

DIARY KEPT BY OPPERHOOFD PETRUS THEODORUS CHASSÉ 1790 - 1791

1790

NOVEMBER

1 13 [Opperhoofd Hendrik Casper] Romberg handed me the command of the Company's affairs, introduced me as the *opperhoofd*, and went aboard.

14 Two *opperbongioisen* carried out the customary inspection and mustering.

15 Nothing noteworthy happened.

2 16 Bookkeeper Coenraad Jonas, Scribe Samuel Bernard, and I sent the shogunal demand, eight candles of treewax and beeswax made by the Japanese, a sample of borax / of which the Company can import a thousand catties /, a sample of bar-iron, sulphur, Chinese cinnabar, alum, *boeklio*, and wheat, with the prices for which they can be had, to Romberg on board the ship.

17-19 I sent water and fresh food to the ship.

20 The *Zuiderburg* set sail at around three o'clock in the morning. May God grant her a safe journey.

3 21 The *rapporteurs* [Jūbei and Kichibei] notified me that the ship had sailed out of sight yesterday evening. I ordered them to take the sampans to Magome, and to bring the oars and stretchers onto the island.

22 Nothing noteworthy happened.

23 The oars and stretchers have been brought here and the sampans have been taken to Magome. I summoned the interpreters and asked them if we could try to draw up another contract for the sampans. They declared unanimously that it would be absolutely impossible to do anything about it, for both [former *Opperhoofden* Johan Fredrik] Van Reede and Romberg had been refused this recently in such a way that, as is the custom of the land, they could not or dared not bring the subject up again

4 within the same year. I argued with them that times were hard and the prevailing circumstances necessitate the making of an exception to such customs. But it was a waste of one's breath. I thought it best to put it off till a more opportune time and to deal with a more important matter, namely the gifts and expenses for the court journey. The outgoing governor [Nagai Chikuzen-no-kami] had promised, if possible, to present a request to the *rijksbestierder* for

a cut in these gifts. I ordered the interpreters to keep raising the matter with the governor and to request him to arrange for the Company to be relieved of this burden, if not completely, then for a fair part.

5 But they tried to induce me to postpone requesting this as well. I told them that this request had been made a long time ago, and they had given Romberg some assurance of a positive decision / as he writes in his memorandum /. Thus they had no reason to feel hesitant about reminding the governor of my request, especially since the time to present these gifts is fast approaching. Now the truth had to be told: the governor had ordered them three days ago to notify me that in future only 3,000 instead of the customary 6,000 taels would be thrown in. They had been afraid to tell me this bad news and had left it till later, but now they were forced to broach it. I riposted that, although this bonus had been calculated on the whole trade, it was half as much as the latest stipulation, thus, whichever way one wished to consider it, this decrease could not be said to be in proportion. Moreover, several other costs, such as the rent for the island and the warehouses, and the annual salaries had remained, and thus, apart from the fact that the Japanese were cutting back on their expenditure, I thought it was the turn of the Company to set income to expense, and I earnestly intended to do this. I ordered them to present my request concerning the court presentation, because my masters, ignorant of the recent disadvantageous stipulations, had ordered me to insist on a cut in these expenses. During the trade season no objections had been raised when we had notified the previous governor of these great expenses and had asked him to achieve a reduction. For such great costs bearing on such a poor trade are even harder to bear than before. At last they promised to ask the governor [Mizuno Wakasa-no-kami] on my behalf to send a reminder to the governor in Edo to obtain a reduction in these expenses.

24-25 Nothing happened.

26 I asked the interpreters to come tomorrow.

27 They came and I gave them the sample of the copper frame which is to be made next year. I told them that, if the thickness of the wire and the netting did not accord with the sample, I had been ordered not to ship it to Batavia. I asked them when would be an opportune time to present the gover-

- nor with a petition. Firstly, concerning a price increase for the imported commodities in general and the powdered sugar in particular. The latter had been sold for seven taels per 120 7/8 lbs for the last three years, but now we should like to be paid eight taels, for the purchase price of this sweet stuff is getting higher by the year. Secondly, a price increase for tin, lead, and elephants' teeth, which the Company is selling here at a loss. If the Company is to keep importing these articles, to say nothing of *taffachelassen*, the Japanese would have to pay a substantially higher price for them, otherwise they would be returned to Batavia, and they would not be imported again. Finally, now that trade had declined, I thought it reasonable that the rent for the warehouses, the salaries, the gifts, and so forth be reduced proportionally. They were going to consider all of this and would let me know their thoughts shortly. But they thought that an intermediate attempt concerning the court journey should be made before presenting this important matter with any expectation of a favourable outcome. I had to leave it at that.
- 28 Junior Interpreter Sashichirō showed me a sketch of a vessel that had stranded off one of the Ryūkyū Islands, which are subject to the Lord of Satsuma, or had been driven there by a storm on 22 July. Ten Indians had been aboard it, whose language was incomprehensible, and no one had been able to find out to which nation they belonged and whence they came. They had sailed away with an easterly wind in a south-south-westerly direction. He asked if I could tell from the sketch or their course what kind of people they were, or where they belonged. I asked him whether they had left any coins or anything else, but he said no. I told him I was of the opinion that they probably belonged to one of the islands in the South Sea, east of Formosa. The shape of the vessel looked very much like a long-boat.
- 29 Assistants [Johan Casparum] Laats and [Christiaan Hendrik Carel] Den Beer informed me that several things belonging to them, mostly trifles, had been stolen during the night. I sent for the *rapporteurs*, who told me that around midnight the guards had noticed that there were thieves around, but they had escaped across the fence. I sent them to the governor with a note of the things that had been stolen. On behalf of the governor, Junior Interpreter Kinbei announced the death of the newly-born daughter of the Shogun. We are not allowed to engage in any entertainment or play music for three days.
- 30 Nothing to report.

DECEMBER

- 1 Nothing to report.
- 2 At my request two *bongioisen* came and I had them inspect the remainder of the gifts and the warehouses, but no damage was found. The accountant

visited me.

- 3 I addressed the interpreters about my requests concerning the court presentation, the rent, and the salaries. They said that it did not depend on the governor, as they had told me before. They asked me to be patient, for the matter of the court presentation had to be presented gingerly with all due circumspection; the second matter, that of the rent, etc., could not with any propriety follow such a great request. One should await the reply to the matter of the court journey first. They had already spoken to the governor's first secretary about it, who also seemed to be sanguine of a positive outcome. He has agreed to propose the matter to the governor in Japanese fashion.

4 Nothing happened.

5 The *otona* informed me that they were on the track of the thief, mentioned on 29 November, and he was as good as caught. I told him unless strict orders were given, I would be forced to counter violence with violence.

6-10 Nothing happened.

- 11 The *opperrapporteur* [Jūbei] told me that the *otona*, clerks, and interpreters who had had guard duty on 29 November, had been summoned by the governor.

- 12 The *opperrapporteur* told me that the thief had been apprehended and he had been branded on his arm or wrist. He would also be given a hundred lashes and banished from Nagasaki. If anyone else climbed over the fence, he would be sentenced to death. The men who were summoned yesterday had been given a stern warning that, if they did not keep a closer guard, they would be dismissed. He also told me that the stolen goods would be returned, if they had not been sold to strangers, who could no longer be traced. He also said that two merchants had been put in prison because they had tried to smuggle *radix ginseng* in their *hasamibako* or travel-trunks. They had been informed on before they could leave.

- 13 Some of the stolen goods have been returned. I gave them back to their owners. They complained that there were still some missing. I informed the interpreter of this. He said that the thief had been tortured and he had declared that he had stolen the other things, but he had sold them to strangers whose names he could not give.

