

PURCHAS

HIS

PILGRIMES.

IN FIVE BOOKES.

The first, Contayning the Voyages and Peregrinations made
by ancient Kings, Patriarkes, Apostles, Philosophers, and
others, to and thorow the remoter parts of the knowne World:

*Enquiries also of Languages and Religions, especially of the
moderne diuersified Professions of*
CHRISTIANITIE.

The second, *A Description of all the Circum-Nauigations*
of the GLOBE.

The third, Nauigations and Voyages of *English-men*, alongst the Coasts
of Africa, to the Cape of Good Hope, and from thence to the Red Sea,
the Abassin, Arabian, Persian, Indian, Shoares,
Continents, and Ilands.

The fourth, *English Voyages beyond the East Indies, to the Ilands of Japan,*
China, Cauchinchina, the Philippine with others, and the Indian Nauigations
further prosecuted: Their iust Commerce, nobly vindicated against *Turkish*
Treacherie; victoriously defended against *Portugall* Hostilitie;
gloriously advanced against Moorish and Echnike Persidie;
hopefully recovering from *Dutch* Malignitie; iustly maintayned
against ignorant and malicious Calumnie.

The fifth, Nauigations, Voyages, Traffiques, Discoueries, of the *English Nation*
in the Easterne parts of the World: continuing the *English-Indian* occurrents,
and contayning the *English* Affaires with the *Great Samorine*, in the *Persian*
and *Arabian* Gulfes, and in other places of the Continent, and Ilands of and
beyond the *Indies*: the *Portugall* Attempts, and *Dutch* Disasters,
diuers Sea-fights with both; and many other remarkable
RELATIONS.

The First Part.

Unus Deus, Una Veritas.



LONDON

Printed by *William Stansby* for *Henrie Fetherstone*, and are to be sold at his shop in
Pauls Church-yard at the signe of the Rose.

1625.

Macao in Samuel Purchas's *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas his Pilgrimes* (1625)

ROGÉRIO MIGUEL PUGA*



"The Portugals in our Grandfathers dayes found the way by Sea into the Indies"
Samuel Purchas, *Pilgrimes*, vol. 1, p. 119.

The historian, clergyman¹ and travel writer Samuel Purchas (c. 1577-1626), vicar of Eastwood (1604-1614),² and rector of St. Martin's, Ludgate (1614-1626) published several editions of his *Purchas his Pilgrimage, or Relations of the World and the Religions observed in all Ages and places Discovered from the Creation unto this Present* (1613, 1614, 1617 and 1626). In 1619 he published a religious work, *Purchas his Pilgrim. Microcosmus, or, the histories of Man. Relating the wonders of his Generation, vanities in his Degeneration, Necessity of his Regeneration. Meditated on the Words of David*, and in 1625 he published his most famous collection of English and translated European sources, *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas his Pilgrimes; contayning a History of the World, in Sea Voyages and Land Travells, by Englishmen and others*, considered a survey on peoples and religions of the world.³ This last publication is a collection of exploration narratives based in part on Purchas's evaluation and revision of the manuscripts left by his master, Richard Hakluyt (1552?-1616),⁴ which accounts for the work's title. Purchas explains how he compiled the sources without

any help and how they were transformed into the work the reader has in his hands, explaining:

"as for Master Hakluyts many yeeres Collections, and what stocke I received from him in written Papers, in the Table of Authors you shall find: whom I will thus farre honour, that though it be but Materials [...] the whole Artifice (such as it is) being mine" (1: xli).

In England, the pioneer in collecting and translating travel reports and narratives was Richard Eden, followed by Hakluyt and Purchas among others; they had few rivals as translators because no translators emerged from a merchant background as had the Elizabethans Thomas Nicholas and John Frampton before them.⁵ Information contained in Portuguese sources stolen from the Portuguese or published by other European travelers was crucial for European decision-makers and English or Dutch investors, and descriptions of newfound countries and possible future trading ports/partners were carefully studied by the East India Company.⁶ The Companys' ability to make informed decisions depended on reliable information, and especially on new knowledge about recently discovered routes, trade partners and the power of the competition. In England, such information was very often obtained through Portuguese manuscripts⁷ or other European descriptions of Portuguese routes and trade in the East and West Indies, such as Giovanni Ramusio's *Delle Navigationi et Viaggi* (1550-1559). The Jesuits arrived in China in 1582, and Purchas was

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already familiar with their letters from China, India, and Japan, some of which were available in Richard Wille's *The History of Travayle in the West and East Indies* (1577).⁸ Purchas had also read the narratives of Damião de Góis, João de Barros, Gaspar da Cruz, Galeote Pereira, António Galvão, Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, Fernão Mendes Pinto and others, and based on these sources had published descriptions of several important episodes in the history of Macao: most importantly the expedition of Diogo Lopes de Sequeira (1508-1510) and the conquest of Malacca by Afonso de Albuquerque in 1511 (32-33), both of which opened the way into China.⁹ In the 17th century, all this data was informative material for the East India Company (EIC), which explains the close relationship both Hakluyt and Purchas had with that institution, and the importance of their work when it came to making decisions regarding the development of the English trade. Both editors desired to celebrate English travels and achievements abroad, and published material describing the areas that held potential for the expansion of English trade¹⁰ in the Far East.¹¹

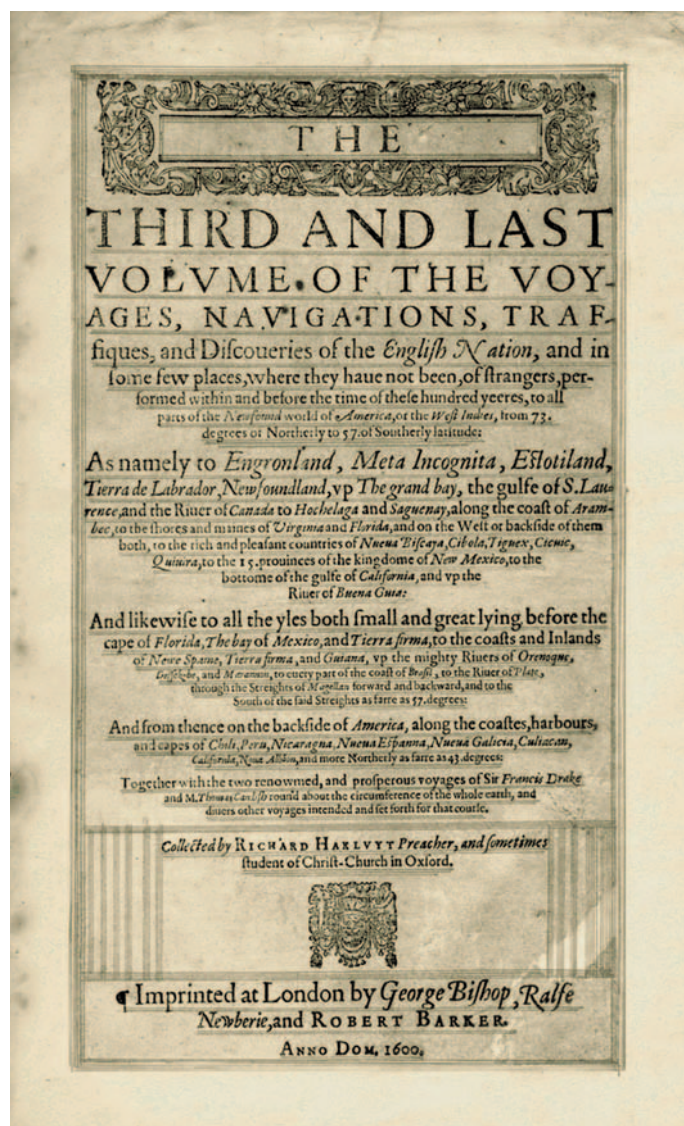
According to Donald F. Lach, Europeans responded to the newly-found cultures of Asia with constantly changing degrees of enthusiasm or revulsion, and the images created by travel writers bear the heavy imprint of the artistic preconceptions of historical sculptors¹² like Purchas,

while the material available to him and the limitations on access to European sources influenced both his work and his comments on the material he published. As Lach mentions, outside Portugal enterprising printers tried to publish both official and unofficial accounts, either separately or in collections, and until 1550, the date when Ramusio's great collection of voyages began

to appear, the available materials were few in number and generally of untested veracity.¹³

In Purchas's day, the Cathay of medieval times had already been identified with the China where the Portuguese had established Macao; and, according to J. van Kley and T. N. Foss, China looms larger than any other part of the Far East in Purchas's collection, the materials on China were current, varied, detailed, and contain considerable historical depth.¹⁴ These materials included texts written by Mendes Pinto, Pereira, Galeote, Mendoza, and by Jesuits such as Matteo Ricci, Francis Xavier, António Almeida, Nicholas Trigault, Niccolo Longobardi, Diego de Pantoja, and Bento de Goes. In fact, although Purchas was anti-Papist and anti-Jesuit, like many Englishmen at the time, he had to rely on the sources available

to him, which were mainly texts produced by Jesuit missionaries based at the College of Saint Paul's in Macao, the first western-style university in the Far East.¹⁵ In his work on the representation of China in English literature of the 17th century, Ch'ien Chung-Shu (Qian



Title page of the 3rd volume of Hakluyt's *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*, London 1600.

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Zhongshu 钱钟书) discusses four Portuguese accounts of China used in *Pilgrimes*, and refers to Purchas's account of China in *Pilgrimage* as the first ever written by an Englishman.¹⁶ As noted elsewhere, some of the EIC material that Purchas published is no longer extant,¹⁷ and, in fact, he, like Hakluyt before him, had access to all sorts of documentation from the EIC, for which he was also a publicist.

In the beginning of the 17th century Macao was still relatively unknown to most Europeans, especially in England,¹⁸ although this situation had changed somewhat due to the English voyages to Japan (Hirado), which Hakluyt reported on in his *Navigations*. Purchas could not have published any English sources about Macao because the first English crew arrived in Macao only in 1635 (aboard the *London*, an EIC ship rented by the Portuguese in Goa), and the first truly English fleet, commanded by John Weddell, visited Macao in 1637, well after the publication of *Pilgrimes*. Although the Portuguese and English kings had established the oldest alliance in Europe in the 14th century, traders from these countries were rivals in Asia, and the former tried to keep the latter away from Macao as long as they could.¹⁹ Thus the territory was still rather unknown in England when Hakluyt published his work, but by the time Purchas published *Pilgrimes*, the English had already established themselves in Japan and the supercargoes' journals and correspondence described the Luso-Chinese enclave. With help from William Adams, the East India Company established a factory in Hirado (1613–1623), through which, as we will see, supercargoes tried to establish direct trade with China without having to go through Macao, where the Portuguese defended their own interests at all costs.²⁰

Pilgrimes, Purchas' major work, consists of two sections of ten books each. The first section contains accounts of voyages to the "Elder World," that is, the Mediterranean, Africa and the Far East, while China and Japan are included in the New World because "the Ancients knew not [of them]" (1: xlvi). The anthology also advances a great deal of information concerning English relations and conflicts with both the Portuguese and Dutch overseas ("Indian Voyages and Affaires of the English, with Portugall and Dutch intercourse; in which is observed a tolerable order of time from Queene Elizabeths Times to the present", 1: xlv). The second

section describes the attempts to discover the Northwest Passage,²¹ the Muscovy expeditions, the explorations of Florida and the West Indies, England's relations with the Spaniards, and the observations of foreign explorers in the New World—topics that are also covered in the sources published by Hakluyt. As an assistant to Hakluyt in his later years, the younger compiler of travel literature inherited his master's maritime manuscripts²² and published *Pilgrimes*, which some authors²³ consider inferior to his master's work, even though their aims were the same: to collect, translate and publish documents that would glorify England and prove the country's presence in the seas from an early age. In the "The Epistle Dedicatorie," Purchas addresses Charles, Prince of Wales, informing him that the present book contains descriptions of the exotic dimensions of his princely court as well as the "English Inheritance dispersed thorow the World." (1: xxxvii) Mariners and merchants, he suggests, travel to unknown worlds and discover new places, "multiplying new Sceptres to his Majestie and His Heires in a New World" (1: xxxviii):

"The Magnificence of Your princely Court hath entertained Men of many Nations, yea hath admitted (in Parkes and Places fitting) Beasts, Fowles, Plants of **remoter Regions**: and now much more, in a World of acclamations to Your joyfull designes, a world of Pilgrimes seemed sutable; each of which presents one or other Countrey; and all, the **rarities** and **varieties** of all" (1: xxxvii–xxxviii, my emphasis).

