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Rogério Miguel Puga
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IMAGES AND REPRESENTATIONS OF JAPAN AND MACAO IN PETER MUNDY'S TRAVELS (1637)

Rogério Miguel Puga

Lisbon

“From the land, small boats put out to meet them, in which came men whiter than the Chinese, but with small eyes and short beards. From them, they had learned that those islands were called Nipongi, [...] which we commonly term Japan. And finding that those people were kind, they mingled with them, by whom they were very hospitably received.”

Diogo de Couto (1542-1616), *Década Quinta da Ásia*, Book VIII, chapter XII, fl. 183-86 (1612).

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Macao's history was intimately related to the Portuguese trade with the archipelago of Japan, although after the first attacks against the Christians, in 1614, the Portuguese started to trade with other partners, namely in Indochina.¹ Several writers² and historians³ have described the relations between the Chinese enclave administrated by the Portuguese, up to 1999, and the Islands of the Rising Sun since the sixteenth century.

Many of the writers who visited the “City of the Name of God” and China described the Japanese inhabitants of the city as well as the traffic of vessels going to and coming from Japan. Because of the Japanese piracy along the China Coast, direct commerce between the two empires was forbidden by

1 Cf. João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, *Cartas Anuas de Macau (1594-1627)*, C. T. M. C. D. P-Fundação Macau, Macau, 1999, p. 34-36; George Bryan de Souza, *A Sobrevivência do Império: Os portugueses na China (1630-1754)*, Publicações Dom Quixote, Lisbon, 1991 (1986).

2 Fernão Mendes Pinto in his *Peregrinação* (translated into English in 1653) describes the relations between the Portuguese, the Chinese and the Japanese people. António Bocarro in his description of Macao (1635) mentions some products sold in Macao and Japan, namely silk and “China Root [drug], which has a great sale in Japan” (p. 37). The «Description of the City of the Name of God in China» by the Chronicler-in-Chief of the State of India António Bocarro was translated by Charles R. Boxer in *Macao na época da Restauração / Macao Three Hundred Years Ago*, col. «Obra Completa de Charles Ralph Boxer», vol. II, Fundação Oriente, Lisbon, 1993 (1942), pp. 27-47. Marco D' Avalo, an Italian traveller, in his description of Macao (1638, in Charles Boxer, *op. cit.*, pp. 85-86), also mentions the monopoly of the Portuguese traders in Macao, who “go, according to the monsoons, to Manila (mostly Chinese) or to Japan (whither only Portuguese go) [...]” For the quotation from Bocarro's and Avalo's works we used Charles Boxer's translation (texts in English).

the Emperors of the Ming dynasty, giving the Portuguese in Macao a favourable opportunity to act as the principal importers of Chinese silks as well as other goods into Japan, while bringing Japanese silver back to Macao. The development of the city is, therefore, related to the commerce of the nau do trato (black trading ship), operated by merchants and missionaries.⁴ This profitable activity⁵ gave place to great competition from the Spanish, the Dutch and the English until the Portuguese were expelled from Japan in 1639.⁶ During the first half of the seventeenth century, the Chinese trade in Nagasaki was already significant. “From 1608 onwards, the Chinese community [in Nagasaki] grew rapidly, and, in 1618, two thousand people were

3 João Paulo Oliveira e Costa has written a substantial amount of studies on this matter, therefore we mention but a few of his works: «Os Portugueses na China» (vol. 4, pp. 180-196), «Os Portugueses no Japão» (vol. 4, pp. 197-211) and «As missões cristãs na China e no Japão» (vol. 3, pp. 143-157), in Luís de Albuquerque (ed.), *Portugal no Mundo*, Alfa, Lisbon, 1989; *Portugal and the Japan: The namban century*, Portuguese State Mint, Lisbon, 1993; «Japão», in Luís de Albuquerque (dir.), *Dicionário de História dos Descobrimentos Portugueses*, vol. I, Editorial Caminho, Lisbon, 1994, pp.537-541; *A descoberta da Civilização Japonesa pelos Portugueses*, Instituto Cultural de Macau-Instituto de História de Além-Mar, Macau, 1995; «Macao e o Japão nos Séculos XVI e XVII», in Macau, II 2n série, n. 67, November 1997, Livros do Oriente, Macau, pp. 190-197; João Paulo Oliveira e Costa and Ana Fernandes Pinto, *Cartas anuais do Colégio de Macau (1594-1627)*, CTM-CDP-Fundação de Macau, Macau, 1999; Luís Filipe Thomaz, «Les Portugais dans les mers de l'Archipel au XVI siècle», in *Archipel*, n. 18, CNRS, Paris, 1979, pp. 105-125; *Nanban Jim: os portugueses no Japão*, C.T.T., Lisbon, 1993; Artur Teodoro de Matos, «A carreira do Japão, Macau e o comércio português no Oriente», in *Revista Macau*, Março 1999, Livros do Oriente, Macau, pp. 86-91; Valdemar Fernando da Silva Coutinho, *O fim da presença portuguesa no Japão (1639)*, S.H.I.P, Lisboa, 1999; C. A. Montalto Jesus, *Historic Macao: International Traits in China Old and New*, second edition, Salesian Printing Press and Tipografia Mercantil, Macao, 1926 (1902), pp. 20-1; Jorge Manuel Flores, «The “discoverers” of Japan», in João Paulo Oliveira e Costa (coord.), *Review of Culture*, n. 17 (2nd Series), Instituto Cultural de Macau, Macau, 1993, pp. 5-16; Charles Ralph Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1967; *Fidalgos in the Far East, 1550-1770*, London, 1968; *The Great Ship of Amacon*, Fundação Oriente-Museu e Centro de Estudos Marítimos de Macau, Macao, 1988; G. Schurhammer, «O descobrimento do Japão pelos Portugueses no ano de 1543», in *Anais da Academia Portuguesa de História*, 2nd series, n. 1, Lisbon, 1946.