14-19 Nothing happened.

- 20 A Chinese junk arrived.

21 Another arrived. The *rapporteurs* brought me a demand for medicine for the shogunal doctors, consisting of: [measured in catties, varying amounts of] *balsamum sulphuris anisatum*, *oleum succini*, *minium*, *gummi galbanum*, *gummi ammoniacum*, *gummi euphorbium*, *gummi terebinthina*, *gummi thuris*, *laudanum opiatum*, *myrrha*, saffron, pockwood, *emplastrum de ranis cum mercurio*, *emplastrum diapalmae*, *diachylon cum gummi*, *defensivum rubrum ficonis*, pitch, *mumia*, *vitriolum album*, *cantharides*.

- 17 I told them that I had reason to be surprised about

such a demand and even considered it to be childish, for the governor / whom I suppose to be the one whose demand this is / knew full well that the Company is not selling medicine at present and most items could only be supplied in very small quantities. If they were going to make such preposterous demands for drugs, which I have hardly ordered for the coming year to save on the Company's expenses, this could be considered to be a second Nagasaki recognition. I ordered them to tell the governor that our supply was sufficient to supply him and the shogunal physicians, but not for such a demand. I would find out how much we could spare.

22 The first junk has been unloaded.

23 The second junk has been unloaded. The *onderrapporteur* [Kichibei] told me that the warehouse which is being built east of our island on an accretion of land, is being built on the account of the governor and some rich prominent people of Nagasaki, supposedly out of the governor's paternal solicitude to ensure that there is always a stock of grain for the citizens of this city in times of a bad harvest. One can remark that this, and other matters, are being carried out solely on account of the governor's wish to curry favour at Court and to arm himself against his enemies, for this is crystal clear to me, if one considers that the inhabitants of Nagasaki number sixty thousand and they would have to be fed for a whole year or at least for the duration of the scarcity from a supply kept in a building 18 feet / *Rijnlands* measure / wide and long, and 12 feet high.

24-30 Nothing happened.

31 I was handed the bills of lading of the junks.

1791

JANUARY

1 A junk has been towed into the roadstead.

2 It lay there.

3 It has been unloaded.

4-5 Nothing noteworthy happened.

6 The *onderrapporteur* brought me the bill of lading of the junk. I asked him for a sample of the candy and powdered sugar which the Chinese have imported. He promised to bring this and made a lot of fuss of it being much whiter and sweeter than before. He also told me that the gold which the first two junks had carried was likely to be refused by the *Geldkamer* on the pretext that the import of gold had recently been banned, because the *Geldkamer* makes a better profit on other commodities. Conversely, the Chinese argue that they cannot import anything else in great quantities to make up for the much lower quantity of copper last year and that it should be sufficient that they had imported so much and such good quality sugar.

7 The westerly winds have blown two Korean fishing boats to these shores and they have been towed into the bay.

8 A Chinese junk which had stranded off the domain of Shimabara has been towed into the roadstead. In the evening I heard some *onderrapporteurs* come to fetch Junior Interpreters Sashichirō and Sakusaburō to Government House. I sent for a vice-junior interpreter. I asked him what this all meant, for I had not been notified of anything. He had no clue what it was about, but around seven I was told that two *opperbongioisen* would come to see me. They told me that the two interpreters had been denounced at Court as traitors for their translation of the documents between the Dutch and the Japanese, for Councillor Etchū-no-kami thought that they had not translated the order which we had been read on 13 October with enough ponderosity or vigour, because we had not been informed that, if we came to press for copper, further trade would be denied or we would be fined or our goods would be burned, just as with the Chinese. How and what had been the translation in writing? I read them the translations and handed them a copy of it. To their questions whether we had informed our masters of this order and if I expected more than one ship or none, I replied in the affirmative to the first, but that the threats had not been included, for they were not among the translations. If the *Zuiderburg* had had a safe voyage, I expected one ship. The *opperbongioisen* said that this would be fortunate for the interpreters, for they could only justify themselves by saying that the document had been translated in the Dutch style and all the threats had been contained in the sense of that translation. I riposted that I was surprised about the threats, for, as far as I knew, we had never demanded copper in an unreasonable or unjust way. The *opperhoofden* only asked for what had been allowed to the Company on the basis of contracts or promises. Evidence of this could be found in the old papers. Yea, every year we hardly received what had been agreed the previous year. After an insipid reply they took their leave.

9 Some vice-junior interpreters and apprentice-interpreters came to inform me that the governor had ordered them to stand in for the senior and junior interpreters. I asked them what was the matter with them. They replied that, before the return of the *opperbongioisen*, *Dwarskijker* Kōsaku and the *rapporteurs*, Jūbei and Kichibei, had been led to prison bound like thieves. The others were kept in the custody of the *otonas* of their respective quarters.

10 The Chinese junk which arrived on the 8th has been unloaded. In the afternoon two *opperbongioisen* came to ask me for the second time if we had informed our masters of the shogunal order with the required forcefulness. I replied that it was our duty to do so and that the translations had also been sent. We had not forgotten what the governor had added orally about if two or more ships came to demand copper as in 1744. I said that I did not think so. They replied that such a matter would bring about a breach in friendship and trade, if not worse, and the interpreters who are being held in prison as

common criminals would lose their lives and their property would be confiscated. They requested me to write down the questions and replies verbatim and to add that we had understood the Shogun's order and had informed our masters of it; and that I was of the opinion that only one ship would come to trade. I acceded to their request, but I added that if the *Zuiderburg* had perished /God forbid!/, I would expect two ships. Also, that His Majesty should kindly ensure that this second ship did not return empty, if any copper could be had, the more so as the Japanese had been insisting on trade with two ships before all this, even though the interests of the Company did not warrant this.

11 The interpreters were again taken in for questioning.

12-13 Nothing happened.

14 The governor released Kōsaku, Jūbei, and Kichibei from custody and sent the others home under the supervision of the *otonas* of their quarters.

15 The junk was towed to its berth.

27 16 The mail has left for Edo with the interpreters' justification. The joint provisional vice-junior interpreters and apprentice-interpreters came to visit me in the afternoon. I asked them, as they were standing in for the senior and junior interpreters, if any news had arrived about the court journey. They denied this. I told them that, if this matter were the cause of my not being able to set off on the court journey at the usual time, I would find it very difficult to go, for if the *Zuiderburg* had perished, two ships and a new *opperhoofd* would probably arrive.

17-18 Nothing to report.

19 I was given the bill of lading of the last junk.

20 At my request two *opperbongioisen* came to inspect the warehouses and the goods. No damage was found.

28 21 A junk has been towed into mid-stream.

22 Another one.

23-24 Nothing to report.

25 The shogunal accountant had the interpreter on duty ask me if I could supply the Shogun with 800 peacock's fans. If not, could the Company send them next year, if they were ordered. I replied that at the present moment I could not supply them and I could not give an assurance that such a large number could be obtained in Batavia or elsewhere.

29 26-28 Nothing to report.

29 This morning a Japanese man tied on a horse was carried passed the island gate to Magome, the place of execution, to be beheaded. He had climbed over the fence of the Chinese island and had exchanged some trepangs for two pieces of cloth valued at 14 taels.

30 The Chinese have started loading their junks.

31 Nothing to report.

FEBRUARY

1-2 Nothing to report.

3 I sent an interpreter to the governor to con-

gratulate him on the start of the Japanese New Year.

30 4-11 Nothing to report.

12 I asked the *otona* who came to visit me about the court journey, for the customary day of departure was drawing nigh and nothing had been prepared as yet. He replied that news was expected any day, and the general opinion was that the journey would not start before 1 *Nigatsu*, or the second moon, which is 5 March.