The section dedicated "To the Reader" describes the diversity of lands and living beings on Earth, "so every Region excelleth all others in some peculiar Raritie, which may be termed extraordinary respectively, though otherwise most common and ordinary in its own place" (1: xl). The first book, the Introduction, deals with Biblical images, man's life as a pilgrimage, and the journey of Christ and his apostles, among other themes. The editor then recalls famous voyages like those of Magellan, Columbus, Drake and Cavendish before giving the reader access to excerpts of diaries and reports by European travellers. Unlike Hakluyt before him, Purchas was already able to present a collection of sources about England's voyages East, towards the commercial areas where the Portuguese and Dutch were fighting as rivals. In Chapter Six of Book I ("Commendations of Navigation"), the compiler



TO THE MOST
HIGH AND EX-
CELLENT
PRINCE,
CHARLES,
PRINCE OF
WALES.

Most Excellent Prince,



*As a poore Pilgrime salute Your High-
nesse in the words of a better SAMUEL ^{1.Sam.9.20.}
and SEER, On whom is the desire of
all Israel? is it not on Thee and all thy
Fathers House? In this House we ad-
mire the innumerable Royall Ancestrie,
wee triumph in His Maiesties present
light, wee praise God and pray for the two hopefull Columnes,
that they may be Pillars of Stabilitie and Strength in the ^{1.Kin.7.21.}
Lords House, firmer then SALOMONS IACHIN and ^{Apoc.3.12.}
BOAZ.*

*SIR, hauing out of a Chaos of confused intelligences fra-
med this Historicall World, by a New way of Eye-evidence;
Your Princely pietie, innate clemency, and the Time it selfe
(festiuall both in the ordinarie season and extraordinarie pre-
paration) emboldned my obtrusion on Your Highnesse. The
Magnificence of Your Princely Court hath entertayned Men of*

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refers to the explorations and obstacles that his fellow countrymen have to overcome, and asks:

“What reputation of courage, what increase of State, did the Portugals hereby attaine in Africa and Asia? Cooping up the Natives within their shoares, possessing themselves of divers petty Kingdomes, enriching themselves with the richest Trade in the World, and that maugre of the Moores, of the Egyptian and Turkish Sultans? The sea was the Work-house, and Navigation the Anvile, whereon the fortitude of a Woman, wrought the safetie of her Subjects” (1: 53-54).

The introduction of *Pilgrimes* deals with the travel to and the location of Ophir (1: 83-95), as well as the ancient expeditions of the Romans, Greeks, Marco Polo and other pilgrims such as Saint Isidore and the apostles. One of Purchas's aims is also to correct ancient authors regarding “voyages and remoter travelles” (1: 185) like those of the Trojan Aeneas and other mythological expeditions and philosophical quests for knowledge. He mentions Europe (1: 244-255) as the epicentre of the discoveries; Portuguese writers and explorers (João de Barros and the “Peregrin” Fernão Mendes Pinto). Other Englishmen and Europeans who travelled either with the Portuguese or to their dominions are, as in Hakluyt's work, mentioned as sources of information about the East and West Indies (1: 74-75, 89-93, 110-112). When discussing the importance of the “two Arts, Printing and navigation,” Purchas reminds the reader that Europe followed ‘Papist’²⁴ Portugal on the great seas:

“This Art [navigation] was before obscure and rude, but by the industry of the Portugals lifted up to higher attempts, with care of their Kings (employing Astronomie to her better furniture) enabled to new Discoveries in Africa, and after that in all the East, whose example the Spaniard following happily encountered a new World” (1: 172-173).

Thus the image of the Portuguese as pioneers is recurrent in Purchas's work:

“the prayse of Application thereof to these remote Discoveries is due to the Portugals, who first began to open the Windowes of the World, to let it see itselfe [...] and occasioned those Spanish Discoveries in the New World, by Colombo's Industry” (1: 8, 5).

The homage first takes shape in the figures of King John I and Prince Henry the Navigator,²⁵

respectively husband to and son of Philippa of Lancaster (1460-1415), daughter of John of Gaunt who married John I of Portugal in 1387 and became mother to an “illustrious generation”²⁶ of princes, namely Henry the Navigator (1394-1460), and D. Fernando (1402-1433).

The “Epistle Dedicatorie” describes Purchas's work as an entertaining mirror of the travels, trade, progress, new worlds, and exoticism which were enriching the English Kingdom, an idea continued in the section called “To the Reader” (1: xl-xliii). “The Situation of Ophir” references European and Portuguese maritime deeds and several travel narratives—especially texts that deal with the trade of precious stones in India and Pegu—by: Jan Huyghen van Linschoten, Ralph Fitch, the Italians Cesare Frederici²⁷ and Gasparo Balbi, John Dee, the Jesuits, and Fernão Mendes Pinto, who “places Calaminhan twixt Pegu and China” (1: 92). All these references support the idea that the Biblical port of Ophir is located east of Europe, while “Commodities of Ophir” mentions the texts of Garcia de Orta, John Saris and Fitch, as well as other sources already published by Hakluyt (1: 95-108), now reviewed and corrected by Purchas (1: 119). This last section enumerates the works of João de Barros and João de Castro (1: 108-113), and “The Glory of the Apostles” represents the Portuguese as pioneers who brought East and West together. Ophir is therefore a recurrent presence in the beginning of the anthology,²⁸ and, according to Carol Urness, Purchas begins his *Pilgrimes* with the 10th-century BC voyages of Solomon in order to present historical and theological approval for English trade and navigation.²⁹

The texts of the second volume deal mainly with circumnavigations, the beginning of the Portuguese Discoveries,³⁰ and the conflicts between the English and the Dutch overseas. Francis Pretty's description of the third circumnavigation by Thomas Cavendish (1586-1588), also published by Hakluyt, mentions the knowledge of the Portuguese, namely that of Nicholas Roderigo, “who hath been in Canton, and other parts of China, in the Islands of Japon, being a countrey most rich in silver mines, and in the Phillipinas” (2: 172). Chapter 5 (“The Voyage of Oliver Noort round about the Globe, being the fourth Circum-Navigation of the same, extracted out of the Latine Diarie,” 1598) describes how, after visiting the Philippines during the circumnavigation (1598-1601), the Noort's crew took

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a Chinese junk from Canton on its way from Manila, and how its master was “expert in the Portugall tongue” (2: 199) due to his frequent trade with the Portuguese. In January 1601, the debilitated crew of the *Mauritius*, commanded by Oliver van Noort, also met a vessel from Japan commanded by a Portuguese called Emanuel Luís (2: 203-204), and such examples show the usefulness of speaking Portuguese and the strong Lusitanian presence in the East Indies.

The English explored the possibility of trading with China from early on, as shown by the plans of the third East India Company’s voyage, commanded by Benjamin Wood (1596). This voyage was intended “to pierce as farre as China, obtained the gracious Letters of Queene Elizabeth of famous memory to the King of China in their behalfe” (2: 288). “The Voyage of Captaine John Davis [c. 1550-1605], to the Easterne India, Pilot in a Dutch Ship; Written by himselfe” (1600) enumerates the Portuguese ports in the East Indies that the captain intends to visit, including the “Citie of Macao, in the province of Canton in the famous Kingdome of China” (2: 305). Regarding Aceh, it says:

“There are in Achen many Chinese that use trade, of whom I have been kindly used, and can well informe your Lordship [Robert, Earl of Essex] of that worthy Kingdome of China. The trade of Gusarate are very ample. All which the Portugals with the locke of discretion have providently long concealed, which now through Gods favour are made knowne unto us” (2: 306).

The text mentions several important issues at the time, especially the strategic silence policy and the commercial monopoly held by the Portuguese, as well as the value of the native people as informers who could provide the English with information on trade routes and on their relationship with the Portuguese, essential information for the development of England’s permanent trade in these areas. Most of the English sailors collected and used information about the Portuguese interaction with different native peoples of the East Indies (3: 433, 442), and the narrative of the first EIC voyage (commanded by Master James Lancaster, 1600) also mentions Chinese sailors as informants of the English crew and spies working for the Portuguese (2: 418), “proud enemies” of the English at sea (2: 541; 3: 69, 89, 109, 200, 348, 362; 4: 380, 461, 495-501; 5: 243-255, 256; 9: 2-13; 10: 343-345).

The English also profited during their early voyages from the knowledge and experience of the Portuguese themselves (3: 71), especially after capturing Portuguese ships (3: 253-326).

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The two letters written in 1611 by William Adams (1564-1620), the first Englishman to visit Japan,³¹ describe Portuguese trade and the missionary activity of the Jesuits in Japan, as well as the voyage of the *nau do trato* or “Great Ship from Amacau”³² that set sail from Macao for Nagasaki every year since 1571. The profits from this voyage were essential for the economy of the enclave, and lasted until 1639, when all Portuguese were expelled from Japan. Adams writes: “After two or three dayes space, a Jesuite came unto us from a place called Langasacke, to which place the carake of Macao is yeerely wont to come, which with other Japoners, that were Christians, were our Interpreters; which was ill for us, they being our mortal enemies” (2: 332), and further on he informs that two Dutch ships had come to Japan in 1609 and “their intention was to take the caracke, that yeerely came from Macao” (2: 338).³³ In a letter to his wife, Adams mentions the rivalry between Portuguese, Spanish and Dutch in the Far East (2: 341-346), and so does John Saris (1607),³⁴ who describes the conflicts between the Dutch and the Portuguese from Macao (3: 495-498). During the first English voyage to Japan (1611-1614) and the eighth expedition of the EIC, that of the *Clove*, the *Hector*, and the *Thomas*,

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Captain John Saris traveled along the coast of China (3: 478) and described the Macao trade as well as the political situation in China, namely the imperial prohibition of Chinese trade with Japan, of which the Portuguese took good advantage (3: 448). In 1613, another English supercargo in Japan, Richard Cocks, also referred to the *somas* that left Japan heading for Macao (3: 537).³⁵ If, as Michael Cooper says, William Adams was the first Englishman to arrive in Japan when his ship, the *Liefde*, finally made it to Bungo, Kyushu, in April 1600, Richard Cocks can claim to be the second. He arrived at Hirado in June 1613 on the *Clove* with a group of English merchants, and was placed in charge of the English factory for ten years³⁶ until the dissolution of the trade agency in 1623.³⁷ As we can see from the factory's documentation, the English watched the Portuguese and learned from their experience, actions and mistakes both in Macao and Japan, using that information to try to establish direct trade with China from Hirado. This much we can see in a letter sent by Cocks to London in early 1617:

"The China Captains which labours to get us entrance into China do tell me that your Worships cannot send a more preciouser thing to present to the Emperour of China then a tree of currall [...]. They say the Portingales of Macau gave a white corral tree to the Emperour of China many yeares past, w'ch he doth esteem one of the richest jewells he hath. And were it not for hope of trade into China, or for procuring som benefit from Syam, Pattania and (it may be) Cochin China, it were noe staying in Japon."³⁸

At that time, there were three European trading ports in the Far East: Macao, Hirado and Nagasaki. The arrival and actions of the Protestants in Japan made the position of the Portuguese Catholics vulnerable. In 1614 Cocks informed his colleagues that the Japanese emperor had banished all the Jesuit priests (not the merchants) from Japan,³⁹ that some of them had fled to Manila and to "Amacau in China" (3: 551), and that he was hopeful that direct trade with China could be established with the help of Chinese traders⁴⁰ in Japan. Establishing this trade was one of the Hirado English Factory's main objectives, and Cocks goes on to describe the Japanese ambassador's disdain for the gifts from the Portuguese who came "in the great ship from Amacau" and his subsequent refusal to see them (3: 553). In a letter to Bantem Cocks describes how the

religious Portuguese had been expelled and the churches destroyed, concluding:

"Thay [Portuguese] laid the fault of this alteration one the arrivall of our nation in thease p'tes [...]. Once howsoever I am glad thay ar gon, som of them beinge shipt for Amacau in China [...] the rest are gone for the Phillippinas."⁴¹

In these documents, Macao is constantly referred to as the destination for all these Catholic priests.⁴² In a letter to Thomas Wilson (1614), Cocks alludes to the Dutch attacks on Chinese junks, the Luso-Dutch conflicts in the Moluccas, the Portuguese fear that the Dutch may also take Macao, Ormuz, Malacca, and Goa (3: 555), and the rivalry between the Dutch and the English, who were both fighting for "a Trade in China" (3: 556). In 1617 the same supercargo describes how the Dutch chased the "Amacau ship" or "carracke of Amacau" (3: 562-563), disturbing the Portuguese trade between China and Japan. This shows that, as João Paulo Oliveira e Costa⁴³ says, the situation of the *nanban* in Japan had changed with the arrival of the Protestants (or *kômôjin*) in 1600 and their quick association with the house of the Tokugawa. As I said before, one of Richard Cocks' main aims was to establish direct trade with China from Hirado, and he tried for a long time, though in vain, to convince Chinese traders in Japan to help him.⁴⁴ If he succeeded, the English would no longer have to go through the Portuguese "littell point of rock of no importance,"⁴⁵ where, according to Li Tan—the head of the Chinese communities of Hirado and Nagasaki and a client of the English factory⁴⁶—the Portuguese would try to boycott any English attempt to trade:

"He sayeth there can nothing cros us in our pursute of entrance but only the Portingales of Amacon & Spaniardes of Manilla, who have greate trade into China, & yf they com to knowledg of our pretence will not want to geave largely to cros our p' ceadings; & therefore hath still desired to pass all in silence [...]"⁴⁷

Richard Cocks also mentions the fear shown by the people of Macao when they saw English and Dutch ships:

"Yt is very certen that w'th littell danger our Fleet of Defence may take & sack Amacon in China, w'ch is inhabeted by Portingales, for the town is not fortified w'th walls, nether will the king of China suffer them to doe it [...] we are credably

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enformed that these last 2 yeares when they [the Portuguese] see but 2 or 3 of our shippes w^{thin} sight of the place, they weare all ready to run out of the towne. [...] And the towne being taken, all the Portingalles' trade in these p^{tes} of the world is quite spoiled [...] & the King of China would gladly be ridd of their neighbours, as our frendes w^{ch} procure our entry for trade into China tell me."⁴⁸

Other narratives about voyages to the East Indies, such as "The Second Voyage of John Davis with Sir Edward Michelborne, Knight, into the East-Indies (1604)" (2: 360-361) mention the places where the Macao carracks and Chinese junks stopped on their voyage, geographical reference points for future English traders who used data collected during previous missions to prepare their own expeditions (3: 352). This was one major reason why, when English crews took Portuguese ships, they tried to gather as much information as they could from both the prisoners and their documents.

The fourth volume of *Pilgrimes* consists of travel narratives of "English Voyages to the Ilands of and beyond the Indies," describing Portuguese hostility to the English and the Dutch. During an EIC voyage in 1614, there was a battle with the Portuguese in India, followed by the interrogation, aboard the *Gift*, of the prisoner Domingo Francisco, a native of Lisbon who had gone to "Macao upon the borders of China, and returned again to Goa." These texts describe the expeditions of the Lusitanians in the *Estado da Índia*,⁴⁹ and refer to Macao as the border of China, a frontier/contact zone⁵⁰ between the known and unknown worlds, and a decompression chamber serving two civilizations. All this information gathered in the East Indies was sent to England with the expectation that it would be extremely valuable for the preparation of future missions, as we can see in the title of a document authored by Walter Paton: "A briefe Declaration of the Ports, Cuities and Townes, inhabited and traded upon by the Portugall, betwixt the Cape of Good Hope and Japan, as I could learne by diligent enquiry." The emphasis on "diligent" indicates the importance of the learning and sharing of this information, and the author reports on the current situation of the Portuguese in the Far East, namely in Macao:

"an Iland upon the Coast of China, they have a Citie with a castle, reported to be of great trade

with the Chinese. In Japan they have a factory, but neither Towne nor Fort. They trade also on the Coast of China, in the time of fitting Monsoon to and from Japan and other parts" (4: 308).

The verb Paton uses in the first sentence, "reported," suggests that this is second-hand information which he collected from other sailors during his voyage, focusing on the city's system of defense, its wealth, and its trade in Japan, where the situation of the Portuguese was different, since they did not have a city or fort like Macao and their monopoly ended with the arrival of the Protestants in 1600.

The third volume contains documents regarding the establishment and trade of the EIC in Japan (1613-1623), which came to an end two years before the publication of *Pilgrimes*. For this reason, writing in the second decade of the 17th century, Purchas had more information on Japan and Macao than Hakluyt did, and he was aware that his work complemented that of his master because of the direct contact the English now had with Japan, and with Chinese merchants in Japan. Many of the texts in Volume Five describe, "for the Readers greater pleasure and profit" (5: 303), English and European interests, adventures and conflicts in Africa and Japan. The first text deals with the EIC's voyage to the East Indies under the command of Martin Pring (1620), and describes the Anglo-Dutch alliance against the Portuguese in Japan, the arrival of the "frigates of Macao [...] in Nangasaque," the loss of the *Unicorn* on the coast of China, the taking of Chinese junks, and their battles against the Portuguese (5: 28, 31, 40), it also informs readers that Cape Varella is called Jentam ('chimney') by the Chinese (5: 46). "A Letter written [by Patrick Copland, 1619] to the East India Companie in England, from the Factors" describes the "Hollanders cruelties to the English and Chineses," the Dutch invasion of Lantore, the English support of the Dutch, the taking of ships by the Dutch at Banda, and the landing of the first Englishwomen in Macao:

"The Unicorne was cast away on the coast of China, neere a certain Iland called the Macajo [*sic.*] Iland. In the ship were two English women; both which, and all the men were saved: for they ran the ship neere the shore. Most part of all their goods they lost" (5: 146).

This episode is also mentioned by one of the very first English traders to visit Macao, Peter Mundy, whose

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diary is the first description of the enclave in English. On his way to the city in 1637, Mundy refers to these two female prisoners: Joan, the wife of carpenter Richard Frobisher, and their maid, who stayed in Macao and married a Portuguese man.⁵¹ These were the two first English women to visit Macao, around 1620,⁵² when the *Unicorne* sank in waters controlled by the Papist enemy, as the Portuguese and English were at war in Asia until the signing of the Goa Convention in 1635.⁵³

The section “The Dutch Navigations to the East Indies, out of their owne Journals and other Histoires” proves that news about Macao and other Portuguese territories reached England also through Dutch manuscripts. It describes the Lusitanian presence and interests in the East Indies as well as the conflicts between the Portuguese and the Dutch,⁵⁴ namely the taking of the “Portugall Carricke of Macao” (5: 207-208) in 1603 by Van Heemskerck, commander of the Dutch ships *Witte Leeuw* and *Alkmaar*, with help from the Johoreans. The fourteen-ton Portuguese merchantman *Santa Catarina*, valued at more than three million Dutch guilders, carried seven hundred men, women, children, as well as silk, sugar, cotton, musk, and *tintinago*; and, according to Iberian sources, it was the most powerful and richest ship that had left China.⁵⁵ This episode took place in the Straits of Singapore, near the mouth of the Johor river, in the early hours of February 25, 1603, when the carrack was outbound from Macao en route to Malacca and Goa, and during Admiral Jacob van Heemskerck's second voyage to the East Indies. Its loss dealt a serious blow to the merchant community and economy of Macao,⁵⁶ and, according to Martine Julia Van Ittersum, at the explicit request of the directors of the *Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (VOC), Hugo Grotius (1583-1645) wrote *De Jure Praedae* in defense of the ship's seizure. According to Ittersum, historians have failed to recognise that Grotius' conceptualisation of natural rights/law was based to a large extent on Van Heemskerck's own justification of privateering. A key notion of Grotius' rights theory – that of the individual's right to punish transgressors of natural law in the absence of an independent and effective judge – follows logically from Van Heemskerck's reasoned decision to assault the *Santa Catarina* in revenge for Portuguese mistreatment of Dutch merchants in the East Indies.⁵⁷

Another source describes the 1600-1603 voyage of Admiral Jacob Cornelisz Van Neck (1564-1638), working for Amsterdam's *Oude Compagnie* (Old Company). This was the fourth Dutch expedition to the East Indies and the first to China. The source describes the ongoing Dutch conflicts with the Portuguese, the crew's unexpected arrival in Macao in 1601 due to a tempest, and the reaction of the Portuguese (1601):

“When they thought themselves twelve or fiftene leagues from Macao, they proceeded three or four leagues, and saw buildings at the foot of a hill, and certaine boats with one man and one woman, besides children, in each one of them, as if they had beene so many Families dwelling therein. They questioned with them (for none would come aboard) of Macao, and they pointed to the mountaine: but they not thinking it so neere, set some ashoare, whom when they could not see returne at night, they misdoubted and found too late that it was Macao, and their men there detained. Seeing seven and thirty little Ilands before them, they sent the Master to see if he could find any sure harbour by sounding, who was also intercepted with boats from the towne, together with his consorts. Thus were twenty men lost, amongst whom the Treasurer and the Captaine of the Souldiers, which was also Master. They thought to write, but could get no carrier, and staying two dayes at Sanchona [*sic.*] without hope of effecting any thing, the third of October they departed, and the next day were carried on the shelve of Pulo Cynon, and in danger to be carried upon Cauchin China” (5: 210-211).