4 Cf. Manuel Teixeira, «The Japanese in Macau», in *Review of Culture*, n. 17, pp. 154-172: “One of the [...] most fascinating aspects of Japan’s Christian century is the role of Macao as a key port on the missionary route with its consequent development as a cultural and inspirational base for missionaries and Japanese priests and, finally, as a resting place for the relics of many of the Japanese martyrs” (p. 154).

5 Diogo de Couto (1542-1616) in his *Diálogo do Soldado Prático que trata dos Enganos e Desenganos da Índia* (c. 1570), Livraria Sá da Costa Editora, Lisbon, 1980, p. 211, informs: “the silver, which comes from Japan every year in our great ship of commerce [...] the cargo of which is exchanged for bullion and amounts to more than a million in gold.”

6 Cf. Charles Boxer, *op. cit.*, p. 1; Austin Coates, *Macao Narrative*, Heineman, Hong Kong, 1977, chapter III. Both the text and the sketches that we will study in this article («Peter Mundy’s description of Macao – 1637-») were reproduced in English and Portuguese by Charles Boxer, *Macao...*, pp. 49-75. Taken from *The Travels of Peter Mundy (1608-1667)*, (5 vols.) vol. III. Part II, edited by Sir R. C. Temple and L. Austey, Hakluyt Society, London, 1907-1936, pp. 159-316. The original manuscripts are preserved in the Bodeleian Library at Oxford (*Mss. Rawl. A 315*).

7 Cf. João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, *O cristianismo no Japão e o episcopado de D. Luís Cerqueira*, Phd’s Thesis on History of the Portuguese Discoveries and Expansion, Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2 volumes, Lisbon, p. 528.

already part of it.”⁷ The English, while fighting, with the Portuguese and Dutch, for territories and trade in India (1604-1623),⁸ also founded a trading post in Hirado⁹ – an ideal hub port for accessing new markets in China – which lasted only ten years, ceasing its functions, bankrupted, in 1623.

Since the end of the sixteenth century, several Dutch and English vessels visited Macao and China, without much success.¹⁰ On 27th June 1637, two years after the English ceased to attack the Portuguese in the Eastern seas, four East Indian Company’s ships, under the command of Captain John Weddell, anchored among the islands south of Macao, bringing some Jesuits from Malacca.¹¹ It was, according to Austin Coates,¹² the first English trading voyage to China. Aboard one of the vessels of the “Squire” Courteen, which left England in April 1636, was Peter Mundy, commercial officer of the voyage, who went ashore, on the 28th June 1637, to deliver a letter from King Charles II to the Captain-General D. Domingos da Câmara Noronha and the Senate of Macao.

Mundy, who spoke some Portuguese – *lingua franca* throughout the East – and Spanish, John Mountney and the interpreter Thomas Robinson were invited to have lunch at the Jesuit seminary, and visited the city two years after the stone façade of the church of Our Lady of Assumption (of the Jesuit College of Mother of God) had been added with the participation of Japanese artisans from Jesuits missions in Japan.

Mundy’s journal of the voyage contains a description and sketches of the city and its Asian, European and Eurasian inhabitants, which the author saw while Weddell decided to travel up to Canton (29th July) and trade directly with the Chinese merchants, while both the Chinese and Portuguese, one month after the fleet’s arrival, wanted the English as far away as possible. In September, the Chinese authorities advised Macao’s

8 Cf. Sanjay Subrahmanyam, «A intervenção inglesa na Índia (1604-1623). O ataque às Molucas pelos Holandeses», in Luís de Albuquerque (dir.), *op. cit.*, vol. 5, pp. 27-37.

