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THE PRESENCE
OF THE ‘PORTUGALS’ IN MACAO AND JAPAN
IN RICHARD HAKLUYT’S NAVIGATIONS

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“[..] How dangerous it is to attempt new Discoveries, either for the length of the voyage, or the ignorance of the language, the want of Interpreters, new and unaccustomed Elements and ayres, strange and unsavoury meates, danger of theeves and robbers, fiervenesse od wilde beasts and fishes, hugenessse of woods, dangerousnesse of Seas, dread of tempestes, feare of hidden rockes, steepenesse of mountaines, darkenesse of sudden falling foggges, continual paines taking without any rest, and infinite others.”

George Best, “A true discourse of the three Voayges of discoverie…”, vol. 5, p. 171.

“[..] we should share with the Portugall in the East ..[.]”


Since its (Portuguese) foundation Macao was a strategic point for the Portuguese trade and missionary work both in mainland China and Japan, and throughout the sixteenth-century descriptions as well as references to these still unknown territories reached Tudor England either by the hand of English travellers or translations of continental sources. Euro-Asiatic relations were dominated by the Portuguese and Europe’s responses to Asian civilisations, such as the Chinese and Japanese, developed slowly and were not static, and, as Donald F. Lach states,

“[..] image-makers [..] in their understandable eagerness to cast into a literary mould the attitudes of the people in ages past have all

too often created resemblances rather than likeness, statues rather than beings [...].”

Richard Hakluyt (1552?-1616) 3 in The Principall Navigations, Voyages and Discoveries of the English Nation (1589; second enlarged edition: 1598-1600) 4, published (re)collected and translated documents, while referring to the maritime adventures of the “Portingalls/Papists” in the Eastern seas. This “[...] prose epic of the modern English nation [...]” 5 results from the accumulated knowledge during the author’s academic learning at Oxford, the many conversations he held with friends and merchants, and the reading of works such as Gionanni Battista Ramusio’s Delle Navigationi et Viagi (1550) 6 and Richard Eden’s A treatise of the newe India... (1553), The Decades of the newe worlde or west India... (1555), and Richard Willes’ The History of Travayle in the West and East Indies... (1577) 7, among others 8, which contributed to the change in England’s perception of the overseas world and Asia.

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4 Complete title: The Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation made by Sea or over Land to the most remote and farthest distant quarters of the earth, at any time within the compass of these 1500 years. All quotations in this article are from Richard Hakluyt, Voyages in Eight Volumes, 8 vols., col. “Everyman’s Library”, edited by John Masefield, Dent, London, 1962.
5 J. H. Parry, “Hakluyt’s view of British history”, H. H., vol. 1, p. 7 and George Bruner Parks, “The English Epic”, Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages, New York, pp. 187-199. The second edition of The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques... (our emphases) was published in the year of the East India Company’s foundation (1600), for which Hakluyt was an advisor until his death in 1616, collecting and writing information mainly about India to be used by English merchants. (See M. F. Strachan, “Hakluyt’s use of the material available to him: India”, H. H., vol. 1, p. 212).
6 Ramusio’s volumes were used as models for The Principal Navigations. (See Lach, Asia..., 1:1, p. 208). See Luciana Stegagno Picchio, “Portugal e Portugueses no Livro das «Navigationi» de G. B. Ramusio”, Revista da Universidade de Coimbra, vol. XXXII, 1986.
7 Wille’s work is a revised and enlarged edition of Eden’s materials and his literary executor publishes Portuguese materials such as an extract of Galeote Pereira’s Tratado translated from the Italian (Nuovi avisi delle Indie di Portogallo, venuti nuovamente dalli R., padri della compagnia di Giesu & tradotti dalla lingua Spagnola nella Italiana. Quarta parte, Venenza, 1565.
8 For instance, John Frampton’s translation of Bernardino de Escalante’s Discourse: A Discourse of the Navigations which the Portingales do make to the Realmes and Provinces of the East partes of the Worlde and of the knowledge that growes by them of the great things, which are in the Dominions of China, written by Bernardine of Escalanta, of the Realme of Gallisia Priest (1579), not included by Hakluyt in his Navigations. Also John More’s translation of Damião de Góis’ Legatio Magni Indorum Imperatoris Presbyteri Joannis ad Emanuelem Regem (The legacy or...
The mastery of foreign languages, namely the Portuguese, is presented by the Hakluyt as an essential requisite for the task of compiling such a diverse amount of texts: "[...] I found extant either in the Greeke, Latine, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, French, or English languages [...]." The fact that countries such as France, where Hakluyt spent some time, criticised England for being an absent nation in the seas, as well as patriotic fervour, are referred by the geographer as his main motivations to publish The Principal Navigations one year after the defeat of the Spanish Armada (which permitted the English to begin planning their trade with the East Indies):

"[...] the industrious labors, and painefull travels of our countrey men: for stopping the mouthes of the reproachers, my selfe [...] determined notwithstanding all difficulties, to undertake the burden of that worke wherein all others pretended their ignorance [...] these voyages lay so dispersed, scattered, and hidden in several hucksters hands [...]"

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9 Richard Hakluyt, "The Epistle Dedicatorie in the First Edition, 1589.", vol. 1, p. 2, our emphases. According to F. M. Rogers, "Hakluyt as a translator", H. H., vol. 1, pp. 40-44, Hakluyt participated in the translation of the following Portuguese works related to the Discoveries: Juan González de Mendonza (1545-1618), The Historie of the great and mightie kingdome of China [...] translated (from Spanish) by Robert Parke (published in 1588); Fillipo Pigaffeta (1533-1604), and A reporte of the Kingdome of Congo [...] Drawen out of writtinges and discourses of Odoardo Lopes [Duarte Lopes] a Portingall, translated (from Italian) by Abraham Hartwell, 1597, being its original title: Relatione del Reame di Congo...

10 Hakluyt, "The Epistle Dedicatorie in the First Edition, 1589.", vol. 1, p. 3. See Kenneth R. Andrews, "The Elizabethan Seaman", Mariner’s Mirror, vol. 68:3, 1982, pp. 245-262; Robert Brenner, "The Social Basis of English Commercial Expansion, 1550-1650", The Journal of Economic History, vol. XXXII:1, 1972, pp. 361-384. According to Donald F. Leach, Asia..., 1:1, p. 209, "The British collections, unlike those compiled elsewhere, were not written after great national achievements in overseas expansion. If anything, they were designed to stimulate interest in expansion by showing how, by overseas enterprises, other people had enriched themselves and made their nations great." Lach continues: "Sixteenth-century England could boast of no library [...] that equaled in number of volumes De Thou’s collection at Paris. In 1500 the ecclesiastical institutions of England had been the principal holders of books. The dissolution of monasteries by King Henry VIII and the dispersal of their libraries in 1538-39 brought an abrupt end to the church’s control of books [...]. But foreign books were not otherwise easy for the Englishmen to acquire, even though there were two importers operating in London. [...] it was not until the latter half of the century that books on the discoveries in the East began to appear in English translations for public sale and in the libraries of private collectors." (Asia..., 2:2, pp. 68-69).
Macao and Japan are mentioned in the *Navigations* several times and we will interpret these references to the Portuguese presence and influence in the East Indies in English sources quoted by Hakluyt as well as his translations and references to Portuguese and other European documents throughout the work where the ‘author’ sings the glorious maritime deeds of several English dynasties up to the Tudors. Alluding to the Portuguese possessions, the geographer asks Sir Francis Walsingham a rhetorical question:

“[...] who ever heard of Englishmen at Goa before now? What English shippes did heeretofore ever anker in the mighty river of Plate? [...] double the famous cape of Bona Speranza, arive at the Isle of Santa Helena, & last of al returne home most richly laden with the commodities of China, as the subjects of this now flour-ishing monarchy have done?”  

Hakluyt refers to the knowledge and changes produced by the Iberian Discoveries, deciding not to use only national sources to show the conquests and discoveries of his country merchants as worthy as the Lusitanians, whose route the English nation shall follow in order to discover, trade and profit:

“I have contented my selfe with inserting into the worke one of the best generall mappes of the world onely, untill the comming out of a very large and most exact terrestriall Globe, collected and reformed according to the newest, secretest, and latest discoveries, both Spanish, Portugall, and English [...]  

... as for the Portugales to have found a Sea beyond the Cape of Buona Esperanza, and so consequently a passage by Sea into the East Indies; [...] Be it granted that the renowned Portugale Vasques de Gama traversed the maine Ocean Southward of Africke: Did not Richard Chanceler and his mates perforne the like Northward of Europe?”

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12 Cf. Idem, "The Epistle Dedicatiorie in the Second Volume of the Second Edition, 1599", vol. 1, p. 44: "And because our chiefe desire is to find out ample vent of our wollen cloth, the naturall commoditie of this our Realme, the fittest places, which in al my readings and observations I find for that purpose, are the manifold Islands of Japan, & the Northern parts of China [...]" (our emphases).
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In the preface to the first edition the work is presented to the “favourable Reader”, correcting the ancient cosmographers by using personal records of travellers and oral testimonies:

“The next leaves thou turnest, do yeelde thee the first valiant enterprise of Sir Francis Drake upon Nombre de Dios, the mules laden with treasure which he surprised, and the house called the Cruzes, which is fire consumed: and therewith is joyned an action more venterous then happie of John Oxnam of Plimmouth written, and confessed by a Spanyard [...].”

The Portuguese profitable trade with the Far East became a subject of interest for the English nation especially after the take over of the carrack Madre de Dios (Mãe de Deus) near the Azores by Sir John Burrough in 1592, during an expedition to the West Indies. Aboard the merchantman which "proved a treasurehouse and warehouse in one" were exotic and extremely profitable commodities – which overwhelmed England – and manuscripts containing information which the English translated and used for their own benefit, as Hakluyt mentions while informing the reader of how Japan and

15 Linschoten’s “A large testimony of John Huighen van Linschoten Hollander, concerning the worthy exploits atchieved by the right honourable the Erle of Cumberland [...] and divers other English Captaines, about the Isles of the Açores, and upon the coasts of Spaine and Portugall, in the yeeres 1589, 1590, 1591, &c. recorded in his excellent discourse of voyages to the East and West Indies. Cap. 96. 97. and 99.”, vol. 5, pp. 21-43 are also used to describe the actions of English merchants in the Azores against Spanish and Portuguese ships returning from the Indies.