The Portuguese fought for their interests and privileged position in China from an early stage against the Spanish from Manila,⁵⁸ and later on faced the Dutch and English. The Dutch who went ashore in two small boats were described by the Portuguese to the Chinese authorities as pirates. They were arrested and seventeen of them killed, an incident described in Jesuit documents,⁵⁹ by Roelof Roeloffsz,⁶⁰ and by the Flemish traveler Jacques de Coutre,⁶¹ who blamed the Captain of Macao, Paulo de Portugal – who had been pressured by the Senate – for the killing. Three or four of the Dutch sailors were taken to Goa, one of whom, Maarten Uap (Martinus Apius), escaped to the Netherlands to tell his story to the directors of the VOC in 1604.⁶² This episode and the Iberian king's war with the Dutch Republic

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led Heemskerck and other Dutch admirals to adopt a hostile attitude towards the Portuguese in Asia. After the creation of the VOC in 1602, the Dutch expansion in the East Indies was intensified and the Portuguese were its biggest obstacle, hence the attacks to their territories and ships. After leaving Macao, Van Neck met captain Jacob van Heemskerck in Patani, a trading centre viewed by European traders as a way of accessing the Chinese market.⁶³ Heemskerck, commander of the first VOC fleet, had departed from Amsterdam in April 1601 and taken a Portuguese carrack carrying a letter from Macao's *ouvidor* with news about the joint action of the Portuguese and Chinese against the Dutch, and the execution of most of the Dutch men taken at Macao (5: 211-212).

Purchas published the translated narrative about the voyage of Wybrand van Warwijck (Supreme Commander of the fleet) and Sebalt de Weert (Vice-Admiral of the fleet) to the East Indies (1602-1604), which took place after the fusion of the Dutch companies competing for the Eastern trade. It was the first VOC fleet sent to the Far East, consisting of 14 galleons and a barge, with more than a thousand sailors, and combining two armadas. In 1603, Van Warwijck sent a barge and two galleons, the *Erasmus* and the *Nassau*, from Bantam to China under the command of Cornelis van Veen. The source describes how the Dutch flotilla easily took and burnt the "rich" Portuguese "Black Ship," commanded by Gonçalo Rodrigues de Sousa, when it was preparing to leave Macao for Nagasaki with a cargo of gold and silk, in July 1603.⁶⁴ Hoping to establish direct trade with China, the Dutch had hired a Chinese sailor to take them to Canton:

"the Portugals fleeing and leaving them their ship with the goods and twentie Blackes; these they set on shoare, and having lighted the ship on the tenth of August fired it, and set saile for Bantam. On the eighteenth of September, they encountered a great Juncke which they supposed to be Portugals, and after a hot fight forced her, found them Chineses, and were sorrie that they had ignorantly hurt their friends" (5: 216).

The documents in Volume Six, some of which are Portuguese sources, deal mainly with travels to Africa, "which is generally called Æthiopia," and describe the ways of life of its different peoples and their interaction with European traders (6: 430, 517-543). The compilation is enriched by the ethnographic

dimension of these texts and the drawings/descriptions of the local fauna (6: 400, 446-452). The same can be said about the sources in Volume Seven, which deal with Portuguese voyages, trade and missionary work in Africa and travels to "Palestina, Natolia and Syria," and describe the natives and their interaction with the Europeans. The eighth volume contains "Peregrinations and Travels by Land into Palestina, Natolia and Syria; peregrinations and Discoveries by land to Assyria, Armenia, Persia [Sir Anthony Sherley], India [John Newberry], Arabia, and other Inland Countries of Asia by Englishmen and others, Moderne and Ancient." In Volume Nine we find travel narratives and letters from the "Eastern Countries" by John Newberry and Francois Pyrard de Laval, and documents from the Portuguese *Estado da Índia* which briefly mention the trade, law, and administration of Macao (9: 148, 154, 160), all of which would have been valuable information for the English traders.

Volume Ten contains European narratives of discoveries of the East and West Indies, especially Brazil, which were omitted in previous books, namely those by several Jesuits, and António Galvão, Arthur Hatch, Robert Cocks (trade in China and Japan), the Venetian merchant Cesare Frederici and jeweler Gasparo Balbi (voyages in St. Thomas, Negapatam, Pegu), Sir Robert Sherley, Thomas Coryate, Arnold Brown, Ralph Fitch, Nicolas Pimenta, the Jesuit Visitor in India, and Linschoten. Purchas also published several reports and documents regarding the taking of Ormuz by the English (10: 329, 342). The first chapter of the volume ("Briefe Collections of Voyages, chiefly of Spaniards and Portugals, taken out of Antoine Galvanos Booke of the Discoveries of the World") mentions the voyage of the fleet commanded by Fernão Peres de Andrade to Malacca and China (1517), the embassy of Tomé Pires (1517-1521), the first official diplomatic mission from a European country to China, and the actions of Portuguese explorer Rafael Perestrelo, known as the first man to land on the southern shores of mainland China (1516, 1517): "He arrived in China: And because hee could not come on Land without an Ambassage, there was one of Thomas Perez which had order for it: and he went to the Citie of canton, where they came to an Anker: They went by land foure hundred Leagues, and came into the Citie of Pekin [...]" (10: 35-36).⁶⁵

Purchas also published a summary of a letter written by French Jesuit Nicholas Trigault, or Trigautius (Douai: 1577-Hangzhou: 1629),⁶⁶ that included

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descriptions of the Jesuits' voyage from Lisbon to India and China (1618) and the state of Christianity in China and Japan, as well as the text of a letter sent by Robert Cocks (Hirado, 31-12-1622) to Captain Saris that mentions the wreck of the *Unicorn* near Macao (10: 74-83). The English traveler Ralph Fitch, whose texts were also published by Hakluyt, describes the Portuguese trade between Macao and Japan, its cargo and importance for the city's economy, as well as the business conducted by the Portuguese during the Canton fair, their limitations in that city, and some aspects of Chinese culture, such as calligraphy and concubinage:

"When the Portugals goe from Macao in China to japan, they carrie much white Silke, Gold, Muske, and Porcelanes: and they bring from thence nothing but Silver. They have a great Caracke wich goeth thither every yeere, and shee bringeth from thence every yeere above sixe hundred thousand Crusadoes: and all this Silver of Japan, and two hundred thousand Crusadoes more in Silver which they bring yearly out of India, they imploy to their great advantage in China: and they bring from thence Gold, Muske, Silke, Copper, Porcelanes, and many other things very costly and gilded. When the Portugals come to Canton in China to traffique, they must remaine there but certaine dayes: and when they come in at the gate of the Citie, 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, is any man remaine there, they are evill used and imprisoned. A man may keepe as many Concubines as hee will, but one Wife onely. All the Chineans, Japonians, and Cauchin Chineans doe write downwards, and they doe write with a fine Pensill made of Dogs or Cats haire" (10: 198).

The abbreviated version of Linschoten's *Itinerario* ("Voyage to Goa, and observations of the East Indies"), which had been translated into English by William Philip and published by Hakluyt in 1598, mentions China several times (10: 225, 249) in reference to the Portuguese trade in Goa, and especially the trade in the much-appreciated "Portugall wine" (10: 302). The "Briefe Extracts of a Journall of Arnold Browne his

Indian voyages, sailing divers times and courses in five yeeres space to Bantam, Patania, Japan, the Manillas, Macao, and the Coast of China, with other Indian Ports" (1619) describes the voyage of Browne's fleet from Tilbury (1617) to the Far East.

In 1621 and 1622, the English searched for and attacked China junks, while the crew of the *Bull*⁶⁷ ran into Portuguese ships, executed some of their sailors and exchanged some of their prisoners for Englishmen in the possession of the Portuguese in Macao (10: 503-505). The English also chased Portuguese frigates going to Macao just before they witnessed the last failed Dutch attack on that city (on June 24, 1622) after a twelve-year truce between Spain and the Netherlands:

"A Priest and others came aboard with a Flag of Truce to treat about their men. The 12. cam in eleven Dutch Ships to take in Macau, and never offered to speake to us, but went directly as neere the Towne as they could, and sent presently small vessels to sound. They landed 1000. men on the 14. against Macau, & after mutuall shot were repelled, having lost six captains (as I heard) and above 200. men, besides many hurt; and had they not gotten their Boats as they did, they had beene all, by their owne report, put to the sword. On the 17. we departed as it had beene agreed, and anchored under the Iles Ladrões all night" (505).

As the English and Dutch concluded after this episode, Macao was not as vulnerable as it seemed, and, with Chinese military aid,⁶⁸ the Portuguese defeated a Dutch fleet composed of fourteen ships and eight hundred men under the command of Cornelis Reijersz. This fleet was joined by two English ships—the *Palsgrave* and the *Bull*⁶⁹—from the Anglo-Dutch Fleet of Defense,⁷⁰ but these two were not actively engaged in the attack. Cocks also describes the attack, after which the Dutch pretended to be English to deceive the Chinese authorities:

"The Hollanders this yeare sent a new fleete of shippes of 14 or 15 seale, greate and small, to have taken Amacan; but they had the repulse with the losse, as som say, of 300, and others say 500 men, and 4 of their ships burned; the king of China now permitting the Portingales to fortifie Amacon, which he would never condecend unto till now, and hath geven order to the vizroy of Canton to assist them with 100,000 men [...]"⁷¹

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The ships of European “enemies” frequently approached Macao.⁷² Joseph Cockram at the Hirado factory also described the Dutch attack and informed Batavia that the Portuguese ships were not leaving Macao because of the Dutch threat.⁷³ The *Itinerário das Missões da Índia Oriental* (1649), by the Augustine missionary Sebastião Manrique, tells us that this Dutch invasion led the Chinese authorities to allow the Portuguese to fortify the city as a defense strategy,⁷⁴ and mentions English participation in the attack.⁷⁵ After this defeat, the Dutch abandoned the China coast and tried their luck in the Pescadores and then in Formosa.

Volume Eleven contains several European descriptions of travels to China, dating from the Middle Ages until the arrival of the Portuguese: the travels of the Flemish Franciscan friar William de Rubruquis, already published by Hakluyt; Roger of Wendover; Marco Polo; Anthonie the Armenian; John Mandeville; Alhacen (Ibn al-Haytham); Gaspar da Cruz; Galeote Pereira; the Persian caravan merchant Chaggi Memet (Hajji Mahommed), who visited Venice and whose report was also published by Ramusio and Hakluyt; and the Venetian merchant Niccolo di Conti (1444), whose text was translated into Portuguese around 1500 (11: 394) at the request of Portuguese King Manuel I. These sources also deal with the English northern voyages of Sir Hugh Willoughby, Richard Chancellor, and Anthonie Jenkinson. Like Hakluyt, Purchas published abbreviated translations of the *Treaties on China* by Gaspar da Cruz (“A treatise of China and the adjoining Regions, written by Gaspar Da Cruz a Dominican Friar, and dedicated to Sebastian King of Portugall,” 11: 474) and by Galeote Pereira (“The relation of Galeotto Perera, a Gentleman of good credit, that lay Prisoner in China”), translated from the Italian and published originally by Richard Willes. Throughout the marginal notes, Purchas cross-references texts by other authors like Marco Polo and Fernão Mendes Pinto (11: 478, 493-494, 502), informing the reader about omissions, editing choices, and natural phenomena, as well as historical and cultural facts that the English reader would find hard to understand without explanation (11: 482-483, 486, 493-498, 507, 513, 536, 538, 566-594). In the margins of page 518, Purchas informs his readers: “I have many China pictures which represent the women thither with their feet wrapped up, or else very small;

their eyes also and noses little, etc of the rest, as in the Map is seene” (11: 518). According to W. E. Washburn, Purchas uses the terms “ethnikes” or “naturals” more often than “natives” to designate non-European peoples, while China retained the mystique, originating with Marco Polo and other early travelers, of being superior to Europe.⁷⁶ The map of China published and described by the editor on pages 470-473 of the twelfth volume is the earliest map of the Celestial Empire from Chinese sources published in Europe,⁷⁷ and consists of an extract or version of another one obtained in 1613 by East India Company captain John Saris, at Bantam (Indonesia), during his voyage to Japan, from a Chinese merchant as a debt payment. Hakluyt got it from the captain, and Purchas, who inherited the document⁷⁸ but could not find anyone to translate the Chinese characters, describes it to be roughly four by five feet, with the map taking up slightly more than a square yard, while the rest of the document’s space is filled with commentaries (“China Discourses”) about the administration, rivers, languages, political jurisdictions and population of the kingdom: “here we give you a true China, the Chinois themselves being our Guides, and the Jesuites their both Examiners and Interpreters” (12: 471). The map, oriented with north on the right of the page, includes Korea as an elongated peninsula. The editor added inset images of Jesuit Matteo Ricci, founder of the first Catholic mission in China, a Chinese woman and a Chinese man, based on reported descriptions of Chinese attire. According to Boleslaw Szcześniak,⁷⁹ if we exclude the Jesuits, Purchas was one of the first authors to find Chinese maps superior to those of Abraham Ortelius, Gerardus Mercator, or Jodocus Hondius, and while it is true that Purchas did not hide his anti-Jesuit bias,⁸⁰ he nonetheless appreciated the writings of Matteo Ricci, on which he depended to collect information about the country. He was, however, like other Protestant writers, very critical of the Jesuit missionaries’ activities in China.