9 Cf. João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, *O cristianismo...*, pp. 762-764.

10 In 1635 an English ship, the *London*, under charter to the Portuguese, called at Macao and the mandarins fined the Portuguese for allowing the “red barbarians” into the city. Cf. Austin Coates, *Macao and the British (1637-1842): Prelude to Hong Kong*, Oxford University Press, Hong Kong, 1989 (1966), p. 7 and p. 28.

11 Cf. Peter Mundy, «Descrição de Macau», in Charles Boxer, *Macau...*, p. 53. According to Sanjay Subrahmanyam, «Portugal no jogo das lutas interimperialistas (finais do século XVI – primeira metade do século XVII)», in Luís de Albuquerque (dir.), *op. cit.*, vol. 5, p. 68, John Weddell’s fleet had attacked some Portuguese ships in the end of 1930.

12 Cf. Austin Coates, *Macao and the British ...*, p. 1. Peter Mundy was “one of the most travelled Englishmen living [...]” In relation to the date of arrival of the fleet in Macao, Charles R. Boxer, *Macau...*, p. 51, says it arrived on the 5th July 1637. Probably the English crew spent eight days in the islands south of Macao before entering the city limits.

Senate to force the English fleet to leave Bocca Tigris and return to Macao, where Peter Mundy rented a house and carried out “a limited trade”.¹³ Weddell returned to Macao and formally recognised he had disobeyed Portuguese and Chinese orders. However, the tribulations of the voyage were not over,¹⁴ as in November, the fleet returning from Japan brought back Portuguese refugees fleeing from Christian persecution which was then at its height in Japan. These refugees came to Weddell seeking for a place to travel westward, thus annoying the Portuguese. Direct trade with Japan influenced the relation of Macao’s administration with other European traders.

The Captain-General demanded the English fleet to leave the city and six months after their arrival, Peter Mundy and the rest of the crew sailed away from the Pearl River to India and then Europe, in January 1638.¹⁵ Mundy reached Dover almost on his own, as the majority of the fleet members were lost in the Arabian Sea.

Peter Mundy’s adventures are recorded in the edition of his *Travels*,¹⁶ while his description of Macao was written shortly after the city’s height of prosperity (1585-1600), due to the commerce with Japan. Throughout the text, Mundy portrays the community’s daily life as well as its habits and cultural differences. Therefore, anthropological and literary exoticism is a constant presence in the author’s journal, revealing the ways of life of the Macanese people, nearly absent from other seventeenth century descriptions of Macao, namely those of António Bocarro (1635) and Marco D’Avalos (1838).¹⁷ Mundy refers and describes the local architecture (“the roffe of St. Pauls Church [...and its] New Faire Frontispice”), local fruits such as leichea,¹⁸ comparing it to similar objects and fruits already known in Europe. Like other writers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Mundy compares what is different and what is similar to European objects and habits, using these the former as references to represent the newly found exotic objects and products.¹⁹ He also compares Macao’s size to the islands back home, in England (*Moorestones*),²⁰ and its geographic situation and aspect to Goa:

13 *Apud* Austin Coates, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

14 *Idem, ibidem*, pp. 24-26.

15 According to Charles Boxer, for other accounts of Weddell’s expedition see Foster, *English Factories in India, 1634-1644*, 2 vols., Oxford, 1911-12; Morse, *Chronicles of the East Indian Company*, vol. I.

16 See note 7.

17 These other accounts were also published by Boxer, *Macau*....

18 Peter Mundy, *op. cit.*, p. 53. The same happens on page 57 and pages 65-6 (compares local games and horses with European ones).

“Macao standeth at one end of a greatt Iland built on rising hills, some gardeins and trees among their houses making a pretty prospecte somewhatt resembling Goa, although not so bigge [...]”²¹

After describing the city and the islands, the English traveller starts presenting the political and economical situation, which determined the English fleet’s destiny in the China Seas. In the chapter called “A Fleete For Japan”, the author mentions six vessels on their way to Japan, waiting for the arrival of the “lanteea” or “Caphila”²² with goods from Canton,²³ which were being held by the Chinese who demanded money in exchange for the boats and their cargo.

The trade with Japan was, therefore, of great importance to the inhabitants, missionaries²⁴ and administration of Macao. On the 12th of July the fleet arrived at the city, “where the Portugalls make yearly investments For the lading off their Japan Fleete [...], who [is] to Depart within these few Daies, until when (if then) wee are not like to have any trade in this place [...]”.²⁵

The English were not allowed to trade, communicate with local fishing ships or come ashore until the Japanese fleet departed, as the Portuguese wanted to keep and protect their profitable trade monopoly. The author, therefore, presents the “Reasons of the Portuguese not admitting us trade”:

“[...] when the Japan Fleete is gon wee shall have pratticke, that voyage beeing the Mayne upholding of this place.”

