

DIARY KEPT BY OPPERHOOFD PETRUS THEODORUS CHASSÉ

1791 - 1792

1791

NOVEMBER

- 1 1 The chief retainer of the Lord of Higo visited my house and the garden.

2 Nothing to report.

3 [Senior Interpreter] Sakusaburō told me that the governor [Mizuno Wakasa-no-kami] in Edo had predicted that this year no ship would come to trade. He also added that the outcome of his prediction was causing a lot of distress in the city and that the price for rice had risen exorbitantly.

4-6 Nothing to report.

- 7 The second secretary of the governor [Nagai Chikuzen-no-kami] visited me. After he had raised some questions about the course and appearance of comets, the topography of countries and cities, the customs of some peoples, about musk, saffron, and cloves and after I had answered as well as I could and had told him that the clove plants or trees /about which he was most curious/ could not be transported nor would they grow here because of the cold, he slowly came to the state of the Company's trade. I had been expecting this, especially as the interpreters kept saying that this gentleman was of high standing and had great influence with Councillor Etchū-no-kami and was accustomed to vent his thoughts and opinions freely to him and others. Because he had them translate for me that this discussion was secret, even from his master, and because he had only brought the two most trusted interpreters and had excluded all the others, I shall communicate our exchange in a secret letter. Finally he asked me if I knew of an appliance which could press oil and thresh rice with less exertion and labour than employed at present. This would be of great service to the said councillor, the governor, and the people of Nagasaki and elsewhere. I promised him to have a model of a mill made, on condition that Japanese workmen would be allowed to come to my room without *borgioisen*. He left after four hours.

8-10 Nothing to report.

11 *Opperrapporteur* Yasujirō /who had kept to his house for two months because no ship had come

and he could not settle with his creditors/ came to ask me if I could have a drawing made of the fire-engines and, if the Shogun wished to have one, would I give it? I acceded to his first request, but the second I refused with as many compliments as they use to refuse our requests, for I deemed it absolutely irresponsible to be without these engines. I had the intendant, on whose behalf he had come, informed that he could convey the message to the Shogun that there were only two.

12-22 Nothing to report.

- 4 23 I was told that one of the *otonas* of the Chinese island, who had been an informer and favourite of the previous governor, had been dismissed by the present incumbent and put under house-arrest.

24 [*Onderrapporteur*] Sashichirō told me that a great fire had raged in Osaka on the 4th of this month which had lasted till the 11th and had destroyed from north to south: 13,382 houses, two temples, 247 fireproof warehouses, and four bridges. These buildings covered an area of 700 *roeden* long and 100 wide or, according to the Japanese way of measuring, 87 streets.

- 5 25-30 Nothing to report.

DECEMBER

1-12 Likewise.

13 Senior Interpreter Sakusaburō told me that the governor had had the name of every citizen of Nagasaki over 80 years old registered and had presented each with a few *schuities* of silver. There were 161 men and women, which is 12 less than in 1723, when a similar count had been made, but not a presentation. A retainer of the Lord of Kokura visited my house and the garden.

14 Nothing happened.

15 The *rappporteurs* came with some of their mates to ask me for a statement excusing myself for not being able to offer the Shogun and councillors any presents. Because this is merely a Japanese ceremony, I did not have any objections and gave them the following statement.

[Chassé requests Governor Nagai Chikuzen-no-kami to offer his apologies at Court that he is not able to present any gifts on behalf of his masters, because no ship has come to trade.]

- 7 16-17 Nothing to report.

18 A Chinese junk arrived in the roadstead.

19 Nothing to report.

20 The junk is being unloaded. A Japanese boat / which they employ to this end / sank loaded with sugar and some piece-goods.

21 My headservant Mansabro came to tell me that he has been appointed as a private interpreter.

22-23 The second secretary came to pay me another visit of three hours.

25 I received the bill of lading of the junk which arrived recently.

26-29 Nothing to report.

8 30 The governor presented me with some live birds.

31 Nothing to report.

1792

JANUARY

1 On the occasion of New Year the governor presented me with two barrels of fish and three wild duck. I sent him some pastries in return to convey my gratitude for this special token of his friendship.

2 Nothing to report.

3 I had another long and serious discussion with my confidants about the Company's trade.

4-5 Nothing to report.

6 The governor asked me for a description of the earth and some other trifles.

7 I sent them to him. I summoned the *Tolken College* for tomorrow.

9 8 They came and I discussed the restoration of trade with them as seemed proper to me. I gave them the following document for the governor.