The pictorial representations of China in the anthology complement the narrative descriptions by the Portuguese authors, and legitimise the texts. After Cruz’s *Treaty on China*, Purchas informs the reader about his own choices as editor in terms of reading Galeote Pereira’s text and the reader’s ‘horizon of expectations’:

“I have thought good to adde hither Pereras relations [...] having abbreviated some things

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in the Frier, that you might rather have them at the first hand from this Gentleman which saw them: but abbreviated to prevent tediousnesse” (11: 565).

Volume Twelve presents excerpts of Fernão Mendes Pinto's *Peregrinação* and other European sources regarding China, which deal with Macao. Before Mendes Pinto's text, Purchas addresses the reader in a rather long and unique “Introduction to Mendez Pinto”:

“I have had much trouble to give thee this Author, both for his language, being Portugall (which for this, and some other arts of this worke, I was forced to get as I could) and for the raritie of his Relations, seeming both in themselves so stupendious, and not seconded in many things, that I say not contraried, by other Authors. Besides his booke came not out, till himselfe was gone out of the world. I answere, that Ricius the Jesuit his Relations came not to us, till himselfe was likewise gone; and that that might rather plead not onely for the Maturitie, but the sinceritie, by that Cassian rule, Cui bono; for whom should a dead man flatter, or for what should he lye?” (12: 54-55).

The editor, who extracts only the descriptions about China and Tartaria, goes on to justify Pinto's mistakes and contradictions by referencing his own mistakes as an editor and writer, warning the reader that these “Comicke and Tragicke events” may be fantasies of the Portuguese author (12: 58), referring to an old belief that is gradually waning in influence, and that gave origin to the famous rhyming pun: “Fernão Mentos? Minto!”⁸¹ Purchas summarises the action of the *Peregrinação* up to Mendes Pinto's arrival in China, omits several parts of his pilgrimage (12: 60-61) and, as he did with Cruz and Pereira's texts, uses marginal notes to familiarize the reader with the exotic realities mentioned in the text, paratextual elements that enrich the process of reading and characterise the compiler as informed and methodical. The editor also cross-references several texts by Jesuits to correct mistakes in the *Peregrinação* (12: 94), identifying intertextual points of contact between the text and the Bible (12: 119). In 1953, when publishing a book on early European narratives of China, Charles Boxer used Purchas's version of Friar Gaspar's narrative, and referred to his editing methods, paraphrasing Purchas's own words:

“A careful assessment of Purchas' translation with the original Portuguese text of 1569 does not bear out the oft-repeated allegation that a ‘comparison of what he has printed with such originals as remain shows that he was far indeed from a faithful editor or judicious compiler.’ In this instance, at least, this judgment is over harsh. Most of Purchas' omissions can be accounted for by the fact that the material he omitted (or abridged) was derived from the work of Galeote Pereira, whose narrative was also reprinted in the same volume of *Pilgrimes*.”⁸²

On the same subject, but regarding Japan, Derek Massarella mentions that only a small portion of the journals, letters, and other documents sent from Japan was printed, and then only in Samuel Purchas's *Pilgrimes*, concluding that the material on Japan that he published “remained a major quarry from which future writers hacked out accounts of the country, notably the 18th-century travel writers who compiled thick anthologies about distant lands to satisfy the desire for titillation of their readers.”⁸³

The two letters (dated 1601) taken out of Bartolomeu Leonardo de Argensola's treaty *Conquista de Islas Malucas* (Madrid, 1609, pp. 336-337) mention Benjamin Woods' expedition to China in 1596, which never reached its destination.⁸⁴ The first epistle was sent by the Visitor of Chincheo to the governor of the Philippines, Pedro Bravo de Acuña (1602-1606), and it testifies to the fear of the Iberians when the English ships arrived, not knowing “whether they came to robbe or no” (12: 219). In the second letter, Acuña replies:

“The ships of the Englishmen, which arrived on the coast of China, it was determined not to receive: because they be no Spaniards, but rather their enemies, and Pirats. Wherefore if they come to Manila, they shall be punished. [...] Wee never doe anything for feare, nor for threats of our enemies” (12: 221-222).

Purchas also used Matteo Ricci's reconstruction of the Portuguese Jesuit Bento de Goes' travel to China (*De Christiana Expeditione apud Sinas*, 1615), translated into French in 1616. “Benedictus Goes” was the first man to travel by land across Central Asia from India to China (1602-1605).⁸⁵ Ricci's text briefly describes how the Portuguese lived in Macao:

“Some of them, as the Portugals at Amacao, in the Province of canton, settle their abodes and

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have wives and children, accounted as native subjects. [...] Those Portugals live according to their owne” (12: 234, see also p. 238).

Chapter Five is a collection of historical representations of the Jesuits’ establishments in China and Japan (“The Jesuits in the Far East”), including the missionary activities of Saint Francis Xavier, Melchior Nunes [*sic.* Belchior Carneiro Leitão], the first bishop of Macao, and Visitor Alessandro Valignano.⁸⁶ When describing Saint Francis Xavier’s arrival in China after a storm, the editor informs the reader that the Portuguese traded with the Chinese at Sancian (Shangchuan) because “Amacao [was] not yet established” (12: 245). After taking Malacca (1511), the Portuguese tried to establish themselves in several places along the coast of China: on Tunmen island (nowadays Dayushan, Hong Kong) in 1513; in the Canton area, between 1515-1539; and in Liampo (Ningbo, province of Zhejiang) between 1540 and 1548. In 1549 they were expelled from Chincheo (Fujian province), and between 1550-1553 they traded on Shangchuan Island (Guangdong province), on Lampacau Island until 1560, and after 1553 in Macao, until the Chinese authorities granted them permission to establish themselves permanently in the enclave.⁸⁷ According to the source published by Purchas, at that time the Portuguese were anxious to trade with the Chinese, who were suspicious of foreigners because of the way they behaved:

“And by that which the Moores at Canton reported of these Franks, (so the Mohumetans call Europeans) that they were warlike and victorious, as appeared in Malaca and all India, under colour of Merchandise subjected to the Portugals. The Chinois at Canton call them still Falanks: for they want the R, and pronounce not two consonants without a vowel interposed. By the same name they also call the Portugals Ordnance. Yet desire of gayne prevailed, that they were admitted to such a trade as ye have heard, so as the Mart ended, they must away with their goods to India. That course continued divers yeeres, till the Chinois growing lesse feareful, granted them in the greater Iland a little Peninsula to dwell in. In that place was an Idoll, which still remayneth to be seene, called Ama, whence the peninsula was called Amacao, this is Amas bay.⁸⁸ This Rocke indeed rather then peninsula,

began to bee inhabited not onley of Portugals, but of confluence of all neighbouring Nations, in regard of the commerce of Commodities of Europe, India, and the Moluccas brought in Portugals Ships, and especially love of the Silver Coyness, brought the Chinois thither to dwell. In continuance of time, a Citie began by degrees to bee built, and the Portugals made not onley contracts of Merchandise, but of Marriage, with the Chinois, and so the peninsula was filled with private houses, and out of a barren Rocke arose a noble mart. And as gayne brought Merchants thither, so the care to keepe and to get soules, brought thither Priests and Religious men, and the Portugall Kings priviledged the place with the title of a Citie, and made it a bishops See. There the Jesuites fixed a residence, and first erected a Church to our Idie, and after that divers others. For it seemed convenient to their designes, the world of China lying to the North, the Moluccas to the South, Japon, and the Philippinas to the East, to the West Cochinchina, Camboia, Siam, and others. From hence, many intended the China imployment without successe, those fields not then white to the harvest. Melchior Nunes, (Anno 1555) from Canton, writes of his accidental going a shoare on China, in his voyage to Japan, occasioned by a terrible tempest whereto those Seas are much subject” (12: 246-247).

The source also mentions that the Chinese executed the Portuguese sailors captured along the Chinese coast, and discusses the importance of the College of Macao as a centre for missionary work in the Far East by missionaries such as Michele Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci (12: 248-254). Macao, inhabited by foreign “devils” (12: 274), was a refuge for missionaries expelled from China and Japan, a place where they learned Chinese and familiarised themselves with the local culture and habits. Missionaries also used Macao to obtain both supplies for their missions and European presents for the Chinese authorities, to train and educate future Chinese priests (“Schoole of Amacao,” 11: 290), recover from illness, and prepare their own trade (12: 269-291, 303, 312-313). The city’s role as a central platform for missionary work in Asia is also mentioned in a letter sent by Father Diego de Pantoja⁸⁹ to his protector, Father Luis de Guzmán, Provincial of the Society of Jesus in Toledo, from

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Beijing (9 March, 1602), where the Spanish Jesuit describes the difficulties of entering China and the importance of the College of the Jesuits in the City of the Holy Name of God:

“Being come [...] to Macao a City of the Portugals, adjoining to the firme land of China, where there is a Colledge of our Company: and there attending till the persecution, Tumults, and warres of Japon, would permit ten or twelve fathers of us to passe thither, which stayed expecting fit opportunitie: when we were ready to depart, within few monethes, it pleased our God to change my Lot [...] and to send mee to enter China [1599]” (12: 332).

Beatriz Moncó, in a study on Pantoja's image of 16th-century China, says that his travels with Matteo Ricci and other Jesuits allowed him to analyse in greater depth philosophical aspects of Confucianism, and to bridge the Eastern and Western cultures⁹⁰ as we can see through his letter, which was published in Valladolid (1604), Seville (1605), and Palencia (1606), and added to the compilation *Relación de la entrada de algunos Padres de la Cópia de Jesus en la China* (Seville, 1605).