19 For studies on exoticism see: Maria Leonor Carvalhão Buescu, «O exotismo ou a “estética do diverso” na Literatura Portuguesa», in *Literatura de Viagens. Narrativa, História e Mito: Actas do Colóquio realizado na Universidade da Madeira, 11-14 de Julho de 1995*, Edições Cosmos, Lisbon, 1997, pp. 565-578; *Babel ou a Ruptura do Signo: A gramática e os gramáticos portugueses do século XVI*, IN-CM, Lisbon, 1983; our articles: «Exotismo», in Carlos Ceia (dir.), *Dicionário de Termos Literários*, Editorial Verbo, Lisbon (to be published); «O exotismo enquanto “estética do diverso” em Os Lusíadas», in *Actas do Colóquio Internacional “Histórias Literárias Comparadas” na Universidade Católica Portuguesa em 11 e 12 de Novembro de 1999* (to be published); «Da Baía Cabrália ao Maranhão: o exotismo enquanto “estética do diverso”», in *Actas do Congresso Portugal-Brasil: Memórias e Imaginários, organizado pelo Grupo de Trabalho do Ministério da Educação para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, realizado na Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian de 9 a 12 de Novembro de 1999*, Lisbon, 2000; Victor Segalen, *Essai sur l’ exotisme*, Le Livre de Poche, Paris, 1999; Jean-Marc Moura, *Lire l’ Exotisme*, Dunod, Paris, 1992; Tzevan Todorov, *Nous et les autres*, Éditions du Seuil, Paris, 1989; Ania Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*, Routledge, London, 1998.

20 Peter Mundy, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

21 *Idem, ibidem*.

22 Convoy of small cargo ships.

23 Peter Mundy, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

24 Regarding this topic, see Ana Maria Leitão, «The Jesuits and the Japan trade», in *Review of Culture*, n. 17, pp. 23-34. Both King Philip I of Portugal (1608) and Pope Urban VIII (Constitution, 1633) prohibited the fathers of the Japanese Mission from trading (cf. *Idem, ibidem*, pp. 30-31).

25 Peter Mundy, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

“[...] if wee had Free trading here would allsoe trafficke For Japan, and thatt theirby theirs would Decay [...]”⁶

“[Peter Mundy concludes that the Portuguese] kept the Maine cause of all themselves, which was thatt our Comming in Would quickly eat them outt of all trade.”²⁷

On the night of 23rd of July, “departed the Japan Fleete to sea on their voyage. And now expected wee open admittance of trade”.²⁸ Which did not happen. On the contrary, the Portuguese advised the English to beware, as the Chinese would have no problems to shoot them. Four days later, the General sent some merchants to the English fleet to inform them that the Chinese would not allow the Portuguese in Macao to trade with any other nation, even with the Spaniards, although subjects of the same king. As we said before, Weddell decided to trade directly with the Chinese in Canton, finding several fleets of Chinese junks on their way up the Pearl River. At this moment, Mundy describes several boats used by the Chinese, referring “others thatt trafficke abroad viz., To Japan [...]”²⁹

Macao was, therefore, the bridge for Europeans aiming to trade with Japan, but the Portuguese would not open their door to other nations. Defence and awareness are constant in Macao as the Dutch “await all oportnities to Dispossesse them off this as well as of others.”³⁰

When some members of the fleet returned from inner China, in October, after all the trouble they had had with corrupted Chinese and Portuguese messengers, the Admiral of the fleet, as well as the rest of the

26 *Idem, ibidem*, p. 55.

27 *Idem, ibidem*. Although he never visited Macao, António Bocarro mentions the importance of the city's trade with Japan, giving the reader a more complete view and understanding of this activity than Mundy did during the only six months of his stay in the Portuguese enclave. We should remember that Bocarro, being a Portuguese living in Goa, had more access to the information from and about Macao: “Of the voyages which are made from this city of the Name of God, it is clear that the chief and most important is that of Japan, whither go yearly four pinnaces laden with silks of various kinds, taking 10 or 12 days on the outward voyage, and eight to ten on the return; by stayng in Japan for about a month, a good market is secured for all these commodities, which include, in addition to the silk, much gold, and much China-root, all of which are exchanged for some of the mass of natural silver there is in Japan; in addition we export the aforesaid copper which is specified in the Regulations, much camphor, and furthermore many gold lacquered cabinets, for those of Japan are much better than those of China or elsewhere [...]”

28 *Idem, ibidem*, p. 56. According to Boxer, the Japanese fleet of 1637 consisted of 6 galliots under the command of the Captain-Major Dom Francisco de Castelbranco.

