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[By H. M. Burton.

English Dreams and Japanese Realities
Anglo-Japanese Encounters Around the Globe, 1587-1673

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ABSTRACT: The first phase of Anglo-Japanese relations, 1587-1673 was, unlike the second 19th century phase, characterized by English desires to reach Japan and East Asia. The English developed the technology and invested the time, money, and lives needed to traverse the globe and supplicate themselves before Japanese rulers. Japan was seen as a potential key ally against Spain and Japanese trade as a source to strengthen the English economy, also with an eye on defending the realm against Spanish aggression.

This phase of relations was characterized not only by encounters in Japan, as is normally discussed in the literature, but also by worldwide encounters, including in England itself. It is these encounters that this paper will, in the main, discuss, with the aim of shedding a more global light upon this earliest phase of Anglo-Japanese intercourse.

KEYWORDS: Japanese Mariners; English Mariners; Anglo-Japanese Relations; Early-modern Japan; Early modern England.

William Adams builds a ship for Tokugawa Ieyasu. In Hutchinson's History of the Nations (1915).

The story of William Addames, the first Englishman in Japan has been told many times, in books, newspapers, television and plays, as has the story of the failed 1613-1623 East India Company (EIC) factory in Hirado, an island off Kyushu in western Japan. The two histories often appear in conjunction, as Addames' own story is closely intertwined with that of the EIC. These tellings almost exclusively concentrate on events and conditions within the Japanese islands and, it often feels as if the only people with proactive agency to travel were the English. The Japanese players are often portrayed as passive agents, simply reacting to the presence of English ships when they reached their shores.

In this portrayal of passive and reactive agency the Japanese are not alone, aside from in specialist communities of academics, the globetrotting and world-wide seafaring exploits of the Chinese, Arabs, Indians, Turks, Thais, Africans and Central-Asians have often been downplayed in favour of the parable of the 'The European Age of Expansion,' or 'The Age of Discovery.' It often feels like the Europeans were the only actors in the game of outward expansion, global trade, and maritime exploration; implying that those people who they met and interacted with around the globe were simply awaiting the arrival of the white man.

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And perhaps as a result of this Eurocentric focus, the other sites of Anglo-Japanese meetings, in parts of the globe other than Japan itself, including England, are little known and rarely recorded as more than a side note in academic studies. This paper will seek to rectify this by concentrating on those meetings of Japanese and English people around the world outside of Japan. This does not mean I will ignore Addames or the EIC merchants in Hirado, they are of importance in both wider Japanese and English history and form the backdrop to the global events that I will recount here; however, I will mainly concentrate on the other players in the early history of Anglo-Japanese relations.

First Known Contact: Christopher and Cosmus meet Thomas Cavendish

The first documented occasion on which Japanese and English people met was to say the least a monumentous one. It occurred in the aftermath of a battle in which English privateers took a Spanish galleon off the coast of Baja California in current day Mexico and was recorded by a sailor Frances Petty, who later published his account in *Hakluyt's collection of the Early Voyages, Travels and Discoveries of the English Nation* of 1599 (Hakluyt, 1903).

The English captain, Thomas Cavendish was mid way through a circumnavigation of the globe, only the third ever, and had word that the annual Spanish treasure galleon was on route from Manila to Acapulco where it would trade Chinese and other Asian products for silver mined in Spanish controlled Latin America.

Despite the galleon's size, it did not expect any enemy engagements in the Pacific, where no foreign threat was supposed to sail, and it was virtually unarmed. After a long battle in which the out gunned Spanish fought valiantly with swords, and two muskets, against heavy cannon fire. The Spanish captain surrendered his ship (Mathes, 1969, p. 27; 40; 48).

On the ship were two young Japanese men, known in the English sources as Christopher and Cosmus. They joined Cavendish's crew and left for Plymouth and then London where they spent three years from 1588-1591. As the first documented Asians in London (and North America (de Sousa, 2017, p. 119), they caused quite a stir and were accepted into court and scholarly circles. They were consulted for knowledge of the seas around Japan, China and The Philippines, about East Asian technology such as the Chinese compass (Barlowe, 1597, p. A3-4) and probably helped to translated a Chinese map into English (Batchelor, 2014, p. 67). Their input added greatly to English methods and motivations to reach Japan for trade, national strengthening, and anti-Catholic alliance purposes (Lockley, 2018).

Cavendish himself set off on another voyage in 1591, aiming to reach Japan and the court of Toyotomi Hideyoshi, where Christopher and Cosmus would be his interpreters and advisors (Parke, 1589, p. 2). Sadly, they never made it. Most of the crew perished in South America and only a few bedraggled souls ever made it back to England. Neither of the Japanese lads was reported alive again.

While Christopher and Cosmus represent the first encounter between Japanese and English people, this was of course not to be the last. They stirred up ideas and passions in England, which led to numerous concrete efforts to trade with Japan. Over the next 80 years, relations and relationships were to wax and wane, but finally be cut altogether in 1673 due to the consequences of wider Asian and European politics rather than any personal national animosity.

Japanese Ideas of England

Until William Addames arrived in Japan in 1600, it is unclear whether the Japanese were even aware of the existence of England as any kind of political entity or culture beyond a small smudge on a globe, of which there were quite a few in the possession of the ruling classes. Their knowledge of what was repre-

A Japanese map of Japan from the 18th century. Public domain. Image provided by the author.