The sixth section (“Of Strangers, and forraigne Religions in China”) of the seventh chapter of Volume Twelve (“Discourse of the Kingdome of China, taken out of Ricius [Ricci] and Trigautius [Trigault], contayning the countrey, people, government, religion, rites, sects, characters, studies, arts, acts; and a Map of China added, drawne out of one there made with Annotations for the understanding thereof”) presents Ming China as inhospitable to strangers, and describes the activities both of the Jesuits, which the Beijing court considered “Countrymen to those of Macao”:

“The Jesuites steale their ingresse and egress by meanes of the Portugals, which had the Towne of Macao assigned them by the chinoise, for trafficke. These come usually twice a yeere to the chief Citie of the province of Canton, which is not called Quantum, or Canton, (the name of the Province) but Quam ceu. All the day time they have free entrance in the Citie about their merchandise, but must lie on shipboard at night. In the midst of the River there is a little Iland, and therein a temple, in which they are allowed their Catholike devotions. There by boat did they provide to steale in or out of the Countrey. The Mahumetans that come in

by land, if they stay nine yeeres (as is observed) may never return home againe. Of these there are now many thousand families in China, dispersed into the most of the Provinces and chief Cities” (12: 464-465).

The account of Henri de Feynes (also called Comte de Monfart, 1573-1647), a Paris gentleman who travelled by land to Canton around 1608,⁹¹ was translated anonymously into English and published in London in 1615 (five years before it was published in France), under the title *An Exact and Curious Survey of all the East Indies, even to Canton, the Chiefe Cittie of China: All Duly Performed by Land, by Monsieur de Monsart, the like whereof Was ever hitherto, Brought to an End.*⁹² The extracts of Monsieur de Monfart's travels published by Purchas in the section dedicated to the Jesuits' presence in China reflect the importance of Macao for missionary work, and describe the debilitated condition in which the Dutch left Macao when they captured the *nau do trato*, which was an attack on the investments of the Jesuits (12: 482-483) and this account has long been suspected, by some authors,⁹³ to be fiction. The same source mentions how the Dutch sought in vain to enter China through the Fujian province and how “feare of them made the Portugals at Amacao begin to build a Tower and to fortifie” (12: 483). It mentions that a quarrel between two priests caused such a commotion in Macao that the Chinese residents fled to mainland China and persuaded their countrymen that the foreigners intended to invade the Celestial Empire, leading to the interruption of all communication and trade between Canton and Macao⁹⁴, which he describes as:

“a Citie situate on the Sea coast, at the foot of a great Mountayne, were in times past the Portugals had a great Fort, and to this day, there bee yet many that dwell there. This is the entrance into China, but the place is of no great importance; they are Gentiles, and there the Inhabitants begin to bee faire complexioned” (12: 494).

The episode he refers to is most likely the one involving the Italian Jesuit Lazzaro Cattaneo (1560-1640),⁹⁵ which affected Macao between 1604 and 1606. Cattaneo travelled to Macao in 1593 to learn the Chinese language and work in China with Matteo Ricci and Diego de Pantoja. In 1604, he returned to Macao and made a short trip to Malacca; and upon his return discovered that in 1606 he had been involved

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in a political crisis between the Portuguese and the Chinese. The Dutch had already begun their attack on Portuguese interests in Macao, and the Portuguese had begun fortifying the city, which alarmed the Chinese, who thought that the Portuguese were going to invade China and make Cattaneo emperor. Some disaffected converts, led by an ex-Jesuit who had become an Augustinian—the other priest mentioned by Monfart—started rumours that caused the Portuguese church to be pillaged and burned, and part of the population of Macao to flee, the city of Canton to prepare for war, and the enclave to fear invasion and famine. The crisis ended when an official sent from Canton realised there was no danger and that Cattaneo was a man of peace; indeed, the latter was allowed to return to mainland China in 1606.⁹⁶ A memorial was later written to explain the crimes of which the Jesuit had been accused by Chinese officials.⁹⁷

Volume Thirteen of *Pilgrimes* deals with the English Discoveries in the Northern Seas and the voyages to find the Northwest and Northeast Passages, while Volume Fourteen contains the “English Northerne navigations and Discoveries, relations of Greenland, Groenland, the North-West passage and other Arctike Regions, and later Russian Occurents; with a Description of the West Indies [including Brazil] by Antonio de Herrera.” This last narrative [“A Description of the West Indies, by Antonio De Herrera his Majesties Chiefe Chronicler of the Indies, and his Chronicler of Castile” 1601] describes Macao (Macan) as a place where the

“Portugals have a Towne, and the Chinas knowing the valour of the Portugals, and the favour they have of the Castellians of the Philippines, suffer it with an evill will, but the Portugals seeke to preserve themselves, for their profitable commerce in China. Sancon [*sic.*] is thirtie leagues from Cantan, where sometimes the Portugals have touched” (11: 558-559).

Volume Fifteen deals with the West Indies, especially Mexico. The first document, “Observations gathered out of the First, second, Third, and Fourth bookes of Josephus Acosta a learned Jesuite, touching the naturall historie of the Heavens, Ayre, Water, and Earth at the West Indies. Also for their Beasts, Fiches, Fowles, Plants, and other remarkable rarities of Nature,” praises the Portuguese as “more expert, as a Nation that hath more discourse in the Art of

navigation then any other” (15: 2), and locates Macao in the “Ile of Cauton,” “one day advanced before the Philippines” (15: 60). The sources in Volume Sixteen describe voyages to the American continent (including Brazil), and conflicts on sea and land, namely several attacks on ships.

The epistle dedicatory to the Archbishop of Canterbury describes the *Pilgrimes* not as a “Booke of Voyages and Travels in the world, but the World historised in a world of Voyages and Travels” that praises the fame and glory of England (16: 2). The first document is a brief report on the many voyages of George, Earl of Cumberland, composed from journals and narratives that describe the taking of several Portuguese ships, including the *Five Wounds* and the *Mãe de Deus*, also called *Madre de Dios* (1592), documents also published by Hakluyt. Sir John Burrough captured the carrack *Madre de Dios* in 1592, near the Azores, and the ship’s contents were transported to England (16: 16-25), giving the merchants of London an idea of the riches they could enjoy if they could break the Portuguese monopoly on trade.⁹⁸

Volume Seventeen, like the previous one, deals with voyages to the American continent, namely to the Portuguese colony of Brazil, and to the archipelagos of Madeira and the Azores. The following volume continues to describe travels in the Atlantic Ocean, to the Azores, Florida, Virginia, and other parts of North America, while the penultimate volume consists of narratives about voyages to Virginia, the Summer Islands in New England, Newfoundland, New Scotland, and about the Elizabethan war at sea against Spain. The last volume contains several brief reports on English voyages to Cadiz (1596) and on the expedition of Robert, Earl of Essex, to the Azores (1597). “The Conclusion of the Worke” (20: 130-135) informs the reader:

“We have now compassed the World in the Courses of so many Planets, every of which had a peculiar wandering [...]. And as in Geometricall compasses one foote is fixed in the Centre, whiles the other mooveth in the Circumference, so it is with Purchas and is Pilgrimes, in this Geographically compassing: they have their own motions, but ordered in this Circumference, from, for, and by him which abideth at home in his Centre, and never travelled two hundred miles from Thaxted in Essex [...] where he was born. [...] All nations dance in this Round to

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doe the English service, and English Travellers here enjoy the Mayne, others the By, to attend, and with their Travels to perfect the English, at lest the knowledge of the World to the English.” (20: 130).

The editor thus ends the anthology on a humorous note. Although he has described many voyages and travelled with the reader all over the world, he has never ventured more than two hundred miles from his hometown, while other English men honour their nation and improve everyone's knowledge of the world with their voyages. As T. E. Armstrong puts it, although it is easier to identify an editor's mistakes rather than his successes, Purchas had many successes, and some inattention to detail may be forgiven.⁹⁹ The ongoing value of his work is attested to by the number of scholars who still use it in all fields of knowledge, from political science to history, from religion to sociology, anthropology, (travel) literature, and geography, to name a few. We can therefore apply the words of Margaret T. Hodgen to the work of Purchas, especially when she concludes that the 16th- and 17th-century literature lays the foundations for modern anthropology and many other sciences through the scientific method applied to the study of culture and society:

“first, in a definite transition from the motive of entertainment to that of organized enquiry; second, in the more or less clear statement of questions or problems of importance; and third, in the choice of organizing ideas to be employed in dealing with the problem of the origin of man, the diversity of cultures, the significance of similarities, the sequence of high civilizations, and the course of the process of cultural change.”¹⁰⁰

Pilgrimes, like Hakluyt's anthology and many later works, reflected and contributed, to a certain degree, to the economical phenomenon that Niall Ferguson calls “Anglobalization”, that is, the history of globalization as it was promoted by England and her colonies.¹⁰¹

Due to the many voyages undertaken by the English and Dutch East India Companies between the publication of Hakluyt's *Navigations* and the writing of Purchas's *Pilgrimes*, the latter work reflects a much greater knowledge than the former regarding Southeast Asia,¹⁰² and Macao and Japan represent the richness that the Portuguese brought to Europe. The publication of *Pilgrimes* gave the English public a better understanding of Macao, Japan and China in general, mainly through English and Portuguese sources; and Macao became intimately associated with missionary activity in the Far East, as it was, in fact, the centre of religious work and education in that part of the world. The sources published by Purchas date from the times when the EIC and VOC realised how vulnerable the *Estado da Índia* was and how profitable the Portuguese trade with the East was. This realization led to the English and Dutch “policies of freebooting and despoiling the enemy,”¹⁰³ and the documents I have analysed deal with Dutch attacks on the city's boats, cargoes and interests, as well as with the city itself and the Luso-Dutch rivalry in Southeast Asia. The Dutch plundering around the Straits of Malacca forced the Portuguese merchants in Macao to turn to their Japan trade until 1639,¹⁰⁴ also under ‘attack’ from their Protestant rivals.

The sources regarding Macao reveal that the establishment of the English factory at Hirado contributed to the circulation of knowledge about Japan and Macao in 17th-century England, while the official documentation of the Portuguese pioneers was still a source of information for the English, and they also suggest that England and Portugal, although old allies in Europe, were rivals in the Far East. The documents published by Purchas mirror the rivalry between Portuguese, English and Dutch in Asia, and, when it comes to Macao, the editor publishes sources from these three enemies fighting for their own interests and for direct trade with China, a monopoly held at the time by the Portuguese, thanks in large part to their establishment and permanent presence in Macao. **RC**