29 *Idem ibidem*, p. 59. For details of the voyages between Macao and Japan at this period see C. R. Boxer, «Portuguese Commercial Voyages to Japan three hundred years ago (1630-1639)», in *Trans. Japan Society*, vol. XXXI, London, 1934, pp. 27-77.

30 Peter Mundy, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

Commanders, were invited to go to Macao and Mundy joined them. While being received by Counsel and the “Antients of the [?city]” they were taken to a “very faire house retchedly furnished with Plate, Beeumbos, Chaires, Cottes, hangings [...]”³¹ and other exotic elements.

Surprised while observing the screens (*beeombos*), Mundy describes the uses of these decorative objects, which, nowadays, are far more associated with Japan than with China.³² The author describes the strange object: “certaine skreenes of 8 or 9 Foote Deepe, made into sundry leaves which principally serve to Divide a roome or to sequester some part therof, as allsoe for Ornament, placing them against the walles. They make a Most Delightsome shew [...]. They are commonly in 2 pairts [*sic*] [...]”³³

In several chapters of his Journal, Mundy describes other exotic habits (“A Dinner served in”) and elements of the city: “Sundry habitts of Chinois”, informing that the term “Mandareenes” is “a portugall word”.³⁴ Another curious fact that the author mentions is the existence of only one “Portugall woman in Macao”.³⁵ Portuguese men married either to Chinese women or to “Mestizninhos”.

While staying at the house of Captain António Oliveira Aranha,³⁶ Mundy and his friends could watch “3 or 4 very pretty Children playing [...] that except in England, I thincke not in the world to bee overmatched For their pretty Feature and Complexion, their habitt or Dressing becomming them as well, adorned with pretious Jewells and Costly apparrell, their uppermost garmentts beeing little Kimaones, or Japan coates, which graced them allsoe.”³⁷

31 *Idem, ibidem*, p. 59.

32 Maria Helena Mendes Pinto in her work *Biombos Namban/Namban Screens*, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon, 1993, p. 6, says that these objects were “taken to Japan in the eighth century directly from China or through Korea, [and] formed an integral part of Japanese life after modifications, which made them increasingly different from the original models of the Asian continent.”

33 Peter Mundy, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-60.

34 *Idem, ibidem*, p. 60.

35 *Idem, ibidem*, p. 64.

36 According to Boxer (*Macao...*, p. 64), António de Oliveira Aranha had been Captain-Major of the Japan voyage in 1629, staying there for nearly two years.

37 Peter Mundy, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

38 Cf. António Bocarro, *op. cit.*, p. 49: “[...] although the Chinese are forbidden on pain of death to receive Japanese in China [...] when they come to our city of Macao they are allowed to land, and we give them all they want, as do the Fukienese and still more the Hollanders, who strive hard to deprive us of this profitable trade.” In 1636, Macao received 287 women and children, all married to Portuguese men or children of those mixed marriages. Another group arrived in 1638. (Cf. Almerindo Lessa, «The population of Macao», in *Review of Culture*, no. 20 (2nd Series), Instituto Cultural de Macau, Macau, p. 98. As Bocarro also remembers, the Japanese were forbidden to enter China. Recalling this fact, José Ignácio de Andrade, in his «Carta XXXII-Estado actual de Macau», in *Cartas Escriptas da India e da China*, Imprensa Oficial de Macau – Livros do Oriente, 1998, quotes the edict of the Chinese Emperor Chin-Tsoung, carved in a stone in Macao’s Senate, in 1614: “Article 1: It is forbidden, from today onwards, to the Portuguese to allow any more Japanese in Macao.”

The reason why Mundy identifies Japanese costumes is explained by the fact that there were many Japanese people (exiled Christians) and priests, who had returned from Japan, living in the city.³⁸ Japanese clothes – brought by these people or imported – were, therefore, not an unusual sight in Macao's streets. These exotic garments, different from the also exotic Chinese ones, made the girls that Mundy saw playing look prettier. In the whole world, one could only find children as pretty as these in England. Again, the author compares “here” and “there”, making Otherness more visible, even for the Other. This comparison is also present when Mundy describes “the Cavallero”, “one halffe of them like Moores or Barbary and the other halffe like Christianes, each having their Negroes or Capher, Cladd in Dammaske, an ordinary wear here for slaves and Servauntts.”³⁹

Clothes, once again, are seen as symbolic and cultural marks, distinguishing different cultures and civilisations.⁴⁰ While rich girls dressed in expensive and probably rare Japanese clothes, Portuguese Christians dressed like respectable Europeans and African servants were also distinguished because of their colourful clothes. “very Many ritche Men, Claddle after the Portugall Manner. [...] Only the better sort [of women] are carried in hand Chaires like the Sidans att London, all close covered, off which there are very Costly and ritche broughtt From Japan.”⁴¹