朝鮮琉球蝦夷并ニカラフト
カムサスカラツコ嶋等数国
接壌ノ形勢ヲ見ル爲ノ小図
東
西
南
大日本
蝦夷国
朝鮮国
九州
四国
サガリイン
エトロフ
クナジリ
○モンゴル
○遠サンタン
○近サンタン
○サンタン
新長城
萬里長城
遼東
北京省
山東省
南京省
浙江省
福建省
廣東省
南北日本道三百余里
東西同八九十里
仙臺 林子平図

sented on these globes, however, was strongly filtered through a Jesuit lens, as the missionaries monopolized European intellectual interactions with Japanese rulers and thinkers at the time. The Jesuits had carefully hidden the fact that there was a schism in western European religion and although there may have been some inkling brought back by Japanese travelers who had been to Europe and others who and encountered Dutch ships in Asian ports, the Japanese had little if any real understanding of the religious politics that so defined contemporary European life.

Therefore the unfortunate existence of Protestants was unknown in Japan, but Japanese knowledge of the European world was about to change considerably.

The Arrival of *de Liefde* in Japan

One sailor who had been with Christopher and Cosmus on their voyage to England in 1588 was Timothy Shotten. By 1598 he had been recruited to join a Dutch expedition to South America and the Pacific. Joining him was his good friend William Addames, a pilot from Gillingham in England. The two men piloted different ships, Schotten on *de Hoop* and Addames on *de Liefde*.

The fleet of five ships orders' specified that they should attempt to reach either the Spice Islands or Japan, depending on events and the judgment of the ships' captains and pilots at the appropriate juncture. The expedition was a typical one for the time, engaging in shore-raiding and piracy to supplement trade, and, unsurprisingly therefore, was attacked in South America by both Spanish settlers and native Americans.

By the spring of 1599, only Schotten and Addames' ships were still in contact, but they were in terrible straits on the west coast of South America. In a battle with native Americans in is what is now Ecuador, Addames' brother Thomas and twenty six or seven others perished. In November 1599 what was left of the fleet decided to head towards Japan as they believed that they could sell their cargo of woolen cloth there. After a terrible voyage in which Schotten's ship *de Hoop* was lost in a tempest, *de Liefde* now very much alone arrived off Kyushu on April 20th 1600. Only 24 of the original 100 sailors were still alive and only seven could stand; another six died shortly after arrival.

Kyushu was an island where the Jesuits had made considerable converts through their mission which had been running nearly half a century, and in deciding what to do with these 'new' foreigners, the local authorities consulted them to help ascertain what was best. The Jesuits initially tried to pass off the Protestant intruders as pirates and have them speedily executed.

It took an effort but Addames managed to persuade the Japanese that they were not pirates, and he was eventually summoned to the palatial Osaka Castle by Tokugawa Ieyasu, the effective ruler of Japan in fact if not yet technically in name. Ieyasu chose initially to interrogate Addames alone, without a Jesuit interpreter, and through sign language the pilot managed to convey a favorable impression. Later a Portuguese interpreter joined them and a detailed interrogation lasting the whole day ensued. It continued again two days later, during which time Addames was kept a prisoner.

Ieyasu made up his mind, he wanted the considerable supply of arms which was aboard *de Liefde*, 19 bronze cannon and five hundred muskets along with a huge supply of ammunition. These guns, manned by those of the crew who were fit enough, were soon to be used against Uesugi Kakekatsu in Aizu, one of the series of battles that led up to the decisive Battle of Sekigahara in October 1600, where Tokugawa Ieyasu was to effectively cement the rule of his family which would last until 1868.

Ieyasu was a man who knew how to use other men for their talents and he used Addames well. Addames both sailed *de Liefde* on Ieyasu's behalf and after her wreck in 1603, he built two new ships

for Ieyasu. There is some evidence that he sent Addames on missions to the north to navigate a route to England through the North West Passage.

Furthermore, he instructed Ieyasu's men in gunnery and shared knowledge of mathematics and geography with his new master; his activities are reported thus in a contemporary Japanese account:

he had a remarkable talent in the art of gunnery and instructed a great number of soldier in this art; which caused him to be highly esteemed by [Ieyasu].

(*Aichu ryuon kiryaku,* cited in de Lange, 2006, p. 240).

Addames's usefulness to Tokugawa Ieyasu was recognized through promotion to the middle rank of *hatamoto*, retainer with the right of direct audience with the Shogun, a small fief, a wife of some social standing, Magome Oyuki, and a ban on leaving Japan. He was too valuable to Ieyasu to be allowed to leave, but he did manage to send some letters home.

English Ideas of Japan

Meanwhile, England, even prior to the arrival of Christopher and Cosmus had been very aware of Japan's existence and excited by prospects of finding safe routes to get there. Safe routes meant ones which were not dominated by the Portuguese or Spanish; the routes that English mariners proposed, through the ice bound seas above North America or Siberia, were in fact far from safe, and thousands of sailors died in the process of trying to navigate through the frozen seas.

