ Local Christians were often not given an individual identity but seem to have been classed as an appendage of the Catholic Church. Tempest Peacock was falsely informed of Adams’ death by a “lyinge fryre (or Jesuit)”. Adams’ Kyōto host, “Pedro Guzano, a papist Christian”, was also under suspicion for the latter rumour.¹⁷⁶ The terms used to refer to both Iberian and Japanese Christians almost always held pejorative connotations; they were dishonest, janus-faced and spreaders of rumour. It is surely relevant that the local Christian population is so rarely referred to by the factors simply as ‘Christian’ rather than ‘papist Christian’.¹⁷⁷ The divide between them and the factors was concrete and immutable. All too often hostility to the Catholic Church merged with hostility towards her Japanese adherents. Of course, the missionaries also reciprocated this hostility wherever possible.¹⁷⁸

Most of the suspicion seems to have been generated by Cocks, although the other factors often criticised the Japanese Christians. Once again this may be merely a symptom of a greater portion of Cocks’ letters surviving than those of the other factors, combined with the existence of his diary. However, it may also be connected to his long apprentice years spent as an ‘intelligencer’ in Catholic Bayonne.¹⁷⁹

It appears clear from a number of references that the British factors did not feel a fraternal bond with the Japanese Christians but rather equated them with the

¹⁷⁴ Alison Shell, *Catholicism, Controversy, and the English Literary Imagination, 1558-1660* (Cambridge, 1999), *passim*. Describing the Jesuits and their letters from Japan and China, Anthony Linton quotes the 144 Psalm in noting that they produced “strange children, whose mouth talketh of vanitie, and their right hand is a right hand of iniquitie”, *Newes of the Complement*, Sig. A2-Asv. Linton also mentions the powder plot.

¹⁷⁵ *Voyage*, p. 83. See also PRO: CO 77/1 no. 43; Farrington, vol. 1, pp. 263-64.

¹⁷⁶ IOR: E/3/2 no. 138; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 143. Even the name may be an insult. Whilst it could be the Japanese personal name ‘Kusano’, however, ‘gusano’ is the Spanish/Portuguese term for a maggot. See also IOR: E/3/1 no. 134; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 138, which contains very similar terms, such as “A lyinge fryer (or Jesuist)”. Although the Jesuits were the most numerous and obvious order in Japan, and hence most frequently cited in Company letters, the factors were aware of other orders in Japan, e.g., IOR: G/12/15, pp. 23-25; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 328. IOR: G/21/6 f.191; Farrington, vol. 2, p. 863. *Diary*, vol. 3, pp. 193-94.

¹⁷⁷ See for example *Voyage*, p. 83. IOR: E/3/2 no. 138; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 143.

¹⁷⁸ Their followers called the merchants “Lutranos” (Lutherans) and “herejos” (heretics) as they passed in the street, IOR: E/3/7 no. 841; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 794. Dutch Catholic Vincent Romeijn told Cocks that he was under threat of excommunication if caught speaking with the other Dutch or English. This was confirmed by the Italian Nicholas Marin, who testified that the threat was given to those that “did soe much as put affe their hates or salute them in the streetes”, *Diary*, vol. 3, p. 147.

¹⁷⁹ The only detailed study is 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. Cocks’ many surviving letters from Bayonne are held in various collections in the PRO, including SP Domestic, Spanish and French. Letters directed to or passed on to Sir Robert Cecil, earl of Salisbury, are held in Hatfield House.

Iberians.¹⁸⁰ However, it is not clear whether the factors believed that the Japanese authorities distinguished between Catholicism and Protestantism. Certain letters and references would suggest that the Company servants believed the expulsion edicts of 1612, 1614 and later attempts to be directed solely against the Catholic missionaries and, to a lesser degree, their native congregations.¹⁸¹ As non-proselytising Protestants they naturally saw little affinity between their private faith and the preaching of the Jesuits and other orders. Of course, in reality the *bakufu*'s vision of Christianity was neither so subtle nor accommodating enough to distinguish between creeds.¹⁸² Comments by Cocks suggest that the Japanese authorities regarded Christianity as a defining creed, more potent than race or culture. On 6 October, 1613 Cocks received news that two Christians had arrived from Nagasaki, and he decided "to see what they were". They were in fact a Dutchman and an Italian, although Cocks' information had not indicated that they were Europeans. Cocks' tone suggests that he fully expected Japanese Christians.¹⁸³ It should be noted that many Japanese Christians did not share the *bakufu*'s judgement regarding the loyalty of native Christians and missionary sources often note that Japanese converts thought of themselves as Japanese first. Missionaries characterised converts as ruled by their cultural upbringing, and if forced to choose, they tended to gravitate towards Japanese customs rather than loyalty to Christian guidance. Jesuits sometimes commented on the futility of counting on native converts as a possible fifth column with which to co-ordinate an invasion; they would be the first to take up arms against a foreign enemy.¹⁸⁴ Likewise, the Florentine traveller Francesco Carletti recorded that several members of a Japanese war party opposing the Portuguese in the South China Sea were Christian, and evidently had no problem attacking their co-religionists.¹⁸⁵ Both the British and the Dutch tended to believe that the *bakufu* had no interest in their non-proselytising affairs and seem to have initially considered themselves immune from the anti-Christian edicts.

The lack of concern shown towards the expulsion edicts is surely indicative of a disinterested party. This *laissez-faire* attitude is reflected in the volume of writing devoted to the edicts. Although understandably a huge source of concern to the Jesuits, Cocks devotes a single sentence within four folios to the extirpation of Christianity in Japan in his annual letter to the Company of 25 November 1614.¹⁸⁶ The edicts were evidently seen by Cocks at that stage as merely news to be related

¹⁸⁰ By contrast, whilst in Tidore Saris described the Dutch as "our neighbours and brethren in Christ", *Pilgrimes*, vol. 3, p. 422. However, there is some evidence of double standards in this respect. Captain Nicholas Downton complained that the Portuguese viceroy, by attacking his ship, had little regard for "the effusion of Christian Blood", Foster (ed.), *Voyage of Nicholas Downton*, p. 36.

¹⁸¹ The dates are confused in many secondary sources, e.g., Montague Paske-Smith, *A Glympse of the 'English House' and English Life at Hirado, 1613-1623* (Kobe, 1927), p. 32n (1616) and Grant K. Goodman, *Japan: The Dutch Experience* (Cambridge, 1986), p. 11 (1612 and 1616).

¹⁸² Older studies tend to characterise the Japanese authorities as believing that the Iberians worshipped one Christ whilst the Dutch and English worshipped another. See, for instance, V. V. Barthold, *La Découverte de L'Asie; Histoire de l'Orientalisme en Europe et en Russie* (Paris, 1947), p. 117.

However, this error is not the preserve of dated studies. Mulder, *Hollanders in Hirado*, p. 157 and Goodman, *Japan: The Dutch Experience*, p. 239 state that the Japanese authorities initially believed that the northern Europeans were not Christian because they were not accompanied by missionaries. The best source for the *bakufu*'s vision of Christianity is Elison, *Deus Destroyed*.

¹⁸³ *Relation*, p. 162.

¹⁸⁴ [Cannot locate reference for this].

¹⁸⁵ Weinstock (ed.), *My Voyage*, p. 137.

¹⁸⁶ IOR: E/3/2 no. 189; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 227.

rather than information vital for the future of the factory. One may contrast this with the extensive notice given in the same letter to the revised privileges issued to the British in 1616 which limited them to Hirado and Nagasaki. The confidence that as Protestants they would not be effected by the changing tide against Christians is encapsulated by a revealing comment in Cocks' diary, describing how Ieyasu had "formerly banished all Christian out of his dominions: I meane all fryers, monkes, Jesuits & priestes".¹⁸⁷ It is quite evident that as late as August 1615 Cocks felt untouched by the wave of anti-Christian activity. In Cocks' opinion the Japanese definition of threatening Christianity was the Catholic Church with its trappings of friars, monks, priests and archetypal Jesuits; everything which the British presence lacked. It is clear that there was a polarised distinction in Cocks' mind, with Catholicism being clothed in an alien discourse, represented by elements purged from the Reformed Church. This distinction could verge on complete blindness to reality. For instance nuns are often mentioned amongst those banished, although they never made an appearance in Japan.¹⁸⁸ Nuns were simply a motif of the Catholic Other.

Further evidence of a general neglect by the British factors of the threat from the Japanese authorities is their lack of concern about performing Christian rituals, many of which seem to have continued openly for several years following the proscription of Christianity. A number of christenings are recorded.¹⁸⁹ Christmas was celebrated by the Dutch on 15 December (O. S.) and by the British on 25 December. Such evidence does not imply a people in fear of their safety. In a letter to Sir Thomas Smith, Adams notes how "all Romish Christian men" were to leave Japan and their churches were to be pulled down. Whilst referring to the 1614 expulsion edict Adams is correct, his comments on the severer actions of Hidetada in 1616 illustrate a polarised and naïve viewpoint, worth quoting in its entirety:

"[h]ee is [?more strict] against the Romish religion then his father wass, for he hath forbidden through all his dominions under pain of death non of his subjectes to bee Romish cristians, w'ch Romiss seckt to prevent everi wayes that he cann he hath forbidden that no stranger marchant shall abid in anny of the great cities for feer under such pretence many Jessuits and friers might in seckret teach the Romish religion".¹⁹⁰

For Adams, the actions were clearly anti-Catholic and anti-proselytising rather than being directed towards lay Christians. Considering Adams' delusion despite his fluent Japanese and relative closeness to the seat of power, one may understand how it was possible for those living in the periphery of Hirado to believe themselves untouched by the edict.

¹⁸⁷ *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 58.

¹⁸⁸ IOR: E/3/2 no. 189; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 227. IOR: E/3/2/ no. 202; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 250. IOR: E/3/2 no. 190; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 235. IOR: G/40/25 p. 110; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 246. There were of course Buddhist nuns active in Japan. However, becoming a nun in Tokugawa Japan did not necessarily indicate a religious vocation. As Jennifer Robertson has shown, it often signified nothing more than a transition from an active to an inactive secular life, "The Shingaku women: straight from the heart", in Gail Lee Bernstein (ed.), *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600-1945* (Berkeley, 1991), p. 100.

¹⁸⁹ *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 5; vol. 3, p. 124.

¹⁹⁰ IOR: E/3/4 no. 428; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 570.

However, as previously stated, there is some evidence that the factors recognised that the Japanese authorities made no distinction between the religious practices of Catholic converts and Protestant merchants. Eaton referred to the forced recantation of “all those that weare Christians” during the persecutions.¹⁹¹ Cocks, likewise, on occasion, could refer to locals merely as ‘Christians’ rather than ‘papists’.¹⁹² He also reported to Wickham that “the name Christian is odious to them [the shogunal authorities]”.¹⁹³ Of course such statements are open to semantic interpretation and do not constitute solid evidence that the factors realised that the *bakufu* drew no distinction between Christian creeds. However, it was not long before the merchants began to feel the repercussions of the expulsion edicts and realised that they would not be immune to the shock waves precipitated. Cocks complained that the factory was prohibited from flying the cross of St George due to its explicitly Christian iconography. This incident was first mentioned on 7 March 1614 in a letter to Wickham. The letter is probably the most cogent evidence against the notion that the British felt themselves untouched by the proscription of Christianity.¹⁹⁴ Cocks explicitly links the prohibition of the flag with the expulsion edict, “all the padres are to avoid out of Japan...the name of Christian is odious to them. *For yesterday*, being Sunday, we put out our flag, as our custom is but...the oulde kinge, sent me word to take it in because it had a crose in it.”¹⁹⁵ The proscription of the flag was obviously considered an indignity by Cocks and the letter reveals a perception of the changing wind against the Europeans as the Tokugawa state grew in confidence.¹⁹⁶ Cocks thought it best to inform Wickham of a general change in attitude and wrote to Adams on the same point. As mentioned above, the document is the best evidence for the belief that the Japanese were not solely directing their campaign against symbols of the Catholic Church. Cocks opined “Yt should seeme these people are generally bent against all Christians”. He warned Wickham against public use of Christian formulae in speech and cautioned “it is not good to wake a sleeping dogge”.¹⁹⁷ Of course, it could be argued that the letter was merely a knee-jerk reaction against the indignity of having their national colours removed. Cocks cited the fact that the cross of St George could be compared with the Dutch orange, blue and white.¹⁹⁸ It was also of course the Japanese fear of missionaries which motivated a destructive revision of the trading privileges of the British in 1616.¹⁹⁹ In conclusion, although the British continued to feel a lack of identification with the native converts, they realised, to some extent, that the authorities drew no distinction between the creeds.

Japanese Christian Activity in the E.I.C. Sources

¹⁹¹ IOR: E/3/2 no. 189; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 136.

¹⁹² For example, *Relation*, p. 159.

¹⁹³ IOR: E/3/1 no. 134; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 138.

¹⁹⁴ Milton sees the prohibition of the flag as the only way in which the 1614 edict touched the British, *Samurai William*, p. 255.

¹⁹⁵ IOR: E/3/1 no. 134; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 138. My emphasis.

¹⁹⁶ Flags had a general naval use at the time. Capt. Nicholas Downton instructed Arthur Speight to hoist the flag to attract other ships of the fleet, *Letters Received*, vol. 2, p. 24. Attracting ships in a flotilla is also mentioned in Foster (ed.), *The Voyage of Nicholas Downton*, pp. 68, 71. Saris also noted how Adams flew the Cross of St George at his Hirado residence, *Voyage*, p. 109.

¹⁹⁷ IOR: E/3/1 no. 134; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 138.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁹ Discussed at length in ch. 4.

The archive attached to the Hirado factory does not shed much light on the activities of native Christians following the edict of prohibition in 1614.²⁰⁰ However, whatever activity is observed is recorded in a neutral voice and has a certain intimacy, in contrast to the rather impersonal missionary material. The fact that so little material is contained in the numerous letters of the factory and Cocks' diary is another indication that the factors felt little sense of identification with or interest in native Christian behaviour. Throughout the prohibition period there is no indication that local Christians were ever invited to participate in religious services connected with the factory. Of course, as previously mentioned the recording of the religious activity of the factory is particularly sparse in comparison to the Surat factory for instance. However, during the recorded period of the preachers Patrick Copland and Arthur Hatch's presence at Hirado, there is no indication that the local Christians had any contact with the men. This may well have been due to the severity of the climate against Christianity by the early 1620s. Alternatively, it can be assumed that the network of underground priests would have certainly disapproved of any contact with Protestant clergy.²⁰¹

Notices of local Christians in the Hirado sources are very much anecdotal rather than evidence of inquisitiveness on the part of the factors. For instance, there is a plethora of Iberian, and hence Christian, names in the Hirado locality.²⁰² A large number of the household servants bore Christian names although this was not exclusively so, indicating that they were not chosen by the British on the basis of religious affiliation.²⁰³ Massarella has suggested that the factory consorts were probably Christians. Whilst this is not unlikely given the large Christian population in the area, there is no firm evidence to support this claim, as argued in chapter 6. On the contrary, most of the women had Japanese rather than the characteristic Iberian names of Christian converts.²⁰⁴ Of course, it could be argued that the abandonment of Christian names were merely a political expedient during the era of persecution. However, this is belied by the large numbers of local people who are consistently

²⁰⁰ The practices of native Christians are not adequately addressed in historiography. Historians have characteristically fallen into two schools. The first utilises Jesuit material for personal details about the great Japanese state figures of the age, e.g., Ana Fernandes Pinto, "Japanese elites seen by Jesuit missionaries: perceptions of social and political inequality amongst the Elites", *Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies*, vol. 1 (2000), pp. 29-43. The second mines the sources for biographical material on the major Jesuit figures such as Xavier, Frois, Valignano and Rodrigues. See Higashibura Ikuo, "Historiographical issues in the studies of the 'Christian Century' in Japan", *Japanese Religions*, vol. 24, no. 1 (1999), pp. 29-50.

²⁰¹ The missionaries were always very carefully to conceal the Christians divisions within Europe in order to present a powerful and united image. Alessandro Valignano's European tour with the Kyūshū nobles, 1582-86, confined itself to the Mediterranean countries and was carefully shielded from northern Europe, Boxer, *Christian Century*, p. 297; Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 1, part 2, pp. 688-706; Moran, *Japan and the Jesuits*, pp. 6-19. However, the embassy was widely discussed in a vast circle of epistolary correspondents, Lach, *op cit*, p. 701. Hakluyt noted the presence of the embassy in a letter to an unknown friend, E.G.R. Taylor (ed.), *The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts*, 2 vols, *Hakluyt Society*, Second Series, no. LXXVI (1935), vol. 2, p. 377.

²⁰² E.g., *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 44, 89, 91, 109, 110, 154, 165; vol. 2, pp. 117, 168, 324; vol. 3, pp. 214, *inter alia*.

²⁰³ See ch. 5.

²⁰⁴ Full details of the consorts are given in ch. 6. Of the known consorts we find Japanese names such as Matinga, Ō-man, Femaga, Kamezō, Haya, 'Fantes dono' and Toraga. Iberian names are represented by Magdalena and two Marias.

referred to by Iberian names until the close of the Hirado factory.²⁰⁵ If the consorts kept Christian names it is highly likely that the British would have felt free to use them in their private correspondences amongst themselves. Lastly, there is the evidence of surviving letters from two consorts and a maidservant to the factors in Bantam following the closure of the factory in December 1623. Although the letters were carried on a Dutch ship and hence were highly unlikely to be seen by the Japanese authorities, they contain no Christian formulae or any evidence hinting at the Christian faith.²⁰⁶

As discussed earlier, local people both gave and received gifts during the Christmas celebrations.²⁰⁷ On 30 August 1616 Magome Kageyu, Adams' father-in-law and "a craftie fello & very such", told the factors that he liked their religion so much that he meant to convert.²⁰⁸ It is perhaps indicative of the level of tolerance that a Japanese could contemplate conversion two years after the prohibition edict. However, as suggested in his comment, Cocks believed that Magome Kageyu was an often disingenuous character and he does not seem to have taken the remark seriously. Eaton later wrote to Wickham that Cocks had "presently smelt him out what he was".²⁰⁹ An interesting practice throughout the years of prohibition was the factors' lack of concern at bestowing religious paintings as gifts to their various hosts. Such paintings formed part of the novelty items of arriving cargoes. Western oil paintings had proved particularly popular in Mughal India and Saris had also suggested "Pictures, paynted, som lascivious" as vendible commodities for Japan.²¹⁰ However, Company servants characteristically bestowed as trivial presents merchandise which could not be sold and this explanation seems very likely the case in this instance. Account books of the factory reveal that paintings did also include historical subjects and many references to these gifts do not specify the subject. However, there is one reference in particular which clearly identifies Christ as the subject.²¹¹ Religious paraphernalia was often sought out by the *bakufu* as evidence for defying the prohibition.²¹² As the factors were evidently aware of this edict, their blasé attitude and callousness towards their hosts' potential punishment is puzzling. Presumably the Company servants would not have presented religious pictures to non-Christians, so one must assume that they were aiding Christian hosts.²¹³ Cocks himself related the story of a priest attempting to leave Japan with a religious picture during 1614. He was beheaded and quartered.²¹⁴ The factors' motivation behind bestowing religious

²⁰⁵ See *inter alia*: 'Andrea', *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 45, 57, 63, 64, 65, 72, 96; 'Barnadino', *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 267, 268, 270; vol. 3, pp. 20, 35; 'Domingo', *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 154, 165, 166, 219, 243, 256; 'Maria', vol. 1, p. 91; vol. 3, pp. 124, 253; 'Susana', vol. 2, pp. 200, 339, 412, 414; vol. 3, pp. 21, 42, 44, 48.