13 The Chinese have been loading their junks.

31 14 The *caseros* on duty told me that the necessary annual repairs to the *otonas*' quarters will be noted tomorrow and he asked for deputies. Although I strongly felt the need to reiterate what was mentioned on 23 and 27 November concerning the warehouses, I had to nip this urge in the bud due to the interpreters' ignorance. But when he proposed that warehouse N° 21 be renewed, I told him that I did not think this necessary, for it might well last longer than the Company's trade with Japan. This was also the reason that no repairs other than an urgent necessity would be undertaken to the Company's buildings. The cargo of one ship could easily be stored in the existing warehouses.

32 15 I was handed a note with the necessary repairs to the *otonas*' quarters, which were of little import.

16 Nothing to report.

17 Today is 15 *Shōgatsu*, the customary day of departure on the court journey.

18-19 Nothing to report.

20 The last Chinese junk has been towed into mid-stream.

21 Another one. On behalf of the governor, Vice-Junior Interpreter Sukezaemon told me that he had appointed *Opperbongiois* Hatse as my escort on the court journey. I should prepare myself to depart as soon as the licence came. I asked him if he knew the results of my complaints against the burden of the great expenses. The answer was the old one: no, but the general opinion was that the long delay in receiving permission for the court journey augured well.

22 Nothing to report.

23 The two junks in the roadstead have been loading goods. The two Korean fishermen, who arrived on 7 January, left for their own country, their boats having been repaired and some supplies having been given to them on the Shogun's account.

34 24 I asked the island's *otona* what the officials of the *Geldkamer* had decided concerning the gold that the junks imported on 20 and 21 December /which I mentioned on 6 January/. He told me that the governor had ordered the officials to buy it for this once, but with the serious recommendation to the Chinese that they should refrain from any further imports of gold.

25 The Chinese have been delivering goods.

26 The governor sent to ask me which of the drugs which were requested for the shogunal doctors on 21 December could be supplied and in what

quantities. I drew his attention to what had been my
 35 answer then and the fair grounds for my refusal. I
 could only supply the doctors with one catty each
 of *emplastrum diapalmae, cum gummi, defensivum fi-*
conis, de ranis cum mercurio, and 20 catties of pitch.

27 Nothing to report.

28 At my request *opperbongioisen* came to in-
 spect the warehouses and the goods kept in them.
 The *otona* told me that this morning he had been
 told by the *opperbongioisen* that mail had arrived
 from Edo with the news that the mail, which was
 sent from here on 16 January, only arrived there on
 36 1 *Shōgatsu*, or 3 February. Therefore we cannot have
 a reply before 6 or 7 *Nigatsu*, 10 or 11 March.

MARCH

1-6 Nothing to report.

7 A vice-junior interpreter came to tell me that
 the repairs for the *otonas* will be taken up in two
 days. I asked him why the two Chinese junks in the
 roadstead were lying there without receiving any
 cargo. His answer was that the copper for them had
 not yet arrived from Osaka.

8 Nothing to report.

9 The *otonas'* carpenter came.

37 10 The two junks which were towed into mid-
 stream on 21 and 22 January have left for the *Papen-*
berg.

11-12 Nothing to report.

13 The *otona* on duty came with an interpreter to
 inform me that one Takamatsu Kyūemon / who was
 also present/ had replaced Sakai Tatsueemon, who
 was also one of the island's *otonas*. The latter had
 been appointed head of a ward* in the city, but on-
 ly the governor knew the reason for this change.
 They also told me that two new *otonas* had unex-
 pectedly been appointed on the Chinese island, and
 a vice-junior interpreter as *dwaarskijker* and the *dwaars-*
kijker as vice-junior interpreter.

38 14-15 Nothing to report.

16 An interpreter told me that all vice and pro-
 visional junior interpreters had been summoned to
 Government House yesterday. One by one they had
 to make a written translation in Japanese of the re-
 cent orders concerning the trade which the senior
 and junior interpreters who are held in custody had
 translated into Dutch. Today all the apprentice-in-
 terpreters, none exempted, had to do the same.

17 Strong southerly and south-easterly winds
 which caused some damage to the Doorn and the
 Lelie on the south-eastern side.

39 18 Vice-Junior Interpreter Sukezaemon an-
 nounced his appointment as senior interpreter, that
 of Vice-Junior Interpreter Dennojō and Apprentice-
 Interpreter Isabro as provisional junior interpre-
 ters, and that of Private Interpreter Tokutarō as ap-
 prentice-interpreter. The latter was a servant of the
opperhoofd last year.

19 A junk arrived in the roadstead.

20 It has been unloaded. Sukezaemon, who was
 appointed senior interpreter two days ago, came
 with the tidings for which I had been wishing, which
 are also advantageous for my pay-masters, that I
 have been relieved of performing the court journey
 and that the gifts had been greatly reduced, also in
 future. However, the Company is obliged to send
 an *opperhoofd* on the court journey in the years 1794,
 1798, 1802, and so forth / thus the Company will be
 relieved of this for three years in a row each time/.
 When no *opperhoofd* is performing the court journey,
 the Governor of Nagasaki residing in Edo will of-
 40 fer the gifts on behalf of the Company. When the *op-*
perhoofd undertakes the court journey, it will make
 no difference as to the gifts. In the three years that
 the *opperhoofd* does not go, the gifts will be taken to
 Edo by two *onderbongioisen* and a senior interpreter
 on the Company's account, as in this year, and they
 will hand them over to the Governor of Nagasaki
 there, who will follow the set procedure. I ordered
 him to thank the governor and to notify me what
 the reduction in the gifts amounted to. I drew his
 attention to the fact that the expenses should also
 be reduced as a matter of course to make good the
 Shogun's goal, which surely must be to meet the
 Company halfway in these arduous times. I or-
 dered him to put this request to the governor.

41 21 Sukezaemon announced that he had been
 appointed to take the gifts to Edo and that he had
 presented my request to the governor.

22 The junks have been taking in goods and two
 have left for the *Papenberg*.

23-30 Nothing to report.

31 A junk has arrived in the roadstead. In the
 evening Sukezaemon brought me the specifica-
 tions of the gifts and the goods the governor has
 chosen. In the booklet with the specifications can be
 42 seen what they amount to. I asked him why they
 had had so many scruples about the court journey,
 the expenses, and the gifts. I asked him if there was
 a possibility of deleting the silk fabrics from the list
 of gifts and of leaving behind several goods on
 which we are making a loss. He was of the opinion
 that this was impossible. He even declared that he
 did not dare mention this, for if the Court heard of
 it, they might think that the Company was not
 pleased and considered these gifts to the nobles to
 be too much. I left it at that. I ordered him to request
 the governor to lower the rent for the *hofreisbark* or
 that a smaller boat be hired to carry the gifts; fur-
 thermore, that another arrangement be made about
 the regular lodgings.

APRIL

43 1 The junk which arrived yesterday has been
 unloaded.

2 The governor had me informed that the gifts
 have to be carried in the old *hofreisbark*. For if an ac-
 cident happened with a smaller barge, this would

* Here the Dutch seem to distinguish between the island's *otona* and the city *otona*, who are called *wijkmeesters* = head of a ward.

be difficult to justify. However, he had lowered the rent to 240 taels and that of the lodgings to 526:6:8 taels. He had ordered the interpreter and the *bongioisen* to travel with all possible speed and ride on the pack horses to save expenses as much as possible. He would make strict provisions and on their return he himself would check the expense account. He also asked me to lend the barge a flag in order that, if it was in distress, the lords could see that it was carrying the shogunal presents and would be obliged to render assistance. I thanked him very cordially for everything he had done and sent a flag to the skipper of the barge.