20 See Russell Miller, The Seafarers: The East Indiamen, Alexandria-Virginia, 1980, pp. 8-9, for an idea of the intensity of the episode: “Pandemonium broke loose in England’s Dartmouth harbour [...] in 1592 when the Madre de Dios, [...] dropped anchor [...]. She was the biggest ship anyone in Elizabethan England had ever seen, a floating castle [...] about three times the capacity of the largest English ships. [...] At Dartmouth the pillage continued as the light-fingered sailors trafficked [...]. A large share of the captured treasure was owed to Quen Elizabeth; when she heard what was happening, she sent Sir Walter Raleigh down from London to retrieve her share of the booty and discipline the looters. “If I meet any of them coming up,” Raleigh swore, “if it be upon the wildest heath in all the way, I mean to strip them as naked as ever they were born, for Her Majesty has been robbed and that of the most rare things. [...] for the merchants of London it offered a tantalizing glimpse of the cargoes they might regularly enjoy if they could break what was then a Portuguese monopoly of Eastern trade”.

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China became to be a more familiar land for Elizabethans, who also desired to sell their cloth to the Emperor’s subjects:

"[... ] And because our chiefe desire is to find out ample vent of our wollen cloth, the naturall commoditie of this our Realme, the fittest places, which in all my readings and observations I find for that purpose, are the manifold Islands of Japan, & the Northern parts of China [...] and therefore I have here inserted two speciall Treatises of the sayd Countries [China], one of which I hold to be the most exact of those parts that is yet come to light, which was printed in Latine in Macao a citie of China, in China-paper, in the yeere a thousand five hundred and ninetie, and was intercepted in the great five Carack called Madre de Dios two yeeres after, inclosed in a case of sweete Cedar wood, and lapped up almost an hundred fold in fine calicut-cloth, as though it had beene some incomparable jewell.” 21

There are references to this episode in different ‘parts’ of the Navigations but its most detailed description is offered to the reader in the

"[... ] true report of the honourable service at sea perfourmed by Sir John Burrough [...]. Sir Walter Ralegh [...]. Wherin chiefly Santa Clara of Biscay [...] was taken, and the two East Indian caraks, the Santa Cruz and the Madre de Dios were forced [...] taken and brought into Dortmouth [...]” 22,

where one can read about the capture of three Portuguese sailors during the attack of a fleet near the island of Corvo. These same men were threatened with torture to tell Burrough what treasures were to be awaited in those seas from the East. The next fleet to arrive would try to escape the English attacks, having

"received speciall commandement from the king not to touch in any case at the Iland of St. Helena, where the Portugall caraks in their returne from the East India were alwayes till now wooned to

21 Hakluyt, “The Epistle Dedicaturie in the Second Volume of the Second Edition, 1599: To the Right Honorable Sir Robert Cecil Knight, principall Secretary to her Majestie, master of the Court of Wardes and Liveries, and one of her majesties most honourable privie Counsell.”, vol. 1, pp. 44-45, our emphases.

22 Complete title: “A true report of the honourable service at sea perfourmed by Sir John Burrough, Knight, Lieutenant generall of the fleet prepared by the honor. Sir Walter Ralegh Knight, Lord warden of the Stanneries of Cornwell and Devon. Wherin chiefly Santa Clara of Biscay, a ship of 600 tunnes was taken, and the two East Indian caraks, the Santa Cruz and the Madre de Dios were forced, the one burnt, and the other taken and brought into Dortmouth the seventh of September, 1592.”, vol. 5, pp. 57-68.
arrive to refresh themselves with water and victuals. And the king
reason was; because of the English men of warre, who (as he was
informed) lay there in wait to intercept them." 23

The English finally

"[...] had first sight of the huge carak called the Madre de Dios, one
of the greatest receit belonging to the crowne of Portugall [...]"

and the description of the battle between Portuguese and English recalls
motifs from wars between medieval knights:

"The generall having disarmed the Portugalls [...] first had presented
to his eyes the true porportion of the vast body of this carak [...] yet
the pitifull object of so many bodies slaine and dismembered [...] No
man could almost steepe but upon a dead carkase or a bloody
floore, but specially about the helme, where very many of them fell
suddenly from stirring of dying." 24

Eventhough Burrough 25 showed mercy when sending Captain Fernão
de Mendonça Furtado and the rest of the injured back to the Azores, the
treasure that was soon to overwhelm the subjects of Elizabeth I was defended
with much Portuguese blood 26, which symbolises the courage, maritime
ability and mercy of the English privateers, who quickly went inside the
carrack to inspect its cargo, concluding that

"[...] the variety and grandure of all rich commodities would be
more then sufficient to content both the adventurers desire & the
souldiers travell." 27

23 Idem, ibidem, pp. 62-63, our emphases.
25 According to another source published by Hakluyt, Burrough’s fleet was joined by one more
English ship returning home from Florida, who “finding sir John Burgh there [Azores], who took us
to be Spanyards, and made up unto us; with whom wee joined in the taking the mighty Portugall
caracke called Madre de Dios, and our captaine M. Christophor Newpport with divers of us was
placed in her as captaine by the General sir John Burgh to conduct her into England, where we
arrived in Dartmouth the seventh of September 1592.” (John Twitt, “A true report of a voyage under-
taken for the West Indies by M. Christopher Newport [...] : Begun from London the 25.
26 A Portuguese source refers to the battle: “This carack Madre de Dios fought a whole day
against the English fleet, and after its surrender [they] sent the sailors ashore and took the
vessel.” (Apud Maria Hermínia Maldondo (ed.), Relação das Náos e Armadas da Índia, Coimbra,
1985, p. 95, our translation).
27 “A true report of the honourable service at sea perfourmed by Sir John Burrough...”, p. 66.
The laden Madre de Dios unveiled to the English nation a distant world of exotic luxury where trade profits could easily be made. The tone and details of the description express the amazement:

"[...] Gods great favor towards our nation, who by putting this purchase into our hands hath manifestly discovered those secret trades & Indian riches, which hitherto lay strangely hidden, and cunningly concealed from us. [...] The caracke being in burden by the estimation of the wise and experienced no lesse then 1600 tunnes had full 900 of those stowed with the grosse bulke of marchandise [...], considering the number of the persons betwixt 600 and 700 [...]."

1. Macao and Japan

On the "Epistle Dedicatorie" in the third volume of the second edition (1600), the English geographer, using a Spanish travel narrative, informs the English reader how the Far East has been gradually discovered by the Europeans:

"And for the knowledge of the true breadth of the Sea betweene Nova Albion on the Northwest part of America, and the Yle of

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28 According to Donald Lach, Asia..., 2:1, pp. 33-34, exotic products and objects were not as common in Tudor England as in Southern Europe. A German visitor, Leopold von Wedel, wrote in his diary (1584-85): "Rare objects are not to be seen in England, but it is a very fertile country [...]." (Leopold von Wedel, "Journey through England and Scotland Made by Leopold von Wedel in the Years 1584-1585", Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, translated by G. von Bülow, IX, 1895, p. 268).


30 The description continues, listing the goods found inside the ship, being its size and details particularly curious and suggestive of the importance of such (extensive) information to Elizabethan traders: "To give you a taste (as it were) of the commodities, it shall suffice to deliver you a generall particularity of them, according to the catalogue taken at Leaden hall the 15 of September 1592. [...] the principal wares after the jewels (which were no doubt of great value, though they never came to light) consisted of spices, drugges, silks, calicos, quilts, carpets and colours, &c. The spices were pepper, cloves, maces, nutmegs, cinamon, greene, ginger: the drugs were benjamim, frankincense, galilingale, mirabolans, aloes zocotrina, camphire: the silks, damasks, taffatas, saracenets, altobassos, that is, counterfeit, cloth of gold, unwrought China silke, sleaved silke, white twisted silke, curled cypressa. The calicos were book-calicos, calico-launes, broad white calicos, fine starched calicoes, course white calicos, browne broad calicos, brown course calicos. There were also canopies, and course diapertowels, quilts of course saracenet and of calico, carpets like those of Turky; whereunto are to be added the pearle, muske,
Japan, which until these foure yeeres was never reveiled unto us, being a point of exceeding great consequence, I have here inserted the voyage of one Francis Gualle a Spaniard [...] first to the Philip- pinas, and then to the citie of Macao in China, and homeward from Macao by the isles of Japan, and thence back to the West Indies [...]. I have brought to light certaine new advertisements of the late alteration of the mightie monarchie of the confronting Yle of Japan [...].”

Intimately related to the Portuguese trade with the archipelago of Japan, Macao is therefore a geographical reference for European travellers, as well as a ‘familiar’ oasis in the Southern tip of an exotic and distant empire. National history is also a matter of interest to the English readers who learn about revolutions and political changes in recently discovered lands before merchants from the land of Shakespeare reach these same distant shores, already familiar to Portuguese traders and missionaries:

"[...] ever assaying to come by some charts or maps of the countrey, made and printed in cathay or China, and by some of their bookes likewise for language, &c. You may also have opportunitie to saile
civet, and amber-griece. The rest of the wares were many in number, but lesse in value; as elephants teeth, porcellan vessels of China, coco-nuts, hides, ebenwood as black as jet, bedsteds of the same, cloth of the rindes of trees very strange strange for the matter, and artificial in workemanship” [all worth] “150000 li. Sterling [although when it arrived in Darmouth it was said to be worth 500000 li].” (‘A true report of the honourable service at sea perfourmed by Sir John Burrough...’, pp. 66-67). The text goes on paraphrasing Robert Adams’ detailed study of the carrack’s dimensions, shape and interior design.