²⁰⁶ BL: Cart. Cotton III. 13. XXVI. 28, ff. 47-50, 53-54; Farrington, vol. 2, pp. 954-56.

²⁰⁷ *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 146, 373; vol. 2, p. 221.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 293.

²⁰⁹ IOR: E/3/4 no. 395; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 485.

²¹⁰ IOR: G/40/25, pp. 132-36; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 209.

²¹¹ *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 409.

²¹² Confiscation of sacred imagery is mentioned in Diego Aduarte's history of the mission, E. H. Blair and J. Robertson (eds), *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, 55 vols (Cleveland Ohio, 1903-1905), vol. 32, p. 48. Also mentioned is the public burning of rosaries, crosses and other objects, *Ibid.*, pp. 68-69.

²¹³ Presentation of religious images to non-Christians did not trouble the factors in the Mughal domains, although there was of course no mass anti-Christian movement comparable to Japan. Robert Coverte mentioned that a picture of St John was given to Jahangir, *A True and almost incredible report*, pp. 36, 40. Likewise, the traditional Islamic prohibition of depicting living images did not hinder the importation of paintings.

²¹⁴ PRO: CO 77/1 no. 42; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 257.

paintings was presumably a combination of genuine goodwill and trust cultivated over a number of years and a desire to be rid of troublesome commodities.

It has occasionally been suggested that Li Tan, the head of the Chinese community of Hirado and a close associate of Cocks, was a Christian. This argument is accepted by William Corr on the grounds of his baptismal name of 'Andrea' or 'Andreas' and his daughter's name of 'Ignacia'.²¹⁵ It is true that Christian converts generally accepted a baptismal name of a saint or a holy place. The taking of the name of a baptismal sponsor was also popular.²¹⁶ Li Tan is never referred to by his Chinese name in the E.I.C. sources but always as either 'Andreas Dittis' or 'The China Captain'. The origin of the title 'captain' was not military but an honorific accorded to the representatives of Chinese overseas communities.²¹⁷ Li presumably picked up the name 'Andreas Dittis' whilst resident in the Philippines. The name may be more of a cognomen and does not necessarily imply conversion. Aside from the ambiguity of his name there is a considerable weight of evidence against Li being Christian. Cocks mentions Li visiting a 'pagod' during a pilgrimage in recognition of his brother's recovered health.²¹⁸ In this context 'pagod' clearly refers to a Buddhist temple.²¹⁹ Under the aegis of the Society of Jesus there was very little religious syncretism in Japan of the type found in the early modern Ottoman Balkans for instance.²²⁰ A character reference to Li in a Dutch letter notes his having "several pretty wives and children", again contrary to Christianity.²²¹ There is also evidence from Cocks' own hand. Responding to accusations from George Ball regarding his naïve trust in Li, Cocks noted "you proposed to discomend mee for...thinking well of Andrea Dittis...he being a heathen man & one as you esteem serveth the divell".²²² Although

²¹⁵ Corr, *Adams the Pilot*, p. 4.

²¹⁶ J. S. Cummins, trans and (ed.), *Sucesos de Las Islas Filipinas, Hakluyt Society*, Second Series, no. 40 (1971), p. 46. In Cocks' diary there is also a reference to "Tome Bautista", *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 324.

²¹⁷ Edmund Scott encountered the title in Bantam, Sir William Foster (ed.), *The Voyage of Sir Henry Middleton to the Moluccas, 1604-1606, Hakluyt Society*, Second Series, no. 88 (1943), p. 86. See Leonard Blussé, "Batavia, 1619-1740: the rise and fall of a Chinese colonial town", in Blussé, *Strange Company: Chinese Settlers, Mestizo Women and the Dutch in V.O.C. Batavia* (Dordrecht, 1986), p. 81. Seiichi Iwao notes that Li's position was not commensurate with the status of the Batavian captains under Dutch rule. It rather implied an informal leadership, "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 Tōyō Bunko*, no. 17 (1958), pp. 27-83.

²¹⁸ *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 210, 211.

²¹⁹ Cocks mentioned to Sir Thomas Wilson that "there are many fayre pagods or heathen temples", Kent Record Office: Sackville Ms ON. 6014; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 542.

²²⁰ Isabel Pina, "The Jesuit missions in Japan and China: two distinct realities – cultural adaption and the assimilation of natives", *Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies*, vol. 2 (2001), pp. 59-76. Particularly following the visits of Valignano to Japan, the Jesuits advocated a policy of stripping Christianity of its European trappings. However, this did not mean introducing Buddhist/Shinto motifs, Michael Cooper, *Rodrigues the Interpreter: An Early Jesuit in Japan and China* (New York and Tokyo, 1974, 1994), pp. 52-54. On Valignano's career see Moran, *Japan and the Jesuits*. There was, however, syncretism in Japan in the accommodation of Buddhist sects introduced from China, Akamatsu Toshihide, "Muromachi Zen and the Gozan system", in John Whitney Hall and Toyoda Takeshi (eds), *Japan in the Muromachi Age* (Berkeley, 1977), pp. 313-329 and Bitō Masahide, "Thought and religion", p. 379. Temples used by the Chinese were also adorned with local deities and heroes, Aloysius Chang, "The Chinese Community of Nagasaki in the First Century of the Tokugawa Period (1603-1688)", unpublished Ph.D. thesis, St John's University (1970), p. 119

²²¹ Seiichi, "Li Tan", pp. 35, 53. Polygamy was a common practice among the wealthy *Hua Chiao* (overseas Chinese), *Ibid.*, p. 36.

²²² IOR: E/3/5 no. 616; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 680. Cf. Cocks' very early accusations against Buddhists on p. .

methodically listing and responding to Ball's accusations, Cocks makes no attempt to refer to Li's Christianity, in a long letter which seeks to answer all criticisms. Religion was important to Cocks and it is inconceivable that in his numerous letters to the Company describing Li Tan's repute in China he would not have added that he was also a Christian, if this were true.²²³

Persecution and Expulsion of Missionaries and Japanese Christians

Along with the factors' lack of a sense of identification with the Japanese Christians came a virtual callousness with regard to the persecutions sporadically carried out by the Japanese government against the native converts. The purpose of this section is not to try to excuse or justify apathy related to the persecutions of the 1610s and 1620s but rather to examine the subtleties revealed in the sources and possible alternative meanings hidden between the lines. Although it is difficult to entirely appreciate the mental world of an E.I.C. factor in Hirado, a number of comments speak for themselves. On 17 February 1614 Cocks reported to Wickham "Here is reports that all the papist Jesuits, fryers and prists shall be banished out of Japan, as well at Langasaq' as elsewhere, but I doubt the news is to good to be true".²²⁴ Such a comment is quite unequivocal in its support of the expulsions. However, it has to be remembered that the letter was based on a rumour and was written before the persecutions began in earnest. Following the expulsions Cocks wrote to John Jourdain in Bantam "Once howsoever I am glad they ar gon, som of tham beinge shipt for Amacan [Macao] in China, whear I thinke they will have John Drume's entertaynem't".²²⁵ As is the case in the first example, the wording only refers to the banishment of missionaries rather than the extirpation of Christianity amongst its native converts.

Although the figure of Cocks is dominant within the archive due to the amount of direct evidence from his hand, he was not the only member of the factory to express apathy towards the expulsions. Writing about conditions in Ōsaka, Eaton reported to Wickham in January 1614 "nowe there is noe more Christians of Japanners in these partes".²²⁶ The information is squeezed in amongst news of commerce, a voyage to Cochin China, Li Tan's new wife and the illness of Ushian Dono. There is no sympathy or regret expressed by Eaton and one has very much the sense that he regarded the edict as a piece of trivial news to be included to fill the page. It was not something which bore any importance to the British and their venture. In a similar tone, Cocks reported in December 1614 "Once gon they are, and many here nothing sorrow thereat &c".²²⁷

²²³ Cocks intended Li to be his conduit into the trading world of China; a personal project which he hoped would make the Company's fortune. Instead it swallowed up huge sums of money in gifts, surreptitious bribes and unrecovered loans. No reference to Christianity is made in Seiichi's thorough study, which utilises European, Japanese and Chinese sources, "Li Tan". The notion of Christianity is also absent from the character sketch of Li in Chang, "The Chinese community of Nagasaki", pp. 104-105. On the Chinese merchants in Japan see also Patrizia Canioti, "Il mercantilissimo Cinese in Giappone tra: secoli XVI-XVII", *Il Giappone*, 29 (1989), pp. 51-67.

²²⁴ IOR: E/3/1 no. 131; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 134.

²²⁵ IOR: G/40/25 pp. 110-113; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 246. The colloquial expression "John Drume's entertaynem't" signified an ignominious dismissal or poor treatment.

²²⁶ IOR: E/3/1 no. 133; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 136. Christianity did not actually end so abruptly in the Ōsaka area.

²²⁷ IOR: E/3/2 no. 202; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 250.

Considering the general approval of Christianity's progress in Japan in the published literature of the day, this element is perhaps unexpected. Perhaps the opinions expressed by the factors may be more fairly described as ambivalence rather than acceptance. It is certainly true that the factors would not have travelled to Japan with any concept of a romantic missionary field, fertile with the souls of fresh converts.²²⁸ The Protestant British did not view missionary activity as the expansion of Christendom but rather the propagation of unreformed Catholicism. However, it seems unlikely that the Company factors would have rejoiced in large-scale suffering and loss of life. A more likely explanation is that they viewed the extirpation of Christianity as concomitant with the riddance of pervasive missionary influence.²²⁹ If we accept the opinions of Cocks and others on the ground in Hirado, it is difficult to deny that the missionaries created a lot of trouble for the English factory. Without doubt their ability to interfere with the factory was greatly aided by their close proximity in Nagasaki and the large number of Christians, open or otherwise, on Hirado Island. Factors noted that the Jesuits even found a way to blame them for the missionary expulsion. The turning of the tide against them was attributed to both Adams' influence over the ageing *shōgun* and the British arrival.²³⁰ However, in a letter to Adam Denton in Siam, Cocks was quick to place the blame elsewhere: "It is the misdemeanor and covitosnes of the Jesuits (as most report) that causeth this alteration".²³¹ Furthermore, in a letter to John Jourdain, Cocks recounted that Ieyasu could not even bear to hear the missionaries named and denying that the British were responsible for the expulsion, he countered "it is well knowne their owne merites and bad behaviour are the cheefe occasion thereof".²³² Of course, the charges against Adams and the English factory were spurious, although there is an intriguing *volte face* by Cocks in a private letter to Lord Salisbury. Cocks reasoned that Ieyasu's expulsion edicts were motivated "vpon som occasion (best knowne unto hymselfe)".²³³ The statement is significant in removing blame from the Jesuits' own excesses and rather attributing their fall to a capricious ruler. It may have been the case that Cocks was attempting to free the factory from blame in any possible foreign policy ramifications which may have ensued with the Spanish-Portuguese state. In a letter to Sir Thomas Smyth, Wickham went even further when commenting on the accusations against the English factory. While citing the Jesuits' own practices as the chief cause of their downfall, he adds in parenthesis "(yet upon demande, as occasions offered, we hath done the Jesuites little credit here)".²³⁴

The merchants clearly did not feel that their lack of support and often outright hostility to the missionary enterprise in Japan was incompatible with their own identity as Christians. However, it must not be assumed that concomitantly they welcomed the complete extirpation of Christianity and the large scale persecution of native converts. The expulsion edict of 1614 not only forbade missionaries to reside in

²²⁸ By contrast, there is considerable evidence that the success of the Japanese missionary endeavour provoked enthusiastic support in Catholic Europe, Cooper, *Rodrigues the Interpreter*, p. 164.

²²⁹ From the merchants' perspective a quasi-missionary interference was to haunt the English factory until its closing days. See below, pp. .

²³⁰ IOR: E/3/2 nos 138 & 202. IOR: G/40/25, pp. 110-113; Farrington, vol. 1, pp. 143, 250, 246.

²³¹ IOR: E/3/2 no. 190; Farrington, vol.1, p. 235. See also IOR: G/40/25, pp. 110-113; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 246.

²³² IOR: G/40/25, pp. 110-113; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 248.

²³³ PRO: CO 77/1, no. 42; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 256.

²³⁴ IOR: G/12/15, p. 24; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 328.

Japan but also prohibited the public and *private* practice of Christianity. However, this was initially weakly enforced and difficult to regulate owing to the considerable number of converts and the military build-up leading to the siege of Ōsaka castle in 1614/1615. The overwhelming evidence suggests that the British conceived the edict as an expulsion of troublesome missionary influence, which was admittedly accompanied by the destruction of churches. They do not seem to have viewed the native converts, or themselves for that matter, as under threat until several years after 1614. This section seeks to examine how the factors reacted to and commented upon more thorough and determined attempts to root out Christianity in Japan.

It should be stated initially that although the early years of the 1620s saw mass executions of Japanese Christians, the factory was closed before these events became regular features of life.²³⁵ Aware that the Company understood the threat of both Islam and Catholicism to her overseas servants, the factors may also not have wished to particularly dwell on cases of Catholic martyrdom in their letters home. Therefore there are very few graphic descriptions of the persecutions of the type found in continental news letters.²³⁶ There are also two additional compelling reasons to explain the relative absence of moving descriptions of the type found in other Protestant writers of the period such as François Caron and Reyer Gizbertszoon.²³⁷ Very few letters survive from the period 1619 to 1623 in which mass persecutions took place. The confinement of the English trading enterprise to Hirado and Nagasaki largely removed the need to correspond on paper with the exception of the annual court journeys. The section of Cocks' diary running from January 1619 to December 1620 is now lost, which further removes his contemporary eye-witness description of a martyrdom that he later mentions in a letter to Sir Thomas Wilson in 1620.²³⁸ The second reason is that, as we will see below, the British and the Dutch directly precipitated the execution of two Catholic missionaries in 1622; an event which included civilian executions. They may therefore have wished to distance themselves as much as possible from the event and detract from its significance in their letters to the E.I.C.

The first sense of a true change in Japanese attitudes from the loosely enforced years of 1614-1616 was Cocks' appearance at the shogunal court in September 1616. Throughout the month notices are found concerning a more vigorous pursuit of hidden missionaries.²³⁹ Adams himself was continually questioned regarding rumours that his Catholic wife was harbouring priests in her Edo home.²⁴⁰ A fresh edict was issued on 8 September (O. S.) and the news of its prosecution reached the factors the following day. The edict was published in all parts of Japan but principally in the

²³⁵ The two salient events within the factory's chronology were the 'Great Martyrdoms' of 1622 in Nagasaki and 1623 in Edo.

²³⁶ Lone examples which reached Britain were Anon., *A Briefe Relation of the Persecution lately made against the Catholicke Christians, in the Kingdom of Iaponia*, trans Wright, W. (St Omer, 1619); Pedro Morejon, *The Theatre of Iaponia's Constancy: in which an hundred and eighteene glorious martyrs suffered Death for Christ...*, trans William Lee (St Omer, 1624); Anon., *The Palme of Christian Fortitude or the Glorious combats of Christians in Iaponia*, trans Edmund Neville (Douai, 1630).

²³⁷ See C. R. Boxer (ed.), *A True Description of the Mighty Kingdoms of Japan and Siam*. (London, 1935). Gizbertszoon's work is contained in an appendix.

²³⁸ Kent Record Office: Sackville Ms ON 6013; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 779.

²³⁹ *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 294-314.

²⁴⁰ Cocks had previously received a letter from Adams excusing his wife's absence due to visiting Spaniards staying at the house, *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 298.

south western strongholds of Nagasaki, Arima, Umbra and Bungo “w’ch are most of them Xristians”.²⁴¹ As was the case with the 1614 edict, the British merchants seem to have refused to accept that the private practice of Christianity was prohibited. This new wave of persecution is often presented in their letters merely as a hunt for concealed missionaries and perhaps punishment for those who harboured them. Whilst the latter was certainly the case, with harbourers facing cruel death along with their families, the edict was far less specific in its targets.²⁴² Cocks did note, however, upon the announcement of the new edict that persecution was likely to ensue in Nagasaki.²⁴³

The first executions linked to the edict were reported by Cocks in August 1618. The event is also the only notice of a mass execution of Christians to be found in the diary. A number of banished Christians from Kokura had been sent to Nagasaki, so that their execution would be a deterrent to the local Christians. They stopped at the English house on the way, where Cocks recorded their own testimonial that previously 37 men and women had been crucified, six with their heads down.²⁴⁴ Unfortunately, Cocks was obviously not an eye-witness and adds no comments on the affair by which to judge his own sentiments. However, his silence is puzzling as the cape-merchant usually condemned the harsh nature of Japanese justice. Hence the genre constriction of his diary cannot be fairly cited as an explanation for such a laconic entry. A possible explanation may have been that news of the exiles and the execution of some of their number had previously reached him in Hirado and hence he would not have been shocked by the news. Cocks also recorded that a Christian family fled Hirado due to the *daimyō*’s desire to sleep with their eldest daughter. Upon being returned to the fief by the lord of Hakata the husband was executed and the wife subsequently hanged herself.²⁴⁵ Again no comment is offered by the diarist either in sympathy or support.

There are a number of interesting notices to the execution of recalcitrant Christians in the Hirado records. In a letter to Sir Thomas Smyth of October 1615 Wickham notes that a great persecution was being made against Japanese converts who refused to apostasise.²⁴⁶ Wickham offers no sympathy or empathy but seems to be speaking in general terms about the conditions of native Christians rather than relating an event within a context. He gives no indication on details of individual events nor suggests that he had witnessed persecution. Another of Wickham’s letters to the Company of January 1617 reports how the Catholic Church was daily persecuted in Japan, regardless of the social standing of its adherents.²⁴⁷ Once again the tone is neutral, containing neither the gloating found in early references to the expulsion of missionaries but also showing no concern about Christianity’s loss in the face of paganism. Yet like the previous example, Wickham’s reference has no context within a specific event. The new edict of 1616 also prompted Wickham to note “these heathen dogges wourke never so much against us”.²⁴⁸

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 300-01.

²⁴² *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 296-97. See also IOR; E/3/4 no. 394; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 484.

²⁴³ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 297.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 341.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 198-99.

²⁴⁶ IOR: G/12/15, p. 24; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 328.

²⁴⁷ IOR: G/12/15, p. 58; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 577.

²⁴⁸ IOR: G/12/15, p. 51; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 505.

A more valuable example to study is Cocks' letter to Sir Thomas Wilson of 10 March 1620.²⁴⁹ By this point Cocks clearly appreciated that even the discreet private practice of Christianity was no longer tolerated. All native converts refusing to recant were to be executed. In Cocks' opinion the 'Emperor' was an enemy to all Christians "especially Japons". The latter statement illustrates a modification in his understanding of the situation. Many of Cocks' previous letters had applauded the expulsion of missionaries in the comfort that only fugitive priests would be targeted by the *bakufu*. By 1620 not only harbourers but all converts in general had to choose apostasy or death. Cocks' letter is also valuable in giving perhaps the only concrete eye-witness account of martyrdom by a member of the English factory. Perhaps the additional emotional impact of witnessing the mass execution mollified Cocks' anti-Catholic shell. The event he describes took place in Kyōto in October 1619, in which large numbers of Japanese Christians were burnt in a dry riverbed. Cocks gives the numbers he saw killed as 55, including children of five or six. An analysis of Cocks' choice of vocabulary during the description suggests that much of his previous Protestant/Catholic alienation and distancing from Japanese converts had melted. There are no references to 'papist Japons' or 'Romish Christians' in the description. Every mention refers to the victims simply as 'Christians'. Such a lexical distinction is a marked modification from previous letters which placed barriers between the merchants and the native converts.²⁵⁰ Cocks also draws the general conclusion that the shogun Hidetada wished "utterly to roote out the memory of Christianetie out of Japan".²⁵¹ This may be compared with Adam's letter quoted above. Cocks' reference to the dead as 'martyrs' is also interesting. Although not displaying the sympathy found in many accounts, Cocks' modified phraseology suggests that he viewed the persecuted as part of a confraternity rather than as an appendage of Rome.