- 44 3 The skipper sent to ask me if he could borrow some cables and other rigging. I refused and had him informed that the skipper or owner of the barge should see to that, for the safekeeping of the court gifts and his barge depended on it and, if I gave him old ropes, he would blame me for any disasters. Besides, he should be able to anchor his barge without any Dutch rigging, just like any other Japanese barge and as he did at times when it was not carrying court gifts.

4 Nothing to report.

- 45 5 A junk has been towed into mid-stream. I was given the bill of lading of the junk which arrived recently.

6 The gifts have been sorted and set aside. According to custom I handed over three bottles of Spanish wine, three bottles of tent wine, and six wine goblets for the governor here and the one in Edo and his son. In the afternoon the Chinese junks below the *Papenberg* set sail.

7 Some gifts were sent to the governor and were returned later.

8 Some cloth has been torn into lengths. The *hof-reisbark* left in the afternoon.

- 46 9 The gifts were laid ready for packing. I sent a petition to the *rapporteur burgemeesters* asking permission to sell the remaining goods. The pretext I gave was that I was afraid that they might get damaged. However, my true motive was the fear that, if /God forbid!/ the ship perished on its way hither, I would be forced to present them as gifts.

10 The gifts have been packed in canisters and *nagamochi* and the wine in cases. I received the bills of lading of the departed junks from the interpreter on duty, who told me that all the interpreters had been summoned to Government House yesterday and had been given orders to associate in the politest way with the Dutch.

11 The governor went on an outing to the Himi Mountains.

- 47 12 The gifts were set on carriages. Sukezaemon announced that mail had arrived from Edo. The councillor has dismissed *Dwarskijker* Kōsaku, Senior Interpreter Jūbei, and Junior Interpreter Kichi-bei from their posts and put them under house-arrest for five years. The other senior and junior interpreters have been confined to their houses for an indefinite period. The governor had ordered him to

depart on 14 *Sangatsu*, or the 16th of this month with the gifts.

13-14 The junks lying in mid-stream are loading goods.

15 I was informed that *bongioisen* would come tomorrow morning at five for the gifts.

- 48 16 Sukezaemon came at five and, on behalf of the governor, he asked me for the Company's seal and some sealing-wax with which to seal the ends of the cloth in Edo before presentation, as I should be aware that this could not be done here, for some damage might occur during the journey. I refused to give him the Company's seal, but as my own was considered to be sufficient, I gave that to him, the more so because he could not possibly make fraudulent use of it / which could very well be done with the seal of the Company, with which all important papers are sealed /. I ordered him to have the gowns, which are given as a reciprocal present in Edo, dewadded and bring them with him on his return. I impressed on him to spend as little as possible and to make great haste on his journey. He should also do his best to please the Company so that his descendants would reap the benefits in future years. I also ordered him to thank the governor in Edo for his cooperation and to request him that, when he presented the gifts or at another opportune moment, he convey our gratitude for this favourable decision, and to ask that it would not be taken ill of the Company that it had complained about the heavy expenses. For although we had not requested the *opperhoofd* be exempted from making the court journey and appear before His Majesty the Shogun, we should gratefully accept any relief in these arduous times, however much honour this delegation sheds on our masters, and use it as a means to re-establish trade and maintain our old friendship. At the first opportunity I would send Their Honours the required notification. Then I wished him a safe journey and he left.

17 One of the junks has left for the *Papenberg*.

18 Nothing to report.

- 19 A junk has been towed into mid-stream and another to its berth. The following interpreters announced their promotions to me: Provisional Junior Interpreter Gorōsuke to *dwarskijker*, Vice-Junior Interpreters Dennojō and Takichirō to junior interpreters, Provisional Junior Interpreter Den-noshin to vice-junior interpreter, Apprentices Gen-zuro and Jazuro to provisional junior interpreters. 51 I congratulated them and impressed upon them that they should exhibit more reliability in their work than their predecessors had done and they should apply themselves to their study of Dutch. On one of these days I would set them a test. On their first year much depended on gaining the trust of the Dutch.

20 The Chinese are delivering goods.

21 One of the junks lying in mid-stream has loaded goods and sailed for the *Papenberg*. I was told that permission had been granted for the sale of the

goods remaining in the warehouses.

22 Nothing happened.

52 23 The junks below the *Papenberg* have set sail.

24 Two junks have been loaded. I was told that the *hofreibark* arrived in Shimonoseki on 12 *Sangatsu*, or 14 April.

25 Nothing to report.

26 The Chinese have been loading. I was given notice that the day after tomorrow will be the viewing day for the *kennislieden* and the merchants.

53 27 I proposed to Dennoshin and some of his brethren that they hand a similar petition to the governor about the sampans as I had done on 23 November to the interpreters who are in custody at present. They asked me to wait till the others have been released.

28 The *kennislieden* and the merchants came.

29 Strong southerly and south-westerly winds and rain caused some damage to the Doorn and the Lelie.

30 The Chinese junks are busy loading goods.

MAY

1-3 Nothing to report.

54 4 I was given the bills of lading of the junks which departed recently.

5 The junks in the roadstead are taking on more goods. At the request of Senior Surgeon Ludovicus Ambrosius Bernard Keller, I asked the governor for permission that he be allowed to look for herbs in the vicinity of Nagasaki on five or six occasions.

6 Dennojō informed me that the gifts had been loaded onto the barge on 21 *Sangatsu*, 23 April. It was still waiting for a favourable wind.

7 Nothing to report.

55 8 The governor has granted Keller permission to look for herbs.

9-10 Nothing to report.

11 Keller has gone looking for herbs.

12 The two junks in the roadstead took in more cargo and left for the *Papenberg*.

13 The retainers of the Lord of Chikuzen have taken over the shogunal guard from those of the Lord of Hizen.

14 Nothing to report.

56 15 The interpreter on duty told me that adverse winds had prevented the *hofreibark* from sailing from Shimonoseki till 4 *Shigatsu*, or 6 May. He also said that in the month of *Rokugatsu*, or July, a *dwaarskijker* will arrive from Court to look into the affairs of Nagasaki and the trade with the Company and the Chinese. He will be paid 1,500 *koku*, or 150,000 *gantang* of rice, which is 300 *koku* more than the governor gets.

16 Vice-Junior Interpreter Sadanosuke, a son of the dismissed *Dwaarskijker* Kōsaku, told me that he had been allowed to keep his commission, as had been the sons of the similarly dismissed Senior Interpreter Jūbei and Junior Interpreter Kichibei. Considering the fact that it is this country's custom that,

if a father has been dismissed without having asked for it, the son also loses his post, this favour proves to be the opposite of what one would have expected from the governor, who is described as a most rancorous man.

17 Last night the junks below the *Papenberg* set sail. I summoned *Dwaarskijker* Gorōsuke and asked him to give me the bills of lading of the junks and to summon the Japanese carpenter to contract for the reconstruction of the warehouses Doorn and Lelie. He promised to do this. He told me that yesterday all the servants /those who are being paid by the *Geldkamer*/ were summoned to the *burgemeester* and he had forbidden, on the governor's instruction, that they, their wives or children wear any silk clothes, hair ornaments made of tortoiseshell or silver, cloth or other Dutch or Chinese fabrics, on penalty of being put in prison. Furthermore, the *wijkmeesters* have been ordered to notify each and everyone in their quarter of this. /This same prohibition

58 was issued in 1713 and 1729. /To my regret this prohibition portends no profits for the Company /at least for the present/ for the fact that the order is not merely words but carried out in deed is clear from the fact that all the interpreters, *otonas*, and other Japanese who came on the island today, were wearing cotton clothing. It seemed like a good idea to me to send Gorōsuke /secretly so that the merchants would not get wind of it/ to the governor and the *Geldkamer*, to see if the latter would be willing to sell the raw silk for a lower price than in 1760, when they asked f26:10 per catty which was why the Company declined it in 1761. This will also make clear whether the prohibition to wear silk and other clothing made of foreign fabrics is binding throughout the country and for all classes /as they are trying to make us believe/ or only in the shogunal cities, as I suspect.