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NOTES

- 1 On Purchas's theological writings, see H. C. Porter, "Purchas as Theological Geographer," in L. E. Pennington (ed.), *The Purchas Handbook: Studies of the Life and Writings of Samuel Purchas 1577-1626*, vol. 1, pp. 181-189.
- 2 Eastwood was a shipping resort two miles from Leigh on the Thames, where the editor could collect documents and testimonies from travellers returning home. He did so, for instance, with one Andrew Battell of Leigh, who was taken to Angola by the Portuguese as a prisoner (see "Publishers' Note," in Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes Contayning a History of the World in Sea Voyages and Lande Travells by Englishmen and Others*, vol. 1, p. xxii). The volume number and pages of *Pilgrimes* will be presented in parentheses after each quotation.
- 3 See Colin Steele, *English Interpreters of the Iberian New World from Purchas to Stevens (1603-1726): A Bibliographical Study*, pp. 15-51. On English translations before 1603, see pp. 9-14.
- 4 Ibid., "From Hakluyt to Purchas," in D. B. Quinn (ed.), *The Hakluyt Handbook*, vol. 1, pp. 74-96, identifies 121 items from Hakluyt's collection in *Pilgrimes*. See also Carol Urness, "Purchas as Editor," in L. E. Pennington (ed.), *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 142; Rogério Miguel Puga, "The Presence of the 'Portugals' in Macao and Japan in Richard Hakluyt's *Navigations*," *Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies*, vol. 5, pp. 81-116; and id., "Os Descobrimentos Portugueses em *The Principal Navigations* de Richard Hakluyt," *Anais de História de Além-Mar*, vol. 4, pp. 63-131.
- 5 Colin Steele, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-15. On the influence and importance of Purchas's work from the 17th through the 20th centuries, see L. E. Pennington, "Samuel Purchas, His Reputation and the Uses of his Work;" Pamela Neville-Sington, "The Primary Purchas Bibliography;" and L. E. and G. Z. Pennington, "A Secondary Purchas Bibliography," in L. E. Pennington (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 3-118, 465-573, and 574-743 (vol. 2), respectively.
- 6 According to D. B. Quinn ("The Circumnavigations," in L. E. Pennington (ed.), *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 190), Purchas used as his sources the accounts of the English circumnavigations of Drake and Cavendish printed by Hakluyt in 1589 and 1600, and for Magellan's initial voyage he relied on Pigafetta's narrative, long available in Richard Eden's English abridged version (1555), but he completed these accounts with a few general commentaries. For a list of all Purchas's sources, see John Parker, "Contents and Sources of *Purchas his Pilgrimes*," in L. E. Pennington (ed.), *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 383-464. On page 383, Parker describes the editor's work: "Samuel Purchas was not only an editor of texts; he was also a historian who could distil a chronicle from several sources and an editorialist whose wide reading could support a point of view or a prejudice."
- 7 On Purchas's translations of Portuguese sources, see H. Thomas, "Portuguese Accounts of Voyages and Discoveries in English Translations Published before 1640," in AA. VV., *Congresso do Mundo Português*, vol. 4, book 2, pp. 189-195.
- 8 In the anthology where Willes published Galeote Pereira's "Treaty on China," there is also the first English description of Japan, translated from the work of the Portuguese Jesuit Luís Fróis (1532-1597). See M. Paske-Smith (ed.), *England and Japan: The First Known Account of Japan in English extracted from "History of Travayle" 1577*.
- 9 See Jin Guo Ping and Wu Zhiliang, *Revisitar os Primórdios de Macau: Para uma Nova Abordagem da História*, pp. 11-42.
- 10 The English factory in Japan was closed in 1623, but, according to Purchas in the section "To the Reader," the printing of the *Pilgrimes* four thousand pages began in August 1621, so the English Japan trade was still active when these sources were gathered and prepared.
- 11 See Edwin J. van Kley and T. N. Foss, "The Far East," in L. E. Pennington (ed.), *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 276-277.
- 12 Donald F. Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 1, book 1, pp. xviii-xix.
- 13 Ibid., vol. 1, book 1, p. 150.
- 14 Cf. E. J. van Kley and T. N. Foss, *op. cit.*, p. 275. For this paragraph on the image of China in Purchas's work, I use Kley and Foss's text, especially pages 274-275.
- 15 See *Revista de Cultura*, 2.^a série, no. 21, Outubro/Dezembro 1994, *passim*, *Revista de Cultura*, 2.^a série, no. 30, Janeiro/Março 1997, *passim*, and Liam M. Brockey, "A Garganta: The China Jesuits and the College of Macao, 1579-1623," *Revista de Cultura*, Edição Internacional, no. 5, January 2003, pp. 45-55.
- 16 Chi'en Chung-Shu (Qian Zhongshu 钱钟书), "China in the English Literature of the Seventeenth-Century," *Quarterly Bulletin of Chinese Bibliography*, new series, vol. 1, 1940, pp. 353-366.
- 17 Cf. S. Arasaratnam, "Southeast Asia," in L. E. Pennington (ed.), *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 256-257, 261.
- 18 On the representation of Macao in English literature, see Rogério Miguel Puga, "Macao enquanto cronótopo exótico na literatura inglesa," in *Actas do I Congresso de Estudos Anglo-Portugueses, Lisboa, 6-8 de Maio de 2001*, pp. 705-723 (also published in Chinese: *Administração: Revista de Administração Pública de Macau*, vol. 16, n. 59, Março 2003, pp. 117-139), id., "Macao na poesia inglesa," in Ana Maria Amaro and Dora Martins (coord.), *Estudos Sobre a China VII*, vol. 2, pp. 847-882. and id., "Macao na literatura inglesa," *Revista de Cultura*, Edição Internacional, no. 24, October 2007, pp. 90-105. On the image of China in 17th and 18th-century England, see Adolf Reichwein, *China and Europe: Intellectual and Artistic Contacts in the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 15-21; Thomas H. Lee (ed.), *China and Europe: Images and Influences in Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries*; Adrian Hsia (ed.), *The Vision of China in the English Literature of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, pp. 3-28; and Qian Zhongshu, "China in the English Literature of the Seventeenth Century," Fan Cunzhong 范存忠, "The Beginnings of the Influence of Chinese Culture in England," and Qian Zhongshu, "China in the English Literature of the Eighteenth Century," in Adrian Hsia (ed.), *The Vision of China in the English Literature of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, pp. 29-68, 69-86, and 117-215, respectively. See also William Worthen Appleton, *A Cycle of Cathay: The Chinese Vogue in England during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*; Jonathan D. Spence, "Western Perceptions of China from Late Sixteenth Century to the Present," in Paul S. Ropp (ed.), *Heritage of China: Contemporary Perspectives on Chinese Civilization*, pp. 1-14, and id., *The Chan's Great Continent: China in Western Minds*, pp. 41-164.
- 19 See Rogério Miguel Puga, "A World of Euphemism: Representação de Macau na obra de Austin Coates," Ph.D. thesis on Anglo-Portuguese Studies, 2006, pp. 65-79.
- 20 See E. J. van Kley and T. N. Foss, *op. cit.*, pp. 269-273.
- 21 On this topic, see T. E. Armstrong, "The Northern Passages," in L. E. Pennington (ed.), *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 292-300.
- 22 According to C. R. Steele, "From Hakluyt to Purchas," in D. B. Quinn (ed.), *The Hakluyt Handbook*, vol. 1, pp. 74-96, Hakluyt and Purchas met in 1613 and the latter acquired the master's papers after his death in 1616.
- 23 See James P. Helfers, "The Explorer or the Pilgrim? Modern Critical Opinion and the Editorial Methods of Richard Hakluyt and Samuel Purchas," *Studies in Philology*, Spring 1997, vol. 94, no. 2, pp. 160-187; Pamela Neville-Sington, "A Very Good Trumpet: Richard Hakluyt and the Politics of Overseas Expansion," in Cedric C. Brown

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- and Arthur F. Marotti (eds.), *Texts and Cultural Change in Early Modern England*, pp. 66-79, and T. J. Cribb, "Writing Up the Log: The Legacy of Hakluyt," in Steve Clark (ed.), *Travel Writing and Empire: Postcolonial Theory in Transit*, pp. 100-112.
- 24 For representations of Iberian missionary work and religious rites/principles/life in *Pilgrimes*, see 1: 312-314, 362-265, 403-485.
- 25 See Chapter I "Of the improvement of Navigation in later Times, and the meanes whereby the World in her old Age hath beene more then ever discovered," Section II, "Of Henry, third sonne to John the first King of Portugall by an English Woman, the Prince of later Discoveries: and of the helpes both against the Mores, and in their Discoveries which the Portugals have received of our Nation," and *Pilgrimes*, 2: 9-15: the taking of Ceuta with "[...] the helpe of the Merchants of England." Contrary to what the title of the section states, Henry was not the third son of the Portuguese king but the fifth; he was, in fact, the third son of D. João who reached adulthood.
- 26 Luís de Camões, *Os Lusíadas*, IV: 50.
- 27 Hakluyt had already published Fitch and Frederici's reports (see Rogério Miguel Puga, "Os Descobrimentos Portugueses," pp. 85-91).
- 28 For the different Asian locations of Ophir in the 16th and 17th centuries, see Thomas Suárez, *Early Mapping of Southeast Asia*, pp. 71-72.
- 29 Carol Urness, "Purchas as Editor," in L. E. Pennington (ed.), *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 127.
- 30 The text mentions Henry the Navigator, kings John II and Manuel I, the apprenticeship of Columbus in Portugal, Vasco da Gama and the discovery of the East Indies, the discovery of Brazil, and the circumnavigations of Magalhães, Sir Francis Drake and Thomas Cavendish.
- 31 For a Portuguese description of the arrival of the *Liefde* in Japan, see Diogo do Couto, *Cinco Livros da Decada Doze da Historia da India*, book 5, chap. 2, pp. 215-218. See also Sir Ernest M. Satow, "Introduction," in John Saris, *The Voyage of Captain John Saris to Japan, 1613*, pp. i-lxxxvi, and M. Paske-Smith, *Western Barbarians in Japan and Formosa in Tokugawa Days, 1603-1868*, pp. 24-64. Regarding the effect of the arrival of the Protestants on the activity of the Jesuits in Japan, see João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, "Os Jesuítas e a chegada dos Protestantes ao Japão," *Revista de Cultura*, Edição Internacional, no. 11, July 2004, pp. 35-47. On early descriptions of Japan, see F. Lach, *op. cit.*, p. 652.
- 32 This was the phrase used in the English sources to refer to the black ship that went every year from Macao to Japan to trade [cf. "Notice in Letter R. Cocks, Firando 6th Dec. 1615, to Adam Denton, Patania," in Peter Pratt (ed.), *History of Japan Compiled from the Records of the English East India Company*, vol. 1, p. 153].
- 33 On the representation of the Dutch (red-haired devils) and their attacks on Macao in early Chinese sources, see Jin Guo Ping and Wu Zhiliang, "Os Três Mosqueteiros marítimos vistos pelos Chineses," *Revista de Cultura*, Edição Internacional, no. 11, July 2004, pp. 168-170.
- 34 The diary of John Saris, *The First Voyage of the English to Japan*, mentions the "Macao ship" (p. 144)/Mackaw shippe (p. 220), and the action of the "Portugall Jesuits" (p. 149).
- 35 In the margins of the text (3: 537), the editor informs the reader: "Macow a Town of Portugalls neere the Continent of China."
- 36 Michael Cooper, "The Second Englishman in Japan: The Trials and Travails of Richard Cocks, 1613-1624," *The Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, 3rd series, vol. 17, pp. 121-122. On Cocks' biography, see *ibid.*, pp. 128-129, and Derek Massarella, "The Early Career of Richard Cocks (1566-1624), Head of the English East India Company's Factory in Japan (1613-1623)," *The Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, 3rd series, vol. 20, pp. 1-46. On page 1, Massarella says that Cocks' famous *Diary* is "one of the most important sources for the study of the East India Company's brief attempt to establish direct trade with Japan in the early 17th century. *The Diary* is a rich storehouse of information...about the trading activities of the English."
- 37 On the Portuguese presence in Japan, the arrival of the English and Dutch, and the English factory, see Derek Massarella, *A World Elsewhere: Europe's Encounter with Japan in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. Chapter 8 (pp. 329-334), deals with the Hirado factory and the knowledge of Japan in 17th-century England.
- 38 "Richard Cocks at Hirado to the East India Company in London (1st January 1617)," in Anthony Farrington, *The English Factory in Japan, 1613-1623*, vol. 1, pp. 562 and 564, respectively.
- 39 See, for instance, documents no. 29 ("Richard Cocks at Hirado to Richard Wickham at Edo, Shizuoka or elsewhere, 7 March 1614") and no. 31 ("William Eaton at Osaka to Richard Wickham at Edo, Shizuoka or elsewhere, 22 March 1614") *ibid.*, pp. 138 and 142, respectively, in which the English factor describes his contacts and trade with "George Droit [Jorge Durois] the Portiges" from Goa. See also Valdemar Coutinho, *O Fim da Presença Portuguesa no Japão*, pp. 33-34.
- 40 Namely Li Tan (or "Andrea Dittis"/"China Captain"), head of the Chinese communities in Hirado and Nagasaki, and his two brothers, Hua-yü (called Captain Whaw or Whow by the English) in Nagasaki, and another in China (see doc. n. 267, "Richard Cocks at Hirado to Sir Thomas Smythe and the East India Company in London, 15 February 1618," in Anthony Farrington, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 668).
- 41 Doc. no. 82: "Richard Cocks at Hirado to John Jourdain at Bantam, 10 December 1614," *ibid.*, p. 246.
- 42 See docs. nos. 75, 83, 84, 85, *ibid.*, pp. 227, 250, 252, 256-260.
- 43 João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, "O Cristianismo no Japão e o Episcopado de D. Luís Cerqueira," vol. 2, Ph.D. thesis on History, FCSH da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1998, pp. 753-772.
- 44 A letter that Cocks sent to London (30-09-1621) reports: "[...] I am afeard that their [Dutch] attempt against Amacon will cause both them and us to be driven out of Japon [...]. Yet our China frendes still tell us we may have trade into China, yf we will, it being granted already [...]. In that same year the closing of the Japan factory had already been suggested, as is evident in a letter from Batavia to the EIC directors in London on December 10 (doc. n. 357: "Richard Fursland, Thoas Brockedon, Augustine Spalding, and Gabriel Towerson at Batavia to the East India Company in London," in Anthony Farrington, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 867).
- 45 Doc. no. 229: "Richard Cocks at Hirado to the East India Company in London, 1 & 14 January 1617," *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 563.
- 46 Mentioned in the EIC records by his Christian name "Andrea Dittis" and as "China Captain."
- 47 Doc. no. 149: "Richard Cocks at Hirado to the East India Company in London, 25 February 1616," in Anthony Farrington, *op. cit.*, p. 381.
- 48 "Richard Cocks at Hirado to Sir Thomas Smythe and the East India Company in London, 30 September 1621," *ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 851-852.
- 49 On the different periods in the history of the Portuguese *Estado da Índia*, see Luís Filipe Thomaz, s. v. "Estado da Índia," in Luís de Albuquerque (dir.), *Dicionário de História dos Descobrimentos*, vol. 1, pp. 388-395.
- 50 The concept of the 'contact zone' is developed by Mary Louise Pratt in *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, pp. 6-7, as a synonym for a cultural frontier, invoking the temporal and spacial co-presence of people previously separated both geographically and historically.
- 51 On the complaints that Frobisher's wife filed to the East India Company on October 1629 about her stay in Macao, see W. Noël