Although it appears that the British factors did not welcome the mass executions of lay Christians in Japan they continued to show a certain callousness with regard to concealed missionaries. On a number of occasions, especially during the final years of the factory, both the Dutch and the British engaged in missionary hunting.²⁵² Sometimes against the wishes of the local population they investigated the whereabouts of suspicious Iberian merchants, a common disguise of visiting missionaries. Clearly motivated by both genuine hostility and a desire to show their anti-Catholic credentials, the factors were usually disappointed to find that the Matsuura ignored their information.²⁵³ Certainly the most significant example of missionary hunting was the Zuñiga-Flores affair which took place in the final years of

²⁴⁹ Kent Record Office: Sackville Ms ON 6013; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 779.

²⁵⁰ The letter was reprinted in *Pilgrims*, where Purchas simply glosses the relevant paragraph, "Persecution", vol. 3, p. 567. Purchas also appears to have modified his empathy from his earlier annotation of the 1614 edict as "Jesuits banished", *Ibid.*, p. 550.

²⁵¹ Kent Record Office: Sackville Ms ON 6013; Farrington, vol. p. 780.

²⁵² E.g., *Diary*, vol. 3, p. 179. *The Palme of Christian Fortitude* notes that "the English and Hollanders...betray priests, and are held to be capital enemies of the Spaniards and Portugueses, and of the law of Christ", Sig. F2. Andrew Ross sees British and Dutch as adding to the "stream of anti-Iberian and anti-Catholic opinion being passed on to Japanese officials", *A Vision Betrayed: The Jesuits in Japan and China, 1542-1742* (Edinburgh, 1994), p. 80. See also p. 94.

²⁵³ Parallels can be drawn with the Dutch attack on Shimabara in 1637-38 in which their anti-Catholic/anti-Christian credentials were tested by being asked to fire on a large Christian rebellion movement, Mulder, *Hollanders in Hirado*, pp. 189-97.

the factory. It will be fitting to close this section with a brief discussion of the psychology of its perpetrators as revealed in the sources.

No more than an outline of the affair will be sketched here as it is described in detail in several works.²⁵⁴ In short, putting years of hostility behind themselves, the Dutch and English East India Companies joined forces in the East for a combined attack on Iberian shipping between 1620-22. Misleadingly named the Fleet of Defence, a major operation was based in Hirado, with other centres being Goa and Malacca. En route to Japan in the summer of 1620, the English ship *Elizabeth* seized a Japanese junk in the Straits of Taiwan and towed her to Hirado. The junk had a Japanese Christian captain, Hirayama Jochin, and a mixed Japanese and Iberian crew. Two Europeans concealed below were suspected of being priests but attention was devoted to the junk's cargo rather than personnel. The crew of the *Elizabeth* naïvely believed that if all Japanese goods were returned to their owners then the rest of the booty could be divided between the captors with a minimum of trouble. The concealed Europeans proved to be Pedro Zuñiga, an Augustinian, and the Dominican Luis Flores. Of course, their arrival in Japan was a flagrant breach of the strictly enforced edict of 1614. The British and Dutch probably could have concealed the identities of the missionaries but instead chose to declare their prize in an effort to prove their willingness to comply with the shogunal anti-Christian policy and of course to crush their Iberian trade rivals.²⁵⁵

The whole affair caused serious problems for the Dutch, the British and the Matsuura and led to further restriction of European trading privileges.²⁵⁶ A full discussion of the complexities of the case are beyond the scope of the present analysis.²⁵⁷ However, in very brief terms, the Portuguese traders complained bitterly about the seizure of the junk and further acts of piracy committed by the Fleet of Defence.²⁵⁸ With its high volume of traffic and unique direct access to a Chinese port, Portuguese trade remained far more important than both the Dutch and British during this period. In addition many of the senior members of the *ryōjū*, *bakufu* councillors, and important Nagasaki officials had considerable investments in Portuguese shipping. Hence, piracy against their vessels was extremely unwelcome. Acts of aggression against

²⁵⁴ See, for instance, Massarella, *World*, pp. 275, 290, 292-96. The events are described in *Diary*, vol. 3, pp. 193-209.

²⁵⁵ In recent visits to the court the factors had been repeatedly quizzed over their own Christian affiliations and relations with Spain and Portugal. See the notices in *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 294-314 and IOR: E/3/9 no. 1078; Farrington, vol. 2, p. 897.

²⁵⁶ The 1613 privileges are found in IOR: E/3/1 no. 115; Farrington, vol. 1, pp. 89-90. The Japanese version is held in the Bodleian Library: Ms Jap. b.2; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 88. The 1616 revised version is IOR: E/3/4 no. 379A; Farrington, vol. 1, pp. 508-09. The Japanese version given to the British has not survived but copies are held in Japanese collections. A translation is provided in Murakami and Murakawa (eds), *Letters Written by the English Residents in Japan*, pp. 114-15. Murakami and Murakawa's translation is reprinted in Farrington, vol. 1, p. 507. For a description of the tangled history of the privileges see Derek Massarella and Izumi K. Tyler, "The Japonian charters: the English and Dutch *shuinjō*", *MN*, vol. 45, no. 2 (1990), pp. 189-205. The new restrictions banned the Companies from exporting Japanese weapons, powder and general munitions, rice and Japanese citizens, either as servants or hired labour, *Diary*, vol. 3, pp. 132-33, 155; 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.

²⁵⁷ The circumstances are most recently handled in Derek Massarella, "Ticklish points", pp. 43-50.

²⁵⁸ Cocks received a letter from Torazemon dono in Edo that "much ill was reported to the Emperour & his Councill", *Diary*, vol. 3, p. 133.

foreign vessels in Japanese waters embarrassed the *bakufu* and threatened to draw the government into unwanted overseas conflict. The waters were very muddy indeed when Hasegawa Gonroku, *daikan* of Nagasaki, was called to judge the priests. Although they were clearly guilty, Hasegawa stalled in the hope that the Dutch and British would be forced to take up the overdue court journey and abandon their case against the missionaries. If the case could be toppled, the British, and probably the Dutch as well, would be declared pirates for having seized a lawful Japanese vessel.²⁵⁹ Their trade would be further handicapped to the benefit of nearby Nagasaki and concomitantly the profit of influential members of the government. As an additional complication the *daimyō* of Hirado, Matsuura Takanobu, supported the northern Europeans, realising the potential loss of revenue to his fief if they were expelled. It is clear that Takanobu was also struggling to maintain autonomy and power against the growing centralisation of the Tokugawa state. To conclude the affair, both priests were eventually convicted after a year of delay and evasion on the evidence of the Japanese apostate, Thomas Araki. Zuñiga and Flores were burned at the stake in the "Great Martyrdom" of 19 August 1622 (N.S.).²⁶⁰

Conclusion

Despite the appreciation of 'Christendom' and a generic sense of Christianity shown by the factors, the divisions were simply too great between Catholic Japanese and Protestant British.²⁶¹ There is no evidence that a shared sense of Christianity acted as a catalyst for greater trust or intimacy between the two peoples.²⁶² Of course, in a similar sense there was no bond between the British and Iberians based upon a common religious identity.²⁶³ The mental world of the Company servant evidently drew a line between Catholicism and Protestantism which was at least as concrete as that of Self and Other. The local Christians were neither treated nor viewed with any

²⁵⁹ Massarella, *World Elsewhere*, pp. 296-97. Anxiety about being thrown out of Japan is expressed in John Osterwick's recently discovered letter, Massarella, "Ticklish points", p. 46.

²⁶⁰ The event is described in IOR: G/21/6 ff. 283v-87; Farrington, vol. 2, p. 887 and IOR: E/3/9 no. 1078; Farrington, vol. 2, p. 896; Reyer Gizbertszoon's report in Boxer (ed.), *True Description*, pp. 73-74; Morejon, *The Theatre of Iaponia's Constancy*, pp. 3-7. Interestingly, the latter pamphlet absolves the British from blame and lays the sole guilt on the Dutch. This was presumably due to the fact that the missionaries were imprisoned in the Dutch house. Fujita believes unquestioningly the non-contemporary missionary sources that accused the Dutch and British of torturing the missionaries for confessions, *Japan's Encounter*, p. 179. There is no evidence for such treatment in the contemporary E.I.C. sources. However, this is not to say that the British did not unashamedly record use of torture, whether for confessions or information, e.g., Foster (ed.), *Voyage of Thomas Best*, p. 130; *Letters Received*, vol. 1, p. 88.

²⁶¹ For discussion of contemporary use of 'Christendom' see ch. 3. It may be briefly noted that 'Christendom' is referred to in a number of E.I.C. sources, e.g., *Letters Received*, vol. 4, pp. 278, 325-26, 332, 335; vol. 5, p. 63. In his will Samuel Purchas expressed his hope to "unite the disagreeinge harts and disioynted states of Christenmdome". Printed in *Pilgrimes*, vol. 1, p. xxx. Cocks himself also used the term on a number of occasions, *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 53, 338. IOR: E/3/5 no. 616; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 682.

²⁶² The lack of a fraternal sense of Christendom amongst Europeans puzzled East Indian rulers. For instance, the King of Bouton was initially very concerned that the English be not offended that he had killed his Italian surgeon, a fellow Christian. The king was surprised at the English lack of interest. At the same time the King took issue with the hanging of a Muslim negro, being a Muslim himself, Foster (ed.), *Journal of John Jourdain*, pp. 289-90. Similar behaviour was shown by the Shah of Socotra according to Sir Thomas Roe, Foster (ed.), *Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, vol. 1, pp. 33-34.

²⁶³ For that matter there was not even a bond between British and Dutch despite a shared Protestant faith.

greater preference than non-Christians.²⁶⁴ Even if they were not invariably distrusted, nothing more than apathy was shown to their plight. From the initial encounters at sea outside Hirado and once again aboard the *Clove* there is absolutely no sense of religious fraternity with the converted Japanese. It is clear that the problem was not one of race or culture such as studied by men such as Acosta, but rather one of creed. The identity of the Japanese Christian was firmly a ‘papist’ and not a fellow ‘Christian brother’. A key concept in their alienation seems to be the inability of the British to divorce the Japanese Christian identity from that of the Iberian ideological, commercial and spiritual enemy. A major problem of the source materials is that they often leave the Japanese Christians with something of an elusive identity. It is unclear from Cocks’ depiction of a “villanose papisticall rable at Langasaq”, if it is specifically missionaries, native converts, or both who are under attack.²⁶⁵ Contextualising the isolated quote does not aid identification as Cocks’ letter criticises both lay Japanese and missionaries. Ambiguity and lack of identification proved a stumbling block. Japanese Christians are rarely mentioned in neutral contexts but rather in connection with perceived betrayal or conspiracy with Iberians. This could be a symptom of the limitations of the source material, which has a tendency to favour negative over positive observations. It was almost impossible to dislodge the position of the Japanese Christians within a mental trinity of distrust which comprised the local Christians, the Catholic Church and secular Iberians. The quintessence of the relationship is perhaps best expressed in Cocks’ words in a letter to the E.I.C. written on 10 March 1620. Describing the complete extirpation of all outward signs of Christianity, Cocks muses “I doe not rejoyce herin, but wish all Japon were Christians. Yet in the tyme of that bushopp [of Funai/Japan] heare were soe many prists & Jesuists, w’th their p’takers, that one could not passes the streetes w’thout being by them called Lutrinos & herejos, w’ch now we [are] very quiet, & non of them dare open his mouth to speake such a word”.²⁶⁶ In seeking to examine the hostility displayed towards missionaries and certain lay converts, it should be stressed that on the vast majority of occasions relations between British and Japanese were cordial and tolerant. However, the needs of a thesis such as this dictate the study of peculiarities and vicissitudes as well as smooth continuity. Therefore it must be stressed that continual animosity with the local population was not a feature of the Hirado trading enterprise. For example, in 1615 Cocks encountered a Japanese brother who he termed “a padre (or seminary prist)”.²⁶⁷ Cocks answered a train of questions regarding Europe and did not miss the opportunity of attacking the bishop of Rome. However, he makes note that “we esteemed not much whether he were our frend or enemy, W’ch we left to his choise”.²⁶⁸ Toleration on an individual basis was more characteristic of the encounter than suspicion and entrenched hostility.

²⁶⁴ See ch. 5 for the fact that no preference was shown to hiring Christians in the Hirado locality. Ch. 6 also shows how factors did not choose consorts on a religious basis.

²⁶⁵ IOR: E/3/2 no. 138; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 143.

²⁶⁶ IOR: E/3/7 no. 841; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 794.

²⁶⁷ *Diary*, vol. 1, 37-38. It is highly unlikely that the Japanese was a padre, although according to Morejon, *The Theatre of Iaponia’s Constancy*, p. 13, the first Japanese priest, Sebastian Kimura, was a native of Hirado.

²⁶⁸ *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 37-38.

Conclusion

As discussed in the opening chapter, this thesis set out to examine both English perceptions of the Japanese and the cultural interaction between E.I.C. merchants and local people as testified to in the records of the Hirado factory. Because the sources tend to be spontaneous rather than retrospective, general written accounts of Japan and the Japanese are not as frequent or rich as the record of cultural interaction.¹ The record of interaction is far more tangible and lends itself to better expression through the medium of diaries and letters. As the Farrington collection features letters, logs, financial accounts, directives and memoranda, alongside the diary of Cocks, this thesis has been able to benefit from a range of genres, which are not limited by the constraints of any one source.

A key conclusion in this thesis is the danger of judging Jacobean mentalities with regard to non-Europeans on the basis of a small number of published texts, usually travel accounts or geographical treatises.² Other recent work on European perceptions of the rest of the world in the early modern period has tended to concentrate on the encounters between primitive natives and European discoverers whose immediate aim was exploitation and colonisation. Nevertheless, the findings of this thesis have some interesting parallels in the findings of K. O. Kupperman's *Settling with the Indians*.³ Kupperman found that, as in the case of the Hirado sources, the private letters and reports of Europeans in North America contain little of the strict conceptual divisions between Europeans and non-Europeans that are found in published geographical literature. Although the Hirado factors observed many of the details found in contemporary printed accounts, their basic attitude was different from the view of the world as expressed in published treatises. Contemporary sources stress the predominance and excellence of Europe in relation to the rest of the world. However, there is little sense of such an attitude of superiority in the factory accounts. That said, however, the merchants did appear (*pace* Massarella) to acknowledge a 'European' and 'Christian' identity.⁴ What is particularly relevant to the broader historiography of European-non-European interaction is that, despite evidence that merchants probably did read descriptions of Japan prior to arrival in Hirado, they don't seem to have brought with them an elaborate or rigid preconceived body of assumptions about Japan. Similarly there is little evidence of specific details of descriptions of Japan influencing the empirical observations of the merchants.⁵

¹ Perceptions are handled in detail alongside contemporary published accounts of Japan in ch. 3. However, attention to the views of the British merchants concerning the Japanese is given in each individual chapter, although it has been difficult to draw a definite line between 'perceptions' and 'interactions'.

² See ch. 3 in particular.

³ K. O. Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians: The Meeting of English and Indian Cultures in America, 1580-1640* (Totowa, 1980).

⁴ Massarella, *World Elsewhere*, p. 372n. and more recently 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. 140-41 and Massarella, "The Jesuits and Japan", in Anthony Disney and Emily Booth (eds), *Vasco da Gama and the Linking of Europe and Asia* (New Delhi, 2000), pp. 242-43.

⁵ It is proposed in ch. 7 that Saris' warning to his crew that to draw a weapon in anger would be punishable by death could have been drawn from his reading of Linschoten's *Itinerario*. However, it is

The importance of outward appearance to early modern Europeans is stressed in much of the historiography that relies on literary texts.⁶ Again the findings of this thesis agree with what Kupperman has proposed for settlers in North America; namely that physical appearance was not particularly important to private individuals.⁷ This emphasis on the danger of assuming the existence of an ideological straitjacket, derived from contemporary published texts, that dictated Jacobean perceptions, also supports Robert Shoemaker's conclusions in his study of gender roles in early modern England. In *Gender in English Society*, Shoemaker highlights the difference between the message found in conduct books and the opinions of women on gender roles to be found in private diaries.⁸ In the field of overseas Europeans, this thesis also agrees with the conclusions of Joan-Pau Rubiés, who identifies divergences between perceptions found in published travel accounts and private documents, and warns against the overuse of literary texts to study mentalities.⁹ An interesting further channel of research would be to widen the area covered in this thesis and examine how perceptions of Africa, India, and South East Asia in the E.I.C. letters compare to published geographical texts.¹⁰

Throughout the thesis attention has been given to the recorded opinions of the factors in the light of what is known about Jacobean attitudes to a range of subjects. Did Jacobean mentalities as elucidated in modern historiography influence or indeed determine the merchants' behaviour and opinions in Japan? The conclusions that can be drawn are varied depending on the subject under discussion. For instance, it is quite clear that familiar Jacobean attitudes influenced factors' descriptions of legal punishments in Japan.¹¹ In their recording of numerous incidents, the merchants reflect contemporary thinking in England by voicing their disgust at the virtual absence of trials, the use of summary punishments and the role of bystanders and household heads as custodians of life and death. As seen in chapter 6, factors enforced similar moral strictures on sailors to those in contemporary England. The merchants and officers also justified their actions in terms familiar to their contemporaries at home. As cultural historians have shown, whoring was frowned upon due to its associations with brawling, gambling, falling into debt and general disorderly

also acknowledged that the Dutch are also likely candidates for fielding this information. Similarly, as discussed in ch. 8, detailed descriptions of Buddhism were available in Luis Frois' letter, as printed in Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*. However, there is little evidence of the letter's influence on Cocks' accounts of Buddhist practice in his diary.

⁶ See for instance, Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvellous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 111-12 and Walter Demel, "The image of the Japanese and 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. 35-36.

⁷ See also Urs Bitterli, *Cultures in Conflict: Encounters between European and Non-European Cultures, 1492-1800*, trans Ritchie Robertson (München, 1986; London, 1989), pp. 76-77.

⁸ 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.

⁹ Joan-Pau Rubiés, *Travel and Ethnology in the Renaissance: South India through European Eyes, 1250-1625* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 175.

¹⁰ As stressed in ch. 3 most of the European encounters in the eastern hemisphere are ignored in favour of interaction in the Atlantic colonies. Historians have argued that Asia is virtually ignored because it does not comfortably fit the neat colonial discourse of 'civil'/'savage' imagery, e.g. Kenneth Parker (ed.), *Early Modern Tales of Orient: a Critical Anthology* (London, 1999), pp. 9, 32-33n.