However, they persevered, because, as John Davis wrote in his 1595 book *The Worldes Hydrographic Discription*, finding a safe passage to 'the Indies,' i.e. China and Japan, was no matter of small import, England's very future prosperity and strength relied upon it:

I knowe it will be ordered by you to bee a matter of no small moment to the good of our countrie. For thereby wee shall not onely have a copious and rich vent for al our naturall and artificiall comodities of England, in short time by safe passage, and without offence of any, but also shall by the first imployment retourne into our countrey by spedie passage all Indian commodities in the ripenes of their perfection, whereby her Majesties dominions should bee the storehouse of Europe, the nurse of the world, and the glory of nations, in yielding all forrayne naturall benefites by an easie rate

(Markham, 1880, p. 193-194)

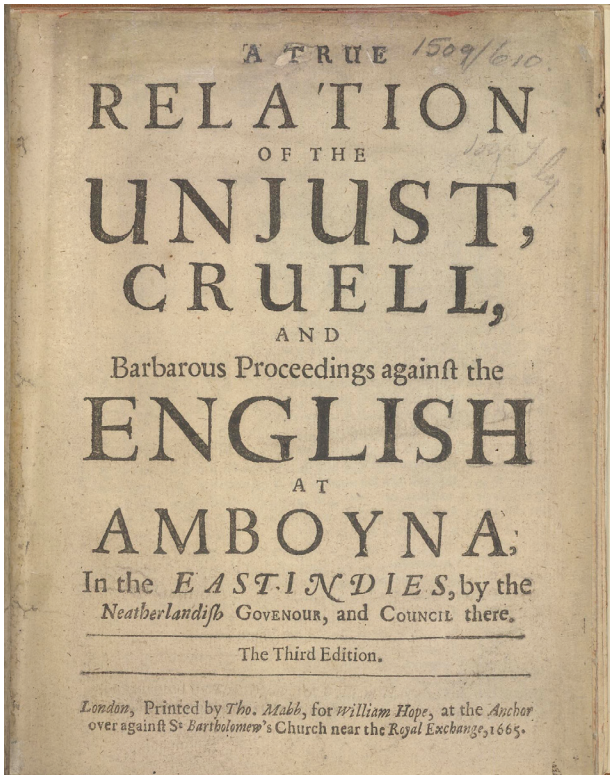
Several failed voyages followed Cavendish's fatal attempt in 1591-92, but whether because of the elements, or human enemies, all English attempts came to naught.

Meanwhile, however, other Anglo-Japanese encounters were taking place elsewhere around the globe.

The End for John Davis

John Davis was a man driven by the search for a route to East Asia, and captained one of the ships in Cavendish's failed mission via the 'southern route' around the bottom of South America, that attempted to reach Japan with Christopher and Cosmus in 1591-2. After this, Davis seems to have concentrated on the route above North America, but others disagreed with him and as more and more knowledge of the Portuguese routes to India around the southern tip of Africa became available, this route became the preferred one for English missions.

Davis did not give up attempting to get to Japan and in 1604, he was engaged as pilot on a voyage via southern Africa which was to be his last; the objective was *'to discover and trade with Cathia and Japan'*. On Christmas eve 1605 after leaving Java where they had been trading, Davis' ship the *Tiger* met a small and overcrowded Japanese pirate ship floundering and in


A TRUE
RELATION
OF THE
UNJUST,
CRUELL,
AND
Barbarous Proceedings againſt the
ENGLISH
AT
AMBOYNA,
In the EAST-INDIES, by the
Neatherlandiſh Govenour, and Council there.
The Third Edition.
London, Printed by Tho. Mabb, for William Hope, at the Anchor over againſt St Bartholomew's Church near the Royal Exchange, 1665.

An English pamphlet publicizing the Amboyna Massacre. Public domain. Image provided by the author.

danger. The Japanese pilot had died and the rest of the crew lacked the necessary skill to navigate back home. This had lead to the wreck of their own ship and they had then seized a much smaller local vessel which was filled with bales of rice. Around 90 pirates were crowded into this small ship and they seemed to be going nowhere fast.

The English, who were very keen to obtain information which they could then use later to open trade and navigate towards Japan, offered to help them out and the two ships took refuge on a small island near Bintan close to modern day Singapore. The Japanese were invited to join the English Christmas meal and they responded likewise by hosting the English sailors aboard the Japanese vessel as well. This carried on for two days, everybody apparently friendly.

Then the atmosphere seems to have suddenly changed from amity to suspicion, and the English decided to search the Japanese ship's cargo of rice, perhaps they had got all the useful information they were going to get, perhaps they hoped that treasure was concealed inside the bales of rice? It is not clear. The Japanese were held prisoner in a cabin, but John Davis unfortunately allowed them to keep their weapons despite the captain ordering him to disarm them. They spent the day in confinement and during this time the disgruntled and still armed pirates planned their escape and the taking of the English ship.

Shortly before sunset, and despite probably being heavily outnumbered, they attacked suddenly, charging out of the cabin where they had been kept prisoner. Davis was coming out of the gun room at the time of the attack and he was the first Englishman they saw. They grabbed him, pulled him back into the cabin and inflicted mortal wounds upon him, then charged onto the deck holding the dying Davis before them as a shield. The fight on both ships was a desperate hand-to-hand affair; it is not hard to imagine the desperate clash of Japanese *tachi* against English sword punctured by occasional small arms fire as darkness fell over the tiny floating battlefields.