Japan is once again associated with prestige and luxuries (litters and vests) which only the rich can afford. The influence of the Japanese culture was, therefore, highly noticeable in the Portuguese city: women in Macao, “when they are within Doores wear over all a Certaine wide sleeved vest caled Japan kamaones or kerimaones because it is the ordinary garment worne by Japanese, there beeing Many Dainty ones broughtt From thence off Died silke and of others as Costly Made here by the Chinois off Ritche embroidery off coloured silk and golde.”⁴² After the written description, Mundy refers to the sketch he

39 Peter Mundy, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

40 Cf. our article «A imagem dos navegadores portugueses na literatura inglesa setecentista: Robinson Crusoe, Captain Singleton e Gulliver na senda das rotas marítimas portuguesas», in Maria Leonor Machado de Sousa (dir.), *Revista de Estudos Anglo-Portugueses*, n. 8, Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia – Centro de Estudos Anglo-Portugueses/F.C.S.H-Universidade Nova, Lisbon, 1999, pp. 47-79.

41 Peter Mundy, *op. cit.*, p. 67. According to Charles Boxer, Mundy is referring to the Japanese *morimo* or *kago*. The word *morimo* was naturalised in Portuguese under the form of *norimano* since the end of the sixteenth century. In the chapter “*Japan language*”, Mundy translates “2 or 3 words off the Japonian language, viz., as [he] was told. *Sagashoo gooseeka*, how Doe you? *Yunggosere*, well or good. *Varoogoosere*, ill or bad. *Goodaree*, Come(e) *Mundalee*, goe. *Sakee*, wine, *Mesh*, Rice” (p. 74). Charles Boxer (note 27, p. 74) says these words are “a good deal corrupted” and presents their correct spelling. For the translation of exotic languages see Maria Leonor Carvalhão Buescu, *O estudo das línguas exóticas no século XVI*, col. «Biblioteca Breve», ICALP, Lisbon, 1983; Alastair Pennycook, *English and the discourses of Colonialism*, Routledge, London, 1998.

has done, which portrays a Chinese woman dressed in Japanese costumes. These women, according to the author, are as beautifully presented in these quick to dress clothes as those women who spend half a day in front of their mirror.

Nearly four months after the departure of the Japanese fleet, heading for Nagasaki – the Portuguese permanent trading base since 1570 –, it returned to Macao, on the 5th of November. Representing a threat for the English trade, it comes back “while [... they] lay tumbled, tost and Crost through variable Fortunes.”⁴³ Mundy compares the dangers of the fleet’s voyage to and from Japan with the uncertain life and fate of the English in Macao. The Japanese fleet comes and goes, the English don’t know where they stand. All these defensive measures taken by the Portuguese had a reason to be, as Mundy learns from the Japanese fleet that twelve Dutch vessels had arrived in the archipelago before the Portuguese and harmed their trade with the local traders. Mundy notes that “They [Dutch] may not Meddle with the Portuguese there, beeing Forbidden by the King or Emepour of Japan.” The monopoly of the Portuguese trade with Japan had been supported by the former shogun, regardless of the fact that the Dutch had a Factory there and not the Portuguese, who organised a “faire town” to trade.

“Now att present when they arrive with their yearly Fleete, they keepe their Mart on faire on a certaine Iland, and are to Depart on such a day of the Moone precise.”⁴⁴

In a chapter called “The Emperour of Japan his hatred to Christians: his Cruell Lawes against them”, Mundy refers to the persecution which was taking place in Japan against Christians, both European and Japanese. Many of these ran away to Macao and other Portuguese settlements nearby. Mundy explains the harsh measures taken by the Shogun Tokugawa Iemitsu to stamp out Christianity since the beginning of his rule in 1623.⁴⁵

“This Emperor beareth Mortall batred to the Jesuitts, having of late yeares putt Many of them to Death by sundry sorts of tormentts. And Now lastly this

42 Peter Mundy, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

43 *Idem, ibidem*, p. 68.

44 *Idem, ibidem*, pp. 68-69. According to Boxer and some of the authors listed on note 3, the artificial islet of Deshima was excavated from Nagasaki harbour in the years 1634-5, and here the Portuguese, from 1636 to 1638, and the Dutch from 1641 onwards, had to reside when they came to Japan for trade.