31 Hakluyt, “The Epistle Dedicatorie in the Third Volume of the Second Edition, 1600”, vol. 1, p. 50, our emphases. Donald F. Lach, in his chapter “The Far East”, H. H., vol. 1, pp. 218-219, states: “Examination of Hakluyt’s materials on the Far East reveals that he published only those accounts written by observers who had actually travelled in Asia [...]. He reproduces no writings from antiquity or the early Middle Ages. [...] Evidently the guiding principle, here as elsewhere, was to include only the most recent first-hand accounts available. Lach (p. 216) lists some of the early Portuguese texts on China that Hakluyt didn’t know/use in his work, continuing on pp. 219-220: ‘As Hakluyt makes abundantly clear in his prefaces, he was interested in collecting material on those parts of the Far East (Tartary, Northern China, Korea, Japan and Yezo) which could be most easily reached by the northern routes, where English woollens could be sold most readily [...], and where English explorers and merchants would not be forced to compete with the entrenched Portuguese and Spanish interests.”

32 Authoritative navigational and trading information such as directions and specific instructions to be used on the way to China – like the ones Hakluyt published – start to appear in England: ‘Ordinances, instructions, and advertisements of and for the direction of the intended voyage for Cathay [reference to the attempted voyage of Sir Hugh Willoughby and Richard Chancellor], compiled, made, and delivered by the right worshipfull M. Sebastian Cabota Esquier, governour of the mysterie and companie of the Marchants adventurers for the discoverie of
over to Japan Island, where you shall finde Christian men, Jesuits of many countreys of Christendome some, and perhaps some Englishmen, at whose handes you may have great instruction and advise for your affaires in hand.”

The search for the Empire of the Middle was carried by English merchants who tried to discover the North-west/east passages to avoid navigating through the ‘Portuguese’ Southern seas while their monarchs used

Regions, Dominions, Islands and places unknownen [..]”, vol. 1, p. 232 and p. 244; “Instructions and notes very necessary and needfull to be observed in the purposed voyage for discovery of Cathay Eastwards, by Arthur Pet, and Charles Jackman: given by M. William Burrough. 1580”, vol. 2, p. 210, our emphases. Richard Eden is also quoted regarding Cabbot’s counselling about the “voyage toward Cathay: [...] for seeing that the wealth of the Spaniards and Portingales, by the discoverie and search of newe trades and Countreys was marveilously increased [...] they thereupon resolved upon a newe and strange Navigation [...]”. (vol. 1, pp. 266-267). Voyages to Russia also brought English merchants such as Richard Johnson closer to China and its merchants (vol. 1, pp. 465-468).


34 Among the several documents related to this “intended discovery” see “Aletter of Gerardus Mercator, written to M. Richard Hakluyt of Oxford, touching the intended discoverie of the Northeast passage, An. 1580”, vol. 2, pp. 224-226. The search for a Northwest/east passage was an Elizabethan major project, and scholars such Earl H. Pritchard, The Crucial Years of Early Anglo-Chinese Relations 1750-1800, London, 2001 [Washington, 1936], p. 111, states that “The people of Elizabethan England probably exhibited more interest in China – or Cathay, as they called it – than did Englishmen of any succeeding period prior to the middle of the eighteenth century. The northwest/east passages are mentioned several times in Hakluyt’s Navigations: Humphrey Gilbert, ‘A discourse written by Sir Humphrey Gilbert Knight, to prove a passage by the Northwest to Cathaiia, and the East Indies.’, vol. 5, pp. 92-130. As Gilbert says, this project intended to give the English nation an alternative route to the Indies, thus avoiding the Cape route of the Portuguese, which they could outsmart. According to Sir William Foster, England’s Quest for Eastern Trade, London, 1933, pp. 110-111, “the Cape voyage was known to be long and dangerous; the Indian seas were studded with Portuguese forts and ships, whose determined hostility must now be taken for granted; and finally, some doubt was felt whether the ordinary English merchantman was large enough to navigate successfully the stormy seas that washed the Cape. [...] There remained the alluring theory of the existence of a passage into the Pacific round the North of America.” The discovery of the passage would enable Elizabethan merchants “[...] with small danger passe to Cataia, the Moluccae, India, and all other places in the East, in much shorter time, then either the Spaniard, or Portugal doeth, or may doe [...] [idem, p. 96], [...] For through the shortene of the voyage, we should be able to sell all maner of merchandize, brought from thence, farre better cheape then either the Portagall or Spaniard doth or may do. [...]” [idem, p. 116]. Trying to make his theory as legitimate as possible he sits on the shoulder of the Portuguese (knowledge) to support his information: “Moreover, the passage is certainly proved by a Navigation that a Portagall [Corte Real?] made [...] this Frier tolde the king of Portagall [...] that there was (of certainty) such a passage Northwest from England [...]” (idem, pp. 110-111). Ideas also repeated by Richard Willes when he imagines the English pioneers travelling East through the passage: “Who hath gone for triall sake at any time this way out of Europe to Cathayoy?” (“Certaine other reasons, or arguments to prove a passage by the Northwest,
diplomatic channels to contact and bring the Chinese government closer to England’s interests. Information about China and Japan from Portuguese and Spanish sources was gradually translated, especially after 1550, informing about the "great profit of the trade." The Lusitanians protected their routes and profits from foreign competition and European merchants were stopped from going any further when they reached Malacca, as the Venetian merchant Cesare de Fedrici, travelling in the East Indies since 1563 during eighteen years, described, mentioning the

"Porcelane of China [...] that come from Portugall [and the] Nut [that] goeth out of Chaul for Mallaca, for the Indies, for Macao [...] I have not passed further then malacca towards the East, but that which I will speake of here is by good information of them that have been there. There sailing from Malacca towards the East is not coomon for all men, as to China and Japan, and so forwards to go will, but onely for the king of Portugall and his nobles, with leave granted unto them of the king to make such voiages, or to the jurisdiction of the captaine of Malacca [...] and these are the kings voyages [...] The voyages that the king of Portugall granteth to his

36 Sebastian Biscaio, "A letter from Mexico, of Sebastian Biscaio to his Father Antonio Biscaino in Corchio in Spaine, touching the great profit of the trade to China, and somewhat of M. Thomas Candish. Written the 20 of June 1590.", vol. 7, p. 133. The Spanish voyager reports the attack his ship suffered from the English: "[... the yeere 1588 I had great mischance, coming in a ship from China to Nueva Espanna: which being laden with rich commodities, was taken by an Englishman which robbed us and afterward burned our ships, wherein I lost a great deale of treasure and commodities." (p. 134).
37 Fedrici departed in 1563 and went to Syria, Aleppo and Ormuz keeping a diary later published by Andrea Muschio in Venice (Viaggio di M. Cesare de Fedrici, nell’ India Orientale, et olya l’India..., 1587).
38 Caesar Fredericke, "The voyage and travell of M. Caesar Fredericke, Marchant of Venice, into the East India, and beyond the Indies. Wherein are contained the costumes and rites of those countries, the merchandises and commodities, aswell of golde and silver, as spices, drugges, pearles, and other jewels: translated out of Italian by M. Thomas Hickocke. [1588]", vol. 3, pp. 209-210, our emphases. Published in the second edition of the Navigations.
nobles are these, of China and Japan, from China to Japan, and from Japan to China, and from China to the Indies, and the voyage of Bengala, Maluco, and Sonda, with the landing of fine cloth, and every sort of Bumbast cloth. [...] there they lade Pepper from China. The ship that goeth every yeere from the Indies to China, is called the ship of Drugs, because she carieth divers drugs of Cambaia, but the greatest part of her lading is silver. From Malacca is eighteene hundred miles: and from China to Japan goeth every yeere a ship of great importance laden with Silke, which for reurne of their Silke bringeth barres of silver which they trucke to China. [...] and in this way [china-Japan] there are divers Ilands not very bigge, in which the Friers of saint Paul, by the helpe of God, make many Christians [...].”

The Italian merchant mentions the nau do trato’s trade as well as the network of (local) Portuguese trade in the East Indies and the work carried out by the missionaries in Macao. Between Malacca and Japan,

"the Portugalls have made a small citie neere unto the coast of China called Macao, whose church and houses are of wood, and it had a bishoprike, but the customs belong to the King of China, and they goe and pay the same at a citie called Canton, which is a citie of great importance and very beautifull two dayes journey and a halfe from Macao. The People of China are Gentiles, and are so jealous and fearfull, that they would not have a stranger to put his foote within their land: so that when the Portugals go thither to pay their custome, and to buy their marchandize, they will not consent that they shall lie or lodge within the citie, but send them forth into the suburbes. [...] For that the people of the country will not suffer the Portugales to come within the land, but onely for wood and water, and as for all other things that they wanted, as victuals and merchandise, the people bring that a boord the ship in small barkes, so that every day there is a mart kept in the ship [...]; also there goeth another ship for the said Captaine of Malacca to Sion, to lade Verzino: all these voiages are for the Captaine of the castle of Malacca [...].”