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- Sainsbury (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, East Indies, China and Persia, 1625-1629*, doc. no. 369, p. 256.
- 52 Peter Mundy, *The Travels of Peter Mundy (1608-1667)*, 1907-1936, vol. 3, pp. 141-142. See also British Library, India Office Records (IOR) G/40/1, fls. 32, 60, and "Richard Cocks at Hirado to Sir Thomas Smythe and the East India Company in London, 30 September 1621," in Anthony Farrington, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 854.
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- 67 On this ship's voyage to Japan, see document no. 379: "Joseph Cockram on board the Bull at Japan to Richard Fursland at Batavia, 7 January 1623," in Anthony Farrington, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 922.
- 68 Cf. doc. no. 364: "Richard Cocks at Hirado to Richard Fursland at Batavia, 7 September 1622," *ibid.*, p. 891. See also docs. no. 365: "John Osterwick at Hirado to Richard Fursland at Batavia, 7 September 1622," pp. 893-894, and no. 366: "Richard Cocks at Hirado to Sir Thomas Smythe and the East India Company in London, 7 September & 14 November 1622," *ibid.*, pp. 895-898. For studies and sources on the Dutch attacks on Macao, see Charles R. Boxer, *Estudos Para a História de Macau-Séculos XVI a XVIII*, pp. 19-102, Patrícia Carioti, "The 1622 Dutch Attempt to Conquer Macao in the International Context of Early Seventeenth-Century East Asia," *Revista de Cultura*, Edição Internacional, no. 15, July 2005, pp. 123-137, and *Revista de Cultura*, Edição Internacional, no. 12, October 2004, pp. 89-115.
- 69 See "Relação da vitória, que a cidade de Macau teve dos holandeses no anno de mil e seycentos e vinte e doys, e que se acha com hum manuscrito de Manuel Pereira da Affonseca" (Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Macau, box 8, doc. 6); the letter from the vice-roy of India to the Portuguese king on April 2, 1623 (Instituto de Arquivos Nacionais/Torre do Tombo, Coleção de S. Vicente, cod. 19, doc. no. 156), and the "Breve relação da vinda dos Olandeses à cidade de Machao, porto da China, e da grande victoria que Lopo Sarmento de Carvalho, capitão mor" (published by Charles R. Boxer: Frei Álvaro do Rosário, "Ataque dos Holandeses a Macau em 1622, Relação Inédita do P. Frei Álvaro do Rosário," *Boletim da Agência Geral das Colónias*, no. 38, pp. 17-30). The English sources also mention the defeat of the Dutch fleet and the death of half of its crew members: W. Nöl Sainsbury (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, East Indies, China and Japan, 1622-1624*, docs. no. 70 and 146, pp. 31 and 65-66; "President Fursland at Batavia to George Robinson [at Achin], March 19, 1623," in Sir William Foster (ed.), *The English Factories in India: 1622-1623*, p. 210; "President Fursland and Council at Batavia to the Surat Factory, April 17, 1623," *ibid.*, p. 225; "President Fursland and Council at Batavia to Thomas Mills &c. [at Pulcat], April 17, 1623," *ibid.*, pp. 225-226, and Peter Pratt (ed.), *History of Japan*, vol. 1, pp. 446-447.
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- board the Bull at Japan to Richard Fursland at Batavia, 7 January 1623," *ibid.*, p. 922.
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- 81 See António José Saraiva, *História da Cultura em Portugal*, vol. 3, pp. 424-444; Adolfo Casais Monteiro, "Prefácio," in Fernão Mendes Pinto, *Páginas da Peregrinação*, p. 7; Aníbal Pinto Castro, "Introdução," in Fernão Mendes Pinto, *A Peregrinação*, pp. i-xlix; Jaime do Inso, *Cenas da Vida de Macau*, 1997, p. 37; Rui Manuel Loureiro, "Mentira e experiência na Peregrinação," *Jornal de Letras, Artes e Ideias*, no. 167, 17-09-1985, p. 5; and *id.*, *Fidalgos*, pp. 363-396, 647-673.
- 82 C. R. Boxer (ed.), *South China in the Sixteenth Century*, pp. 344-345.
- 83 Derek Massarella, *A World Elsewhere*, p. 334.
- 84 On the early English voyages to the East Indies and China, namely that of Benjamin Wood (1596), which was the first official expedition to China (even though the three ships under his command, the *Bear*, *Bear's Welp* and the *Benjamin*, never arrived at their destination), see: British Library, IOR, G/12/1, fl. 1, and Henri Cordier, *Histoire générale de la Chine et des ses relations avec les pays étrangers*, vol. 2, pp. 191-192.
- 85 See Eduardo Brazão, *Em Demanda do Cataio: A Viagem de Bento de Goes à China (1603-1607)*, and Henry Yule and Henri Cordier (eds.), *Cathay and the Way Thither*, vol. 2, pp. 169-194.
- 86 On the spiritual conquest of the Far East by Francis Xavier, Valignano and other Jesuits, see *Revista de Cultura*, Edição Internacional, no. 19, July 2006, *passim*.
- 87 See Jin Guo Ping and Wu Zhiliang, *Revisitar os Primórdios de Macau*, pp. 28-30, 45-95, 186-187.
- 88 On this topic, see *ibid.*, pp. 155-178.
- 89 For biographical details on Diego/Didace de Pantoja (Valdemoro: 1571-Canton: 1618) see George H. Dunne, s. v. "Pantoja, Diego de," in L. Carrington Goodrich and Chaoying Fang (eds.), *Dictionary of Ming Biography, 1368-1644: Volume II*, pp. 1116-1117. For a study of his adventures in China, and the image of that country in his letters, see Beatriz Moncó, "Portrait and Construction of a Cultural Reality: China and Diego de Pantoja," *Revista de Cultura*, Edição Internacional, no. 22, April 2007, pp. 120-128.
- 90 *Ibid.*, p. 121.
- 91 Isaac D'Israeli, *Curiosities of Literature*, p. 108.
- 92 See Xavier Beguin-Billecocq, "Henry de Feynes (1573-1647), le premier voyageur français en Extrême-Orient," PhD on History, Université Aix-Marseille, 1999.
- 93 Cf. Boies Penrose, *Travel and Discovery in the Renaissance, 1420-1620*, p. 309. Henry Yule and A. C. Burnell, in *Hobson-Jobson: A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases*, p. xxxiii, consider it a "worthless book."
- 94 On the early commercial relations between Macao and Canton, see Jorge Manuel Flores, "Macao: O tempo da euforia," in A. H. de Oliveira Marques (dir.), *História dos Portugueses no Extremo Oriente*, vol. 1, book 2, pp. 201-205.
- 95 On Cattaneo, see L. Carrington Goodrich, s. v. "Cattaneo, Lazzaro," in L. Carrington Goodrich and Chaoying Fang (eds.), *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 31-33.
- 96 On this episode see (in Chinese): Jin Guo Ping and Wu Zhiliang, "Some Historical Aspects of Green Island," *Searching for Stories of Macau Erased by Time*, pp. 305-323.
- 97 Summary of the crisis taken from L. Carrington Goodrich, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-33.
- 98 See Paulo Guinote et al., *Naufrágios e Outras Perdas da "Carrreira da Índia" Séculos XVI e XVII*, p. 87, and Rogério Miguel Puga, "Os Descobrimentos Portugueses," pp. 96-98. Russell Miller (*The Seafarers: The East Indianmen*, pp. 8-9) describes the taking of the *Madre de Dios*: "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 Queen 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."
- 99 T. E. Armstrong, *op. cit.*, p. 300.
- 100 Margaret T. Hodgen, *Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, p. 8.
- 101 Niall Ferguson, *Empire: How Britain Made the Modern World*, p. xxiii.
- 102 See S. Arasaratnam, "Southeast Asia," in L. E. Pennington (ed.), *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 256: "while Hakluyt was primarily interested in recording (and through this creating interest in) English voyages of discovery and English advances in navigation, Purchas was more interested in the all round phenomenon of the discovery of the non-European world."
- 103 Peter Borschberg, "The *Santa Catarina* Incident of 1603," p. 14.
- 104 Cf. Roderich Ptak, "An Outline of Macao's Economic Development, circa 1557-1640," in Tilemann Grimm, Peter M. Kuhfus and Gudrun Wacker (eds.), *Collected Papers of the XXIXth Congress of Chinese Studies*, pp. 171-172.

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