All the English sailors who had been on the Japanese ship were killed or thrown overboard, but the pirates failed to take control of the *Tiger*. The outnumbered Japanese sailors retreated back to the cabin where it had all started and made their last stand there. It lasted four hours during which time they made several unsuccessful attempts to set the ship ablaze, but was ended when the English, having filled two cannon with a variety of deadly body mauling ammunition, turned them on the cabin where the last survivors were holding out; they were literally blown away.

Having survived the battle but too shaken to continue without Davis' expertise, the English ship then also turned pirate, seized two Chinese ships and, without their navigator, returned home. John Davis became the first Englishman ever to be killed by a Japanese fighter, and the unnamed Japanese pirates became the first to be killed by Englishmen. If this unfortunate episode shows anything, it is that during this age,

there was a very fine line between legitimate mariners and pirates, perhaps no line at all. Any vulnerable ship seems to have been fair game and sailors of all nations were happy to take advantage of any situation in which they deemed themselves to have the upper hand.

This action is also notable for being one of the few fights before the modern age which directly involved Japanese and English people on opposing sides rather that in alliance with each other. There were a few other instances of Japanese pirates fighting against European forces such as the 1582 Cagayan battles in the Philippines (Tremml-Werner, 2015) for example, and later in the 1620s against the Dutch in Taiwan (Clulow, 2011). Generally, however, Europeans avoided fighting the Japanese or used them as allied mercenaries against each other (Tremml-Werner, 2015). The Japanese also employed foreigners as paid muscle and military instructors at times, including the survivors of *de Liefde* (de Lange, 2006), several Africans and various Korean and Chinese men (Lockley, 2017).

The perhaps one notable 'official' battle between Japanese and European forces was during *Nossa Senhora da Graça* incident in 1610, when a Portuguese ship was impounded by Lord Arima Harunobu in retaliation for some of his sailors having been executed in Macao after a riot. The Portuguese captain resisted and in the end blew up his own ship rather than submit (Tremml-Werner, 2015, p. 207).

San Buena Ventura, An English Style Japanese Ship Sails to Mexico

In 1609, the homeward-bound governor of the Philippines Rodrigo de Vivero y Velasco was shipwrecked off the coast of what is now Chiba Prefecture near Tokyo. Rodrigo de Vivero y Velasco remained in Japan for 9 months, and took the opportunity to negotiate the first treaty of friendship between Japan and New Spain.

In 1610, the retired Shogun, Tokugawa Ieyasu, ordered a metals expert from Kyoto called Tanaka Shosuke to escort the Governor back to New Spain and travelled together with 22 other Japanese representatives, on board the *San Buena Ventura*, a 120-ton English style ship designed and built in Japan by William Addames a few years previously (Tremml-Werner, 2015, p. 206).

Arriving in New Spain in November, they travelled to Mexico city to meet the the viceroy, Luis de Velasco's, who sent his personal carriage to meet them on the way so that they might travel in more comfort. He expressed great pleasure at the treatment his compatriots had received, and warmly welcomed Tanaka and his men, entirely funding their stay. An account by an Aztec noble described them as 'bold, not gentle and meek people, going about like eagles. [...] They look like girls because of the way they wear their hair' (Quauhtlehuanitzin, 2006, p. 171).

In exchange for the generous treatment that the Spanish had received in Japan, it was decided to send Sebastián Vizcaíno, who had been present on the same ship as the mariners Christopher and Cosmus when it was taken by Thomas Cavendish in 1587, on a embassy to Japan. However, the viceroy confiscated the Japanese ship, it was bad enough having English and Dutch enemies swarming around the Pacific without having the Japanese in on the game too (Tremml-Werner, 2015, p. 206).

The English Trading Posts

The first English ship to reach Japan, *Clove*, departed Japan on December 5th 1613. The captain, John Saris left Richard Cocks in charge of this new and exciting English East India Company (EIC) trading adventure. Addames, a powerful familiar at court who knew Japan well, was engaged as an advisor. It seemed that English hopes, which had been high since Christopher and Cosmus' time had at last been realised. A bountiful future awaited.

As outlined above, however, it is not the aim of this paper to delve too deeply into these aspects of the Japanese-English interactions in 17th century, which have been told so well and so comprehensively elsewhere (see for example Massarella (1990).

A Second Group of Japanese Mariners in England

On December 6th 1614 a much larger group of Japanese sailors, (15 had originally left Japan but it is not known how many survived the voyage), arrived in England on the *Clove* which was returning from Japan after having set up the East India Company's factory in Hirado in 1613 (Satow, 1900). These mariners had been hired to replace English sailors who had died on the voyage or jumped ship.

They caused little stir in England, much more cosmopolitan by this time thanks to the coming and goings of Asian sailors on EIC ships, and they seem to have left quickly to work their way back home. How they got back to Hirado, however, is unclear and they are not mentioned in any EIC document, letter or diary again until August 18th 1617. These men clearly felt that they had been swindled or maltreated by the English, as one of them '*took Capt. Addames by the throte in his owne lodging*' demanding that he support their claim for underpaid wages *and* also compensation for their trading losses of 350 *taels* on the voyage (Cocks, 1883, p. 297). This assault on William Addames is three years after their sojourn in England, and suggests a long and arduous voyage home. In the end, on the orders of the Hirado authorities, the EIC was forced to settle with them, paying in total 402 *taels* of silver on August 25th (Cocks, 1883, p. 300).