¹¹ See ch. 7.

behaviour.¹² The private letters and diaries of the factors also reveal that, as in early modern England, they believed that their social status entitled them to indulge in the same 'unruly' sexual behaviour that they punished amongst social inferiors.¹³

On the other hand, in their employment of bonded servants the factors evidently slipped into an existing Japanese system of contracts and etiquette, rather than imposing their own terms.¹⁴ As we have seen, however, there were clearly very close parallels in Japan with the treatment of and obligation to servants that would have been expected in England. Hence, although the factors did not seek to change the terms and conditions of servants' contracts, they were not asked to compromise many of the values held by Jacobean. In other areas of life, differences from domestic Jacobean attitudes are more unequivocal. In chapter 4 we saw how historians have traditionally seen overseas Europeans as being prevented from learning 'savage' languages through an informed prejudice.¹⁵ They either relied on native interpreters or European boys deposited with local tribes to be raised as bilingual intermediates.¹⁶ However, as in so many other comparative areas of the thesis, historians have almost exclusively studied the colonial societies of North America. Even within this arena more recent work has stressed that, at least in the case of languages, European settlers were driven by pragmatism, not ideological prejudices.¹⁷ In the interests of communication settlers picked up a smattering of the local languages. The Hirado records also confirm that the merchants did not hold prejudices regarding language learning but rather kept a pre-colonial mindset. They wished to learn Japanese in order to dispense with interpreters. Again, with respect to language tuition, the case of Richard Hudson's formal instruction in Japanese illustrates how the factors' (or at least Cocks) differed from contemporary thinking on language acquisition. Rather than leaving Hudson to soak up the local language, they clearly understood the utility of formal tuition.¹⁸ These findings directly contradict Massarella's statement that "none of the factors appear to have made much effort to learn Japanese".¹⁹ They are also highly significant, as I have come across no other contemporary evidence of formal linguistic training in eastern languages for Company servants. In chapter 4 it is suggested, although there are no specific references in the sources, that the factors could have used Jesuit language aids to help them learn Japanese. It would be interesting to make a detailed study of any parallels between the extensive Japanese

¹² See Susan Amussen, "Punishment, discipline and power: the social meaning of violence in early modern England" *Journal of British History*, vol. 34, no. 1 (1995), p. 26 and 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), pp. 229-30.

¹³ Faramerz Dabhoiwala, "The construction of honour, reputation and status in late seventeenth century and early eighteenth century England", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Sixth Series, vol. 6 (1996), pp. 201-13.

¹⁴ See ch. 5.

¹⁵ Greenblatt, *Marvellous Possessions*, pp. 105, 106; Frances Karttunen, *Between Worlds: Interpreters, Guides, and Survivors* (New Brunswick, 1994), p. 249.

¹⁶ Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians*, p. 45; 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.

¹⁷ Inga Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquests: Maya and Spanish in Yucatan, 1517-1570* (Cambridge, 1987), p. 43; Alden T. Vaughan, "Sir Walter Raleigh's Indian interpreters, 1584-1618", *William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, vol. LIX, no. 2 (2002), p. 375.

¹⁸ See ch. 4 and appendix 2.

¹⁹ Massarella, *World Elsewhere*, p. 219.

vocabulary found in factory sources and the forms and phrases found in contemporary missionary language primers.

In addition to examining the Jacobean perspective on phenomena encountered in Japan such as suicide, servants, clothes, food and sexual morality, the thesis has sought to probe the E.I.C.'s official instructions and policies on such matters. An important argument throughout the thesis is the fact that the E.I.C. made detailed provisions in voyage commissions for the behaviour of mariners, whilst providing few specifications governing the carriage of resident factors. This point is particularly relevant to chapters 6, 7 and 8, which seek to examine how the Company governed attitudes towards relationships with women, the application of criminal law and provisions for organised religion. Yet despite the importance of this gap in authority, historians have not identified it as a loophole of policy. For instance, Miles Ogborn makes no reference to the differences between mariners and merchants in his article on commissions and the power of the written word on early Company voyages.²⁰ Another important fact is that commissions dictating behaviour and punishments were to be administered by the general of the fleet or individual ship captains. They were hence only relevant to a particular voyage and left a grey area for both resident merchants and mariners and other personnel (e.g. cooks and surgeons) left at various factories. Remembrances given to cape-merchants by departing generals also usually don't specify appropriate behaviour with regard to women, children born of local relationships, religion or other non-commercial matters.²¹ Hence it is difficult to gain a sense of the official view of the Company towards the behaviour of its merchants. However, as noted above, this thesis has been able to benefit from a sizeable body of historiography concerning general early modern English attitudes to matters such as sex, prostitution, moral offences, suicide and execution.

This thesis concludes that there was a significant level of cultural interaction between the British and the local Japanese practices. Although played down by Massarella, these findings are actually supported by other historians of the European presence in Japan.²² This conclusion should not necessarily be surprising as similar adaptations were made by E.I.C. servants in other factories during this period.²³ For a considerable period historians have argued that cultural adaptation existed in non-colonial situations around the world in the early modern period.²⁴ Cultural historians have also proposed that far greater cultural interaction took place in colonial situations than has previously been acknowledged. Once again, the argument for considerable cultural adaptation is reflected in Kupperman's study of North American colonists' relationships with the Indians. Kupperman concludes that eye-witnesses (as opposed to armchair geographers) suggested that colonists could live off the land, dwell in

²⁰ Miles Ogborn, "Writing travels: power, knowledge and ritual on the English East India Company's early voyages", *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, New Series, vol. 27, no. 2 (2002), pp. 155-71.

²¹ For instance, see Saris' instructions to Cocks, IOR: E/3/1 no. 125; Farrington, vol. 1, pp. 119-22.

²² Michael Cooper, "Japan described", in Cooper (ed.), *The Southern Barbarians: The First Europeans in Japan* (Tokyo, 1971), p. 100.

²³ See the comparative material in ch. 5.

²⁴ See, for example, C. R. Boxer, *Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire, 1415-1825* (Oxford, 1963), p. 9 and more recently Nabil Matar, *Turks, Moors and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery* (New York, 1999), pp. 58-59.

tents and even wear animal skins as had the ancient Britons.²⁵ Similarly Stuart Schwartz has illustrated how Portuguese colonists in São Paulo and Haranhão e Pará in Brazil adopted local food, customs, languages and material culture.²⁶ Hence, the cultural adaptation shown by the Hirado factory fits with the theory that even in restricted colonial situations, there was some fusion with native decorations, cuisine and living arrangements more suitable for the local climate.²⁷ It also contrasts with and overturns older work on overseas Europeans that has tended to stress factors' rigid adherence to European norms and ignores accommodation to native practice.²⁸ A further line of study would be to make a fuller comparison between the levels of cultural interaction and adaptation shown in the numerous E.I.C. factories across the East Indies. This thesis also agrees with the broader historiography that relations with local women helped integration into unfamiliar cultures.²⁹ As suggested in chapters 4 and 6, sexual relations with local consorts probably encouraged the factors to learn Japanese as the use of translators would have destroyed privacy in the relationships.³⁰

As emphasised particularly in chapter 5, there was no complete 'going native' in the Hirado factory. The extent of genuine cultural interaction that is highlighted through the thesis should not mask the fact that the Hirado factory venture was wholly European in its orientation and paraphernalia. Unlike stranded explorers, the factory was visited a number of times by ships sent from Bantam and Batavia. The merchants also lived only a short distance from heavily Europeanised Nagasaki and they shared Hirado town with a Dutch trading factory. Hence, they weren't isolated within a completely foreign land. Indeed, the evidence points towards factors in the East Indies showing hostility towards the idea of 'going native'.³¹ Cocks regarded the sailor John Haughtry's cutting of his hair in a Japanese style and "thinking to turne pagon" as a serious moral breach.³² This conclusion fits in well with what we know about the situation in North America, in which the authorities prescribed extreme punishments for those who ran away to the Indians.³³

Despite warning against any exaggeration of the extent to which factors converted to Japanese cultural practices, on the whole this thesis reaches the conclusion that the degree of cultural adaptation shown by the merchants was much higher than that

²⁵ Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians*, pp. 119-20. A more polarised viewpoint of 'civil/savage' differentiation is found in Michael Zucherman, "Identity in British America: unease in Eden" in Nicholas Canny and Anthony Pagden (eds), *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World, 1500-1800* (Princeton, 1987), p. 143.

²⁶ Stuart B. Schwartz, "The formation of a colonial identity in Brazil", in *ibid.*, p. 30.

²⁷ See e.g., Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquests*, p. 43.

²⁸ E.g., Anthony Wood, *A History of the Levant Company* (Oxford, 1935), pp. 229-49 and David Harris Wilson (ed.), *A Right 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), p. 20.

²⁹ William Corr, *Adams the Pilot: The Life and Times of Captain William Adams: 1564-1620* (London, 1995), p. 147; Antony Wild, *The East India Company: Trade and Conquest from 1600* (London, 1999), p. 105; Leonard Blussé, "From inclusion to exclusion: the early years in Hirado, 1600-1640", in Blussé *et al* (eds), *Bridging the Divide: 400 Years of Netherlands-Japan* (no place of publication, 2000), p. 28.

³⁰ Hence, Wickham's euphemistic reference to the women as "language tutors" may well hold some truth. IOR: G/12/15, p. 6; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 163 and IOR: G/12/15, p. 6; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 164.

³¹ The key reference is IOR: E/3/5 no. 493; Farrington, vol. 1, pp. 605-06.

³² *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 308.

³³ Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians*, pp. 118-20, 156-57; Fausz, "Middlemen in peace and war", p. 42; Zucherman, "Identity", p. 145.

accounted for by Massarella. What comes across in Massarella's work is that whilst the British didn't have a superior view of themselves and a negative opinion of the Japanese, they also made little effort to adapt to the Japanese culture and way of life. Hence, the Hirado factory was essentially a European microcosm in the antipodes. Massarella concludes that "[o]n the whole, the Japanese world into which the English entered and lived for just over ten years left the factors remarkably untouched". He continues that the factors "took Japan at face value and made little effort to explore Japanese culture and society beyond the superficial level required to ease the conduct of their business".³⁴ However, many of the crucial aspects of cultural adaptation in the Hirado factory are either missed or barely touched upon in *World Elsewhere*: the Japanese features of the house; Japanese utensils, clothes and art objects in Wickham's inventory; the type of food consumed; novelty parties held in Hirado; the use of Japanese entertainments such as *kabuki* and the steam bath; the evidence for factors speaking Japanese; the question of whether the merchants wore Japanese attire.

Particularly in the chapters dealing with law and order, servants and religious issues, this thesis has noted levels of conflict, suspicion and hostility between the factors and the Japanese people and authorities.³⁵ However, it must be emphasised that friction and mistrust were not a defining feature of the Anglo-Japanese encounter. The overall interaction was peaceful and harmonious. As this study has shown, there were actually many similarities between Japan and England, particularly with respect to treatment of servants, the value attached to personal honour and the use of extra-legal reconciliation.³⁶ However, the source material inevitably concentrates on the differences that were immediately apparent to the factors. The merchants were far more likely to record the injustice of summary executions rather than continually mention how conflicts with the Japanese were resolved through extra-legal mediation; a process very similar to that found in contemporary England.³⁷ The nature of the relationship between British factors and the local Japanese can be illustrated by some of the few sources that survive from the closing days of the factory. An abstract of the last days of the factory taken from the lost final segment of Cocks' diary and quoted by Peter Pratt in the 1820s shows how "sundry small presents" were distributed to Japanese servants "and others".³⁸ Two days before setting sail from Japan "many of the townsmen came with their wives and families to take leave of the factors, some weeping at their departure".³⁹ The *Bull*, which had arrived to close the factory, was actually prevented from departing on the 23 December due to the numbers of Dutch and "Japanese friends" who carried presents of food aboard.⁴⁰ It is unfortunate that Cocks' exact words don't survive but we have further personal testimony of the warmth of feeling shown by the Japanese in several letters written by consorts and servants to the merchants shortly after the factory's closure. John Osterwick's consort

³⁴ Massarella, *World Elsewhere*, p. 241.

³⁵ See chs 5, 7 and 8. Negative opinions of the Japanese are also discussed in ch. 3,

³⁶ See chs 5 and 7.

³⁷ See ch. 7 for more details.

³⁸ Peter Pratt, *History of Japan Compiled from the Records of the English East India Company at the Instance of the Court of Directors*, ms of 1822 (ed.) by Montague Paske-Smith, 2 vols (Kobe, 1931; 2 vols in 1, London, 1972), pp. 481-82. Reprinted in *Diary*, vol. 3, pp. 326-27. The abstract was prepared in the eighteenth century, which accounts for the modernised spelling, and is now lost.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 327.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* More than one hundred people came aboard and the *Bull* was forced to put in at nearby Kawachi due to lack of room on the ship.

'Haya' addressed a letter to "Jiwan sama", writing of how "I feel very unhappy to hear that you are going home. I wish I could see you once again before you go".⁴¹ 'Oto', a maid-servant employed by Cocks, described how "I always remember, every morning and evening, that you showed me kindness while you were in Japan, and I wish to see you once again and to offer my heartfelt thanks".⁴² Again, Cocks was praised in similar terms by Eaton's women, 'Kamezō': "I feel grateful to you for your kindness which you showed me while you were here". She also described how she was relying on Cocks more than her own father for the welfare of Eaton's son.⁴³ Another factory servant, 'Mathias', wrote to Edmund Sayers: "I cannot forget the friendship you showed me while you were here and I constantly wish that you might come back to Japan once again". He continued "After you left we were talking about you day after day" and asked to be remembered to a number of the factory personnel.⁴⁴ Although chapters 5 and 6 have shown that relations with Japanese servants and consorts could be bumpy, on the whole there was little evidence of a clash of either personalities or cultures. The evidence from the closure of the factory and earlier references by merchants to Japanese "friends" illustrates the trend that occasional conflict was more likely to be recorded than continual peaceful relations.⁴⁵ Clearly, many of the local Japanese had a fondness for the merchants and regretted their eventual departure.

Although there was no wholesale conversion to a Japanese lifestyle in the Hirado factory, many of the factors were prepared to adapt their routine to and enjoyed leisure activities "nifon catange" or after the Japanese fashion.⁴⁶

⁴¹ BL: Cart. Cotton III. 13. XXVI. 28 ff. 53-54; Farrington, vol. 2, p. 954.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 955.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 956. William Eaton Jr, or "Uriemon" in the letter, was sent from Hirado to Batavia on a Dutch ship. Presumably Eaton himself wanted little to do with the boy. For more details see ch. 6.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 957.

⁴⁵ E.g., *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 49.

⁴⁶ This is a stock phrase in Cocks' diary. See for instance, *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 30, 33, 42, 60, 61 and *passim*.

Appendix 1: When Did Richard Cocks Begin his Diary? A Review of the Evidence

Richard Cocks' diary is unfortunately not a complete record of the Hirado factory between June 1613 and December 1623. It begins in June 1615 and runs uninterrupted until January 1619. There is then nearly a two year gap until December 1620. The diary subsequently continues until 24 March 1622, whilst the factory itself did not close until 24 December 1623. Hence the diary exists in two sizeable sequential chunks. The staggered spacing of coverage may at first glance obscure the fact that the diary only covers four years and ten months, i.e. less than half of the 10 and a half year duration of the factory. The gaps are noted in historiography but have never been adequately explained.¹ Michael Cooper is unsure as to whether a more extensive account, since lost, was ever written.² The simple answer is that the diary did indeed once cover a longer period, at least from 1615 to 1623. We can be sure of this from an abstract quoted by Peter Pratt in the 1820s. This was taken from the last few days of the factory, between 19-24 December 1623.³ However, the abstract had been made some time prior to Pratt's investigation of the records and the original diary pages could not be found at that time. The extract had evidently been made by a predecessor to Pratt but is itself no longer extant.⁴ In fact abundant mention by Pratt makes it clear that the diary was in an identical state in the 1820s as it is today. It is quite obvious that the diary once covered the years from at least 1615-1623 but became dislocated upon return to the Company at some point.⁵ Pratt notes that the diary was dislocated and scattered through the Company archives, often stored under misleading categories, and it was only his endeavours that pulled it together.⁶ BL: Add. Ms 31, 301, the second block of the diary runs between 5 December 1620 and 24 March 1622. Yet Pratt's mention that the second block began on 5 *November* 1620 is probably a mistake rather than indication of a further loss since 1824.⁷

¹ E.g. preface to all editions of *Diary*. The gaps are also briefly discussed in Michael Cooper, "The second Englishman in Japan: the trails and travails of Richard Cocks, 1613-1624", *TASJ*, Third Series, vol. 17 (1982), pp. 153-54. There is no analysis in Derek Massarella's, "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. 29-38 which purports to handle the loss of material from the Company's archive.

² Michael Cooper, "Review of *Diary Kept by the Head of the English Factory in Japan: Diary of Richard Cocks, 1615-1622*", *MN*, vol. XXXVII, no. 2 (1982), pp. 266.

³ Peter Pratt (comp.), *History of Japan, Compiled from the Records of the English East India Company at the instance of the Court of Directors*, ms of 1822, 2 vols (ed.) Montague Paske-Smith (Kobe, 1931; 2 vols in 1, London, 1972), pp. 481-82. Also printed in Thompson (ed.), *Diary of Richard Cocks*, vol. 2, p. 267 and *Diary*, vol. 3, pp. 326-27. Pratt gives the source as "Books rec'd from India no. 10-9".

⁴ There is also no discernable reference to Cocks' diary in a slightly earlier study of the Company's records, John Bruce, *The Annals of the Honourable East India Company*, 3 vols (London, 1810).

⁵ It should not be assumed necessarily that the diary was transferred back to London on the *Ann Royal* which carried Cocks home. Material from the South East Asian factories was stored at Batavia for a period, as was the case with Ralph Coppendale's journal of the *Hozlander*. There seems to have been no contemporary usage or notice of the diary in Britain and Purchas himself makes no mention of it.

⁶ Pratt, *History of Japan*, p. v.

⁷ *Ibid.*

The question of whether Cocks began the diary in 1615, 1613 or even at the beginning of the voyage in 1611 is less clear-cut. As will be argued below it appears that the diary is not merely a continuation on land of the logbook that Cocks would have been obliged to keep for the Eighth Voyage.⁸ The first extant folio of the diary is evidently a title page of some form in Cocks' own hand. It reads:

[1]615

The Journall or dailye [b]ook of al[l] accurrant[es] happening, begvn at Firando in Japon, p'r me Ric'd Co[c]ks, le 1th day of June 1615, stilo vetri.⁹

Despite what appears to be a clear opening to his journal, there are no prefatory statements of the type common in contemporary diaries and log books. The first entry is completely prosaic and matter of fact. Stronger evidence is the existence of a second such 'title page' which forms the beginning of BL: Add. MS 31, 301, the point at which the manuscript has been divided for categorisation. Although badly worn it is still possible to make out:

The J[]
happening kept &[]
begvn in Firando[]
Being Sond[]

Despite the damage it is clear that this 'title page' is modelled on the leaf which began the diary on 1 June 1615. The conclusion of the wording is that Cocks was beginning a new fascicle of paper rather than a new document. Therefore the fact that the diary is declared as beginning on 1 June 1615 does not mean that there were no fascicles of paper before this. On this basis if BL: Add. MS 31, 300 were lost it would be easy to assume by the second 'title page' that nothing was written before MS 31, 301. In all probability there were once additional 'title pages' for the missing years of coverage. Hence we cannot be certain by the evidence of the opening folio of the surviving diary that the document was truly begun in June 1615. There is one strong piece of evidence, however, which supports that belief that the diary was begun in June 1615. Cocks' account book for the Eighth Voyage bears a title "The Journall or dayly booke of Letter A".¹⁰ It may be logically concluded that the now lost "Firando Ledger B" was the continuation of the latter document, based on sequential dating. One of Pratt's abstracts also states that the ledger was "taken from the balance of Ledger A".¹¹ BL: Add MS 31, 300 has "Book Letter C" added to the aforementioned 'title page' in Cocks own hand.¹² Similarly the second fascicle of the manuscript diary has "Booke Letter D" added to its 'title page', again in Cocks' hand.¹³ Hence, following the alphabetic labelling of Cocks' accounts, there would be no room in the sequence for an earlier fascicle of the diary. Whilst we only have Pratt's authority for the title of "Firando Ledger B", books A, C, and D are testified to in Cocks' hand. It therefore

⁸ This is specified in article 9 of Saris' commission, IOR: B/2 ff. 140-48; Farrington, vol. 2, p. 976.