40 Caesar Fredericke, op. cit., p. 232.
Fedrici describes the contacts and trade carried out between the Chinese authorities and Portuguese merchants also trading silver in Japan, as well as the country’s reaction towards foreign travellers and also the commerce of “white Sandol” in “the Island of Timor” 43. Ralph Fitch, a London merchant, also travelled to India in 1583 44, where he was arrested by the Portuguese authorities. When writing his recollections using Thomas Hickock’s translation (1588) of Cesare de Fedrici’s Viaggio, he commented the trade being carried out by the native people, the Portuguese settlements and China:

“There are marchants which come out of the East, they say, from under the sunne, which is from China, which have no beards, and they say there is something warne 45. [...] Hither to Jamahey come many merchants out of China, and bring great store of muske, golde, silver, and many other things of China worke.” 46

Continuing his voyage from Pegu to Malacca, Fitch goes on describing the movement of Portuguese people, products 47 and profits in the East Indies, namely from Malacca to Japan:

“When the Portugals go from Macao in China to Japan, they carry much white silke, golde, muske, and porcelanes: and they bring from thence nothing but silver. They have a great caracke which

43 Idem, ibidem, p. 263.
44 For a description of Fitch’s travel in India and Pegu see Sir William Foster, op. cit., pp. 100-109. According to this author, “In January 1588 he [Fitch] left Pegu and sailed to Malacca, probably in a Portuguese trading-vessel. At the port he stayed seven weeks, gleaning all the information he could about its commerce with China and the Malayan Archipelago” (p. 104).
45 Ralph Fitch, “The voyage of M. Ralph Fitch marchant of London by the way of Tripolis in Syria, to Ormus, and so to Goa in the East India, to Cambaia, and all the kingdome of Zelabdim Echebar the great Mogor, to the mighty river Ganges, and downe to Bengala, to Bacola, and Chonderi, to Pegu, to Omahay in the kingdome of Siam, and backe to Pegu, and from thence to Malacca, Zellan, Cochin, and all the coast of the East India: begunne in the yeere of our Lord 1583, and ended 1591, wherein the strange rites, maners, and costumes of those people, and the exceeding rich trade and commodities of those countries are faithfully set downe and diligently described, by the aforesaid M. Ralph Fitch.”, vol. 3, p. 297.
47 Other English merchants compiled extensive lists of products sold and bought in the East Indies, especially in China: “A note of charges from Aleppo to Goa, as followeth”, vol. 3, pp. 339-343. In the same volume we have another list dating the ships’ movements between Goa and China: “The monson from Goa for China. The ships depart from Goa in the moneth of April. The monson from China for Goa. The ships depart to be the 10 of May in Goa, and being not then arrived, they turne backe to Cochin, and if they cannot fetch Cochin, they returne to Malacca”, vol. 3, p. 347. All this information would be of great interest and importance for future English adventurers and traders in Eastern waters.
goeth thither every yere, and she bringeth from thence every yere above sixe hundred thousand crusadoes: and all this silver of Japan [...] they impoy to their great advantage in China: and they bring from thence gold, muske, silke, copper, porcelanes, and many other things very costly and gilded.” 48

Like Fedrici, Ralph Fitch also describes the habits and traditions of the Chinese and Japanese people:

“The Chinians are very suspitious, and doe not trust strangers. It is thought that the king does not know that any strangers [Portuguese] come into his countrey. [...] A man can keep as many concubines as he will, but one wife onely. All the Chineans, Japonians, and Cauchin Chineans do write downwards, and they do write with a fine pensill made of dogs or cats haire.” 49

The English traveller mentions the natives’ attitude towards the Portuguese merchants in Canton:

“When the Portuguese come to canton in China to traffike, they must remaine there but certaine dayes: and when they come in at the gate of the city, they must enter their names in a booke, and when they goe out at night they must put out their names. They may not lie in the towne all night, but must lie in their boats without the towne. And their dayes being expired, if any man remaine there, they are evill used and imprisioned. The Chinians are very superstitious, and doe not trust strangers. It is thought that the king doth not know that any strangers come into his countrey. [...] All the Chineans, Japonians and Chauchin Chineans do write right downwards, and they do write with a fine pensill made of dogs or cats haire.” 50

Regarding Portuguese sources, Galeote Pereira’s *Tratado da China* was the earliest account of China and her people translated into English by

48 Ralph Fitch, *op. cit.*, pp. 309-310, our emphases. Fedrici and Fitch’s narratives complement each other regarding information about China and, to a lesser extent, Japan; which may well have being Hakluyt’s aim when he published them together in the second edition of his *Navigations*.
49 Idem, *ibidem*, p. 310, our emphases.
50 Idem, *ibidem*. 
Richard Eden and Richard Willes [Willis] from the Italian (\textit{Nuovi Avisi delle Indie di Portogallo, venuti nuovamente dalli R. padri della Compagnia di Giesu}, 4\textsuperscript{th} Part, Venice, 1565) and published both by the latter (in \textit{History of Travayle in the West and East Indies}) and Hakluyt under the name:

"Certaine reports of the province of China learned through the Portugals there imprisioned, and chiefly by the relation of Galeotto Perera, a Gentleman of good credit, that lay prisoner in that Coun-try many yeeres."\textsuperscript{51}

A comparison of the text to the Portuguese original reveals the faithfulness of the translation, as well as its suppressions, summaries and the changing of the order in which the information is presented, namely regarding geography, laws, architecture, and the habits of the empire. Richard Willes used the text in different writings of his own to inform English explorers and merchants going East about the Chinese and the Japanese reaction towards foreigners, in order to exhort his country-fellows – according to him, with a navy superior to the Portuguese – to sail into the China and Japan seas without fear:

"Touching their lawes against strangers, you shall reade neverthe-lesse in the same relations of Galeotto Perera, that the Catahaian king is woont to graunt free accesse unto all foreigners that trade into his Countrey for Marchandise, and a place of libertie for them to remaine in [...]. As for the Japans they be most desirous to be acquainted with strangers. The Portingals though they were straitly handled there at the first, yet in the ende they found great favour at the Prince his hands, insomuch that the Loutea or president that misled them was therefore put to death. The rude Indian Canoa hellet those seas, the Portingals, the Saracenes, and Moores travaile continually up and downe that reach from Japan to China, from China to Malacca, from Malacca to the Moluccaes: and shall

an Englishman, better appointed then any of them all (that I say no more of our Navie) feare to saile that Ocean? What seas at all doe want piracie? what Navigation is voyde of perill?” 52

Another translated Portuguese source is Duarte Sande’s and Alessandro Valignano’s Um Tratado Sobre a China53 (Macao, 1590):


Once again, the title serves as a summary of the document, and Hakluyt characterises the treatise as “excellent”, informing that it was printed in Macao 55, a city belonging to the Portuguese in China. The didactic Latin dialogue 56 was, in fact, the second printed book in Macao 57 and it describes the journey

52 “Certaine other reasons, or arguments to proove a passage by the Northwest, learnedly written by M. Richard Willes Gentleman”, vol. 5, p. 129. George Best (“A true discourse of the three Voyages of discoverie, for the findinge of a passage to Cathaia, by the Northwest, under the conduct of Martin Frobisher...”, vol. 5, p. 172) after listing the great difficulties and obstacles that discoverers overcome, refers to the mixing of different people and ethnic groups in mutually exotic countries, small parts of a gradually opening world: “We also among us in England have blacke Moores, Aethiopians, out of all partes of Torrida Zona, which after small continuance, can well endure the colde of our Countrey, and whu should not we as well abide the heate of their Countrey? But what should I name any more experiences, seeing that all the coastes of Guinea and Benin are inhabited of Portugals, Spanyardes, French, and some Englishmen, who there have built Castles and Townes.”

53 There are several theories about the authorship of the text. For a recent translation and study see: Duarte de Sande, SJ, Diálogo sobre a Missão dos Embaixadores Japoneses à Cúria Romana, preface, translation from Latin and notes by Américo da Costa Ramalho, Macao, 1997. The editor believes the author to be Sande. Hakluyt’s text was translated into Portuguese from the English by Rui Manuel Loureiro, Um tratado sobre o reino da China dos Padres Duarte Sande e Alessandro Valignano (Macau, 1590), Macao, 1992, pp. 33-109. See also J. F. Moran. “The real author of the Missione...”, Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies, vol. 2, June 2001, pp. 7-21, who believes the real author to be Valignano.

54 Vol. 4, pp. 209-233, our emphases.


56 De Missione Legatorum Iaponensium ad Roamnai Curiam, rebusque in Europa, ac toto itineri-rare animadversis Dialogus. Ex ephemeride ipsorum legatorum collectus, & in sermonem Latinum iersus ab Eduardo de Sande Sacerdote Societatis Iesu. In Macauensi portu Sinici regni in domo Societatis Iesu cum facultate Ordinarii, & Superiorum. Anno 1590.

of the four Japanese christians to Europe and China, based on available information in the Jesuit circles. It reached English hands after it was taken along with the Portuguese carrack Madre de Dios, near the Azores\textsuperscript{58}, in 1592, by an English fleet financed by George Clifford\textsuperscript{59}. As already mentioned, the ship was returning from Goa when it was attacked and taken to Dartmouth, where its size and hidden Eastern treasures caused great admiration. One of the valuable goods discovered inside a scented wooden box was Valignano’s/Sande’s dialogue, of which the “Colóquio XXXIII” was translated and partially published in the \textit{Navigations}. Once again, the excerpt included in Hakluyt’s work shows the careful selection of the materials and their interest for English merchants, as the translation only covers the most important section on China and the Portuguese presence and interaction with Chinese merchants:

“[...] Of the first and principall kind is that most noble citie standing neere unto the port of Macao, called by the Chinians Coanchefu, but by the Portugals commonly termed Cantam, which is rather the common name of the province, then a word of their proper imposi-
tion. Unto the third kind appertaineth a towne, which is yet nigher unto the port of Macao, called by the Portugals Ansam, but by the Chinians Hiansanhien. [...] Now in the sea, in rivers, & in barks there are such abundance of people, and of whole families inhab-
iting, that even the Europaeans themselves doe greatly wonder therat [...] And whence it is that this common opinion hath bene rife among the Portugals, namely that the kingdom of China was never

\textsuperscript{58} About English attacks on Portuguese vessels in the sixteenth century near the Azores see: Maria Olímpia da Rocha Gil, \textit{O Arquipélago dos Açores no Século XVII. Aspectos sócio-
económicos (1575-1675)}, Castelo Branco, 1979; Carlos Guilherme Riley, “Afinidades atlânticas: as relações entre os Açores e a Grã-Bretanha”, \textit{Insulana}, Ponta Delgada, no. 48, 1992, pp. 99-

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visited with those three most heavy & sharpe scourges of mankind, warre, famine, & pestilence.” 60.