This dispute seems to have centered on the money they received in advance before the voyage, a misunderstanding of the terms of hire and potential trade profits, and dispute over how much had already been received. All of which suggests that these men were not only sailors, but had also attempted to engage unsuccessfully in private trade, probably by selling Japanese goods in England. They therefore represent the first in a long line of Japanese business people, that continues to this day.

There are many other casual mentions of Japanese sailors crewing English ships in inter-Asian trade, so there must have been myriad other less noteworthy but friendly interactions on the high seas, in Japan, around Asia, and perhaps in England too?

Japanese Mariners and Mercenaries in English Service

If the unofficial Anglo-Japanese relationship had been developing into a global affair up to now, it proceeded to take on an even more multilateral feel; Japanese sailors were not only going directly between Japanese and English ports, but were often being contracted elsewhere as can be seen in various records pertaining to the EIC. For example William Eaton writes thus on December 18th 1617:

The factors at Siam (Thailand) Sent in March last a small pinnace [to Japan] with goods and money for Chiampa (Vietnam), Robt. Burgis, master, and Peter Hall and John Ferrers, merchants, the mariners all Japanese. Great hopes of good to be done in that place.

(Calendar of State Papers Colonial, East Indies, China and Japan, Volume 3, 1870, p. 81-100)

That this partnering of English and Japanese sailors was not always a match made in heaven can be seen in a comment by Cocks only five days later which makes it clear that the Japanese mariners were not easy to control:

Understands 'the Japan Ompra' is a man that may help them much in lading their junk, and especially in keeping under their mutinous Japan mariners. Privileges granted to the officers on condition of there being neither mutiny nor misbehaviour among the mariners.

(Calendar of State Papers Colonial, East Indies, China and Japan, Volume 3, 1870, p. 81-100)

This shows firstly again that neither Japanese sailors, nor their compatriot officers, were going to put up with inferior conditions. Secondly, the power that 'The Japan Ompra,' Yamada Nagamasa, the leader of the Japanese in Siam and a formidable figure in

East Asian diplomatic affairs wielded, and finally the international nature of Siam and the interconnected global trade community there. In the same letter Cocks also mentions thanking Yamada for his help by gifting him a small present.

A fight in Banda, modern-day Indonesia, between Europeans in 1618 also employed Japanese mercenaries, both Dutch and English belligerents employed Japanese warriors and these men killed and died for their employers. For the English:

five Flemings (Dutch) were killed, merchants and officers, and a black slave of the Flemings, whose head a Japanese cut off.

(Calendar of State Papers Colonial, East Indies, China and Japan, Volume 3, 1870, p. 177-188)

And by the Portuguese:

the other Portuguese seeing, ran to the English, who armed themselves and forced the door of the Dutch factory, killed three or four men belonging to the Flemings, among whom was the captain of the Japanese of the Flemings, and the Dutch purveyor received a tremendous sword wound from Mr. Gris, which separated his shoulders.

(Calendar of State Papers Colonial, East Indies, China and Japan, Volume 3, 1870, p. 177-188)

These were not peaceful times in the European attempts to take full control of the lucrative spice trade from Indonesia, and Japanese mercenary muscle was key in these battles. The Japanese government which had long been alarmed about incidents involving its citizens overseas and the fallout from such events, eventually forbade the export of all weaponry and embarking of slaves, mariners and mercenaries on foreign ships in 1618 (Cocks, 1883, p. 463). However, things were about to get much worse.

The Amboyna Massacre

As we saw above, the Spice Islands were an area of intense competition for Europeans who wished to control highly lucrative products such as pepper. The competition got more and more heated, and violence often broke out. Despite the orders of the governments of England and The Netherlands, tensions and rivalries spiked in 1623 on the island of Ambon when the Dutch believed they had caught a Japanese mercenary in English employ spying on their defenses. The aftermath of this incident became known as the Amboyna Massacre.

Under torture the Japanese mercenary who had been caught confessed to a Japanese plot to take over the Dutch fortress and kill the governor. As the Japanese were working for the EIC, the English were also implicated in the alleged plot. 10 Englishmen, 9 Japanese men and one Portuguese man were executed by decapitation; four Englishmen and two Japanese men were pardoned.

The incident became a scandal around Europe, and the subject of a war of pamphlets as to whether the executions had been deserved or even legal. The dispute carried on and eventually became a casus belli, or at least a convenient pretext for war in the first, second and third Anglo-Dutch Wars later in the century.

The names of the Japanese mercenaries in English service who were tortured by the Dutch were published in Anglicized form as 'Hitieso,' 'Tsiosa,' 'Sinsa,' 'Soysimo,' and 'Sacoube' from Hirado; 'Sidney Migiel,' 'Pedro Congie,' 'Thome Corea' of Nagasaki, 'Zanchoe' from Hisen, 'Quiondayo' from Karatsu, and Sabinda of Chikuzen. The last two men from Hirado were those who were pardoned. The names are interesting, because the men from Nagasaki are given Portuguese style names, suggesting that they were Christians, one has a surname, Corea, that suggests he was of Korean origin, the others seem to have Japanese names, probably indicating they were not Christian, and their places of origin in North Eastern Kyushu would support this hypothesis.