⁹ BL: Add. MS 31, 300, f. 1. See *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 1.

¹⁰ IOR: L/MAR/C/6 f. 8r; Farrington, vol. 2, p. 1268n.

¹¹ Firando Ledger B; Farrington, vol. 2, p. 1269.

¹² f. 1r, *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 3n.

¹³ BL: Add. MS 31, 301, f. 1r, *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 111n.

seems likely that Pratt was quoting an existing classification rather than personally categorising surviving material.

Despite strong evidence for the absence of a prior fascicle of the diary it still cannot be stated conclusively that such a document did not once exist. The problem is that despite obvious similarities in nomenclature between “Letter Books A, B, C, and D”, the sequential link between B and C does not quite match. This is of crucial interest as “Letter Book C” is of course the first surviving segment of the diary. “Firando Ledger B” ends in late August 1615 with the arrival of the *Hozlander*. However, the diary begins nearly three months earlier in June 1615. The theory of the diary forming the third part of a sequence is also undermined by the recent discovery of John Osterwick’s account book.¹⁴ This document begins on 1 September 1615 and hence neatly matches the end of “Firando Ledger B”. In addition, it is possible to see a clear sequence in “Letter Book A” beginning with the loading of the *Clove*’s cargo and ending with its transfer to the Hirado factory. “Firando Ledger B” begins with the *Clove*’s stock and ends with the arrival of new cargo aboard the *Hozlander*. Similarly, this is the point at which Osterwick’s account book begins. Hence as Anthony Farrington also concludes, it is clear that Osterwick’s account book forms the natural successor to Firando Ledger B.¹⁵ BL: Cotton Vesp. F.XVII is also purely an account book in the mould of Cocks’ accounts for the Eighth Voyage. The diary, by contrast, contains financial information but conforms exactly with the modern perception of a diary as a daily record of events.

Although at first glance fitting perfectly into a lettered sequence of documents under Cocks’ own hand, it has been shown that the “Letter Book” series is not incontestable evidence that there was no previous fascicle of Cocks’ diary. Cocks may well have labelled various diverse documents under such a system. There is a tantalising reference in his diary noting that he dispatched on the *Swan* “2 journalles & ballences, C & D”.¹⁶ Hence, it should not be assumed that all journals and accounts were labelled together and were interdependent. Contemporaries used the term ‘journal’ in a broad sense to mean either a daily record of transactions (but not necessarily a diary), financial accounts, ledgers and balances.¹⁷ Judging from its private nature and his constant use of the diary, it is highly unlikely that Cocks was referring to his diary in the aforementioned reference. It will probably never be known if Cocks’ account began earlier than June 1615. However, the unlikelihood that Cocks saw his diary as the successor to the account book of the Eighth Voyage and “Firando Ledger B” presents the possibility of the existence of earlier diary fascicles A and B which are now lost. Farrington clearly believes that there were no earlier segments due to his categorisation of “Book Letter C” (BL: Add. MS 31, 300) “firmly alongside” “Letter Books A and B”.¹⁸ Quite how this sequence is reconciled with his earlier comment that Osterwick’s account book is the “logical successor” to “Firando Ledger B” is not explained. Apart from a handy sequence, Farrington conjectures the homogeneity of

¹⁴ BL: Cotton Vesp. F.XVII; Farrington, vol. 2, pp. 1289-1471.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 1470n.

¹⁶ *Diary*, vol. 3, p. 173.

¹⁷ *Letters Received*, vol. 1, p. 272; vol. 2, p. 141. We find phrases such as “One whole journal of all accounts passed in Atchien” and “One journal of business passed at Tecou in anno 1614”, where the meaning could be daily financial accounts or a Cocks-style diary, *Ibid.*, p. 147; vol., 3, p. 107. John Jourdain dispatched a copy of a journal extending to 13 January 1615, to illustrate “the accounts and states of Bantam”, *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 280.

¹⁸ Farrington, vol. 2, p. 1534.

documents by assuming that “Letter Books A and B” were *Cocks*’ earlier works. Whilst the authorship of his account of the Eighth Voyage is not in doubt, there is no indication that Cocks was the author of “Firando Ledger B”.¹⁹ As the original ledger is lost there is no way of checking the script. Pratt paraphrased or abstracted rather than quoted the documents. There is hence no way of comparing the account with idiosyncratic spelling and phrases found in the diary and Cocks’ letters. Although Cocks clearly kept various accounts of his own, as did all the factors, it was William Neelson who was specified as the accountant in Saris’ remembrance to Cocks.²⁰ The status of house manager and book keeper is accepted by Massarella and even in Farrington’s own biographical note on Neelson.²¹ It should also be noted that the author of the true successor to “Firando Ledger B” was Osterwick and not Cocks. Another recently discovered fragment of an account book from 1621 also belonged to Osterwick.²² This is not of course to suggest that Osterwick was the author of “Firando Ledger B” as he did not arrive until August 1615. It does, however, illustrate that despite his senior position Cocks did not handle the principal accounting from at least as early as mid-1615. Pratt’s paraphrasing of the opening statement to the account book gives no clues to authorship.²³ The quoted folios mention both Cocks and Neelson in the neutral circumstances of their respective wages and give no clue as to which man actually wrote the ledger.²⁴

There are very few extant letters to and from Neelson that fall within the duration of “Firando Ledger B”. In addition, although Neelson receives abundant mention in the diary, the journal begins only three months prior to the closing of the ledger. The diary records Neelson’s handling of numerous cash payments to local workmen and other merchants. He also received money from Adams and local Japanese debtors.²⁵ Cocks obviously authorised and delivered the money from the Company’s strong room in the factory. It can be logically conjectured that with his constant handling of money and stated responsibility as book keeper, it was Neelson and not Cocks who kept “Firando Ledger B”.²⁶ There is also a single reference which supports such a claim in the diary. In late August 1615 “Mr. Neelson noted downe in acco. frō Langasaque frō Andrea, for w’ch he paid hym selfe for rattons, hempe, oyle, sayles, jars, as p’r p’rticulers”.²⁷ Of course, it could always be argued that this simply refers to a waste book; rough accounts that would be periodically copied into a neat ledger. However, it is the most compelling evidence for Neelson’s authorship of “Firando Ledger B”, coupled of course with the logic of a designated book keeper performing such a task.

¹⁹ Cocks is also ascribed as the author in *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 1287n.

²⁰ IOR: E/3/1 ño. 125; Farrington, vol. 1, pp. 119-20. In his will, Neelson’s is described as a “practitioner in the mathematikes”, IOR: G/40/23 ff. 10-11; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 798.

²¹ Massarella, *World Elsewhere*, p. 139 and Farrington, vol. 2, p. 1565.

²² Folger Shakespeare Library: Ms X. d. 272; Farrington, vol. 2, pp. 1502-1504.

²³ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 1269. It is only Osterwick’s hand writing that reveals him as the author of his account book, as there is no mention of him in the opening statement.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 1277.

²⁵ *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 14, 15, 17, 20, 22, 23, 26, 27, 28, 31, 32 *inter alia*.

²⁶ Despite his concentration of the economic activities of the factory, Massarella doesn’t attempt any discussion of the authorship of “Firando Ledger B”, *World Elsewhere*, p. 138 ff.

²⁷ *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 72. The extracted folios from “Firando Ledger B” offer no help on identifying this reference. However, this is not surprising as Pratt only made limited excerpts from 37 of at east 90 folios.

In conclusion, despite a number of tantalising references and clues, it cannot be proved that the diary was begun prior to June 1615. What this discussion has shown however, is that the evidence for a start date of 1615 is seriously flawed. Farrington's grouping together of the various surviving "letter books" seems to be the basis for his implied argument against earlier fascicles. Although an initially seductive theory, it is undermined by the discovery of Osterwick's account book. This is the obvious successor to "Firando Ledger B" and not Cocks' diary, which neither bears any continuity of format nor fits comfortably into the dating sequence established by the other accounts. Farrington's theory also depends on homogeneity of authorship between the four known "letter books". However, as William Neelson is the more likely candidate for the author of "Firando Ledger B" this aspect of the argument also buckles under the weight of logic and textual reference. All these arguments do not of course help historians recover a theoretical lost earlier segment of the diary but they do elucidate the possibilities that can be drawn from an otherwise familiar text.

Appendix 2: Why has the Education of Richard Hudson been Ignored by Historians?

In its general discussion of linguistic issues in the Hirado factory, chapter 4 drew attention to the career and achievements of Richard Hudson. Hudson was a Company boy dispatched to Japan, who was then subsequently sent by Cocks to learn Japanese in a formal environment in Kyōto. The only firm evidence for him receiving tuition in Japanese is an obscure diary reference that only appeared in the 1980 publication of the full version of Cocks' diary. Evidently such a formal approach to reading and writing non-European languages was very unusual in this period and was a unique strategy amongst the overseas factories. However, the affair is very poorly understood by the few historians who have looked at the Hirado factory records, mainly due to often contradictory and confusing evidence. Due to a seemingly contradictory reference in one of Cocks' letters back to the E.I.C. headquarters, most historians appear to have assumed that whilst Cocks intended to station Hudson in Kyōto, his plans were ultimately frustrated. This appendix examines the problems of the source material for Hudson's stay in more depth and looks at how historians have missed this fascinating case.

The earliest and most influential scholars to study the Hirado sources unanimously missed Hudson. Edward Maunde Thompson, the editor of the 1883 edition of Cocks' diary, merely notes in his introduction that Hudson arrived in Hirado in 1615 and was employed as an "unattached servant".¹ In his seminal study, Ludwig Riess makes no mention at all of Hudson during his description of the years 1615-1617 and he only receives a passing reference for his role in the closure of the factory in 1623.² Prior to Massrella's study, Riess' lengthy article was the most thorough exposition of the factory. Hence the lack of notice of Hudson may have failed to elucidate his story in the later decades. It should be noted that his involvement in linguistic training is also unnoticed in the most recent entry to the body of historiography dealing with Hirado.³

The historiographical corpus devoted to the Hirado factory is marked, with few exceptions, by trivial and repetitious accounts intended to introduce the subject to a previously unacquainted audience. As the details of his case are by no means clear it is easy to see how Hudson's story has slipped through historians' fingers. There are two inveterate conceptions connected with Hudson's career which emerge from the narrative accounts: Cocks intended to send Hudson to Kyōto to learn the language but was prevented by Hidetada's revised trading privileges of 1616; Hudson's Japanese was to have been acquired in an arbitrary fashion, according with the belief that the young were able to quickly pick up the language of their surroundings.⁴ Both statements are untrue. The sources for Hudson's sojourn in Kyōto are sparse,

¹ E. M. Thompson (ed.), *Diary of Richard Cocks, Cape-merchant in the English Factory in Japan, 1615-1622, with Correspondence*, 2 vols, *Hakluyt Society, First Series*, no. LXVI, LXVII (1883), vol. 1, pp. xvi-xvii.

² Ludwig Riess, "History of the English factory at Hirado (1613-1622[sic])", *TASJ*, vol. XXVI (1898), p. 112.

³ Milton, *Samurai William*, p. 304. Hudson is only mentioned on this single occasion, without any reference to his linguistic achievements.

⁴ See for example, *Letters Received*, vol., 6, pp. 28-29.

confusing, fragmented and at first glance contradictory. Likewise, historians seem to have responded with equally vague comments, which are presumably offered to placate the divergent material. The ambiguity of statements is no doubt deliberate. It is difficult to entangle quite what serious historians have made of the incident. In his biographical note, Farrington states that “Cocks’ intention to station Hudson at Kyoto to learn the Japanese language was frustrated by Hidetada’s restriction of trade to Hirado”.⁵ Whilst the statement could simply mean that Cocks’ long-term ambitions were hampered, Farrington seems to declare that Cocks’ efforts were frustrated altogether and Hudson could not be stationed in Kyoto. However, it is impossible to gauge Farrington’s opinion on the incident based upon a single statement which could be interpreted in a variety of ways.

Massarella refers to Hudson within the context of providing a sketch of the *Hozlander* arrivals, rather than treating his language learning as a specific topic in its own right. Massarella’s version of events is that it was decided to leave Hudson in Japan to learn the language, a common stratagem with the contemporary E.I.C.. Through the evidence of the recently discovered account book of John Osterwick, Massarella is aware that Hudson actually made the journey to Kyōto. However, neither the problematic sources nor the errors of previous historians in stating that Hudson did not reach Kyōto receive any discussion at all. Massarella also makes no venture as to whether any Japanese was eventually learned by Hudson.⁶ As with Farrington, it is difficult to judge Massarella’s conception of the incident. Failure to discuss the possibility of Hudson learning Japanese is not evidence that Massarella specifically believes that none was acquired. It does however suggest by the lack of treatment that he conceives the incident as being of little importance.

It is easy to understand why historians have assumed that Cocks had intended to place Hudson in Kyōto but was eventually unable. There are two separate references in Cocks’ letters, which on the surface incontrovertibly support the aforementioned belief that Hudson was not able to stay in the Japanese hinterland. On 16 December 1616 Cocks wrote to John Browne in Pattani, detailing recent events. The reference to Hudson is given in the context of the revision of the English trading privileges. The factories were to be withdrawn from Edo, Kyōto, Ōsaka and Sakai, which Cocks explained by stating “The only occasion of this alteration (as the councell enformed me) is by reason of the Jesuistes and Padres”. Directly related to this loss and its perceived catalyst, he continues “In fine, I might not be suffered to leave an English boy behind me to learne the Japon tong, it is so strictly looked unto. I have byn over long herein only to certefie yow of the truth &c”.⁷ It is unclear whether “In fine” represents the focus and goal of Cocks’ relation or merely the conclusion of that particular subject. If it represents the focus, it has the corollary that Hudson’s presence in Kyōto may have been prohibited through Japanese paranoia that he was a covert missionary.

The second reference exists in two different versions of the same letter. Both are contemporary and by Cocks’ own hand but were sent out of Japan at different times

⁵ Farrington, vol. 2, p. 1558.

⁶ Massarella, *World Elsewhere*, pp. 173, 174, 200-01.

⁷ IOR: E/3/4 no. 414; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 521.

and by different ships.⁸ The letter is dated 1 January 1617, with an attachment written on 14 January 1617, although the codicil bears no relation to Hudson. It is the annual progress report from the head of the factory, Cocks, to the East India Company in London. Hence, the lengthy ten folio document can be taken to relate events important to the Company's business for the year 1616. Cocks mentions the withdrawal from the outlying factories, a crucial matter of Company interest, but seems to have calmed down from his earlier unequivocal accusations against the Jesuits. The sentence concerning Hudson reads thus: "And it is to be noted that at my retorne to Miaco, having donne such busynes as I had theare I would have left Richard Hudson, a boye, your Wor' servant, to have learnd to write the Japans, but might not be suffered to doe it, the Emperour having geven order to the contrary".⁹ There is a slight variation in IOR: E/3/4 no. 424, noting "I would have left Richard Hudson...to have learned to have written & spoaken the Japon tounge", but it does not alter the implied meaning of the reference.¹⁰ Mention of the 'emperour' preventing Hudson's stay should not be interpreted as specific legislation against the boy but refers to information obtained from Wickham that forewarned Cocks about foreign nationals living outside Hirado and Nagasaki.

The letters to John Browne and the E.I.C. appear absolutely unequivocal in stating that Cocks had *intended* to leave Hudson in Kyōto but was unable. From the phraseology employed one would also draw the observation that Hudson accompanied Cocks on the journey to court with the intention of being left behind on the return journey. As concrete as these references appear, they paint a misleading picture. In fact they have proved such strong evidence that they have either completely misled historians or else caused such confusion that academics have refused to commit themselves on Hudson's venture, as illustrated by the quotes from Massarella and Farrington. The fact is that Hudson was in Kyōto six months before Cocks began the 1616 journey to court.

As previously stated, the references to Hudson are rather sparse within the surviving sources and as one delves deeper into the evidence it becomes clear why his 'placement' in Kyōto is so misunderstood. Cocks does not actually record in his diary the fact that Hudson was left behind at the factory on the departure of the *Hozlander*.¹¹ The two other leftovers, John Osterwick and John Coker, also receive no mention in this context, although their presence in Hirado is evident from subsequent diary entries. The only contemporary reference to the act of leaving Hudson in Japan is the journal of the master of the *Hozlander*, John Hunt. It will be remembered that Hunt had been appointed as a supervisor for Hudson and hence had a special interest in the boy. On 25 February, 1616 he recorded that Hudson was to be left at Hirado to learn the language.¹² Both Cocks and the purser of the *Hozlander*, Rowland Thomas, mention the merchants' council which decreed to leave some crew in the expanding factory, but it is only Hunt that gives a reference to Hudson at this point.¹³

⁸ IOR: E/3/3 no. 342A, E/3/4 no. 424, E/3/4 no. 425; Farrington, vol. 1, pp. 549-567. Farrington collates the versions and notes variations.

⁹ IOR: E/3/3/ no. 342A; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 555.

¹⁰ IOR: E/3/4 no. 424; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 566n.

¹¹ *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 188.

¹² IOR: L/MAR/A/XXIII; Farrington, vol. 1, 1046.

¹³ *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 177; BL: Egerton MS 2121; Farrington, vol. 2, p. 1042. Thomas notes that in addition to Osterwick "other men were likewise disposed of to severall places" but mentions no names, *Ibid.*

Wickham left Hirado for Kyōto on 11 March 1616, in order to return to manage the out-factory.¹⁴ Although we can work out from later sources that Hudson must have accompanied him on the journey, there is no surviving reference to Hudson's journey. However, there are a number of subsequent sources which confirm beyond doubt that Hudson ventured for Kyōto in March 1616 and hence did not accompany Cocks in the court journey of August of that year. Simply listing the sources may be more useful at this stage, before detailing their revelations. On 20 April, 1616 Cocks acknowledged the receipt of a letter (non-extant) sent by Hudson from Kyōto.¹⁵ The recently discovered account book of John Osterwick includes various expenses charged to the Company for the running of the Kyōto factory. Listed among them are two references to Hudson. He was provided with money for various fabrics to make him a quilt and *katabira*, a light summer *kimono*. Wickham was also to be recompensed 41 *taels*, 1 *mas*, 4 *conderins* for Hudson's charges "as per p'ticulars" (which are not given).¹⁶ Osterwick's accounts demonstrate that Hudson was, financially at least, under the jurisdiction of the Kyōto factory and the responsibility of Wickham. A letter from Eaton to Wickham of 8 April, 1616 refers to 'Dick' being used to carry a jar of conserves. As an isolated source it would be difficult to draw a definite conclusion from this reference but in the light of supplementary material the character mentioned is obviously Richard Hudson.¹⁷ If any other evidence were needed to establish that Hudson was living in Kyōto prior to Cocks' court journey, there is an absolutely incontestable mention in another letter. Wickham to Osterwick, 22 September, 1616, relates that due to the shogunal decree, 'Dick Hudson' was likely to be thrown out of the street where he lived in Kyoto.¹⁸ There could not be the slightest hint of ambiguity in this particular reference. Thus it may be established by at least four separate sources that Hudson was actually sent to the Japanese hinterland for a number of months. Hence, whilst Cocks' long-term aims may have been frustrated, he was at least able to put his plan into action, directly contradicting those historians who deem that Hudson was not able to reach Kyōto. The sources mentioning Hudson are tabulated below and reference is made as to whether the source was published prior to 1991.