[Chassé uses the non-arrival of a ship to give the governor reasons to consider for the restoration of trade. Three considerations are vital: 1. an increase of bar-copper; 2. a price increase for the imported commodities, in particular powdered sugar, tin, lead, elephants' teeth, and *taffachelassen*; 3. the *Geldkamer* will state the kind of goods, but will leave the quantity of each and the kind preferred to the Company. If there is no change for the better, the Company will be forced to end this trade, which serves this empire in gaining knowledge of Europe and of the world; which keeps the friendship between two peoples alive; which has lasted for over 180 years; and which has been conducted for a long time in the hope of improvement.]

In the evening the junk was taken to its berth.

12 9 I was told that the interpreters who are being kept in detention for five years and around 50 other persons had been summoned to the governor yesterday and the day before. The former to be questioned about whether they had tried to be released from prison by offering bribes to the *bongioisen* of the former governor. They confessed that they had given a hundred *koban* or six hundred rixdollars for the three men. The latter were interrogated about smuggling. It is said that the deceased *duarskijker* had men-

tioned this in his reports. It is to be hoped that he has not forgotten to mention the deplorable state of the Company's trade / of which he was well aware / in his papers.

10 The servants of the shogunal guards asked permission for a visit.

11 They came. I was told that yesterday 178 people had been questioned by the governor about the buying off of small offences.

13 12 Nothing to report.

13 I was told that the aforementioned interpreters and other persons had given a blood oath that the former had bought off a longer prison sentence and the others several other matters.

14 Junior Interpreter Sashichirō brought me the second secretary's regards. He let me know that the governor had written to Edo that I am having the aforesaid models of mills made. Councillor Etchūno-kami wrote back three days ago that this was very pleasant news and he was looking forward to the results.

15 The interpreters told me that they had translated and delivered the document I gave them on the 8th. The governor sent for them today and ordered them to tell me that he will try to bring about some improvement in the trade and will write to Edo. I replied that, if there was no answer from the Court before the arrival of the ship, I would be in a bind. Therefore I requested that as much haste be made with his letter as is possible without causing offence to the customs of the land.

16-17 Nothing to report.

18 The governor appointed Senior Interpreter Sakusaburō and Junior Interpreter Kinbei as *rappor-teurs*. On congratulating them I impressed upon them that, if there was no improvement in the trade, they will probably be the last to hold this appointment.

19 I was told that the interpreters have received their full salaries.

15 20-21 Nothing to report.

22 I sent the finished model of a tread and watermill to the governor. He sent me some wild duck and barrels of fish as a token of his appreciation. The interpreters told me that the governor was tickled pink and had rewarded the carriers with some *schuitjes* of silver.

23 The governor let me know that he would like to pay the carpenters who had made the model of the mill, for he would be embarrassed to let me suffer the costs in addition to the trouble I had taken. But I told him most affably that I would pay for the expense.

16 24 Japanese New Year. I sent the *rappor-teurs* to congratulate the governor. I also sent him some small presents.

25 Some crafty interpreters visited me and told me that they thought that within two to three years trade would improve. I told them that, if they had nothing better to tell me, they should keep quiet, for the Company would not be patient much longer.

26-30 Nothing to report.

31 *Bongioisen* came to inspect the Lelie and the Doorn. No defects were found.

FEBRUARY

17 1 Nothing to report.

2 *Opperrapporteur* Sakusaburō told me that, shortly before Japanese New Year, the governor had shared out 3000 taels to the coolies and the coolie masters to lessen their complaints about hunger and want. The accountant had objected, claiming that this was unheard of, for the governor was going to share out 5,000 taels. Finally the governor had absolved the accountant of all responsibility in the matter and if his action displeased the Court and was held against him, he would ask that the money be deducted from his salary.

3-10 Nothing to report.

11 At the request of the first secretary I sent the governor a model of a lathe and a treadmill that were made under my guidance. They sent their thanks to me.

12 Senior Interpreter Sukezaemon told me that Nagasaki and the surrounding towns were suffering from indescribable poverty. I asked him if my prediction that this city and many others could not survive without trade were not confirmed by this.

13 Chinese goods delivered.

14 Today as well.

15 The governor had the *rapporteurs* inform me that my gifts had been accepted at Court on 15 December. I asked them if the reception had been favourable, but they shrugged their shoulders. Seven Koreans, who had stranded off the domain of Nagato, were taken to their usual accommodation.

16 I deputized Scribe [Samuel] Bernard and Assistant [Leopold Willem] Ras to make a note of the repairs for the Company in the presence of Junior Merchant [Coenraad] Jonas.