The text also describes the intense commerce of gold and silk, namely the “three ships for the most part coming out of India to the port of Macao [...], and it is used not onely in India, but caried even unto Portugal” 61, as well as the trade with Japan. Chinese universities and the missionary work of the multi-national Jesuits are also mentioned, namely the travels of Francis Xavier, “a most devout man of the foresayd society” 62. The richness and high profits of the Japan-Macao trade are well known to the English merchants trying to set up a ‘route’ of their own in the East Indies, and in 1591 three ships left London heading for Malacca. Edmund Barker of Ipswich, lieutenant of the voyage “performed by James Lancaster” 63, gave Richard Hakluyt an oral account of the enterprise 64 saying that in Cape Comori (Malavar) they awaited ships from

“Zeilan, Sant Tome, Bengala, Pegu, Malacca, the Moluccos, the coast of China, and the Ile of Japan, which [...] are of exceeding wealth and riches. [...] We understood in the East Indies by certayne Portugales which we tooke, that they have lately discovered the coast of China [...] finding the sea still open to the Northward: giving great hope of the Northeast or Northwest passage.” 65

The enumeration of such places states both the importance of the Portuguese profitable trading routes and factories as well as the information

61 Idem, ibidem, p. 215.
62 Idem, ibidem, p. 231.
63 About Sir James Lancaster (d. 1618) see Jack Beeching’s abridged edition of Hakluyt’s Voyages and Discoveries: The Principal Navigations..., Harmondsworth, 1972, pp. 423-424: “[...] Lancaster was brought up among the Portuguese. [...] He reached Penang and Ceylon returning in 1594 [...]. He had acquired plunder and the news that the Portuguese monopoly of the Cape route was broken.”
64 Hakluyt, “A voyage with three tall ships [...] by the Cape of Buona Speransa, to Quitangone neere Mosambique, to the Iles of Comoro and Zanzibar on the backside of Africa, and beyond cape Comori in India, to the Iles of Nicubar and of Gomes Polo within two leagues of Sumatra, to the Hands of Pulo Pinaom, and thence to the maine land of Malacca, begunne by M. George Raymond, in the yeere 1591, and performed by M. James Lancaster; and written from the mouth of Edmund Barker of Ipswich, his lieutenant in the sayd voyage, by M. Richard Hakluyt.”, vol. 4, pp. 242-559.
65 Idem, ibidem, pp. 248, 259, respectively.
about them that the English merchants possessed, especially through Jan Huygen van Linschoten’s (1563-1611) *Itinerario* written to persuade the Dutch to send ships to the East, and translated into English in 1598, by William Phillip, at Hakluyt’s suggestion.

The Atlantic Ocean was often a stage of war between Elizabethan “seadogs”/privateers and Iberian ships laden with goods from the East and West Indies, as shown in

“A brief relation of the notable service performed by Sir Francis Drake upon the Spanish Fleete prepared in the Road of Cadiz [...] and [...] the mouth of the River in Lisbon, and thence crossing over to the Isle of Sant Michael, supprized a mighty Carack called the Sant Philip comming out of the East India, which was the first of that kinde that was ever seene in England: Performed in the yeere 1587.”

These same actions were also legitimised by the fact that Elizabethan corsairs were weakening the power of their enemy, the king of Spain, a fact that the Portuguese seemed to be aware of

“[…] wee shaped our course toward Cape Sacre, and in the way thither wee tooke at several times of ships, barkes, and Caravels

66 See “A large testemony of John Huighen van Linschoten Hollander, concerning the worthy exploits achivied by the right honourable the Erle of Cumberland, By Sir Martine Frobisher, Sir Richard Greenvile, and divers other English Captaines, about the Isles of the Açores, and upon the coastes of Spaine and Portugall, in the yeeres 1589, 1590, 1591, &c. recorded in his excellent discourse of voyages to the East and West Indies. Cap. 96. 97. and 99.”, vol. 5, pp. 21-43. Linschoten’s work contained the Portuguese routes to the East Indies, especially between China, Hirado and Nagasaki, culled from Lusitanian rutter books, and it mentioned a rainy and snowy Japan [good news for the English cloth traders] with mines of silver collected by the Portuguese to take to China. See Dionísio David, s.v. “Linschoten, Jan Huygen van”, in Luís de Albuquerque (dir.), *Diccionário de História dos Descobrimentos Portugueses*, vol. 2, pp. 597-598. Another Dutch, Dirck Gerritz, also made voyages from Macao to Nagasaki aboard Santa Cruz (1585-1586) as a master gunner, and after his return to Europe in 1590 he also provided his country-fellow with vital information about the Portuguese activity in Asia. (See C. R. Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan, 1549-1650*, Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1967, pp. 130, 406-414; Donald F. Lach, *Asia...*, vol. 1:1, pp. 199-200).

67 “A breife relation of the notable service performed by Sir Francis Drake upon the Spanish Fleete prepared in the Road of Cadiz: and of his destroying of 100. Saile of barks; Passing from thence all along the coast to Cape Sacre, where also hee tooke certaine Forts: and so to the mouth of the River of Lisbon, and thence crossing over to the Isle of Sant Michael, supprized a mighty Carrack caled the Sant Philip comming out of the East India, which was the first of that kinde that ever was seene in England: Performed in the yeere 1587.”, vol. 4, pp. 281-285, our emphases.
well neere an hundred, laden with hoopes, gally-oares, pipe-staves, & other provisions of the king of Spaine, for the furnishing of his forces intended against England, al which we burned [...]. We also spoiled and consumed all the fisher-boats and nets thereabouts, to their great hinderance [...]. Thence we came before the haven of Lisbon ankerne nere unto Cascais, where the Marquês of Santa Cruz was with his Gallies, who seeing us chase his ships a shoare, & take and carry away his barks and Caravels, was content to suffer us there quietly to tary [...]. Shaped his course toward the Isles of the Açores, and passing towards the Isle of Saint Michael [...] it was his good fortune to meete with a Portugale Carak called Sant Philip, being the same shippe which in the voyage outward had caried the 3. Princes of Japan, that were in Europe, into the Indies. This Carack without any great resistance he tooke, bestowing the people thereof in certaine vessels well furnished with victuals, and sending them courteously home into their Countrey: and this was the first Carak that ever was taken comming forth of the east Indies; which the Portugals tooke for any evil signe, because the ship bare the Kings owne name. The riches of the prize seemed so great unto the whole Company (as in trueth it was) that they assured themselves every man to have a sufficient reward [...] and arrived in Plimouth the same Sommer [...] to the great admiration of the whole kingdom."

This Portuguese ship was the very first to cause admiration in the English islands, informing Elizabeth I and her subjects of the richness available in the East Indies, thirteen years before the foundation of the English East India Company (1600). Richard Hakluyt refers to the effects caused among British merchants and privateers by treasures inside this ship and the later taken Madre de Dios:

"And here by the way it is to be noted, that the taking of this Carak wrought two extraordinary effects in England: first, that it taught others, that Caracks were no such bugs but that they might be taken (as since indeed it hath fallen out in the taking of the Madre de Dios and fyreing and sinking of others) and secondly in acquainting the

68 This same reference reveals the fame of the already mentioned Japanese Embassy to Europe.
English nation more generally with the particularities of the exceeding riches and wealth of the East Indies: whereby themselves and their neighbours of Holland have bene incouraged, being men as skilfull in Navigation and of no lesse courage then the Portugals to share with them in the East Indies: where their strength is nothing so great as heretofore hath bene supposed.” 71

Regarding English voyages towards East, the Navigations contains the account of the

“Happily perfourmed round about the world, [voyage] by Sir Francis Drake 72, and M. Thomas Candish Esquire, together with the rest of our English voyages intended for the South Sea, […] the mightie empire of China […]; whereunto are annexed certaine rare observations touching the present state of China, and the kingdome of Coray, lately invaded by Quabacondono [Hideyoshi] the last monarch of the 66. Princedomes of Japan.” 73;

"Instructions given […] to M. Edward Fenton Esquire, for the order to be observed in the voyage […] for the East Indies and Cathay. Aprill 9. 1582.” 74,

and

“The voyage intended towards China, wherein M. Edwards Fenton was appointed General…” 75,

some of them via Brazil and describing Portuguese possessions in West Africa 76. The Spanish trade in the Philippines and Portuguese trade in Macao

71 “A briefe relation of the notable service performed by Sir Francis Drake…”, vol. 4, p. 285.
72 According to George Woodcock, The British in the Far East, London, 1969, p. xix, “Neither the Spanish nor the Portuguese were in fact able to exclude the ships belonging to the rising sea powers of England and Holland. The first Englishman to enter the China Seas was Sir Francis Drake, coming westward round the Horn and making the first British commercial transaction in the Far East when in 1579 he landed at Ternat in the Moluccas and traded with the Sultan […] Eight years later Thomas Cavendish followed Drake […] and landed on Java in 1587. In the meantime [Robert Fitch] had reached Malaya and Siam.” Sir Francis Drake’s circumnavigation (1577-80) also showed Elizabethan England that it could compete with Phillip II’s Eastern monopoly.
73 Vol. 8, p. 48, our emphases. The author describes Drake’s circumnavigation and contacts with Portuguese “friends” (p. 67) and enemies.
74 Vol. 8, p. 99.
75 Vol. 8, p. 107.
is indirectly compared by the Portuguese pilot Lopez Vaz while describing the ships’ movements between the East Indies and Europe:

“A certaine viceroy of Nueva Espanna [...] caused certaine ships to be built for the discovery of the Malucos and of the coast of China: which [...] found certaine Islands [...], which the Spaniards, according to the name of their king, called The Philippinas: and having conquered one of these Islands called Manilla, inhabited with a barbarous kind of people, they built a fort and a towne thereupon, from whence they have trade with the people of China. [...] so that such spices and silkes as the Portugals bring home out of the East Indies, the very same doe the Spaniards bring from these Islands and from China, for Mexico, the chiefe citie of Nueva Espanna.”