Table no. 5. An analysis of the source material for Richard Hudson's presence in Japan.

Event	Source(s)	Published? ¹⁹	Comments
1. Hudson's Inclusion in the Twelfth Voyage.	CSPC, vol. 1, nos 709, 711.	Yes.	Mentions nothing about language.
2. Leaving Hudson at Hirado	Journal of John Hunt: IOR: L/MAR/A/XXIII	No.	Mentions purpose of learning Japanese but nothing about Kyōto.

¹⁴ *Diary*, vol., 1, p. 195.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 216.

¹⁶ BL: Cotton Vesp. F.XVII; Farrington, vol. 2, pp. 1427, 1430. The notice on p. 1427 is not included in Farrington's index.

¹⁷ IOR: E/3/4 no. 355; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 402.

¹⁸ IOR: G/12/15, p. 51; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 505.

¹⁹ Prior to Farrington's collection in 1991.

	Journal of Rowland Thomas, BL: Egerton Ms 2121	No.	Mentions council of 8 Feb. 1616. Names Osterwick as being left behind and that "other men were likewise disposed of to several places". No direct mention of Hudson. ²⁰
3. Hudson in Kyōto.	<p><i>Diary</i>, vol. 1, p. 216</p> <p>Eaton to Wickham, 8 April 1616, IOR: E/3/4 no. 355.</p> <p>Osterwick's account Book: BL: Cotton Vesp. F. XVII.</p> <p>Wickham to Osterwick, 22 Sept. 1616, IOR: G/12/15, pp. 50-51.</p>	<p>Only in 1978-1980 ed.</p> <p>Yes. <i>Letters Received</i>, vol. 4, pp. 85-87; <i>CSPC</i>, vol. 2, pp. 463-64.</p> <p>No. Recently discovered.</p> <p>No.</p>	<p>Acknowledges non-extant letter from Hudson in Kyōto, received 20 April 1616.</p> <p>Hudson referred to as "Dick". Without other sources it would be impossible to identify the subject.²¹</p> <p>No initial mention of Hudson prior to the voyage. Two references record allowances for Hudson charged to the Kyōto factory.</p> <p>Hudson likely to be thrown out of his street in Kyōto. Names "Dick".²²</p>
4. Formal tuition in Japanese.	<p>Ibid.</p> <p>Cocks to Company, 1 and 14 Jan., 1617, IOR: E/3/3 no. 343 and IOR: E/3/4, no. 424.</p>	<p>No.</p> <p>Yes. <i>Letters Received</i>, vol. 5, pp. 1-28; 1883 ed. of <i>Diary</i>, vol. 2, pp. 279-88.</p>	<p>Hudson was living independently in Kyōto and considered a part of the Ward. Clearly had little to do with Wickham.</p> <p>Both versions of the letter refer to leaving Hudson in Kyōto to learn to write Japanese. However, the phraseology suggests that it was an intention that could not be fulfilled.</p>

²⁰ Similarly, Cocks' diary notes the 8 February 1616 council and mentions Osterwick but nothing of Hudson, *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 177.

²¹ William Foster, editor of *Letter Received* does not identify "Dick", vol. 4, pp. 85-87.

²² Cocks to Company on 1 and 14 of January 1617 mentions receiving a (non-extant) letter from Wickham relating the same information, IOR: E/3/3 no. 343A; Farrington, vol. 1, p. 554. All "strangers" were to be sent down to Hirado or Nagasaki. This as the letter that prompted Cocks to employ a *bonze* to read over the recently revised trading privileges, as described in ch. 4.

	<i>Diary</i> , vol. 1, p. 342 8 Nov., 1616.	Only in 1978-80 ed.	Very likely reference to the paying for formal tuition. There are gaps in the entry.
5. Possible later references to Hudson's linguistic ability.	<i>Diary</i> , vol. 1, p. 343 10 Nov., 1616.	Yes.	Cocks bought 54 printed Japanese books. Occurred after settling with Hudson's tutor and the finding out that Hudson couldn't be kept in Kyōto.
	<i>Diary</i> , vol. 2, p. 34, 24 Feb., 1617.	Only in 1978-80 ed.	Hudson put to school with a Japanese school master, along with "Dick Japan". Can assume that the instruction was in Japanese.
6. Evidence against the Kyōto stay.	Cocks to John Browne, 16 Dec., 1616, IOR: E/3/4 no. 414.	Yes. <i>Letters Received</i> , vol. 4, pp. 257-61; <i>CSPC</i> , vol. 1, No. 1160. ²³	Cocks was not allowed to leave and English boy behind him.
	Cocks to Company, 1 and 14 Jan., 1617, IOR: E/3/3 no. 343	Yes. <i>Letters Received</i> , vol. 5, pp. 1-28; <i>CSPC</i> , vol. 2, pp. 1-3; 1883 ed. of <i>Diary</i> , vol. 2, pp. 279-88.	Cocks <i>would</i> have left Richard Hudson to learn to write Japanese.

The above table shows that most of the evidence for Hudson's trip to Kyōto was not published prior to 1991. The only source that was available was a single reference to "Dick" and an acknowledgement of a letter by Cocks in the 1980 edition of his diary. Without fuller evidence it would be difficult to piece anything together from these scraps of information. The "Dick" referred to could be anyone, as even in the full version of Cocks' diary the cape-merchant does not record the arrival or retention of Richard Hudson. The very important reference from Wickham's letter book to Hudson being thrown out of his street was unpublished in any form and until Farrington's collection in 1991 the source had been almost completely ignored by historians.²⁴ As stressed in chapter one, prior to Massarella, almost all historians of the factory confined themselves to published sources. They also relied heavily on Ludwig Riess' article, which pays almost no attention to Hudson and mentions nothing of his activities in learning Japanese. In addition, what was published prior to 1991 was evidence that unfortunately seemed to support the view that Cocks *didn't*

²³ However, although calendaring the letter, *CSPC* does not mention the intention to leave Hudson behind.

²⁴ Anthony Farrington, "The Japan letter book of Richard Wickham, 1614-1617", *India Office and Records Annual Report* (1979), p. 35.

send Hudson to Kyōto after all. He only intended to do so. Hence, much of the evidence for Hudson's activities remained unpublished throughout the twentieth century, apart from references that seemed to prove conclusively that Hudson did not make it to Kyōto. These references also appeared not as appendices to obscure volumes but in the popularly used *Letters Received* collection and were calendared in *CSPC*. Hence, it becomes clear how the misleadingly worded letters of Cocks carried weight for so long.

Appendix 3: A Sample of Lost Documents from the Hirado Factory

As discussed at greater length in ch. 2, the surviving collection of letters from Hirado factory represents merely the tip of the iceberg of what once existed. A vast amount of material has been lost over the years. No doubt many letters were either destroyed or lost shortly after being written and not all of the blame can be placed on the laxity of the E.I.C. in caring for its archives. The following is a sample of what can be reconstructed by references in surviving letters and particularly through notices of letters sent and received in Cocks' diary. It is not intended to be a comprehensive checklist of lost material as this would be impossible to produce. Rather it concisely illustrates the extent of the loss. For reasons of scale the list only runs from the foundation of the factory in June 1613 to August 1615. After this date recording lost letters becomes a mammoth task due to almost daily notices in Cocks' diary. However, a full month covered by the diary (July) has been transcribed in order to illustrate the breadth and frequency of Cocks' correspondence with his employees, Iberian traders and local Japanese.

- c. December, 1612: *William Adams in Hirado to the first English ship in Japan*. Eventually presented to Saris on 12 June 1613 by Adams' Hirado host, Yasimon Zensaburo. Left at the last monsoon, i.e. winter 1612. *Contents*: an open letter, stating that he had learned of the imminent arrival of an English ship from Bantam or Pattani. Requests a message to be sent to him in Edo as soon as the ship arrived. *Ref: Voyage*, p. 83.
- 11 June, 1613: *John Saris in Hirado to William Adams in Edo*. The later Purchas version states that the letter was carried by the Admiral to Ōsaka and thence by land to Edo. *Contents*: informs Adams of the arrival of the *Clove*. The IOR version notes that a copy was made, although this information is neglected in the Purchas recension. *Ref: ibid.*, p. 81.
- 12 June, 1613: *John Saris in Hirado to William Adams in Edo*. Conveyed by a servant of the Matsuuras. *Contents*: written in response to the reception of Adams' letter of c. December 1612. Probably almost identical to the above correspondence but sent via a different route to heighten chances of arrival. *Ref: ibid.*, p. 83.
- 29 June, 1613: *Richard Cocks in Hirado to John Saris in Hirado*. *Contents*: relates the bad behaviour of the Dutch mariner, Jaspas Malconty towards Li Tan. *Ref: ibid.*, p. 94.
- 2 July, 1613: *John Saris in Hirado to William Adams in Edo*. Carried by Sagawa Nobutoshi to Ōsaka in the hope that he would meet with Adams on the way. He was to return the letter if undelivered. *Contents*: unknown but presumably very similar to the earlier letters. *Ref: ibid.*, p. 97. In a later letter to the

Company Cocks reported that Saris wrote Adams "3 severall lettrs", IOR: E/3/1 no. 121.

- 6 July, 1613: *Henrik Brouwer in Hirado to John Saris in Hirado*. *Contents*: Brouwer apologised for misleading Saris that a junk which had recently arrived in Nagasaki contained a shipment of brazil wood for the British. *Ref: Voyage*, p. 99.
- 7 July, 1613: *John Saris in Hirado to James Foster aboard the 'Clove'*. *Contents*: a note warning that two Spaniards who were allowed to go aboard the *Clove* may be fugitives and spies for the priests of Nagasaki. *Ref: ibid.*, p. 100.
- 7 July, 1613: *John Saris in Hirado to James Foster aboard the 'Clove'*. *Contents*: requests the good entertainment of the *daimyō* of the Goto islands, who was to come aboard ship. *Ref: ibid.*, p. 100.
- 31 October, 1613: *Domingo Francisco, Spanish Ambassador in Shimonoseki to Richard Cocks in Hirado*. Delivered by Francisco's servant. *Contents*: enquiries about wares on offer and the particular fabrics that interested him. *Ref: Relation*, p. 174.
- c. 31 October, 1613: *Jorge Durois in Nagasaki to Richard Cocks in Hirado*. No date or location but apparently delivered by the above servant, so a contiguous date is probable. Durois was based in Nagasaki. *Contents*: unknown. *Ref: ibid.*
- 5 November, 1613: *Richard Cocks in Hirado to Domingo Francisco in Shimonoseki*. A reply to the above letter. Cocks noted that he made a copy of the letter. *Contents*: unknown. Probably standard greetings and requests for Francisco to await Saris' return prior to major transactions. *Ref: ibid.*
- 30 November, 1613: *Sir Thomas Smythe in London to Richard Cocks in Hirado*. Carried on the *Hозиander*. *Contents*: unknown. *Ref: ibid.*, p. 73.
- 5 December, 1613: *Richard Wickham in Hirado to the East India Company in London*. Delivered by Saris on the *Clove*. Accompanied the surviving reports of Cocks, Peacock and Adams. *Contents*: very similar to the aforementioned reports: journey to Japan; commodities vendible; prices; hopes of a north-west passage; the glutted cloth market; Wickham's desire for higher wages. *Ref: IOR: B/5 p. 255.*
- 31 December, 1613: Richard Cocks in Hirado to Lord Salisbury in London. Conveyed on the *Clove*. *Contents*: description of the outward journey. Probably very similar to Cocks' letter to the Company, IOR: E/3/1 no. 121. Describes the initial months of the factory. *Ref: PRO: CO 77/1 no. 42.*
- 31 December, 1613: Richard Cocks in Hirado to Sir Thomas Wilson in London. Conveyed as above. *Contents*: Cocks actually specifies in the reference: "I advised you at large of all our proceedings till our arrival in Japan". The surviving contemporary letters of Cocks, Peacock and two of Adams' include some details of the early months in Hirado. *Ref: PRO: CO 77/1 no. 43.*

- 1 January, 1614: Richard Wickham in Hirado to Mr Miller in London. Conveyed as above. *Contents*: Wickham was owed 60 pounds at Christmas 1613, based on three years at 20 pounds per annum. He wished the money to be received by Mr Miller. *Ref*: IOR: B/5 p. 341.
- 31 January, 1614: *William Eaton in Osaka to Richard Cocks in Hirado*. *Contents*: advises Cocks of the economic conditions. White baftas were sold at 16 *mas* the piece, in addition to broadcloth at 15 *taels* the mat. There was no interest in *zelas*, blue byrams or *candequis maway*. A bottle of oil was delivered to Dutch factor Albertus. News of Adams death was false. *Ref*: IOR: E/3/1 no. 135; IOR: E/3/2 no. 138.
- c. February, 1614: *Sir Thomas Smythe and the East India Company to the Hirado Factors*. Carried on the *Concorde*. *Contents*: a general letter announcing the transfer to joint-stock voyages. Ralph Coppendale also possessed a copy. *Ref*: *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 73; IOR: E/3/3 no. 275.
- 4 February, 1614: *Richard Wickham in Anuxma to William Nealson in Hirado*. *Contents*: asked Nealson to deliver two of his own fowling pieces to Peacock. Enquired after his goods stored in his chamber and his private chest, in the English house. Asked for a receipt for his 'stones'. *Ref*: IOR: E/3/2 no. 155A; IOR: E/3/1 no. 131.
- c. February, 1614: *Richard Wickham in Anuxma to William Nealson in Hirado*. A letter which arrived together with the above. *Contents*: unknown, as in the reference Nealson only delineates the enquiries of the first letter. Nealson answered both letters together. *Ref*: IOR: E/3/2/ no. 155A.
- 4 February, 1614: *Richard Wickham in Anuxma to Richard Cocks in Hirado*. *Contents*: requests Cocks to try and secure a serving boy. As letters were written and dispatched in batches, the 4 February correspondences were likely near identical in content. *Ref*: *ibid*.
- c. February, 1614: *William Nealson in Hirado to Walter Carwarden in Nagasaki*. Internal evidence places the letter after 4 February. *Contents*: questions Carwarden about a receipt for Wickham's 'stones'. This service was demanded in a lost letter, so the circumstances are obscure. Wickham presumably risked an adventure with stones to be sold in Cochin-China. Nealson was hopeful of obtaining the desired receipt. *Ref*: *ibid*.
- c. February, 1614: *William Nealson in Hirado to Tempest Peacock in Nagasaki*. Unclear whether Nealson wrote separately to Carwarden and Peacock or addressed a single letter to both men; both practices were common in the factory. From Nealson's phrasing, the former is more likely. *Contents*: presumably identical to the above letter. *Ref*: *ibid*.
- 4 February, 1614: *Richard Wickham in Anuxma to Walter Carwarden in Hirado*. *Contents*: see above; following convention, the 4 February letters were probably near identical in tone and detail. *Ref*: *ibid*.

- 4 February, 1614: *Richard Wickham in Anuxma to Walter Peacock in Hirado*. Included in a batch of four letters that were subsequently redistributed by Cocks. *Contents*: same as the above Wickham to Nealsen letter; expressing concern about certain goods to be delivered for the Cochin China voyage. *Ref*: IOR: E/3/1 no. 131.
- 5 February, 1614: *Richard Cocks in Hirado to William Adams in Edo*. Sent along with a surviving letter to Wickham (IOR: E/3/1 no. 130, which supplies the date) and the letter below. *Contents*: unknown but probably very similar to the gossip in the Cocks to Wickham letter. *Ref*: IOR: E/3/1 no. 131.
- 5 February, 1614: *Richard Cocks in Hirado to William Eaton in Ōsaka*. Sent along with a surviving correspondence to Wickham and a non-extant letter to Adams. *Contents*: see above. *Ref*: IOR: E/3/1 no. 131; IOR: E/3/1 no. 133.
- c. February, 1614: *Walter Peacock in Hirado to William Nealsen in Hirado*. *Contents*: a “satirical” letter, which apparently spoke metaphorically about the factors’ taking of mistresses. In the reference, Nealsen’s tone is deliberately elusive and many themes seem to be drawn from the contemporary comic theatre. Also seems to refer to poor trading prospects in Nagasaki and Cocks’ ‘cuckolding’ by Nealsen. *Ref*: IOR: E/3/2 no. 155A.
- c. February, 1614: *Walter Peacock in Hirado to William Nealsen in Hirado*. *Contents*: see above; Peacock despatched two letters but Nealsen does not specify their individual content. *Ref*: *ibid*.
- 6 February, 1614: *John Saris in Bantam to Richard Cocks in Hirado*. Received very late (28 June, 1615) via Siam. Sent to Patani on the *Darling*. *Contents*: unknown. *Ref*: *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 26; IOR: G/12/15 p. 16.
- 13 February, 1614: *Richard Wickham in Ōsaka to Richard Cocks in Hirado*. *Contents*: describes local trading conditions, fashions and the safe despatch of a barque for Edo. Probably also information about the political situation and the prohibitions against Christianity, as this is requested by Cocks in IOR: E/3/2 no. 138. The reference letter below suggests that a great deal of advice was delivered to the cape-merchant. *Ref*: IOR: E/3/1 no. 135.
- 13 February, 1614: *William Eaton in Ōsaka to Richard Cocks in Hirado*. Conveyed with the above letter, so an identical date is probable. *Contents*: see Eaton’s letter of 31 January, 1614. In the reference, Cocks summarises the contents of both letters together. *Ref*: IOR: E/3/2 no. 138.
- 16 February, 1614: *William Adams in Ōsaka to Richard Cocks in Hirado*. *Contents*: advises Cocks of the arrival of Wickham, Eaton and himself in Ōsaka. *Ref*: IOR: E/3/1/ no. 134.
- 22 February, 1614: *Edmund Sayers in Tsushima to Cocks in Hirado*. *Contents*: reports the sale of 31 *taels* worth of Cambaya cloth and five *peculs* of pepper. The *daimyō* and another merchant are expected to buy 24 yards of broadcloth.

Despondent about prospects of trade in Tsushima and Korea, and advised by a great merchant to transfer to Hakata. *Ref:* IOR: E/3/1/no. 135.