59 18 The governor sent me a sample of camphor /which the bearer thinks was prepared in Nagasaki/. He wants to know if the Company would like a supply this year and in future.

19 I had it tested and my reply was that it was heavier, darker, and burnt less on water than that from Satsuma and could not be compared to the latter. If the governor was willing to send me some more and at the lowest price for which it could be had, I would send it to Batavia. But this year I would certainly not order any, for I am not authorized to order anything out of the ordinary, but have to await the orders from my masters.

60 20 The governor made the Company an offer to export silk fabrics, salt, vinegar, *Ureshino* or the best quality tea, and hemp. He will see to it that we get the best qualities. I replied that I shall make a note of this, but that I do not think that these goods /which have been offered before/ will ever become a regular trade commodity.

21 The governor went to the shogunal guards and the powder magazine. The *bongioisen* and carpenter I had asked for came. I commissioned Scribe

Bernard and Assistant Leopold Willem Ras to make a note of the necessary repairs to the Company's buildings in the presence of Bookkeeper Jonas. They gave me the following report. [On ff. 61-62.] I ordered the Japanese carpenter to give me his quote as soon as possible.

22 He brought me his quote for the sum of 160 tael. I returned it, telling him to lower it.

23 After much haggling, we struck an agreement for 79 tael. The interpreter present told me that yesterday a few *onderbongioisen* had completely undressed the concubine of a foreigner, who had been dressed in silk and was wearing tortoiseshell combs in her hair, and they had taken everything away from her. Someone else had been put in prison for the same reason. The Chinese have been delivering goods for the past two days. Keller went looking for herbs.

24 The governor went to Nomo. In the evening the *Geldkamer* informed me that they would pay the latest prices for the remainders. I sent the interpreters, who had brought me the message, to ask the officials for a higher price for the *taffachelassen* and the striped velvet.

25 I received the bills of lading of the junks which departed lately. I waited in vain for the interpreters, wishing to send them to the governor with a petition about the sampans. I decided not to wait for them as time is passing and they are not that useful. I sent the following petition to the governor.

[To Mizuno Wakasa-no-kami. The time is approaching for the sampans to be repaired. Although the governor refused to allow the former *opperhoofden* to draw up a contract with Harbour-Master Gohei, Chassé thinks that times have changed and trade has declined so much that the governor cannot take it amiss that he again requests that 10 canisters of sugar, imported in excess of the cargo, be paid for the repair of the sampans. He does not care to whom they are given. There is no deceit involved, only the desire to save on the Company's expenses.]

26 The governor let me know that the prices for the *taffachelassen* and the striped velvet cannot be increased because of the prohibition. Therefore I am forced to sell these goods for the prices stated.

27-30 The Chinese are delivering goods.

31 Keller has been to the field to look for herbs.

JUNE

1 Gorōsuke told me that the interpreters who had been held in custody had been summoned by the governor and will probably be dismissed. He also told me that tidings had come that two ships carrying a lot of arms and people were anchored off the domain of Kishū, on the east coast of Japan. The lord had tried to send his men on board to inquire who they were and what they wanted, but his men had been shot at and had to return without finding

out anything.

2 The senior and junior interpreters who had been held under arrest came to notify me of their release. They complained bitterly about the severity of Councillor Etchū-no-kami and the governor. I asked them why they had not translated the insulting threat that if a ship or ships came to press for copper, their cargoes would be burned or confiscated. They declared that they had not been able to understand this sense of the order. They noted that the governor and the other Nagasaki officials had also not understood the order in that sense, for otherwise they would have noticed the error. They had translated what the governor had added verbally and were greatly embarrassed about this as well. They also could not take the word *altemet** for something definite. /The verbal additions have been noted in our secret letters.**/ I urged them to pay more attention and to make more faithful translations than they have done. There is enough proof of their negligence and they have been reprimanded publicly by the *opperhoofden* often enough.

3-5 Nothing to report.

6 I sent Takichirō to the *Geldkamer* to insist on the delivery of the goods. He told me that further confirmation had come about the two ships that were mentioned on the 1st. They had fired at least 500 shots to deter the *bongioisen*, who had not been able to board them. Up till now nothing further was known. He asked me for my thoughts on these ships. I considered that even if this question did not originate from the government, at least my answer would be made known there. Therefore I said that where they hailed from would remain a mystery as long as no other particulars or precise description were given. However, it was well known elsewhere in the world that the Company would not be able to keep this trade going if no improvements were made. This has probably enticed the Russians or other nations to come and check out the harbours and coastline to have charts made, so that, if the Company puts a stop to this trade, they can come to Japan in an entirely different manner than the Company has been doing for almost two hundred years.

7 In the morning I discovered that the heavy rains and strong wind had caused a lot of plaster and clay to fall off the south-eastern wall of the Lelie.

8 Nothing to report.

9 The carpenter came to repair the warehouses.

10 The interpreter on duty came to inform me that Sukezaemon arrived in Osaka with the gifts on 12 *Shigatsu* and in Miyako on the 16th /this being 14 and 18 May/. Senior Interpreter Yasujiro and Junior Interpreter Sashichirō came to inform me that they had been appointed as *opper* and *onderrapporteur*. I reminded them of their duties so that they would not suffer the same misfortune as their predecessors.

11 Keller went looking for herbs. I was told that

* 'Sometimes', 'perhaps'. The word *altemet* does not occur in the translation of the order, but the word *somtijds*, with the same meaning, is used.

** Outgoing letters of 1791 are not extant.

Harbour-Master Gohei has asked for and been given his dismissal.

12 Nothing to report.

13 Some goods have been delivered to the *Geldkamer*. I asked Sashichirō when would be a good time to present a petition about the price increase for powdered sugar, *taffachelassen*, tin, lead, and elephants' teeth. He thought it best to wait till the arrival of the ship.

72 14-15 Nothing to report.

16 The *rapporteurs* returned my petition on the sampans with the governor's reply that he could not accede to this. If it had at all been possible, it would have been granted three years ago. Therefore we could spare ourselves any further trouble. Considering what possibility there could have been, I think it is plausible that, because the Company is forced to import commodities on which the *Geldkamer* makes a usurious profit of roughly double the amount as payment for its expenses and has to make no effort apart from receiving and paying the bill of exchange, they would lose their disgraceful profit if the contract were made. The natural consequence of this is that any other effort we make will be wasted.

17 Nothing to report.

18 Continuous rain which has caused the fence to collapse in several places. A lot of plaster has fallen off the Doorn and the Lelie.

19 Yasujirō told me that the merchants are refusing to buy the goods we have sold to the *Geldkamer*. They all say that it is forbidden to wear silk clothes. I ordered him to ask the governor for permission to send deputies to Magome to make a note of the defects to the sampans.

74 20 The *Geldkamer* has received some more goods. The rest has been shown to the merchants for the second time.

21 Nothing to report.

22 I was told that *Burgemeester* Fukuda Jūrōemon died yesterday and he will be buried today.

23 The governor has given permission to inspect the sampans.

24 I sent deputies to carry out this task. On their return they gave me the following report. [Report by Jonas, Bernard and Ras on ff. 74-76.]