It is also in the West Indies that Thomas Cavendish, during his circumnavigation, takes

"[...] one Nicholas Roderigo a Portugall, who hath not onely bene in Canton and other parts of China, but also in the islands of Japon being a countrey most rich in silver mynes and hath also bene in the Philippinas",

before reaching this last archipelago, where the Spanish

"have yeerly traffickie [...] 20 or 30 shippes from China and from Sanguelos, which bring them many sorts of marchandize. The marchants of China and the Sanguelos are part Moores and part heathen people. They bring great store of gold with them, which they trafficke and exchange for silver, and give waight for waight [...]”

77 Lopez Vaz, “A discourse of the West Indies and South sea written by Lopez Vaz a Portugal, borne in the citie of Elvas, continued unto the yere 1587. Wherein among divers rare things not hitherto delivered by any other writer, certaine voyages of our Englishmen are truely reported: which was intercepted with the author thereof at the river of Plate, by captaine Withrington and captaine Christopher Lister, in the fleete set foorth by the right Honorable the erle of Cumberland for the South sea in the yeere 1586.”, vol. 8, p. 204.

78 Francis Pretty, "The admirable and prosperous voyage of the Worshipfull Master Thomas Candish of Trimley in the Countie of Suffolke Esquire, into the South sea, and from thence round about the circumference of the whole earth, begun in the yeere of our Lord 1586, and finished 1588. Written by Master Francis Pretty lately of Ey in Suffolke, a Gentleman employed in the same action.”, vol. 8, pp. 238, 240 respectively.
In the Straights of Java this same fleet meets a

"Mestizo, that is, halfe an Indian and halfe a Portugall, who could speak very good Portuguese"  79

whom the English – saying they are returning from China – ask about the Portuguese power and trade in Malaca. After returning to England, Cavendish writes to Lord Hudson describing the success of his voyage around the world, stating:

"I navigated to the Islands of the Philippinas 80 hard upon the coast of China; of which countrey I have brought such intelligence as hath not bene heard of in these parts. The statelinesse and riches of which countrey I feare to make report of, least I should no be credited [...]" 81.

New information about almost unknown countries was therefore exciting, needed and valued by both merchants and the crown. Indeed, after "discovering" the Island of Santa Helena (1588) for the English, Cavendish brought home a map of China from which some notes were taken and published by Hakluyt:

"The great kingdome of the Mogores is upon the North-west, and falleth upon Tanassarin beyond Malaca, and joyneth upon Bengala: they are men of warre, and use no fight but on horsebacke: they go in their apparell like Portugalls. [...]" 82,

79 Idem, ibidem, p. 247.
80 Sir William Foster, op. cit., pp. 122-123, quotes Robert Parke’s dedication to Candish [Cavendish] of his translation of Mendoza’s History of China (1589), where the translator refers to the benefits of the now possible cloth trade with China via the Philippines, thanks to Cavendish’s enterprise that showed how weak the powers of Spain were in those vast regions. For a study on the description of Japan in this same source see João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, "O Japão e os japoneses nas obras impressas na Europa quinhentista", O Japão e o Cristianismo no Século XVI: Ensaios de História Luso-Nipônica, Lisbon, 1999, pp. 213-216.
81 Cavendish, Thomas, “A letter of M. Thomas Candish to the right honourable the Lord Hundson, Lord Chamberlaine, one of her Majesties most honourable Privy Councell, touching the succease of his voyage about the world.”, vol. 8, p. 279.
82 John Jane, “Certaine notes or references taken out of the large map of China brought home by M. Thomas Candish. 1588.”, vol. 8, p. 280, our emphases. See also “The last voyage of the worshipfull M. Thomas Candish esquire, intended for the South sea, the Philippinas, and the coast of China, with 3. Tall ships, and two barks: Written by M. John Jane, a man of good observation, imploied in the same, and many other voyages.”., vol. 8, pp. 289-295.
mentioning that in the province of “Fuckin” the Chinese keep watch upon the Japanese.

The South China sea was regarded as an ‘Iberian territory’ as can be seen in the title Hakluyt gave to one of Queen Elizabeth’s letter to the Emperor of China, sent in 1596 through

"M. Richard Allot and M. Thomas Bromfield marchants of the citie of London, who were embarqued in a fleet of 3 ships [...] set forth principally at the charges of Sir Robert Dudley, and commited unto the command and conduct of M. Benjamim Wood, a man of approved skill in navigation: who, together with his ships and company (because we have heard no certaine newes of them since the moneth of February next after their departure) we do suppose, may be arrived upon some part of the coast of China, and may there be stayed by the said Emperour, or perhaps may have some treacherie wrought against them by the Portugales of Macao, or the Spaniards of the Philippinas” 83,

guarding their dominions and trade against the intrusion of foreign competition. This same Iberian attitude delayed official diplomatic relations between England and China.

2. Japan

The name ‘Chipangu’ was firstly introduced to Europe by Marco Polo’s account of his Eastern travels, but it was through the Portuguese arrival and trade in Japan that the country really became known in the Old Continent 84.

83 Vol. 8, p. 312, our emphases. The document was published in the second edition of the Navigations. This voyage was to be made by way of the Magellan’s Straight and the Philippines, following Cavendish’s enterprise.
João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, when identifying the 576 European works which
described or referred to Japan in the sixteenth-century, concludes that

"Euro-Japanese relations only started in 1543 [...] and the spreading
of such knowledge in Europe was quick [thanks to] one of the more
revolutionary inventions of the sixteenth century-the press" 85,

and Derek Massarella also comments on the spreading of information
regarding Japan by the Portuguese:

"one important consequence of Portuguese contact with Japan was
the publication in Europe of Information about the country, most of
it based on Jesuit accounts. The Portuguese merchants tended to
stay on the coast and mixed with Japanese merchants. Unlike the
Jesuits, they knew little of the aristocratic culture of Kyoto and their
published accounts are virtually non-existent." 86

Two of the first Japanese to visit Europe (by force) were brought by the
English. In 1587 – the year that the four Kyushu prince’s embassy went back
East – Thomas Cavendish’s fleet took a Spanish carrack named Santa Anna,

"twoyougladborneinJapan,whichcouldbothwright andreade
their owne language, the eldest being about 20 yeeres olde was

85 João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, “O Japão e os japoneses nas obras impressas na Europa quinhen-
tista”, O Japão e o Cristianismo no Século XVI, p. 191. For a list of English works that describe or
refer to Japan (between 1551 and 1600) see this same article, pp. 238, 239, 261, 263, 283, 284,
287, 289.
86 Derek Massarella, A World Elsewhere: Europe’s Encounter with Japan in the Sixteenth and
Seventeenth Centuries, New Haven and London, 1990, pp. 46-47. Donald F. Leach, Asia..., 1:1,
p. 150, states that “outside Portugal, enterprising printers, whenever they were able, tried to
publish both the official and unofficial [Portuguese] accounts, either separately or in collections.
Until 1550, the date when Ramusio’s great collection of voyages [Delle Navigationi et Viaggi] began
to appear, the available materials were few in number and generally of untested veracity.”
named Christopher, the other was called Cosmus, about 17 yeeres of age, both of very good capacitie. He took also [...] 3 boyes borne in the isles of Manilla [...].”

These same youngsters are ironically mentioned by Hakluyt in the “Epistle Dedicatorie in the First Edition” (1589), while referring to the various maritime deeds of the English represented by these same exotic people:

"Is it not as strange that the borne naturalles of Japan, and the Philippinas are here to be seene, agreeing with our climate, speaking our language, and informing us of the state of their East-erne habitations?”

The fact that Francis Pretty is careful to mention that both Japanese could read and write their own language can now be interpreted in a different way, as we know that the English captured the youngsters just like they used to take manuscripts from Portuguese ships as source of information. If the author claims the English have assimilated Eastern dwellers in their country they were nevertheless brought from the West Indies, taken from a Spanish carrack and another twenty four years or so would have to go by before English ships could be seen in Japan, following VOC’s enterprises and profits.

In an extract from Richard Willes’ *The History of Trauaile in the West and East Indies* (1577) – the first English text containing a published account of Japan – also included in Hakluyt’s *Navigations*, Willes states that the Island of the Rising Sun, standing beyond all Asia, resembles the climate of Portugal, unlike its wealth, being this comparison curious and a way to turn exotic locations into more familiar ‘sights’:

“[..] noble Iland of Giapan, written otherwise Japon and Japan standeth in the East Ocean, beyond all Asia, betwixt Cathayo and

88 Hakluyt, “The Epistle Dedicatorie in the First Edition. 1589”, vol. 1, p. 4. According to Derek Massarella, *op. cit.*, pp. 48, 67, respectively, Christopher and Cosmos caused a great stir and wonder in England, being mentioned by Robert Park in his translation of Mendonza’s *The historie of the great and mightie kingdome of China* as possible interpreters for English merchants. *Historia de las cosas más notables, ritos y costumbres, del gran rey de la China* (1585) remained an authoritative source on China being commissioned by Pope Gregory XIII.
90 “Of the Iland Japan, and other little Iles in the East Ocean. By R. Willes”.
91 Cf. Derek Massarella, *op. cit.*, p. 65. According to Massarella, Willes read the “japanese letter” as well as Barros’ *Da Asia* (1552).
the West Indies, [...] in the same clime with the South part of Spaine and Portugall, distance from thence by sixe thousand leagues: the travaile thither, both for civill discord, great pyracie, and often shipwracks is very dangerous. This countrey is hillie and pestered with snow, whereof it is neither so warme as Portugall, nor yet so wealthy, so far as we can learne, wanting oyle, butter, cheese, milke, egges, sugar, honny, vineger, saffron, cynamon and pepper." 92

The listing of desired products in the country shows the commercial interests subjacent to the writing of these English documents and expeditions such as the one sent by the Muscovy Company in search of the northeast passage to Cathay (1580), carrying instructions in case they reach Japan 93. The habits and culture of the Japanese people are described but the ex-Jesuit adverts the "curious reader" to confirm and complement this information with an Italian source (De Rebus Japonicis) by his friend Petrus Maffeiis [Giovanni Pietro Maffei], from which he also translated a long letter from Luís Fróis "to his companions in Jesus Christ that remaine in China and India", dated 19 of February 1565, Meaco 94. The Portuguese Jesuit, considered one of the most important European describers of Japan in the "Nambar Century" 95, wrote dozens of letters (1563-97), as well as History of Japan (1584-1594), and two other treaties. The (translated) letter describes Fróis’ and Luís Almeida’s acquaintance with "Japans maners and conditions" as well as their "superstitions and ceremonies", while "christen[ening]" 96 adults and children with much effort.