17 They gave me the following report. [On ff. 19-20].

18 Sashichirō told me that the second secretary told him yesterday that Councillor Etchū-no-kami wished to have a drawing of the aforementioned models, as soon as they are finished. Now they are busy drawing them.

21 19-20 Nothing to report.

21 Sakusaburō told me that last night at eleven o'clock, a mountain called Unzen, in the domain of Shimabara, almost 12 Japanese or 5 1/2 Dutch miles south-east of here, which had been smouldering in several places for time immemorial and had turned into pumice, had started to burn fiercely on the eastern side just below the summit. The hole is about eight *ikjes* or 48 *Rijnlands* feet in diameter. It is strange that the quakes were only felt on the eastern side and not on the western side. We only remarked that the water-level in the bay dropped so considerably that the largest barges, which had been lying three fathoms deep, lay on the bottom and

one was able to catch fish with one's bare hands.

22 The governor asked me for 20 glass panes. I sent them to him. The carpenter handed in his quote for 50 taels. I beat it down to 36.

23-25 Nothing to report.

26 Sakusaburō told me that the governor had summoned him yesterday and he had ordered him in person to thank me in ceremonial attire on his behalf for the aforementioned models of appliances and some small gifts. According to Sakusaburō, the governor greatly regretted that business was so bad during his term of office and my term as *opperhoofd*. I ordered Sakusaburō to thank the governor and to commend the Company's affairs to his favour and to tell him that I was sure that his help would be powerful enough to bring about advantageous changes.

27-29 Nothing to report.

MARCH

1 In the morning I saw from my house a Chinese junk anchored near the Hen and Chicks*.

2 By order of Councillor Etchū-no-kami, Sakusaburō asked me if one of the Company's employees could translate a certain German book on military evolution and drill. I refused most politely. In the evening the junk appeared in the bay.

3 Sakusaburō told me that by order of the Court four farmers from the village of Urakami, about a mile from here, had been put in prison and were being tortured today because they had aroused suspicion by embracing a strange religion. They had used some words unknown to the Japanese and had uttered them in prayers. Their names have been erased from their tombs. This case will be thoroughly investigated.

4 The junk is being unloaded. The governor asked me for some pieces of mica, which I gave him.

5-7 Nothing to report.

8 Sakusaburō brought me the bill of lading of the junk. He told me that the governor is unwell and that all citizens are very sad and are visiting the temples to pray for his recovery.

9 I had the *rapporteur* ask after the governor's health and offer him the drugs we have available.

25 The Lord of Satsuma / the Shogun's father-in-law / sent to ask me for some coffee beans, salve, plaster, and other medicines.

10 Nothing to report.

11 The governor's condition is not deteriorating.

12-14 Nothing to report.

15 A Chinese junk, which had run aground off Satsuma, was towed into the roadstead.

16 It has been unloaded. The Japanese carpenter has started work on the repairs for the Company.

17 I was told that the governor's health is deteriorating.

26 18 This was confirmed. Sashichirō told me that the governor in Edo had been arrested and two of his *opperbongioisen* had been put in prison.

19 I was told in secret that the governor has died.

* Mitsuse, a group of small islands to the north-west of Nomosaki.

Sakusaburō brought me the bill of lading of the junk.
20-21 Nothing to report.

22 The *rapporteurs* asked me on behalf of the intendant if I would send one of my slaves to the Court at the Shogun's request. They gave me the following paper.

[It pleases the Shogun to send for one of the black slaves. His day of departure will be fixed at a future date. A written reply is expected. Signed and stamped by Mishima Gorōsuke, Motoki Nidayū, Kafuku Yasujirō, Ishibashi Sukezaemon, Nakayama Sakusaburō, Yoshio Sashichirō, Namura Takichirō, Hori Dennojō, and Imamura Kinbei.]

- 27 I asked them for an explanation. They thought it was merely curiosity on the Shogun's part. Considering that nothing disadvantageous could ensue and that the Company had sent six musicians to the Shogun in 1734 / although they did not go to Edo /, I agreed, on condition that neither the Company nor I would bear the costs. In the evening all the interpreters came to ask me for proof in writing that I had understood the Shogun's wishes and would comply. This I did, adding that I was pleased to be of service to His Majesty. Next the interpreters wanted to send a European as well, for they were wary of having to translate Malay, and the journey would after all be made at the Shogun's expense. I asked them what assurance they had that the costs would be defrayed by the Shogun, for no mention of this was made in the paper, and therefore an addition might be taken amiss. Also, if the Shogun forgot to give orders for payment, we could not bring this subject up, let alone have it translated, and the Company's purse would be worse off. The greed of the Shogun's officials has already been made crystal clear by the exorbitantly augmented expenses of last year's court journey and considering the results of the reminders we have given for the reciprocal present for the horses we presented in 1778, I refused, but I offered one of my slaves who is somewhat conversant in Dutch.
- 28
- 29
- 30