45 Cf. Charles Boxer, *Macau...*, p. 69 and Juan Ruiz-de-Medina, «The underground work of the missionaries in Japan», in *Review of Culture*, n. 17,..., p. 148. This same Shogun expelled all foreigners from the Japanese Empire in 1639-40, with the exception of the Chinese and Dutch. António Bocarro, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-43, mentions these same measures. Regarding references to Portuguese traders in Japanese sources see G. Bouchon, Luís Filipe Thomaz and João Paulo Costa, «Le miroir asiatique», in *Lisbonne hors des murs, 1415-1580: l' invention du monde par les navigateurs portugais*, Autrement, Séries Mémoires, 1 (Sep. 1990), pp. 253-266.

voyage they killed 5 Churchmen thatt came From Manilla; And by relation, if any shippe bee knowne to have broughtt any, the said shippe is to be burned, the goods conffiscated, the Company imprisioned, the house thatt harbours them shallbee rased, the owner of Master Foffeits his life and all the Neighbours Fined.”⁴⁶

The Shogun left no one unpunished, thus making sure that his orders were obeyed by the whole community, from traders to lodgers and their neighbours. Terror was widespread, so that people would not take any chances or hide anything they knew or saw related to namban matters. Giving any information about trade and connection with Christians was rewarded with “the vallue of (blank) Ryal off eight a head. Yett Neverthesse some reapaire yearly thither.”⁴⁷

As João Paulo Oliveira e Costa says: “History, completely separated Macao from the country that had justified its creation as a great Chinese city controlled by foreigners without giving it a similar fate, as the Macanese managed to adapt to the winds of History, finding alternatives by creating new trade routes in the Far East.”⁴⁸

According to all the facts described in Mundy’s Journal, it stands clear that the will to trade and to convert must have been strong in Macao, as many tried their luck knowing what could await them in Japan.

The Jesuits in Macao used theatre plays, with children and adults as actors, to teach the Christian doctrine to local people, overcoming the difficulty of explaining strange European religious concepts to Chinese and Japanese people living in Macao. As said before, Mundy saw some Japanese in the city, most of them Christians. The author distinguishes the Japanese Christians from those who are not: “Those thatt are nott [Christians] shave the one halffe of their heads. From the Crowne Forward, the rest of their haire tied beehind in a little knotte, butt very short. They were buskins like Mittens, in 2 parts, one For their great toe and the other For the rest On thatt a sandall which one tye coming tharwt over and the other before in the partition.”⁴⁹

The way that non-Christian Japanese people dressed must have surprised Mundy as he describes their appearance in a quite long paragraph.

46 Cf. Peter Mundy, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

47 Idem, *ibidem*, p. 69. Peter Mundy makes sure it is understood that all this information and facts are not imagination: “Soe much by common report; not unlikely to bee true.”

48 Cf. João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, «Macau e o Japão...», p. 197. For a description of the different attitudes towards the Portuguese from the different Emperors, as well as the competition from Dutch traders since the beginning of the sixteenth century, see *Idem, ibidem*, pp. 194-197, and by the same author, «Oda Nobunaga e a Expansão Portuguesa», in *Review of Culture*, n. 13/14, January 1991.

49 Peter Mundy, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

Dressing again separates people with different religious beliefs, even people from the same country, that is Japan.

Mundy also describes another strange and exotic habit that he observes amongst the Japanese people in Macao: “They blow their Noses with a certaine sofft and tough kind of paper which they carry aboutt them in small peeces, which having used, they Fling away as a Filthy thing, keeping handkercheifes off lynnem to wype their faces and hands.”⁵⁰ The author describes how this paper is produced as well as its uses, continuing to describe the way Japanese men dress, while complementing his text with some sketches of these same men:

“ I have hereunder sett the Figure off a Japonian, as allsoe of a Chinois Doing his salutation. A. A Japan(ese) in his Kimaone or vest, with his Cotan by his side, and Dagger or Cuttbelly, of whome I cannot say much. You may read off them att large in Mr. Purchas his pilgrimage.”⁵¹

The English traveller confesses his lack of knowledge regarding Japan and the Japanese way of clothing, addressing the reader of his Journal and

⁵⁰ *Idem, ibidem.*

⁵¹ *Idem, ibidem.* António Bocarro, *op. cit.*, p. 41, also mentions that the “Christianity which the Portuguese planted in this kingdom [of Japan] was formerly very great and spread throughout the whole of it, including many of our people married with Japanese women, and virtually naturalised [...]”.

Charles Boxer lists some of his own studies regarding the Japanese Christians and their descendants who were buried in the Church of São Paulo: *Boletim Eclesiástico da Diocese de Macau*, April 1937, year 34, n. 397, pp. 726-740; (review) *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. I, pp. 265-9, Tokyo, 1938.