In addition to this incident, during the 1620s the Japanese government got increasingly angry and alarmed about Japanese freelancers being heavily involved in Asian wars and conflicts, especially in Taiwan and Siam. This peaked with the death of Yamada Nagamasa in Siam in 1630, at the head of a Japanese mercenary army of over 300 men. At which point the Tokugawa Shogunate cut diplomatic ties with Siam (Polenghi, 2009) and proceeded to forbid Japanese subjects to travel outside Japan in 1635 (Laver, 2011). This formed part of the series of promulgations restricting foreign intercourse that later became known as the 'Sakoku Edicts,' but at the time had the milder term of 'Maritime Restrictions' applied. No more would the Japanese government tolerate complaints about its merchants, mercenaries and mariners overseas, Japanese citizens outside Japan would henceforth simply cease to exist.

The End of the English Trading Posts

By this time, there had ceased to be any Englishmen in Japan. The traders had not succeeded in making the profits that they had expected to make. The reasons for this were varied, including not having products which were sufficiently attractive to Japanese buyers, being forced out of the market by Dutch aggression, and through mismanagement of funds (Massarella, 1990). Crucially, Addames' advice was often ignored.

They applied for and eventually received the Shogun's permission to leave Hirado, but attempted to reserve the option to return at a later date. When they eventually departed Japan in 1623, no one could have fully foreseen the strict laws which the third Tokugawa Shogun, Iemitsu, would enforce regarding foreign trade and foreign traders, nor that his successors would continue his policies until the 1850s. Japan had always been an open country, highly welcoming to foreign trade and technology.

Ureamonw Eaton

The English traders packed up and left, but there were a series of loose ends, not to mention family and friends in Japan. Most traders seem to have decided to part themselves from any Japanese children that they had fathered and none chose to take a Japanese wife or concubine with him. However, one man, William Eaton, who had fathered a mixed-heritage child with a Japanese mother called Kamezo, Uriemon Eaton, did take the child with him. The mother stayed behind in Japan, in what must have been heart wrenching circumstances. Uriemon grew up in England and later petitioned King Charles I for the right to remain permanently in England, a denizen, in 1639 and a scholar's place at Trinity College Cambridge in 1640 (Farrington, 1984, p. 6). However, little else seems to be known of him and he was only a very small child when he left Japan so would not have been a source of any of the crucial information about foreign lands and technologies that scholars so valued in the first Japanese visitors to England, Christopher and Cosmus, sixty years before.

No Return in 1673

Although the Japanese government thought it was finished with England, and did not seem to care very much, the EIC had not quite given up on Japan. When in 1673 the EIC was again in a position to approach Japan, they sent a ship, appropriately named *Return*, to Nagasaki to again apply for permission to trade (Massarella, 1990).

The trading permit, was a poor quality copy, and the Japanese officials in Nagasaki were not happy to have this headache to deal with. The English sailors were confined to ship, their guns and ammunition confiscated.

The crux of the matter though turned out to be that the Dutch, the only Europeans permitted trade at Nagasaki, had gleefully kept the Japanese up-to-date on the news that the English King Charles II was married to a Catholic, the daughter of the Portuguese King

John IV, Catherine of Braganza. Catholicism had long been forbidden in Japan under pain of death and the crew of the last Portuguese ship to attempt to trade in Nagasaki had lost their heads. Only a skeleton crew of 13 men had been spared, in order to deliver the message that Iberians were not welcome.

The Japanese economy at the time was going through a difficult patch, linked to the Qing conquest of China and also to dwindling yields from silver mining activities (Kim & Nagase-reimer, 2013). It was therefore seeking to reduce precious metal outflows, not potentially increase them through opening to new trading partners. The Tokugawa government refused the English application to trade and *Return* left empty handed.

Aftermath

At this time in history, Japan had always been more important to England than England had been to Japan and during the 18th century the Japanese largely forgot about the country where Christopher and Cosmus had caused such a stir.

The idea of Japan in England carried on in fits and bursts, most notably in *Gulliver's Travels*, Jonathan Swift's classic tale in which the hero visits Nagasaki, a story which is believed to be based upon that of William Addames (Aravamudan 2012).

The next significant meeting between the two countries was not until the Napoleonic wars, when the Dutch trading post in Nagasaki became of strategic interest due to the Netherlands' capitulation to France. In 1808, HMS Phaeton entered Nagasaki harbour to capture Dutch ships. When they failed to find any, the British captured several Dutchmen and threatened to destroy Japanese and Chinese shipping unless supplies of water, food and fuel were provided. Everyone was taken by surprise and the Japanese quickly capitulated to the demands, while at the same time mobilizing for war. HMS Phaeton left quickly before the re-enforcements arrived (Screech, 2016).