77 25 I summoned the interpreters and without consulting them first I ordered them to request the governor: 1. To cancel the decrease of the bonus of which I was notified on 23 November. 2. To lower the rent for the island. 3. To decrease the salaries and gifts. 4. To fix a decrease in the *hassaku* for the future. They had much to say against all of this. They think that the first two points are certain to be rejected and they found many objections about the third and fourth. But I had expected this, for their own interests are involved. I brought to their attention that, if they did not propose it to the governor, I would find a way to inform him. After ample consideration they decided to propose it to him.

26 I ordered Sashichirō to urge the carpenter to

give me a fair quote for the repairs to the sampans. 27-28 Nothing to report.

29 Sashichirō brought me the quote for the sampans amounting to 450 taels. Because sampan N^o 4 is beyond repair according to the deputies' report and I think it is possible to do the unloading and loading with the other three, I returned the quote, on the one hand because it is outrageous and on the other because I now want a quote for the repair of three sampans. I asked Sashichirō if there was any reply to my requests of the 25th. He said that they had been proposed to the governor but no reply had been given.

30 The goods remaining in the warehouse have been delivered.

JULY

1 I summoned Yasujirō to ask for the quote for the sampans. He had not yet received it. When I asked him about my requests of the 25th, all he could say was that he was waiting for an answer.

79 2 Yasujirō brought me a quote for three sampans amounting to 281 taels. I sent him back with the recommendation that it be further reduced. I am not willing to pay more than 125 taels. He told me that Sukezaemon arrived in Edo on 2 *Gogatsu* and had handed the gifts to the Governor of Nagasaki on the 6th, this is our 3 and 7 July.

3 I contracted for the repairs to the sampans for the sum of 128 taels.

4-5 Nothing to report.

6 In the evening a junk arrived in the roadstead.

80 7 I was told in secret that the people in the ships which had been lying off Kishū had written a letter in Dutch and had sent it ashore in their sloop and had handed it over to some fishermen. They had taken it to the Lord of Kishū. My informer could not give me any other details.

8 Nothing to report.

9 Yasujirō told me that the skipper of the Chinese junk that arrived a few days ago had requested to be considered to have arrived here last year. He said that eight more junks are to arrive. I ordered Yasujirō to ask the secretaries of the governors for information about the ships off Kishū and if the rumour was true. Three more junks arrived in the roadstead after sunset.

81 10 Two more. The governor's reply to my requests of the 25th is: the decrease of the bonus remains at 3,000 taels, for he thinks this is fair enough; the rent for the island will have to be paid as long as it is made use of, no matter how many ships come to trade, but as a concession to us the rent for the powder magazine, which is 80 taels, has been fixed at 40 taels; the *hassaku* will remain the same, as it had been fixed last year. The money we pay the interpreters in cash has been lowered by 1,988 taels and the gifts, *otonas'* salaries, and so forth by 1,053 taels.

82 I ordered the interpreters to thank the governor. I

drew their attention to the fact that one can deduce from the refusals of the first and second points that the covetous officials of the *Geldkamer* do not want to give way in anything, but persist in their old bloodsucking ways. The interpreters for their part complained about the losses they are suffering because of this change.

11 The second junk has been unloaded.

12 Yasujirō told me that the reply of the second secretary of the governor had been that there had truly been two ships off Kishū, that they were waiting for further news, and I would be told.

83 13 The third junk has been unloaded. I ordered Sashichirō to tell me without holding anything back about the last ruling on the Chinese trade. For last year we were told that they would only receive 7,000 piculs of bar-copper in future and we had informed our masters of this. But now, according to the information we have received from the interpreters themselves, the Chinese have already exported 8,000 piculs. Their deceit has thus been disclosed. To absolve myself of any blame, I would like to know now what nine junks are coming to do here, while there are still seven in their berths. I warned him that, if I was not given a satisfactory answer, I would address the governor.

14 The fourth junk has been unloaded.

84 15 The fifth junk has been unloaded. Takichirō came to inform me that Sukezaemon left Edo on 16 *Gogatsu*, or 17 June. He also told me that a rumour was going round that the former Governor of Nagasaki, Chikuzen-no-kami, would return in that capacity.

16 Two junks have arrived in the roadstead.

17 The sixth junk has been unloaded. I summoned all the interpreters to sound them about a petition to obtain a higher price for some commodities we shall be importing, especially powdered sugar. They declared that it would be better to wait till the arrival of the ship, for then the letters of the High Government would lend more urgency to the matter, and the governor was not likely to give a decision before that time anyway. They added that they were not refusing to hand a petition to the governor, but that this was meant as advice. They concluded that when I wished to have them hand in a petition on this matter or any other, they would make a succinct translation without any frills, otherwise ignorance or ill will might give the matter a wrong twist, especially since such a paper has to pass through several hands. The shorter and simpler it was the better and easier it would be for them, for then they could translate it verbatim.

85 18 Sashichirō brought me the bills of lading of the first six junks.

19 Nothing to report.

86 20 The seventh junk has been unloaded. Around ten o'clock in the morning four *dwarskijers* arrived from Edo, instead of the one about whom I had been told. They are: Inoue Zusho, first in rank; Miyake Gonshichirō, second in rank; Masuda Tōshirō, third

in rank; Nishimura Tetsushirō, fourth in rank. They are authorized to search any house whenever they wish without any warning, from the houses of the lords down to that of the lowliest inhabitant. According to the interpreters, they are likely to pay us a visit as well, and we shall have to go along with it, because it is the Shogun's order.

21 The eighth junk has been unloaded and the ninth has arrived.

22 Nothing to report.

23 Sashichirō came to bring me the reply I had asked for about the Chinese trade. He said that he was giving me a true account. The Chinese, so he said, carried out their trade with 13 junks, and they were permitted to export 13,000 piculs of bar-copper, apart from the 3,000 which were allowed to the skipper, this making a total of 16,000 piculs. Last year they were notified that they were only allowed an export of 7,000 plus 3,000 privately, a total of 10,000 piculs. Furthermore, they were expressly forbidden to come and trade with any more or any less than 10 junks. If more came, not only would they not receive any copper, but it would also be deducted from next year's account, and they would have to settle for other products. If less came, each would still receive only 1,000 piculs, and there would be no compensation. Finally, if they came to press for more copper, the imported goods would either be burned or confiscated.

24 The ninth and last junk has been unloaded. Keller has been to the fields to look for herbs.

25 The *rapporteurs* brought me the bills of lading of the last three junks. I tackled them about what Kichibei had told me on 6 January, that things were looking bad for the Chinese who had imported gold, for it had been prohibited only recently and the *Geldkamer* had refused to accept it. According to the island's *otona* on 24 February the governor had granted it for this once and had ordered the officials of the *Geldkamer* to accept it. But now I saw on the bills of lading that some of the junks had imported gold. They declared that the prohibition was still in force, but that the Chinese had been pleading so insistently, that they had been able to sell it under some pretext.

26 I was told that the interpreters will not be paid for the time that they were in prison.

27 A junk has been towed to its berth. One of Bookkeeper Jonas' slaves has died.

28 He was buried. One of the *dwarskijers* from Edo and an *opperbongiois* visited my house and the garden, having asked for permission first. In the afternoon we felt an earthquake rumbling from the north-west to the south-east. The interpreters told me that *Burgemeesters* Han'emon, Takasima Fatsiro, and Takashima Kaichirō had been dismissed, and their sons Kumajūrō, Takashima Asagorō, Takashima Sakubei, and Foeda Tora Noki, son of Fukuda Jūrōemon, who died on 21 June, had been appointed *burgemeesters*.