23 All the interpreters again pressed me on behalf of the intendant and the *burgemeesters* to send a Dutchman with a black boy, saying that the Shogun surely does not know that the slaves have no command of Dutch. I replied as yesterday. When they next asked me if it were the Shogun's order, what would I do? I replied that I would comply, but that I thought that this question was out of order and reeked of sinister purposes. Furthermore, they were finding problems where there were none, for one could not expect a slave to have any knowledge of any matter, thus any answer he gave would be easy to translate as his Dutch is not much worse than that of most interpreters. Moreover, I have such a great esteem for the Shogun and councillors that I do not think that they will condescend to engage in a profound conversation with such a person. They further assured me that the Shogun will bear the travelling expenses, but the extra expenses for clothing and so forth would have to be borne by us. Al-

though I think that their assurance is so much froth and bubble, I told them that one could not expect a Dutchman to live in Japanese fashion for three months. An employee of the Company could not bear these unavoidable costs nor did the poor state of the Company's trade allow to call on the Company's purse, in short, I would not consent to this action without the consent of my masters. Shortly after, the governor / who is still reputed to be alive according to Japanese custom / presented me with some live birds and a small table clock decorated with the coats of arms of the governor and myself. Thanking the secretaries, I sent word to them that this memento saddened me, for this proclaimed the end of a dear friendship with the deceased. I think that this will also be to the detriment of the Company, even though the interpreters assure me that they are expecting something good from the Court, for the deceased had already begun on the promised improvements and Councillor Etchū-no-kami had written about them.

- 24 Four junks have been hauled into mid-stream.
25 One has been towed to its berth.
26 I put in a written request for permission for the senior surgeon to search for herbs in the fields six times.
27 Nothing to report.
28 Sakusaburō was sent by the *burgemeesters* to inform me of the demise of the governor. Therefore we may not hammer or play any musical instruments for seven days. I sent him to the secretaries of the deceased to offer my condolences.
29 I sent the Lord of Satsuma some of the medicines and coffee he asked for on the 9th.
30 Three junks lying in mid-stream have started loading goods.

31 The governor was buried at noon. According to the *otona*, the last junk will leave without having been towed to its berth, for it had to change places with another whose turn it was.

APRIL

- 1 Nothing to report.
2 A junk arrived in the roadstead. Some others have been loading goods.
3 The junk has been unloaded.
4 A Korean boat which had run aground off the coast with six men on board has been towed into the bay.
5 The Chinese are loading copper.
6 Nothing to report.
7 The Chinese are loading.
8 A large mast has been erected in one of their junks.
9 I was told that the Nagasaki Regents have decided to postpone sending the black boy to Edo till further notice from the Court on account of the governor's death.
10 The Japanese have gone to the temples to pray for the deceased governor.

11 The intendant requested a sow and a boar for the Shogun. Sakusaburō brought me the bill of lading of the junk, on which an extraordinary quantity of sugar loaves was listed. I suspected that this item had been falsely registered and ordered him to make inquiries of the merchants.

12 The last junk has been towed to its berth and another has been hauled into mid-stream.

13 The senior surgeon received permission to go looking for herbs.

14 He went into the fields.

15 The Chinese are delivering goods. They are also loading their junks and two left for the *Papenberg* in the afternoon.

16 Another left. The senior surgeon went searching for herbs.

17 Nothing to report.

18 Three junks have left for the *Papenberg*.

19 The Chinese are delivering goods.

20 Sakusaburō told me that further inquiries had proved that the last Chinese junk indeed carried that quantity of sugar loaves.

21 Around seven o'clock in the evening the earth started to shake and quake uninterrupted from the south-east to the north-west.

22 There were more quakes which caused the fence surrounding the island to collapse. Last night the junks below the *Papenberg* set sail.

23 The earth was still shaking.

24 Today as well. We received tidings from the domain of Shimabara, which as we have said before lies 5 1/2 miles from Nagasaki, that Mount Unzen, of which Kaempfer wrote in his description of Japan* and which we mentioned on 21 February, has erupted in several places and is spewing pumice and great big rocks. The cities, villages, and hamlets in its vicinity have been covered by ash and fumes. The Lords of Satsuma and Higo have sent many barges to help save the lord and other inhabitants. Thus now we know the cause for the many quakes.