Two young Japanese men dressed in Portuguese clothing. Courtesy of Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

In 1811, The Dutch East Indies fell to British attack and remained in British hands until the end of the war. It seemed an opportune moment to replace the Dutch and open trade with Japan once more. In 1813, the lieutenant governor, Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, sent a Doctor Ainslie disguised as a Dutchman to Nagasaki (Beasley, 1995, p. 5). His efforts failed and it took 41 years and another war for Britain to again attempt to re-open the Japan trade.

Otokichi

In the meantime, a very interesting character had reached London, probably the first Japanese person in two hundred years. Otokichi was only 14 years when his ship was severely damaged in a

storm and, unable to control it, Otokichi and his relatives Iwakichi and Kyukichi drifted across the Pacific Ocean for 14 months. They made landfall in what is now Washington State, USA, but was then the territory of the Hudson Bay Company and therefore under British control (Schodt, 2003). They were initially enslaved by Native Americans, but soon came to the notice of British traders who saw an opportunity to ingratiate themselves with the Japanese authorities. Otokichi and his kin were sent to London to find out what intelligence they could render (Beasley, 1995).

In London, their presence caused hot debate about whether to try to open relations with Japan again, but the authorities concluded that it was not a practical option at the time. They could not be repatriated directly to Japan as the law prohibited anybody who had left the country to return, so the three men were sent to Macau where they trained to be translators and taught Japanese.

In 1843, Otokichi went to work for the British trading company Dent & Co. in Shanghai. He also seems to have engaged in business on his own part, as well as acting as a middle-man facilitating Chinese/European trade and acting as an Engish-Chinese interpreter during the First Opium War.

In 1854, when British ships were hunting Russian ships in Asian waters during the Crimean War, Sir James Stirling entered Nagasaki to negotiate The Anglo-Japanese Friendship Treaty. This was six months after Commodore Perry's ground breaking treaty between the USA and Japan, and Stirling was able to negotiate similar terms. The ports of Nagasaki and Hakodate were opened to British ships for provisioning and repairs.

Otokichi accompanied the mission as its interpreter. The Tokugawa government could see that he would be a useful asset to them, and he was offered permission to return to Japan. It must have been a difficult decision, but in the end he chose to return to his family and business in Shanghai. The British rewarded him with citizenship and he changed his name to John Matthew Ottoson.

Toward the end of his life, Ottoson moved from Shanghai to Singapore, his wife's native island where he lived a life of some luxury, but died at the age of 49, in 1867.

In 1858, The Anglo-Japanese Treaty of Amity and Commerce was concluded and for the first time in 235 years, British ships achieved their long held dream of trading once more in Japanese ports. Within a few years, Japanese people were travelling in their droves to Britain, both in official capacities and out of personal interest or to school. The flood gates were beginning to open, time was turning back more than two centuries to the era of great contact, only this time it was the Japanese who felt the need to travel to see the mighty power of the United Kingdom. In the previous era, it had been the English who prostrated themselves before Japanese rulers.

Conclusion

This paper shows that the early Anglo-Japanese relationship was far from confined to the Japanese islands, the first encounter was in North America and others occurred all over Asia and of course stretched as far away from Japan as London itself. Wherever Japanese and English people existed to be able to communicate with one another, they did.

The first forty years of relations were characterized positively by technology exchange and friendship, but also by conflict and commercial failure on both sides. However, there were undoubtedly many more encounters and incidents which went unrecorded or have been forgotten; it was of course the more violent or commercially noteworthy episodes which raised people's passions and ended up in diaries, pamphlets and ships' logs. Japanese voices are sadly few and far between in this series of encounters. This is largely because outside of Japan, the Japanese people who travelled were often of low-status. The first Japanese men to encounters, English men, Christopher and Cosmus,' opinion and

record of English life, for example, is sadly unknown, we have to rely on English language sources to learn about their lives. The experience of the second group of Japanese sailors to visit England in 1614 is even more opaque.

There are some Japanese voices preserved in letters. When the EIC quit Japan in 1623, they not only left behind debt and commercial failure, but friends, lovers and children were bereft as well. A servant wrote to her erstwhile master, the merchant Richard Cocks, "I am expecting your return to Japan when you have worked hard. I always remember, every night and morning, that you showed me kindness while you were in Japan, and I wish to see you once again." Kamezo, the mother of Ureamon Eaton, the child who eventually grew up to be a student at Cambridge, asked, in the tone of a doting mother who misses her child that particular care be taken "of little William" (Faringdon, 1984, p. 15).

This paper has attempted to shine a light on some of the less well known aspects of the Anglo-Japanese relationship during the period 1587-1673. The relationship was multifaceted but, naturally, focused on maritime encounters and endeavours, as befits two island nations of seafarers. While many of these encounters have been all but forgotten, the sentiment that emanated from this positive period of relations was remembered and formed the basis for the later friendly relations that developed in the 19th century and despite the interval of World War II, continue to this day. RC