- February – March, 1614: *William Eaton in Ōsaka to William Adams in Edo. Contents:* unknown, but any economic details would have been very hazy given Eaton's mistrust of Adams and his relations with the Dutch. In the reference, Eaton tells Wickham that he withheld mention of broadcloth in this letter. *Ref:* IOR: E/3/1 no. 137.
- 7 March, 1614: *Richard Cocks in Hirado to William Adams in Edo.* Sent along with a surviving letter to Wickham. *Contents:* relates the removal of the cross of Saint George from the house and warns Adams about changing Japanese attitudes towards European influence. Asks him to question the legality of the Matsuuras' practice. *Ref:* IOR: E/3/1 no. 134.
- 8 March, 1614: *George Ball in Bantam to Richard Cocks in Hirado.* Received very late on 28 June 1615, via Siam. *Contents:* unknown. *Ref:* *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 26; IOR: G/12/15 p. 16.
- 8 March, 1614: *George Ball in Bantam to Tempest Peacock in Hirado.* Received as above. *Contents:* unknown, a "humerous letter...as Mr Bale is accustomed to doe". *Ref:* *ibid.*
- 8 March, 1614: *George Ball in Bantam to Richard Wickham in Hirado.* Received as above. *Contents:* see above. *Ref:* *ibid.*
- 17 March, 1614: *William Adams in Edo to William Eaton in the Kinai. Contents:* a reply to the earlier lost letter. Ieyasu bought 43 'fathoms' of broadcloth and the total cargo of lead at six *taels* the *pecul*. Ieyasu dithered about purchase of gunpowder and ordinance but Adams was hopeful of a sale. The barque still had not arrived in Edo. *Ref:* IOR: E/3/2 no. 140.
- 18 March, 1614: *Tempest Peacock aboard the 'Roquan' to Richard Cocks in Hirado. Contents:* unknown. *Ref:* IOR: E/3/2 no. 138.
- c. 18 March, 1614: *Tempest Peacock aboard the 'Roquan' to William Eaton in Ōsaka.* This may be the same letter as above, forwarded by Cocks to Ōsaka. However, this would be against the conventions of the period, and Eaton also notes that "he hath writen unto mee". *Contents:* requests the return of his book to Hirado via Adams. Eaton had lent the book to Wickham. *Ref:* IOR: E/3/2 no. 140.
- 1 April, 1614: *Richard Cocks in Hirado to William Eaton in Ōsaka.* Sent along with a surviving letter to Wickham, IOR: E/3/2 no. 138. *Contents:* in the reference, Eaton states that this letter has exactly the same contents as that sent to Wickham, i.e. the false rumours of Adams' death, the villainy of the Jesuits and the departure of the *Roquan* for Cochin China. *Ref:* IOR: E/3/2 no. 141; IOR: E/3/2 no. 146.
- c. April, 1614: *Lucas Antheunitsoon in Ayutthaya to Richard Cocks in Hirado.* Presumably carried by Jan Joosten van Lodensteijn, who arrived in Hirado in

- June/July 1614. Cocks noted that he received "2 humerouse lettrs of one date & effect". *Contents*: requests the use of 748 *taels* for the use of the Seventh voyage, to be delivered by Jan Jooseten. *Ref*: IOR: E/3/2 no. 155; IOR: E/3/2 no. 191.
- c. April, 1614: *Lucas Antheunitsoon in Ayutthaya to Richard Cocks in Hirado*. *Contents*: see above. *Ref*: *ibid*.
- 6 April, 1614: *Walter Cocks in London to Richard Cocks in Hirado*. Carried aboard the *Hozlander*. *Contents*: unknown. *Ref*: *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 73.
- c. 20 April, 1614: *William Eaton in Ōsaka to William Adams in Edo*. Enclosed together with IOR: E/3/2 no.140 and IOR: E/3/2 no. 141, two letters to Wickham. *Contents*: probably a reply to the lost letter of 17 March, 1614. Almost certainly of a similar timbre to the Wickham letters. *Ref*: IOR: E/3/1 no. 134.
- 26 April, 1614: *Sir Thomas Smythe in London to Richard Cocks in Hirado*. Carried on the *Hozlander*. *Contents*: a personal letter announcing the instigation of joint-stock voyages. *Ref*: *Diary* vol. 1, p. 73; IOR: E/3/3 no. 275.
- 27 April, 1614: *William Adams in Edo or Shizuoka to Richard Cocks in Hirado*. *Contents*: tells of good health and the delay of the barque. Possibly explains the castle-building project in Edo and the gathering of the *daimyō*. *Ref*: IOR: E/3/2 no. 147.
- May, 1614: *Richard Wickham in Edo to William Adams in Edo or Shizuoka*. *Contents*: a small remembrance concerning trading details. Relates to Adams' negotiations with Ieyasu about the bulk purchase of English goods. Advised to sell at a low price if necessary because the commodities were especially brought for the shogun and unlikely to find alternate sale. *Ref*: IOR: G/12/15 p. 5.
- 12 May, 1614: *Richard Cocks in Hirado to William Eaton in Ōsaka*. Sent along with an extant letter to Wickham, IOR: E/3/2 no. 143. *Contents*: evidently from the reference very similar to the aforementioned letter. Tells of news in Hirado: the fire in the English house; burning of the kitchen; burning of the gates. Pacé Farrington, vol. 1 pp. 143-4, who gives IOR: E/3/2 no. 138 as the symmetrical letter to Wickham. See note 6. *Ref*: IOR: E/3/2 no. 146.
- 12 May, 1614: *Richard Cocks in Hirado the William Adams in Edo or Elsewhere*. Sent with the above letter and the surviving Wickham letter. *Contents*: see above. *Ref*: IOR: E/3/2 no. 147.
- 19 May, 1614: *Tempest Peacock aboard the 'Roquan' or in Cochin China to William Eaton in Ōsaka*. Dated in Nagasaki which was probably where it arrived aboard a trading junk. *Contents*: commends himself to Eaton. *Ref*: IOR: E/3/2 no. 146.

- 19 May, 1614: *Tempest Peacock aboard the 'Roquan' or in Cochin China to Richard Wickham*. See above. *Ref: Ibid.*
- 30 May, 1614: *John Jourdain in Bantam to Richard Cocks in Hirado*. Arrived 27 July 1614 with that of Adam Denton and Hernando Ximines, apparently by Jacques Specx. *Contents*: noted the death of Sir Henry Middleton in Bantam in May 1614 and the loss of the *Trades Increase*. The *Darling* had departed Bantam in April 1614, bound for Patani and Hirado. Saris had written Cocks a letter to be conveyed in the *Darling*. *Ref: IOR: E/3/2 nos 189 and 201 (which are damaged where referring to Jourdain's letter) and IOR: G/40/25 pp. 110-113.*
- c. 30 May, 1614: *George Ball in Bantam to Richard Cocks in Hirado*. Conveyed by Jacques Specx. Presumably the same date as the above. *Contents*: evidently a brief letter; in several references Cocks complains about the lack of information. Nothing about the death of Middleton, the fate of Cocks' company in Bantam, prices of commodities, circumstances of the *Clove's* departure or the fate of the *Peppercorn*. *Ref: IOR: E/3/2 no. 190.*
- 1 June, 1614: *Adam Denton and Hernando Ximines in Bantam to Richard Cocks in Hirado*. An unusual joint-letter. Arrived 27 July 1614. *Contents*: unknown but presumably enquired about affairs in Hirado. Specified to send the reply to Patani. *Ref: IOR: E/3/2 no. 190.*
- 5 June, 1614: *William Eaton in Ōsaka to Richard Cocks in Hirado*. Prompted by Wickham's request for more black broadcloth. *Contents*: requests black cloth for Wickham and himself. *Ref: IOR: E/3/2 no. 152.*
- June, 1614: *William Adams in Shizuoka to Richard Wickham in Edo*. Carried by Coffy dono. *Contents*: describes the long delays at Ieyasu's court, which prevented his journeying to Hirado. Notes that Wickham had neglected the gold thread in his account of Ieyasu's goods. Adams thought that he had lost the deal for ordinance and munitions. *Ref: IOR: G/12/15 p. 10; IOR: G/12/15 pp. 10-11.*
- 23 June, 1614: *William Ebrett in Patani to Richard Cocks in Hirado*. *Contents*: informs Cocks that there was no news of the *Darling* as yet. Ebrett believed that she had been cast away. Hence, updated previous letter of Jourdain. The reply is not extant, so difficult to construct. *Ref: IOR: E/3/2 nos 189 and 201.*
- September, 1614: *Richard Cocks in Hirado to William Eaton in Ōsaka*. Conveyed by Andrea Bulgaryn. *Contents*: requests timber and planks for the construction of the English house. The reference mentions other unspecified materials but there is no corroborating evidence in the fragments of Firando Ledger B. There is a remembrance to buy certain materials in Ōsaka. *Ref: IOR: E/3/2 no. 171.*
- c. 18 October, 1614: *Sir Thomas Smith and the East India Company in London to John Saris in Plymouth*. The letter was proposed on 8 October, 1614 by the Court of Committees. *Contents*: a letter of congratulations for the success of his voyage, which they had learned of from a non-extant letter dated 2

January, 1614 from Bantam. Unclear whether the letter was actually despatched. *Ref:* IOR: B/5 p. 248.

- c. 18 October, 1614: *Sir Thomas Smith and the East India Company to John Saris In Plymouth*. Proposed as above, which mentions two separate letters. *Contents:* encourages Saris' imminent arrival. Requests written advice for the pinnace which was being sent for Japan. King James I expected delivery of his presents from Ieyasu. Again, not known whether the letter was actually sent. Saris' letter of 17 October, 1614 was read to the court on 25 October, 1614. *Ref: ibid.*
- 25 October, 1614: *William Eaton in Ōsaka to Richard Cocks in Hirado*. Conveyed by John Pheby. *Contents:* unknown but presumably answers Cocks' requests for timber and boards. Pheby seems to have carried a quantity of timber with him. Presumably also informs Cocks of his ague, from which he had been suffering. *Ref: ibid.*
- 25 November, 1614: *Richard Cocks in Hirado to William E Brett in Patani*. Contained in a batch of letters dated 25 November, 1614, conveyed by the *Sea Adventure*. *Contents:* reply to an earlier letter. Probably very similar to Cocks' letter to Adam Denton, IOR: E/3/2 no. 190. Describes the ill-fated voyage in Cochin China and the death of Peacock. A jar of *mochi*, rice cakes, was to be shared with Adam Denton. *Ref:* IOR: E/3/2 no. 190.
- 25 November, 1614: *Richard Cocks in Hirado to John Gourney in Ayutthaya*. Conveyed as above. *Contents:* advises him of the impending trading voyage and asks him to council Wickham and the others in local protocol, gifts etc. Requests general instructions. Requests the postage of a packet of letters to the Company through Jourdain in Bantam. *Ref:* IOR: E/3/2 no. 191.
- 25 November, 1614: *Richard Cocks in Hirado to John Saris in England*. This was presumably an earlier version of a letter dated 10 December, 1614, which survives in *Purchas*, intended to be conveyed on the *Sea Adventure*. *Contents:* the *Purchas* reference notes that it was, "to the same effect as this" [i.e the 10 December letter]. Updates the progress of the factory, the state of affairs in Japan, the out-factories etc. *Ref: Pilgrimes*, vol. 3, p. 554.
- 2 December, 1614: *William Adams in Kawachi to Richard Cocks in Hirado*. Conveyed by Yasimon Zensaburo. Cocks' reference connects this letter to another non-extant correspondence of Wickham, which arrived on the 2 December, 1614. *Contents:* expressed Adams desire not to carry John Phebe on the junk. Does not mention the fresh leak described in Wickham coeval letter. *Ref:* IOR: E/3/2 no. 195.
- 3 December, 1614: *Richard Wickham in Kawachi to Richard Cocks in Hirado*. The mention of an improved status as regards leaks dates the letter to 3 December, 1614. Includes a note in Japanese, which Farrington vol. 1 p. 244 suggests as IOR: E/3/2 no. 197, a bill for the lading of several commodities. *Contents:* describes the amelioration of leaks. Return of his scissors from Neelson.

Requests advise regarding the treatment of Juan de Llevano, who was censured by the Portuguese as a traitor. *Ref:* IOR: E/3/2 no. 197A.

- 10 December, 1614: *Richard Cocks in Hirado to the Governor and Company of Clothworkers of London.* In a letter of 10 March 1620 to the same company, Cocks mentions an earlier letter carried by the Dutch surgeon Abraham Blanchard. Blanchard carried several letters to Bantam and at least one to Europe (IOR: E/3/2 no. 202). He probably left Japan in 1614, as he doesn't appear in Cocks' diary. There are 5 extant letters bearing the date of 10 Dec. 1614, hence this is the probable date for this particular letter. *Contents:* describes the outward voyage of the *Clove*. *Ref:* IOE: E/3/7 no. 839.
- 11 December, 1614: *Richard Cocks in Hirado to George Ball in Bantam.* Conveyed on a Dutch junk with Henrik Brouwer. Some letters survive from this 'packet', suggesting that they were replies to earlier correspondence. *Contents:* unknown but given Cocks' frustration with Ball's previous lack of information, probably requests details of Middleton's death and the fate of the Bantam factors of the Eighth voyage. *Ref:* IOR: G/40/25 pp. 110-113.
- 11 December, 1614: *Richard Cocks in Hirado to Hernando Ximines in Bantam.* Reply to earlier letter. *Contents:* presumably similar to the above Ball letter, i.e. enquiries. A surviving letter to Jourdain comments on trade in Japan, expulsion of missionaries and Peacock's death. *Ref:* *ibid.*
- 11 December, 1614: *Richard Wickham in Kawachi or Hirado to John Jourdain in Bantam.* Accompanied the above mentioned batch. Sent with a jar of rice cakes. *Contents:* requests Jourdain to mention the amelioration of his salary to the Company, Japan being very expensive. Relates the intended voyage to Siam. *Ref:* IOR: E/3/2 no. 242; IOR: E/3/3 no. 275.
- 11 December, 1614: *William Adams in Kawachi to Richard Cocks in Hirado.* *Contents:* apologises for his condemnation of Wickham in an earlier letter. They were now friends and had drunk together that morning. *Ref:* IOR: E/3/2 no. 203.
- 12 December, 1614: *Richard Cocks in Hirado to William Eaton in Ōsaka.* *Contents:* unknown. *Ref:* IOR: E/3/2 no. 204.
- 12 December, 1614: *William Adams in Kawachi to Richard Cocks in Hirado.* Internal clues suggest that this is a later letter than that of 11 December, 1614. *Contents:* Wickham entertained Adams ashore as part of their reconciliation. *Ref:* IOR: E/3/2 no. 205.
- 12 December, 1614: *Richard Cocks in Hirado to William Adams in Kawachi.* *Contents:* a reply to the above letter. Expresses pleasure at the new friendship and desires the fraternity to continue aboard ship. *Ref:* *ibid.*
- 16 December, 1614: *Jeronimo de Varrade in Nagasaki to the British in Hirado.* *Contents:* unknown. This was originally no. 212 of the *Original*

Correspondence series but is listed as missing in *Letters Received*, vol., 2, p. 230. Stated as written in Portuguese. *Ref: Letters Received*, vol. 2, p. 230.

- c. 16 December, 1614: *Richard Wickham in Kawachi to Richard Cocks in Hirado*. No date mentioned in the reference but Wickham sent a (non-extant) letter the previous day. This is probably a reply to Cocks' second letter of 15 December, 1614. *Contents*: further describes the foolery of John Japan; he had apparently returned to Kawachi claiming that mischievous spirits had waylaid him, although Wickham suspected drunkenness. *Ref: IOR: E/3/2 no. 211*.
- 25 December, 1614: *Richard Wickham in Kawachi to Richard Cocks in Hirado*. Accompanied by a barrel of *moruhaku*, high quality rice wine. *Contents*: describes the antics of John Japan; he had apparently run away from Kawachi. Requests Cocks to look for him in Hirado. Commendations to Nealsen. *Ref: IOR: E/3/2 no. 209*.
- 31 December, 1614: *Richard Wickham in Kawachi to Richard Cocks in Hirado*. Dated at 10 pm. *Contents*: mentions a debt of 13 and a half *mas* to Nealsen, which was delivered by Yasimon Zensaburo. Adams would not take John Phebe on the voyage. *Ref: IOR: E/3/2 no. 195*.
- c.1 January, 1615: *Richard Wickham in Kawachi to Richard Cocks in Hirado*. Carried by Yasimon Zensaburo. In Cocks' reference of 1 January, 1615, he noted that he had just received the letter. Owing to the short distance between Kawachi and Hirado this was almost certainly despatched on the same day. *Contents*: Cocks answered both this and the above letter together, so it is impossible to assign respective contents. The present letter definitely mentions another leak aboard the *Sea Adventure*. *Ref: ibid*.
- 11 January, 1615: *William Adams and the officers of the 'Sea Adventure' in Naha to the Buggyō of Satsuma in Naha*. *Contents*: requests help to combat the protractive tactics of the local officials, who were delaying the delivery of necessary supplies. *Ref: Bodleian Library: Saville Ms 40*.
- 11 January, 1615: *Buggyō of Satsuma in Naha to the crew of the 'Sea Adventure' in Naha*. *Contents*: a positive reply to the above, delivered in the evening. The *bugyō* promised to be "an instreument to helpe us in annyhing we had need of". *Ref: ibid*.
- 9 April, 1615: *Hernando Ximines in Bantam to Richard Cocks in Hirado*. Carried on the *Hozlander*. *Contents*: Unknown. *Ref: Diary*, vol. 1 p. 73.
- 10 April, 1615: *Richard Westbie in Bantam to Richard Cocks in Hirado*. Carried as above. *Contents*: unknown. *Ref: ibid*.
- 10 April, 1615: *John Beamond in Bantam to Richard Cocks in Hirado*. Carried as above. *Contents*: unknown. *Ref: ibid*.
- 14 April, 1615: *Lucas Antheunissoon in Ayutthaya to Richard Cocks in Hirado*. *Contents*: wars between Siam and Pegu had led to low sales and little

prospects of success. Discouraged a trading voyage from Japan because of the parlous situation. He was returning for England. *Ref: ibid.*, p. 26; IOR: G/12/15 p. 16.

- 17 April, 1615: *John Gourney in Ayutthaya to Richard Cocks in Hirado*. Both this and the above letter were carried by a Siamese junk which arrived in Nagasaki. *Contents*: Gourney was now cape-merchant in Siam. *Ref: IOR: G/12/15 p. 16*.
- 15 April, 1615: *John Jourdain in Bantam to Richard Cocks in Hirado*. Carried on the *Hozlander*. Cocks later dates this 5 April (IOR: E/3/3 no. 322). Accompanied by a hat and a piece of satin. *Contents*: requests Cocks to make an inventory of the goods, money and debts relating to the Eighth Voyage and append their valuation in Japanese. This report was to be sent to Bantam, where it would be calculated with the joint stock. *Ref: Diary*, vol. 1 p. 73; IOR: E/3/3 no. 322; IOR: G/40/25 pp. 130-131.
- 27 April, 1615: *William Eaton in Edo to Richard Cocks in Hirado*. Kept until Eaton's return on 14 August, 1615. *Contents*: unknown. *Ref: Diary*, vol.1, p. 60.
- 30 May, 1615: *William Adams in Kashino-Ura to Richard Cocks in Hirado*. Conveyed on a pinnace by Wickham and Damian Marin. Accompanied by a bag of potatoes. The dates appear to differ by a day between Adams' logbook and Cocks' diary. *Contents*: asks Cocks if they should return to Hirado or trim the ship on the Goto islands. Lays the blame for the disastrous voyage upon the boatswain and the chief carpenter. *Ref: ibid; Diary*, vol. 1, p. 6.
- 30 May, 1615: *Edmund Sayers in the Goto Islands to Richard Cocks in Hirado*. Conveyed as above. Accompanied by a piece of cloth. Similar gifts were given to Eaton and Neelson, and were therefore probably accompanied by letters. *Contents*: unknown. *Ref: Diary*, vol. 1, p. 6.
- 30 May, 1615: *Juan de Llevano in the Goto Islands to Richard Cocks in Hirado*. Conveyed as above. *Contents*: unknown but presumably related the journey. *Ref: ibid.*, p. 6.
- 1 June, 1615: *Jorge Durois in Nagasaki to Richard Cocks in Hirado*. *Contents*: unknown "wordes of complem'to". *Ref: ibid.*, p. 8.
- 1 June, 1615: *Pablo Garrocho de la Vega in Nagasaki to Richard Cocks in Hirado*. Despatched with the above. *Contents*: unknown. *Ref: ibid.*, p. 8.
- 3 June, 1615: *Richard Cocks in Hirado to William Adams in the Goto Islands*. Despatched on a barque. *Contents*: not specified but presumably instructions for Adams to depart for Hirado, as evidenced in Adams' logbook. *Ref: ibid.*, pp. 7-8; Bodleian Library: Savile Ms 40.
- 3 June, 1615: *Richard Cocks in Hirado to Edmund Sayers in the Goto Islands*. *Contents: ibid. Ref: Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 7-8.