29 The Japanese have started dredging the mud

in front of our island, like they have been doing for the past seven months on the Shogun's account with 50 scows on a bank between the Chinese island and ours, without making much progress. Because the area is about 100 square feet and at low tide about two feet above the surface of the water, situated below high mountains in front of the mouth of several canals and rivers which transect the city, this will be a very costly undertaking, which I do not think will ever be finished, let alone properly. Two junks have been taken to their berths.

- 30 There was another earthquake in the evening.
31 Nothing to report.

AUGUST

1 Sashichirō came to tell me that Sukezaemon is expected to return tomorrow. Three junks have been taken to the berth.

2 Around two o'clock in the afternoon Sukezaemon returned. He brought 30 silk gowns from His Majesty the Shogun as a reciprocal gift for the Company. He told me that everywhere the Company's gifts had been accepted in a very cordial way. I ordered him to give me the account of the journey as soon as possible. I asked the *opperbongiois* and the shogunal *dwaarskijker* who were also present, although the latter sat through the whole proceedings like a statue, to convey my gratitude to the governor on behalf of my masters.

- 3 The last two junks have been taken to their berths. Keller has gone to look for herbs for the sixth time.

4 The sampans and the oars have been stored.

5 There has been a severe storm. The Doorn and the Lelie, the pigsty, and animal sheds have been badly damaged and the fence of the *Spiltentijd* and that of the small herb garden have completely collapsed.

6 The *hofreisbark* has arrived in the roadstead.

7 Two *dwaarskijkers* asked for permission to visit me and showed themselves to be very friendly and sociable. I had the repairs for the Company noted and was given the following report. [Report by Jonas, Bernard and Ras on ff. 91-93].

8 After a lot of arguing, I made a contract for the repairs for the sum of 85 taels.

- 9-13 Nothing to report.

14 The ninth junk has been towed to its berth. Sukezaemon has declared that he cannot give me a specified account, only a general one of his expenses on the court journey. The total is 7500 taels. I sent for the *rapporteur* and gave him the following document for translation.

[To Mizuno Wakasa-no-kami. Sukezaemon has given Chassé a specified account of the gifts and the sales, but only a general account of his expenses. Chassé asks the governor that he order the person responsible to make up a specification, for Chassé has to send it to Batavia.] Although he hesitated to accept it, I forced him to do so.

15 Nothing to report.

16 The carpenter has come for the repairs.

17 A rumour is doing the rounds that a ship is anchored off Chikuzen.

18 The governor sent Senior Interpreter Nidayū and three *onderbongioisen* to Kokura to find out if it is a Dutch ship. In case an *opperhoofd* is on board, I ordered him to devise a scheme that the ship be taken here or to another safe harbour as quickly as possible, especially if it has suffered any damage.

- 19 Sukezaemon told me that the ships that had been anchored off Kishū had given a letter in Chinese and one written in a strange language to some fishermen. They had lain there for five days and left. In Edo he had not heard of any shooting, but the larger ship had been about 80 feet long and both had only two masts. I asked him if I could get a copy of the letters. He promised me a copy of the one written in the strange language, but he could not give me the one written in Chinese characters.

20 The governor has moved. Sukezaemon has given me a copy of the letter. When I translated it for him, he said that the contents of the Chinese letter were the same, apart from including that she had loaded copper, iron, and a hundred large flintlocks. The literal wording is: John Kendrick Commander of the Brig *Laag Washington* of Boston New England United States of America

21 An earthquake in the evening.

22 Nothing to report.

- 23 Sashichirō told me that the ship off Kokura arrived there on the 12th and left on the 15th in north-westerly direction. My questions what flag, and so forth, remained unanswered.

24-28 Nothing to report.

29 A few interpreters came to me complaining that in spite of having their incomes reduced, the governor had accepted the customary Japanese *has-saku* this morning.

30 Sashichirō told me that Senior Interpreter Nidayū and the *bongioisen* arrived in Kokura on the 25th, but had not seen any ship nor had they received further information. The governor has received a letter from Nagato, about 15 miles more to the north, stating that people there had seen a ship with many white sails on the 19th.

- 31 Yasujirō told me that the ship that had been spotted off Kokura had lost a mast, so that it will probably turn out to be a brig. I asked him for the specification of the expenses of the court journey. He said that I should wait till Nidayū has returned. I ordered him to do it immediately.

SEPTEMBER

1-3 Nothing to report.

4 Sukezaemon told me that the *bongioisen* and interpreter had crossed to Miwari, 15 miles more to the north, for the ship has anchored there.

5-6 Nothing to report.

7 The governor had me informed that he and

the first-ranking Edo *dwarskijker* will visit me in two days.

99 8 Yasujirō came with the interpreters' *dwarskijker* and told me that he had visited the Edo *dwarskijker* this morning. To his amazement the latter had shown a thorough knowledge of all matters concerning trade and the non-arrival of a ship.

9 The governor and the *dwarskijker* visited me. Unfortunately the governor did not ask about the delay in the arrival of a ship, which I had expected him to do. Therefore I did not find an opportunity to present him with the paper, which I had put in my pocket, in which I had stated my thoughts on the matter.

10 I sent the governor the medicine mentioned on 26 February. The *rapporteurs* told me that last night mail had arrived from Edo with the news that the governor's wife had died. They asked me to refrain from making any music or engaging in plays for seven days.

11 A junk has been towed into mid-stream.

12 Nidayū has returned. He told me that he had not seen or found out anything, but had only heard that the ship had not flown any flag, nor shown any 100 cannon. However, the longboat was grey on the outside, red on the inside, and the ship was painted black.

13 Two other junks have been towed into the roadstead. The governor asked for my opinion about the ship. I sent him the following reply. [The question is: If there is a favourable wind and no ship comes within three days, can one still be expected? Chassé's reply is that there are examples of late arrivals. Therefore he cannot say for sure whether one will arrive or not. Accidents may happen and sometimes a harbour is reached, the damage can be repaired, and the voyage pursued. Furthermore, Batavia has notified Holland of the limitations set 101 on trade last year. By not sending a ship this year, Batavia is giving the governor the time to give ample consideration to this matter.]

14-15 Nothing to report.

16 The governor asked me for some silk fabrics, which I refused. There are no reasons in his favour, such as at the time of Governor Tango-no-kami, for acting against Batavia's orders. At around half past three in the afternoon the signalling flags were raised as a sign that a foreign ship had been spotted. Everything in the city and on the island was in commotion, but it turned out to be two Ryūkyūan junks which had stranded off the Gotō Isles some time ago.

17 The Chinese junks are loading goods. Sashichirō told me that the Edo *dwarskijkers* received orders to return to Edo two days ago and they left today.

18 The Chinese junks are loading goods.

102 19-22 Nothing to report.

23 I was given a second sample of camphor. I said that I would try it out to see how much better it was than the first, but that I would accept only a

sample and no more. Any other attempt to have us accept a larger quantity would be wasted. It is clear from the non-arrival of the ship that the Company could not or would not conduct trade on the same footing and if no higher price was given for our imports and no larger quantity of bar-copper could be exported, I expected the Company to terminate trade. Therefore I asked them not to bother me any longer with requests to export useless products. I also think that even if this gum were as good as the kind from Satsuma and a little cheaper, it would remain unacceptable for the Company, because the Shogun's father* and blood relations are the rulers of that domain.

103 24 Nothing to report.

25 The Chinese have loaded some goods. I returned the camphor sample with the remark that it was worse than the kind from Satsuma, but better than the previous sample.

26-27 Nothing to report.

28 Two junks have been towed into mid-stream.

29 Sashichirō brought me the news that the new governor is expected tomorrow. I ordered him to welcome him on my behalf. He also told me that printed notices have been affixed everywhere in the city urging everyone to go and welcome the governor outside the city's boundaries.