⁵² Samuel Purchas (c. 1575-1626) an English historian and travel-writer, and also an assistant to Richard Hakluyt in his later years. He published *Purchas His Pilgrimage, or, Relations of the World and the Religions Observed in All Ages* (1613), *Purchas His Pilgrimage: Microcosmus, or, the Histories of Man* (1619). Purchas also inherited Hakluyt’s manuscripts and compiled the extensive *Hakluyt Posthumous, or, Purchas his Pilgrims: Containing a History of the World, in Sea Voyages and Land Travels by Englishmen and Others* (1625-26: 5 vols.). The second part of this last work contains William Adam’s description of his journey to Japan and his residence there. [Cf. Ian Ousby (ed.), *The Wordsworth Companion to Literature in English*, Wordsworth Editions, Ltd, Ware, 1994, p. 755]. Peter Mundy may have been referring to this last voyage’s account by William Adam, who tried to set up a Factory in Japan until the English left the country in 1623. In one of his letters (1611) he describes Japan: “The people of this land of Japan are good of nature, curteous above measure, and valiant in warre; [...]. They are governed in great civilitie. [...] There be many Jesuites and Franciscan friars in this land, and they have converted many to be Christians and have many churches in the land.” (*Apud* Charles Boxer, «Some aspects of Portuguese influence in Japan, 1542-1640», in *Review of Culture*, n. 17, p. 37.) Many English literary writers searched for inspiring exotic worlds in Portuguese travel accounts, being Shakespeare one of them. See our article: «Shakespeare e os Descobrimentos Portugueses», in Maria Leonor Machado de Sousa (dir.), *Revista de Estudos Anglo-Portugueses*, number 7, Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia – Centro de Estudos Anglo-Portugueses/Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas, Lisbon, 1998, pp. 21-36. For translation of English literary works, namely travel accounts, see Isabel Maria da Cruz Lousada, *Para o estabelecimento de uma bibliografia britânica em Portugal (1554-1900)*, Tese de Doutoramento apresentada à Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1998.

advising him to read more about the Japanese in another English travel account: *Mr. Purchas his pilgrimage*.⁵²

Reading the seventeenth century source that we have been studying along the article, it stands clear that the Dutch and English presence in the China Seas became a threat to the trade between Macao and Japan, leading to several disputes between these traders and to the banishment of Portuguese and Japanese Christians from the Empire of the Rising Sun.⁵³

This same trade also gave place to the emigration and exile of Japanese people to Macao, which influenced the city's culture, turning it into an even more multicultural platform in the East. Commerce, protection and religious education were some of the factors and activities that Japanese people looked for while moving to Macao.

Silver, clothes, fashionable and expensive objects from the neighbouring Empire became a constant presence in Macao. Peter Mundy's Journal describes the importance of the trade between the Portuguese and Japanese to the city and presents reasons for the measures taken by the administration of Macao to keep other nations away from their routes.

The description of Macao presented in the Journal reflects an era of the city's history on the edge of its end. The trade with Nagasaki, after years of great stress, finally came to an end. Famine stroke in the city in 1648 affecting its 40.000 inhabitants, and in the 1660's, the Manchus invaded the South of China, while most of the Chinese were forced to leave the city, which was fighting for a "poverty-stricken and cowed survival".⁵⁴

53 For a description of the context that lead to the Anglo-Portuguese *entente cordiale* against the Dutch India Company at the Straits of Mallaca in the seventeenth century, see: Marcus P. M.Vink, «The entente cordiale – The Dutch India Company and the Portuguese shipping through the straits of Malacca (1641-1663)», in *Review of Culture*, ns. 13/14, pp. 289-309. Regarding the height of the persecution to Christians, see Juan Ruiz-de-Medina, *op. cit.*, pp. 144-150.

54 Cf. John E. Wills, Jr., «The survival of Macao, 1640-1720», in Jorge M. dos Santos Alves (coord.), *Portugal e a China: Conferências no II curso livre de História das relações entre Portugal e a China (séculos XVI-XIX)*, Fundação Oriente, Lisbon, 1999, pp. 111-124.

Abstract

In 1637, an English fleet, commanded by John Weddell anchored in Macao. Aboard one of the ships was Peter Mundy, who, during his stay in the city, described its Chinese and Japanese inhabitants' way of life and their influence in the culture of the enclave, as well as Macao's trade relations with Japan. In this article, we analyse the Japanese presence in Mundy's Journal, as well as the beginning of the Anglo-Portuguese relations in China, which were influenced by the Portuguese merchants' interest in the trade with the Islands of the Rising Sun.

Resumo

Em 1637, uma frota inglesa, comandada por John Weddell atraca em Macau. A bordo de uma das embarcações, encontra-se Peter Mundy, que, durante a sua estada na cidade, descreve o modo de vida dos habitantes chineses e japoneses, bem como a sua influência na cultura do enclave e as suas relações comerciais com o Japão. No presente artigo, analisamos a presença japonesa no diário de viagem de Mundy e o início das relações anglo-portuguesas na China, influenciadas pelo interesse dos mercadores portugueses no comércio com o Império do Sol Nascente.