93 In these instructions the cosmographer Dr John Dee, based in Willes’ History of Travaile, advised the crew on how to behave in China, adding that "[y]ou may also have the opportunitie to saile over to Japan Island where you shall finde Christian men, Jesuits of many countreys of Christendome, and perhaps some Englishmen, at whose handes, you may have great instruction and advise for your affaires in hand." (Apud Derek Massarella, op. cit., p. 64, our emphases).
94 Richard Willes, "Aloisius Froes to his companions in Jesus Christ that remaine in China and India", vol. 4, pp. 195-209. The English translator, after transcribing the letter, informs the reader that: "Other such like matter is handled both in other his letters, and also in the Epistles written by his companions to be seene at large in the aforesaid volume [by Pietro Maffei]. Amongst the rest this seemed in my judgement one of the principal, and thereof the rather I tooke upon me to do it into English." p. 208. About Luís Fróis’ work in and on Japan see: Luís Fróis: Proceedings of the International Conference United Nations University, Tokyo, September 24-26, Japan, 1997; Engelbert Jorissen, Das Japanbild im "Tratat" (155) Des Luis Frois, Munster, 1988.
95 For a study on the presence and work of the Jesuits and Fróis in sixteenth-century Japan see João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, O Japão e o Cristianismo..., pp. 17-101; 129-186; 291-302.
96 Richard Willes, "Aloisius Froes to his companions in Jesus Christ that remaine in China and India", vol. 4, pp. 195, 198, 206, respectively.
The arrival of the Portuguese in Japan is also used in another text by Willes to compare the Lusitanian maritime deeds to the English, as worthy as the former when it came to prove "the ignorance of [ancient] Cosmographers" 97:

"[...] Ptolome [...] knew no Ocean sea beyond Asia, yet have the Portugals trended the cape of Good hope at the South point of Afrike, and travelled to Japan an Island in the East Ocean, betweene Asia & America: our merchants in the time of Edward the sixt discovered the Moscovian passage [...]." 98

From Fróis to Linschoten, and Willes to Cosmos and Christopher, the information on Japan published in Hakluyt’s Navigations was still rather confusing,

"nevertheless, the general impression created by the various accounts published in English was of a civilised society, well ordered and governed, militarily strong with an administrative system that was as sophisticated as that of contemporary England. It was a society which stressed the rule of law [...]. The Japanese were not a people without a history, [and its] apparent openness to Christianity was a bonus but not a fact of major importance to the English." 99

The English nation, at war with Philip I of Spain – the usurper of the Portuguese throne – never recognised his sovereignty in the land of Dom António Prior do Crato, –"[...] King of Portugal in England [...]

97 This same topic (the knowledge of the ancient (Greeks and Romans) versus the modern (Portuguese)/ the new hero as the primus inventor) had also been explored in Os Lusíadas (1552) by Luís de Camões (I, 24, 26-27, 31; 45; 51; 57; II, 44-46, 54; III, 22, 92, 100, 137; IV, 6, 64, 76, 85; V, 4, 7, 14, 23, 26, 37, 75, 86, 88-89, 95, 192; VI, 30; VII, 14, 15, 30; VIII, 11-12, 70-73, 84, 89; IX, 38, 45, 69, 90; X, 19, 26, 79, 131, 140). See Luís de Camões, Os Lusíadas, edited by Emanuel Paulo Ramos, Oporto, 1987.

98 "Certaine other reasons, or arguments to prove a passage by the Northwest, learnedly written by M. Richard Willes Gentleman", vol. 5, p. 126, our emphases. The comparison between England’s maritime deeds to the Portuguese discoveries becomes a recurrent presence in Hakluyt’s compilation, and the voyages through the northern seas (searching for the Northwest/east passage to China) are compared to the Portuguese voyages in the southern seas. (See "Articles and orders to be observed for the Fleete, set downe by Captaine Frobisher Generall, and delivered in writing to every Captaine, as well for keeping company, as for the course, the 31 of May.", vol. 5, p. 234).

99 Derek Massarella, op. cit., pp. 70-71.

100 Edward Wright, "The voiage of the right honorable George erle of Cumberland to the Azores, &c. Written by the excellent Mathematician and Enginier master Edward Wright. [1589]", vol. 4, p. 362. In this same text, the spying, plundering ("taking prizes") and attack on
France and London. Throughout Hakluyt’s own texts, as well as the English sources he collected, Portugal and Spain are treated as two entirely different political and cultural entities, recalling the old Anglo-Portuguese friendship, sealed by the Tagilde (1372) and Windsor (1386) Treaties, where support, in case of foreign invasion, was promised. As G. D. Ramsay puts it, “with the absorption of Portugal and its overseas empire into the dominions of Philip II and the worsening of relations between England and Spain in the eighties, the political reasons for respecting Portuguese claims lost their strength. [and] at the same time the voyages of Drake and others were showing how English seamanship was fully equal to the feat of sailing a ship to the Indies and back.” Therefore the Elizabethan author Laurence Keymis Gent, concludes that England, if united to Guiana, will be as powerful as Spain,

“[...] which whithout the Indies is but a purse without money, or a painted sheath without a dagger. In summe: it seemeth unto me, Portuguese ships and lands in the Azores are also described. Hakluyt publishes several accounts of Drakes’ and other English invasions/attacks against Spanish troops in Portugal. See Antonie Winkfield, “A true discourse written (as is thought) by Colonel Antonie Winkfield employed in the voyage to Spaine and Portugall, 1589. sent to his particular friend & by him published for the better satisfaction of all such as having bene seduced by particular report, have entred into conceits tending to the discrédite of the enterprise and Actors of the same.”, vol. 4, pp. 307-355. On p. 351, the author states that “in two or three townes of Spaine is the welth of all Europe gathered together, which are the Magasins of the fruits and profits of the East and West Indies [...]”. According to R. A. Skelton, “Hakluyt’s maps”, in H. H., vol. 1, p. 51, Dom António Prior do Crato, exiled in Paris, shows Hakluyt, also in France in 1584, “an olde excellent mappe” by Verrazzano [...].

One of the sources published by Hakluyt, like many others, refer both to Spain and Portugal as two separate countries, describing the wars between them and the military support given by the English nation: “A true discourse written (as is thought) by Colonel Antonie Winkfield employed in the voyage to Spaine and Portugall, 1589 [...]”, vol. 4, p. 306, our emphases. Portuguese and Spanish ships are also differentiated, although both attacked as their cargo will soon belong to the king of Spain.


Englands’ crown would then have no problem sending trained people to master the “Stubborne Savages” – like Caliban – in Virginia. (See George Peckham, “A true Report of the late discoveries, and possession taken in the right of the Crowne of England of the Newfound lands, By that valiant and worthy Gentleman, Sir Humphrey Gilbert Knight. [...] Written by Sir George
that whereas the difficultie of performing this enterprise hath bene
produced for a discouragement: it were a dull conceite of strange
weakenes in our selves, to distrust our own power so much [...] as
valewing the Spanish nation to be omnipotent; or yeelding that the
poore Portugal hath that mastering spirit and conquering industrie,
above us; as to be able to seate himselfe amongst the many mightie
princes of the East Indies, to frontire China, to holde in subjection
the Phillipinas, Zeilan, Calecut, Goa, ormus, Mozambique, and the
rest [...]. All which Regions being also by the late conquest of Portu-
gall, entituled to the Spaniah king: to whom the colonies of those
parts doe yet generally refuse to sweare fealtie and allegiance: and
the care of depending on him, not onely in governing them in the
East, so farre off; but also of ordering and strengthening of those
disunited, scattered, & ill guarded empires and provinces in the
West [...].”

The extract enumerates several points debated in Elizabethan
England:

1) The country’s power, right and skills to create a trade network like the
Iberian neighbour kingdoms had done; idea enforced by the adjective
“poor” (characterising Portugal);

2) Eventhough their Papist enemy was governing Portugal, both coun-
tries were different political identities just like the Portuguese
colonies showed by not recognising Spain’s control over them-
selves;

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106 Laurence Keymis Gent, "A Relation of the second Voyage to Guiana, performed and written
107 Francis Pretty, op. cit., pp. 249-450, while describing Thomas Cavendish’s circumnavigation
(1586) reports a curious meeting between the English crew and two Portuguese living with the
natives, who remained faithful to Dom António Prior do Crato: "These Portugales were no small
joy unto our Generall and all the rest of our company: For we had not seene any Christian that
was our friend of a yeere and an halfe before. [...] They told us that they were no lesse glad to see
us, then wee to see them, and enquired of the estate of their countrey, and what was become of
Don Antonio their King, and whether hee were living or no: for that they had not of long time
beene in Portugall, and that the Spaniards had always brought them worde that hee was dead.”
As mentioned by the Portuguese Lopez Vaz, op. cit., p. 176, the Spanish became jealous of the
Portuguese successful trade in the East since the early times: "The Portugales therefore having
first found and conquered the East Indies, and discovered the coast of China, with the lllands of
the Malucos, (all which places abound with gold, precious stones, silkes, and other rich
3) Spanish colonies in the West were “disunited, scattered, & ill guarded”, so England could easily attack and/or occupy some of them, as well as the Portuguese fleets which were now increasing Philip II’s treasure 108.