104 30 The governor arrived this morning. Sashichirō brought me the following shogunal order: [Translation of a document from Governor Mizuno Wakasa-no-kami. As they will not be needing any more caret and *neusjes*, the Court has sent an order that these may no longer be imported. When they are needed, they will be ordered. The stocks that the *Geldkamer* ordered a while ago need not be imported. A translation has been made for the Dutch *opperhoofd* and his written reply is required. The *pancado* and the officials of the *Geldkamer* have also been notified./ Signed and stamped by Mishima Gorōsuke, Motoki Nidayū, Kafuku Yasujirō, Ishibashi Sukezaemon, Nakayama Sakusaburō, Yoshio Sashichirō, Namura Takichirō, Hori Dennojō, and Imamura Kinbei.]

105 My reply was:

[To Mizuno Wakasa-no-kami. Chassé has understood the order from the Court: that no caret or *neusjes* may be imported because they are not needed; that the ones that were ordered by the *Geldkamer* some time ago need not be delivered; that when they are needed they will be ordered. When a ship arrives, he will inform the High Indian Government of this so that they can forbid the trade in these products. The *opperhoofden* cannot do this. The second point is beyond his power and that of everyone else. For no ship will surely arrive this year and it is probable that *neusjes* and caret will be imported in a considerable quantity when a ship comes, for most of the *kambang* goods that were ordered by the *Geldkamer* last year consist of these products. Chassé does not doubt that the Shogun will not let foreigners suffer such a great loss for which they are

* Sic. Father-in-law.

not to blame. He believes that the Shogun was under the impression that a ship had come to trade and issued this order. Because he knows that he will not give an order which the Dutch are wholly
 106 unable to obey. Chassé requests most affably that these products be accepted for a fair price the next time they are imported.]

OCTOBER

1 A junk has been towed into mid-stream and another has sailed for the *Papenberg*. The sampans stretchers have been brought onto the island.

2 Nothing to report.

3 The junks lying in mid-stream have been loaded.

4 The Japanese are celebrating their *Matsuri*.

5 The Chinese are loading their junks.

6 The second day of the *Matsuri*. On this occasion it was noticeable that people were not wearing any cloth or other foreign fabrics as in former times.

107 7 Sashichirō told me that the *dwaarskijker* from Edo was ill in Takeo, a three-day journey from here.

8 The Chinese are loading their junks. I summoned all the interpreters to come tomorrow.

9 In the presence of Bookkeeper Jonas I took them to task about the bill for the court journey. I reminded them of the bad state of the Company's trade and the consequences this will have for them and their families. I showed them a part of the incoming letter of 1786 to let them know with how little the Company would be satisfied. I did not fail to remind them of the Arima-Osaka War and what happened with the Portuguese, when they started to talk about friendship. In my opinion, if the Company is not considered to be lower than a bunch of Chinese smugglers then at least it is put on a par with
 108 them. Finally I gave them this paper for translation and delivery to the governor.

[Request to be given a fair account of the expenses incurred on the court journey.]

109 After some deliberation and having put the blame on the accountant they promised a prompt delivery. They declared that they were ashamed about this, even the new governor had said that it was a shameful affair.

10 The interpreters told me that they had delivered yesterday's document. Sashichirō told me that the northern parts of Japan were being hit by terrible earthquakes, storms, and floods. Rice has risen exorbitantly in price due to the flooding of the fields.

11 The governors went to the shogunal guards and made the usual tour. Two junks have left for the *Papenberg*.

12 Nothing to report.

13 A Chinese junk has been towed into mid-stream. Senior Interpreter Sakusaburō has been appointed shogunal messenger. I discussed the reciprocal present for the horses sent in 1778 with him.

110 He will consider the matter.

14 On behalf of the new governor, Sashichirō

asked me for my thoughts about whether a ship can still be expected.

[To Nagai Chikuzen-no-kami. Chassé was not able to give a firm reply to the other governor on 13 September. If the ship had suffered damage on her way hither, she should have arrived by now. Therefore Chassé has to assume that no ship has left Batavia.]

111 15 Sakusaburō came to ask for a silver pocket watch for the new governor. I gave it to him. Three junks have set sail.

16 The governor asked me if I had a shortage of Dutch provisions. I thanked him for his concern and gave him a truthful reply.

17 Nothing noteworthy happened. The dredging which I described on 29 July is not making any progress. I was told that the scows which had been made for this purpose were being offered for sale everywhere, but no one wants them.

18 The junks in the roadstead are loading goods. Two have left for the *Papenberg*. The outgoing governor had me informed that he has left the matter of the expenses to the accountant and the latter will give me a decision. Although this news annoyed me, I have to be patient. He has left with the heartfelt wish of me and all the citizens of Nagasaki that he may never return, nor have any opportunity to meddle with the affairs of the city or the trade.

19 Another junk has left for the *Papenberg*. I was given notice that the chief retainer of the Lord of Ōmura will visit me, if it is convenient for me.

20 He came and I entertained him as well as I could.

21 I sent the *rapporteur* to the governor with copies of my previous petitions and with the following one.

[Request for a fair account of the expenses on the court journey, in order to settle the account with the Japanese and the general account with the *Geldkamer*, so that the Company's books can be closed.]

112 22 The last junk has sailed to the *Papenberg*. On behalf of the governor, Sakusaburō asked me for a pound of saffron. I gave him half a pound because I could not spare more.

23 I was told that the first *dwaarskijker* had died in Takeo.

24 Nothing to report but the visit of a master of repairs.

25 Some other gentlemen visited me. The junks below the *Papenberg* have set sail.

113 26 Nothing to report. The *compradoor* told me that due to the scarcity he could not deliver me any rice for the price we had agreed, which was the 1782 price. I sent him back and stuck to our bargain.

28 As a token of his friendship and consolation in these sad and lonely times, for I am being deprived of any news of my loved ones, the governor sent me two barrels with a certain kind of fish which the lords consume, and a barrel containing medicinal *sake*. I sent him a verbal message of thanks and subsequently a written one for this exceptional favour.

29 The Lord of Ōmura's retainer, who visited me on the 20th, sent me some *commelmazen* and a barrel of *sake* as a gift, with an expression of gratitude for his pleasant reception. The chief retainer of the Lord of Higo asked to be received on 1 November. I received the bills of lading of the junks which have departed.

115 30 The interpreters told me that by order of the Court the governor has ordered that all the citizens have to apply themselves to handicrafts and farming and not to rely on foreign trade, which might possibly not last long, for their livelihood. This truly is a bad prospect for the Company, apart from the fact that both the citizens of this city and the surrounding fields are not suitable for this purpose. *Burgemeesters* and commissioners have been appointed to keep a close eye to ensure that the law is upheld. They asked me if I could think of a way to

advance this noble cause for Nagasaki, which has been growing impoverished for some years now. I replied that the city's ruin can only be prevented by improving trade with us. In the evening the interpreters came to announce that the expenses for the court journey had been reduced to 4,748taels, *f*-7,835. In spite of my discontent, they claimed that nothing further could be subtracted. I had to settle for this.

116 31 I closed the account books. The general expenses amount to *f*38,275, or *f*45,383 less than last year and *f*23,768 less than the financial year 1781/2. The Company has a credit of *f*30,248 with the *Geldkamer*. I end this diary with the whole-hearted hope and wish that it may please the Almighty to recompense the Company in other places for this disastrous year and to let it flourish and wax ever stronger.*

* The diary ends with lists of the imports and exports of the Chinese junks, 14 November 1790 - 31 October 1791. These folios are not numbered.