- 3 June, 1615: *Richard Cocks in Hirado to Juan de Llevano in the Goto Islands*. Contents: reply to the previous letter. This letter and the two above were accompanied by various victuals. Ref: *Diary*, vol.1, pp. 7-8.
- 3 June, 1615: *Richard Cocks in Hirado to Jorge Durois in Nagasaki*. Sent via Louis Martyn. Appears as a marginal but is not recorded in the main body of the text. Contents: unknown. Ref: *ibid.*, p. 8.
- 5 June, 1615: *Richard Cocks in Hirado to Jorge Durois in Nagasaki*. Contents: unknown but judging by immediately contemporary letters the main topic of discussion was the rumours and 'news' surrounding the wars between Ieyasu and the supporters of Hideyori. Ref: *ibid.*, p. 10.
- 5 June, 1615: *Richard Cocks in Hirado to Pablo Garrocho in Nagasaki*. Contents: unknown but see above. Ref: *ibid.*, p. 10.
- 6 June, 1615: *Richard Cocks in Hirado to Jorge Durois in Nagasaki*. Contents: requests him to look out for a merchant to buy the wheat purchased by the *Sea Adventure*. Asks for confirmation of the rumour that Hideyori, his mother and his son had committed suicide. Ref: *ibid.*, p. 11.
- 7 June, 1615: *Edmund Sayers in the Goto Islands to Richard Cocks in Hirado*. Delivered by John Japan. Contents: informs Cocks that the *Sea Adventure* would leave for Hirado on the first wind. Ref: *ibid.*, pp. 12-13.
- 7 June, 1615: *Jorge Durois in Nagasaki to Richard Cocks in Hirado*. Delivered by Pablo Garrocho. Accompanied by a basket of apricots for Cocks and various other presents for redistribution. Contents: unknown, a reply to an earlier letter. Ref: *ibid.*, p. 13.
- 8 June, 1615: *William Eaton in Edo to Richard Cocks in Hirado*. Kept until Eaton's return on 14 August, 1615. Contents: unknown. Ref: *ibid.*, p. 60.
- 8 June, 1615: *Richard Cocks in Hirado to Jorge Durois in Nagasaki*. Contents: advises him not to speak ill of Hasegawa Fujihiro. Ref: *ibid.*, p. 12.
- 10 June, 1615: *Ushian dono in Kyōto to Richard Cocks in Hirado*. Contents: news from Kyōto: Matsuura Takanobu was received by Ieyasu; Hideyori's infant son was put to death; there were prices on the heads of the defenders of Ōsaka castle. Ref: *ibid.*, p. 24.
- 11 June, 1615: *Richard Cocks in Hirado to William Adams in Kawachi*. Contents: instructs him to impound Damian Marin's goods, through a belief that he was privately selling ambergris. Ref: *ibid.*, p. 14.
- 11 June, 1615: *Richard Cocks in Hirado to Damian Marin in Kawachi*. Contents: to the same effect as above. Ref: *ibid.*, p. 14.
- 11 June, 1615: *William Adams in Kawachi to Richard Cocks in Hirado*. Contents: requests whether he should trim the ship in Kawachi or sail straight for Hirado.

Not mentioned in the Diary but note that Adams may have his dates confused. A very similar letter is mentioned on 15 June, 1615 in Diary, vol. 1, p. 17, requesting that the Matsuuras' master carpenter be sent to the ship for consultation on the appropriate place to trim it. *Ref.* Bodleian Library: Savile Ms 40.

- 12 June, 1615: *Jorge Durois in Nagasaki to Richard Cocks in Hirado. Contents:* no one would buy the English wheat until the Manila galleons arrived. The smallpox had claimed the life of 2600 people in Nagasaki so far this year, including a female servant and his boy, Domingo. *Ref.* *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 19.
- 12 June, 1615: *Richard Cocks in Hirado to William Adams in Kawachi. Contents:* asks Adams and Garrocho to decide the matter of Marin. Cocks would stand by their decision. Requests a tally of Marin's ambergris and the continence of its impoundage. *Ref.* *ibid.*, pp. 14-15.
- 13 June, 1615: *Richard Cocks in Hirado to William Adams in Kawachi. Contents:* Cocks had received ashore 1198 sacks of wheat from the *Sea Adventure*. Requests his coming ashore to terminate the affair with Damian Marin. *Ref.* *ibid.*, p. 15.
- 13 June, 1615: *William Adams in Kawachi to Richard Cocks in Hirado. Contents:* Marin would not co-operate with Adams and refused to show him the ambergris. *Ref.* *ibid.*, p. 16.
- 13 June, 1615: *William Adams in Kawachi to Richard Cocks in Hirado. Contents:* *ibid.* Cocks mentions three letters sent during the day but provides little detail. *Ref.* *ibid.*, p. 16.
- 13 June, 1615: *William Adams in Kawachi to Richard Cocks in Hirado. Contents:* *ibid.* *Ref.* *ibid.*, p. 16.
- 13 June, 1615: *Richard Cocks in Hirado to William Adams in Kawachi. Contents:* a reply, presumably to Adams' first letter. Instructs Adams not to let Marin carry his chest ashore independently but to escort it to the English house. *Ref.* *ibid.*, p.16.
- 14 June, 1614: *Richard Cocks in Hirado to Jorge Durois in Nagasaki.* Sent via Garrocho with four sacks of wheat to be paid for as the others were sold. Nealsen sent five *taels* four *mas* for two pairs of silk stockings. *Contents:* unknown, probably explaining the wheat situation. *Ref.* *ibid.*, p. 16.
- 16, June, 1615: *Richard Cocks in Hirado to William Adams in Kawachi.* Sent via the Matsuuras' master carpenter. *Contents:* a reply to the letter of 15 June, 1615 (see above, 11 June, 1615). Advises Adams on finding a place to trim the ship. *Ref.* *ibid.*, p.17.
- 17 June, 1615: *William Adams in Kawachi to Richard Cocks in Hirado. Contents:* reply to previous. After council with the carpenter, Kawachi was chosen to trim the junk. *Ref.* *ibid.*, p. 18.

- 17 June, 1615: *Richard Cocks in Hirado to William Adams in Kawachi*. Contents: merely a confirmation of having received Adams' previous letter. Confirms his decision. Ref: *Diary*, vol.1, p.19.
- 19 June, 1615: *Richard Cocks in Hirado to William Eaton in the Kinai*. Sent via Gengemon dono, 'sea bongew'. Contents: unknown, as Cocks refers himself to a copy which he had made. Ref: *ibid.*, p. 20.
- 19 June, 1615: *Richard Cocks in Hirado to Amanoya Kurobe, Ōsaka host*. Sent as above. Contents: "kynd wordes", hoping that though the city had been burned, the English merchandise had been saved. Ref: *ibid.*, p.20.
- 19 June, 1615: *Richard Cocks in Hirado to Hiranoya Tozaemon, Sakai host*. Sent as above. Contents: as usual, Cocks noted the contents of both letters but does not specify divergences etc. Probably nearly identical to the above. Ref: *ibid.*, p. 20.
- 20 June, 1615: *Richard Cocks in Hirado to William Adams in Kawachi*. Sent with six loaves of bread. Contents: enquires about the amount of shark oil needed for the junk. Ref: *ibid.*, p. 20.
- 20 June, 1615: *William Adams in Kawachi to Richard Cocks in Hirado*. Noted by Cocks the following day, so perhaps sent late at night. Contents: Adams had bought 200 gantes of shark oil in the Goto Islands and therefore needed no more for the moment. Ref: *ibid.*, p.22.
- c. 20 June, 1615: *A carpenter (daiku) in Inoura to Richard Cocks in Hirado*. Suggested in the Historiographical Institute Diary. Contents: intended to discuss the price of timber needed in the English house. The carpenter would visit or sent another letter. Ref: *ibid.*, p. 22.
- 21 June, 1615: *Richard Cocks in Hirado to William Adams in Kawachi*. Contents: unknown, a confirmation of Adams' last letter. Ref: *ibid.*, p. 22.
- 21 June, 1615: *Richard Cocks in Hirado to a carpenter in Inoura*. Contents: unknown, an answer to his previous letter. Ref: *ibid.*, p. 22.
- 23 June, 1615: *Richard Cocks in Hirado to Jorge Durois in Nagasaki*. Sent via Simon. Contents: recent news in Hirado: Cocks sold the wheat to Marin; sent his clock to be fixed; ordered Simon to buy some conserves for a banquet with the *daimyō*; the house was finished. Ref: *ibid.*, p. 23.
- 27 June, 1615: *Richard Cocks in Hirado to William Eaton in the Kinai*. Kept until 29 June and then sent via John Phebe. Contents: orders Eaton to depart immediately with what money he could gather. He was to change money in Kyōto. Ref: *ibid.*, p. 27.

- 28 June, 1615: *Pedro Garrocho in Nagasaki to Richard Cocks in Hirado*. Contents: "much false news", presumably regarding the fall of Ōsaka castle. As the letter was retained/copied, the contents are not described. Ref: *ibid.*, p. 29.
- 29 June, 1615: *Richard Cocks in Hirado to Magome Kageyu in Edo*. Contents: unknown but probably very similar to the letters below, sent to Ōsaka and Sakai. Ref: p. 27.
- 29 June, 1615: *Richard Cocks in Hirado to Suruga host*. Contents: see above. Ref: *ibid.*, p. 27.
- 29 June, 1615: *Richard Cocks in Hirado to Andreas, Adams' brother-in-law in Edo*. Contents: see above. Ref: *ibid.*, p. 27.
- 29 June, 1615: *Richard Cocks in Hirado to Miguel in the Kinai or Edo*. Contents: unknown. Ref: *ibid.*, p. 27.
- 29 June, 1615: *Richard Cocks in Hirado to Ushian dono in Kyōto*. This letter and the above five were all carried by John Phebe. Contents: reply to the letter of 10 June, 1615. Ref: *ibid.*, p. 27.
- 30 June, 1615: *William Adams in Kawachi to Honda Masazumi in Edo*. Contents: requests the renewal of the *shuinjō* if required and help for Eaton if he was delayed by bureaucracy. Ref: *ibid.*, pp. 27-28.
- 30 June, 1615: *William Adams in Kawachi to Goto Shozaburo Mitsutsugu in Edo*. Contents: as above. Ref: *ibid.*, pp. 27-28.
- July/August, 1615: *Matsuura Takanobu in Kyōto to Richard Cocks in Hirado*. Delivered by Eaton and accompanied by two *katabras*. Contents: unknown. Ref: *ibid.*, p. 60.
- July/August, 1615: *Ushian Dono in Kyōto to Richard Cocks in Hirado*. Conveyed as above. Contents: unknown. Ref: *ibid.*
- July/August, 1615: *Amanoya Kurobe, Ōsaka host to Richard Cocks in Hirado*. Conveyed as above. Contents: unknown. Ref: *ibid.*
- July/August, 1615: *Gilbert Cunning's wife in Edo to Richard Cocks in Hirado*. Conveyed as above. Contents: unknown. Ref: *ibid.*
- July/August, 1615: *Andrea, Adams' brother-in-law in Edo to Richard Cocks in Hirado*. Carried as above. Contents: unknown. Ref: *ibid.*
- c. July, 1615: *Melchior van Santvoort in Nagasaki to William Adams in Kawachi*. Contents: advice that he had found someone who would sell another junk to the factory. Ref: *ibid.*, pp. 32-33.

- 1 July, 1615: *Richard Cocks in Hirado to Matsuura Takanobu in Kyōto*. Sent per John Pheby. *Contents*: “in complementall sort”. Provides news of the failure of the Siam voyage and news from the kingdom of Pegu. *Ref: ibid.*, p. 29.
- 1 July, 1615: *Jorge Durois in Nagasaki to Richard Cocks in Hirado*. *Contents*: see the 28 June, 1615 letter to Garrocho. *Ref: ibid.*, p. 29.
- 4 July, 1615: *Richard Cocks in Hirado to Jorge Durois in Nagasaki*. Kept until 5 July. *Contents*: unknown, a reply to the previous letter. *Ref: ibid.*, p. 30.
- 4 July, 1615: *Richard Cocks in Hirado to Pedro Garrocho in Nagasaki*. Kept until 5 July. Under Li Tan’s advice this letter was enclosed with Durois’ letter. *Contents*: unknown. *Ref: ibid.*, p.30.
- 5 July, 1615: *Adam Denton in Patani to Richard Cocks in Hirado*. Carried on the *Hozlander*. *Contents*: requested Cocks to help Coppendale secure various items for himself. *Ref: ibid.*, p. 73; IOR: E/3/3/ no. 320.
- 8 July, 1615: *Pedro Garrocho in Nagasaki to Richard Cocks in Hirado*. *Contents*: “complementall”, presumably a reply to his previous letter. Offers Cocks ambergris for sale. *Ref: Diary*, vol., 1, p. 34.
- 8 July, 1615: *Luis Martin in Nagasaki to Richard Cocks in Hirado*. *Contents*: presumably asked Cocks to purchase Soccotran aloes to the value of four *tals*, nine *mas*, three *conderin*, which was sent in plate. *Ref: ibid.*, p. 35.
- 9 July, 1615: *Richard Cocks in Hirado to Jorge Durois in Nagasaki*. Sent via Jan Joosten. *Contents*: unknown. Presumably fresh news, as Cocks received no new letter to which to reply. The diary entry contains news from the Dutch house. *Ref: Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 32-33.
- 10 July, 1615: *William Adams in Hirado to Damian Marin in Nagasaki*. A letter written on behalf of Li Tan. As Marin arrived in Hirado later that day the letter was probably never sent. *Contents*: requests the purchase of 400 sacks of wheat at three *mas* per sack, as previously agreed. *Ref: ibid.*, p. 33.
- 13 July, 1615: *Richard Cocks in Hirado to William Eaton in the Kinai*. Sent via the purser of the *Sea Adventure*. *Contents*: unknown. *Ref: ibid.*, p. 35.
- 13 July, 1615: *Richard Cocks in Hirado to Amanoya Kurobe, Ōsaka host*. Conveyed as above. *Contents*: unknown. *Ref: ibid.*, p. 35.
- 13 July, 1615: *Richard Cocks in Hirado to Hiranoya Tozaemon, Sakai host*. Conveyed as above. *Contents*: unknown. *Ref: ibid.*, p. 35.
- 16 July, 1615: *Richard Cocks in Hirado to Luis Martin in Nagasaki*. Sent via Damian Marin. Accompanied by a jar of aloes and some writing paper for Pedro Garrocho. *Contents*: a reply to his previous. *Ref: ibid.*, p. 37.

- 18 July, 1615: *Richard Cocks in Hirado to Pedro Garrocho in Nagasaki*. *Contents*: asks Garrocho to send the ambergris, which if it was unspoilt Cocks would purchase. Otherwise he would return it. *Ref: ibid.*, p. 38.
- 18 July, 1615: *Richard Cocks in Hirado to Jorge Durois in Nagasaki*. *Contents*: requests the purchase of two or three jars of conserves and some candles. *Ref: ibid.*, p. 38.
- 18 July, 1615: *Richard Cocks in Hirado to a servant of Lucas Antheunissoon in Nagasaki*. A Japanese letter. *Contents*: the servant held copies of Cocks' former letters to Antheunissoon. Cocks requested these copies, which arrived on 27 July, 1615. *Ref: ibid.*, p. 38.
- 19 July, 1615: *Juan de Llevano in Nagasaki to Richard Cocks in Hirado*. *Contents*: local news: Captain Hua's junk had arrived from Cochin-China; news of the Dutch taking a foothold in the Philippines was false. *Ref: ibid.*, pp. 39-40.
- 22 July, 1615: *Richard Cocks in Hirado to William Adams in Kawachi*. Sent with a barrel of wine and loaves of bread. *Contents*: unknown. *Ref: ibid.*, p. 40.
- 22 July, 1615: *Richard Cocks in Hirado to William Adams in Kawachi*. Sent with a leg of pork, five loaves of bread. Three iron 'stampers', two mattocks and a pickaxe. *Contents*: unknown. *Ref: ibid.*, p. 41.
- c. 23 July, 1615: *Pedro Garrocho in Nagasaki to Richard Cocks in Hirado*. *Contents*: unknown. No reference to ambergris in the entry. *Ref: ibid.*, p. 42.
- c. 23 July, 1615: *Juan de Llevano in Nagasaki to Richard Cocks in Hirado*. *Contents*: "of complementos". *Ref: ibid.*
- 23 July, 1615: *Jorge Durois in Nagasaki to Richard Cocks in Hirado*. Accompanied by 20 melons. *Contents*: local news: a fleet of five sail from Mexico were to arrive in Manila to combat the Dutch presence in the Moluccas; Hideyori had escaped to Satsuma or the Ryūkyūs. *Ref: ibid.*, pp. 42-43.
- 25 July, 1615: *Luis Martin in Nagasaki to Richard Cocks in Hirado*. Sent with a returned pot of aloes. *Contents*: Cocks had originally sent a generous present of aloes. Martin insisted in only receiving what he paid for. *Ref: ibid.*, p. 43.
- 26 July, 1615: *Hasegawa Gonroku in Nagasaki to Richard Cocks in Hirado*. *Contents*: requests steel and tin for the use of Ieyasu. *Ref: ibid.*, p. 42.
- 26 July, 1615: *Richard Cocks in Hirado to Hasegawa Gonroku in Nagasaki*. *Contents*: reply to the above. 190 *Catties* of tin were available at four *mas* the *catty*. One bar of tin was sent as a sample. *Ref: ibid.*
- 26 July, 1615: *Jorge Durois in Nagasaki to Richard Cocks in Hirado*. *Contents*: unknown. Cocks summarises the contents of this letter and Durois' earlier letter of 23 July, 1615. See above. *Ref: ibid.*, pp. 42-43.

- 29 July, 1615: *Richard Cocks in Hirado to Juan de Llevano in Nagasaki*. Sent via the Japanese messenger who delivered de Llevano's last. *Contents*: unknown. *Ref*: *ibid.*, p. 43.
- 29 July, 1615: *Richard Cocks in Hirado to Jorge Durois in Nagasaki*. Sent as above. *Contents*: unknown. *Ref*: *ibid.*
- 29 July, 1615: *Richard Cocks in Hirado to Pedro Garrocho in Nagasaki*. Sent as above. *Contents*: unknown. *Ref*: *ibid.*
- 31 July, 1615: *Jorge Durois in Nagasaki to Richard Cocks in Hirado*. *Contents*: news from the Philippines of a shipwreck of a Dutch ship at Luzon. *Ref*: *ibid.*, p. 47.
- 31 July, 1615: *Juan de Llevano in Nagasaki to Richard Cocks in Hirado*. *Contents*: unknown. *Ref*: *ibid.*

Bibliography

The arrangement of this bibliography does not follow the chapter structure of the thesis due to the inevitable overlap between chapters and the consequent repetition of material. Some sources are listed under both primary and secondary headings as they incorporate transcription of original material within articles with would otherwise be considered secondary sources. Where primary sources contain accounts by multiple authors the name of editor appears first. If a single essay appears in a scholarly collection within a sub-section, the full title of the collection follows that entry. If more than one essay is featured within a sub-section the essay collection is given a separate, full entry.

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