The English Literature also reflected the image or representation of the friendship and diplomatic relations between both England and Portugal, especially against Spain. The Portuguese presence in the Far East appears in works of writers such as John Rastell (c. 1475-1536), Thomas Kyd (1558-94), Francis Bacon (1561-1626) and William Shakespeare (1564-1616) 109, while translated Portuguese travel accounts were being used as a vital source of information for English navigators, explorers and merchants. Hakluyt himself refers to the “Decade” by “John Barros” as an important repository of data regarding the Portuguese maritime movements 110. Portuguese sources and chroniclers of the empire such as João de Barros were already well known to English explorers like Humphrey Gilbert:

"[...] In like maner, John Barros testifieth that the Cosmographers of China (where he himselfe had bene) affirme that the Sea coast tendeth from thence Northeast [...], being the furthest part that way which the Portugals had then knowledge of [...]" 111,
later continuing "[...] as Magellanns experience hath partly taught us." 112 Galiote Pereira’s report and Jesuit letters from Japan are also mentioned by Richard Willes as a source of information regarding the East Indies:

"[...] shall you reade in the report of Galeotto Perera there imprisoned with other Portugals, as also in the Japonish letters, how for that cause the worthy traveller Xavierus bargained wirth a Barabarian Merchant [...] The great and dangerous piracie used in those seas no man can be ignorant of, that listeth to reade the Japonish and East Indian historie." 113

The profits and power originated by the Portuguese and the Spanish discoveries are therefore a source of motivation for English people to follow their sails:

"[...] by this voyage our navie and navigation shalbe enlatged, when as there needeth none other reason then the manifest & late example of the neere neighbours to this realme, the kings of Spaine and Portugall who since their first discovery of the Indies, have not onely mightily inlarged their dominions, greatly inriched themselves and their subjects: but have also by just account trebled the

Hakluyt when, in the introduction of his translation of a Laudonniere’s text from French, he refers to the ‘occupation’ of Madeira, while comparing its natural wilderness and deforestation to the colonisation of Virginia (See “A notable historie containing foure voyages made by certaine French Captaines into Florida...,” vol. 6, p. 229). Donald Lach, Asia..., 1:1, p. 212, referring the importance of Portuguese sources, also states that “In 1582, two years after Drake’s return from his circumnavigation of the world, a translation was dedicated to him, perhaps by Thomas Nicholson, that had been made from a Spanish version of Castanheda’s authoritative history of Portuguese enterprise in the East.”, continuing “Richard Eden [...] had Thomas Smith as his tutor at Cambridge [who] collected a geographical library [and] possessed [...] Eden’s Decades, and Barro’s Asia.” (2:2, p. 69). S. Jayne and F. R. Johnson, The Lumley Library: The Catalogue of 1609, London, 1956, pp. 2-9, describe “the Lumley library in 1596 [...] where Iberian authors were particularly well represented with works by Góis, López de Gomara, Peter Martyr, Pedro de Medina, Osório, Barros in Italian, and Mendonza in Latin [...]” (Apud Lach, 2:2, pp. 70-71, our emphases). According to D. W. Waters, The Art of Navigation, London, 1958, pp. 530-531, Drake reportedly had aboard his ship several books on navigation, an account of Magellan’s voyage, and a world map made in Portugal. Qian Zhongshu (Ch’ien Chung-shu), “China in the English Literature of the seventeenth Century”, in Adrian Hsia (ed.), The Vision of China in the English Literature of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, Hong Kong, 1998, pp. 32-33) states that "the importance of Mendonza [...] lies in that bacon, Raleigh, Heylyn, etc. all seem to have drawn upon his stock." This also proves that Iberian ‘documents’ were highly desired and used as authoritative sources of information in England which explains their translation.

112 Idem, ibidem, p. 106.
113 Richard Willes, “Certaine other reasons, or arguments to proove a passage by the North-west, learnedly written by M. Richard Willes Gentleman”, vol. 5, pp. 123-124.
number of their shippes, masters and mariners, a matter of no small moment and importance? [...] To this may I adde the great discoveries and conquests which the Princes of Portugall have made round about the West, the South, and the East parts of Africa, and also Callivut, and in the East Indies, and in America, at Braile, and elsewhere in sundry Islands, in fortifying, peopling and planting all along the sayd coastes and Islands, ever as they discovered [...] doth minister just cause of incouragement to our Countrey men, not to account it so hard and difficult [...]. [...] understanding what large Countreys and Islands the Portugals with their small number have within these few yeeres discovered, peopled and planted [...] for the rest I doe referre the Reader to the histories, where more at large the same is to be seene." 114

Peckham goes on describing the gradual advancement of the Portuguese fortresses and factories towards East and West, naming discoverers and comparing Portugal’s size and habitants to Tudor England, while Hakluyt himself tries to list the summary of Portuguese possessions:

“[...] And these are as many as the kingdome of Portugal had ever in all their garrisons of the Açores, Madera, Arguin, Cape verde, Guinea, Brasill, Mozambique, Melinde, Zocotora, Ormus, Diu, Goa, Malaca, the Malucos, and Macao upon the coast of China.” 115

If the Iberian neighbours were trying to trade and convert, the English pursued mainly commerce, but religion was also a motive for conflict between Protestants and Catholics in the seas, as reflected in the words of a Spanish priest in South America:

“[...] Ingleses perros, Luterianos, enemigos de Dios [...] these English dogs, Lutherans, enemies to God, and all the way as they went there were some of the Inquisitors [...]” 116.

114 George Peckham, *op. cit.*, pp. 461, 474-475, respectively.
115 Hakluyt in the introduction of his translation of Monsieur Laudonniere, “A notable historie containing foure voyages made by certaine French Captaines into Florida: Wherein the great riches and fruitefullnesse of the Countrey with the manners of the people hitherto concealed are brought to light, written all, saving the last, by Monsieur Laudonnaire, who remained there himselfe as the French Kings Lieutenant a yeere and a quarter: Translated out of French into English by M. Richard Hakluyt.”, vol. 6, p. 232, our emphases.
116 Miles Philips, “A discourse [...] in the West Indies”, vol. 6, p. 314.
Despite the clash of economical and religious interests, Elizabethan discoverers such as Humphrey Gilbert, predict the future by using a suggestive metaphor to characterise the relation of the English nation with the Iberian kingdom(s):

“[...] the Queenes Majestie having so good opportunitie, and finding the commoditie which thereby might ensue to the common wealth, would cut them off, and enjoy the whole traffique to her selfe, and thereby the Spaniards and Portugals, with their great charges, should beate the bush, and other men catch the birds: which thing they foreseeing, have commanded that no pilot of theirs upon pain of death, should seke to discover the Norwest [...]” 117

An opinion also shared by Richard Willes in a text similar to Gilbert’s, where the author defends the search for the Northern passage to China, because in the “[...] Southeast passage the Portugals doe hold as Lords of those Seas” 118.

The documents compiled and published by Richard Hakluyt constitute a representation of England’s opinion and interests regarding the beginning of its own maritime and imperial expansion, revealing much of the English and European mentality regarding the Portuguese discoveries and trade in the Far East. Hakluyt presents a suggestive image that he believes the Portuguese have of other European nations sailing and trading through the seas they unveiled:

“But whosoever is conversant in reading the Portugall and Spanish writers of the East and West Indies, shall commonly finde that they account all other nations for pirats, rovers and theeves, which visite any heathen coast that they have once sayled by or looked on. Howebeit their passionate and ambitious reckoning ought not to be prejudiciall to other mens chargeable and painefull enterprises and honourable travels in discoverie.” 119

In The Principal Navigations Macao and Japan become symbols of the luxury and profits that Portugal brings from the East Indies in ships that

117 Humphrey Gilbert, op. cit., p. 119.
118 Richard Willes, “Certaine other reasons...”, vol. 5, p. 124. The text “The course which Sir Francis Drake held...”, vol. 6, p. 241, also mentions the “course of the Portugales by the cape of Bona Speranza”.
English privateers and corsairs attack in the Atlantic Ocean to obtain not only goods but also vital information regarding the routes, the weather and the people from all the different countries and places from the Cape of Good Hope to the Islands of the Rising Sun. Hakluyt’s compilation allowed its sixteenth/seventeenth-century’s readers to glimpse through the Portuguese empire in the East, while retaining important information which, in a near future, would contribute to the disruption of the ‘Carreira da Índia’.
Abstract

Since its (Portuguese) foundation, Macao was a strategic point for the Portuguese trade and missionary work both in mainland China and Japan, and throughout the sixteenth-century descriptions as well as references to these still unknown territories reached Tudor England either by the hand of English travellers or translations of continental sources. In this paper, we analyse Richard Hakluyt’s (1552?-1616) references both to Macao and Japan in The Principall Navigations, Voyages and Discoveries of the English Nation as symbols of the luxury and profits that Portugal brings from the East Indies in ships that English privateers and corsairs attack in the Atlantic Ocean to obtain not only goods but also vital information regarding the routes, the weather and the people from all the different countries and places from the Cape of Good Hope to the Islands of the Rising Sun. Hakluyt’s compilation allowed its sixteenth/seventeenth-century’s readers to glimpse through the Portuguese empire in the East, while retaining important information which, in a near future, would contribute to the disruption of the ‘Carreira da Índia’.

Resumo

Macau, desde a sua fundação, funciona como um local estratégico para o comércio português quer com a China quer com o Japão, e desde o século XVI chegam à Inglaterra Tudor notícias e relatos destes ainda desconhecidos territórios quer através de viajantes ingleses quer através de traduções de documentos continentais. Neste artigo analisamos as referências a Macau e ao Japão em The Principall Navigations, Voyages and Discoveries of the English Nation como símbolos das luxuosas e rendíveis mercadorias que Portugal importa das Índias Orientais em embarcações que os corsários ingleses atacam no Oceano Atlântico de forma a obter não apenas exóticos produtos mas também informações vitais sobre os diversos países que se estendem do Cabo da Boa Esperança ao Arquipélago do Sol Nascente. A compilação de Richard Hakluyt permite assim aos leitores coevos conhecer, cada vez melhor, o império português do Oriente, retendo informações que, num futuro próximo, teriam um papel importante no desequilíbrio da Carreira da Índia.