NOTES

1 Blair and Robertson 1903-1909, III, 58.
2 Chaunu 1966, 148-151; Gil 2011, 575-580.
3 González de Mendoza 2008, 161-245; Ollé 2002, 53ss.
4 San Agustín 1975, 446-450.
5 Boxer 1988.
6 Ollé 2002, 66-72.
7 AGI, *Patronato*, 46, r. 11.
8 Wingaert 1933, 12-92, 103-160.
9 Ollé 2002, 98.
10 Colín 1900-1903, I, 265ss. Cfr. U. Iaccarino, "Mediating the Spanish Presence in China: Michele Ruggieri's involvement in the Missions of Pedro de Alfaro O.F.M. and Alonso Sánchez S.I. (1579-1585)", in Xie Mingguang 謝明光 *et al.* (eds.), *Michele Ruggieri: Portrait of a Jesuit Missionary at the Dawn of the Dialogue between China and Europe* (Beijing: China Social Science Press 中國社會科學出版社, 2019) (currently under print).
11 Ribadeneira 1947, 109-110, 115-120.
12 Borao 2009.
13 Colín 1900-1903, I, 197-198.
14 Sousa Pinto 2008, 33.
15 "Fuesse servido que los de Macao pudiesen enviar en un navío hazienda suya a Manila para rremedio de la perdida y nesçessidad grande que avían tenido y en que estaban". AGI, *Filipinas*, 6, r. 8, n. 134.
16 Ollé 2003.
17 Argensola 1992, 157.
18 Spate 1979, 262-263, 282-283.
19 Laarhoven and Wittermans 1985, 490.
20 The *Santa Catarina*, which was sailing from Macao to Malacca. See Borschberg 2004b.
21 Blumentritt 1882.
22 Borschberg 2004a.
23 Schurz 1959, 98; Gil 2011, 592.
24 Boxer 1946, 158.
25 Boyajian 1993, 76-85.
26 Blair and Robertson 1903-1909, VIII, 179.
27 Souza 1986, 36-39; Sousa 2010.
28 Videira 1987, 9; Costa 1967, 49-50.
29 Blair and Robertson 1903-1909, VI, 316.
30 Blair and Robertson 1903-1909, VII, 73-74.
31 Blair and Robertson 1903-1909, VII, 79-82.
32 Schurz 1959, 155. From 1565 until 1606 still another galleon was permitted to sail to America from the port of Cebu.
33 Blair and Robertson 1903-1909, VIII, 183.
34 In Hori Kyōan's *Chōsen seibatsu ki* 朝鮮征伐記 (seventeenth century). Murakami 1966, 29-34.
35 Iaccarino 2017.
36 Morga 1997, 314.
37 Boxer 1988, 74-75.
38 The shogunate.
39 Murakami 1966.
40 Gil 2011, 50-54.
41 Cfr. Gil 2011, 593.
42 Gil 1991, 443.
43 AGI, *Filipinas*, 24; Chaunu 1960, 148-159; Gil 2011, 575-605; González 2017; D'Ávila Lourido 2000, 221.
44 Ollé 2013, 238.
45 Chaunu 1960, 148.
46 Santiago de Vera to the King, June 26, 1587. AGI, *Patronato, 25, r. 36; Colín 1900-1903, I, 354.*
47 Pierre Chaunu (1960) indicates two ships.
48 Gil 2011, 576. "Francisco Sobrino, of Goa […] came to Manila in eighty-eight with two thousand odd pesos in Chinese goods, and left a year later with eleven thousand three hundred pesos." Blair and Robertson 1903-1909, VIII, 182-183.
49 Chaunu (1960) indicates five ships.
50 Chaunu (1960) indicates two ships.
51 Iaccarino 2017, 53-56.
52 The captain of the ship was a certain "Tijon". Blair and Robertson 1903-1909, XVII, 129-130 (*Relación* by Gregorio López, S.I.).
53 *Ibidem*, pp. 130-132.
54 D'Ávila Lourido (2000, 221) indicates 6 or 7 ships.
55 Blair and Robertson 1903-1909, XIX, 69.
56 "From Macan ten Portuguese ships have come with much valuable merchandise". Blair and Robertson 1903-1909, XIX, 69.
57 One of these last two vessels was probably the ship *Nuestra Señora de la Vida* indicated by Gil 2011, 593. Cfr. González 2017, 8.
58 Borao 2001-2002, I, 62. Cfr. Van Dyke 2003, 78.
59 Colín 1900-1903, I, 226-227; Boxer 1988, 111-112.
60 Several Portuguese ships came this year to Manila from India, Malacca, Siam, and Cambodia.
61 Pierre Chaunu (1960) indicates two galleons, three gal liots, and three champans.
62 Colín 1900-1903, I, 236-237. According to the registers of the Royal Hacienda, indicated by E. González (2017, 16), another Spanish ship, the *Santísima Trinidad*, arrived in Macao from Manila. It had sailed this same year to Taiwan.
63 "Tres galeotas que vinieron de Macan a cargo de diferentes personas".
64 Chaunu (1960) indicates four ships.
65 González 2017, 9.
66 Chaunu (1960) indicates three ships (ca.).
67 "Un navío que de esta ciudad salió para Macán". Cfr. González 2017, 15-16.
68 Gil 2011, 602.
69 Chaunu (1960) indicates three ships.
70 Chaunu (1960) indicates three ships.
71 E. González (2017) indicates three ships: the cho *Nuestra Señora de la Limpia Concepción*, captained by Antonio de Acosta Benucho; the cho *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción*; the ship Santa Cruz. All three vessels had as captain major (capitán mayor) Fernando Barreto de Almeida. According to the author, the *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción* came also in 1641 with Gerónimo de Sosa as its captain.

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