25 At eight in the morning and six in the evening there were enormously severe earthquakes. The senior surgeon went looking for herbs in the fields.

26 The quakes continued. The fence collapsed in three places. Several houses in the city have gone a foot off plumb. The news from Shimabara was that the rivers and water-holes were almost filled with sand and the little water that was left in them had turned milky-white. A large temple, 65 warehouses, and 31 houses were reduced to ruins and almost 2,000 people had lost their lives. The lord keeps sending mail to Edo to notify them of these horrific happenings, hoping /so it is alleged/ for permission to leave his castle. The intendant asked for a *Staats- en koeranten-tolk*** for the Shogun, which I did not possess.

27 The reconstruction of the dilapidated house

of the pressmasters was taken up. On behalf of the governor's first secretary, Senior Interpreter Ni-dayū came to ask me what was the natural cause of the earthquakes and the eruption of the mountain /of which the Japanese still have a very absurd understanding/. I replied as far as my slight knowledge would let me and suggested he carry out the well-known experiment with iron filings and sulphur. Although the force of the earthquakes has lessened, we still kept experiencing small shocks.

28 I was told that Nagasaki is suffering from such shortages that the common people are forced to eat barley instead of rice. Around six in the evening the quakes started again, the fence collapsed and the earth behind the Lelie cracked.

29 We were little bothered with quakes.

30 Many slight tremors. I summoned the joint interpreters and *otonas*.

MAY

1 They came. I consulted them whether it would be opportune to present a petition on the Company's trade to the *burgemeesters* and other officials of Nagasaki, now that the governor had come to pass away so unfortunately. The unanimous feeling was that it would serve no purpose at all. We should wait for the new governor. The more so as they were sure that the deceased governor had written favourably to the Court about the Company's affairs. However, they declared that the Shogun would not revoke his orders so soon and comply with our wishes. I curtly supplied them with several examples. Other discussions about this same subject were held with them jointly or separately on other occasions, but it would be too tedious to repeat them in this diary. At midnight a tea-house, one cannon shot away, burned down. There were several quakes.

2 Sashichirō told me that of the two *opperbongioisen*, about whom we wrote on 9 and 13 January, one had been put in prison on 16 April, and the other had been put on a horse and paraded through the main streets of Edo. In many places, such as in front of the door of the governor who is in Edo, his crimes had been read out /among them, to the interpreters' regret, was the payment of 600 taels when they had incorrectly translated the Shogun's orders and some of them had been put in prison/ and afterwards he had been decapitated at the usual execution grounds. His head had been put on display on a stake for three days as a deterrent to others. The latter had been more heavily and publicly punished because he had held the post of Justice of the Peace and the former had only been a common *opperbongiois*. The father of the one who had been publicly executed had died in prison, because he had received 500 *koban* or 3,000 taels, which his son had remitted to him. /It is said that the punishment met-

* Engelbertus Kaempfer, *The History of Japan*, Vol. I, London 1727, p. 105.

** Johan Hubner, *De staats- en koeranten-tolk, of woordenboek der geleerden en ongeleerden*, Leiden, D. Haak, S. Luchtmans, 1732.

ed out to these *bongioisen* is exceptional, for usually banishment is the punishment for this sort of crime. / At last he said that the governor is under arrest, the doors and gates of his house have been nailed crosswise with bamboo. This probably portends dismissal from his post. The Japanese are crying shame upon him for not having slit his belly and by doing so putting an end to all further inquiries, as a Governor of Edo, whose *opperbongiois* had also been caught having committed a similar crime but in a lesser degree, did recently.

3 Strong quakes like yesterday. In the afternoon the retainers of the Lord of Chikuzen were replaced by those of Hizen as shogunal guards.

4 On behalf of the intendant, Sakusaburō requested five taels of *sal ammoniacum* and 15 catties of pitch for a councillor. I promised to give it. The quakes continued.

5 During the night there were a few, but none during the day, thus they are decreasing with the full moon. Senior Interpreter Sukezaemon told me that secret tidings had come from Edo that the son-in-law of the deceased governor, by the name of Hiraga Shikibu-no-shōyū had been appointed Governor of Nagasaki.

44 6 Sakusaburō brought me the bills of lading of the six junks that have departed. He told me that the first and second secretaries and all the *bongioisen* were very happy about yesterday's appointment.

7 Last night there were two quakes. The fence collapsed in several places.

8-10 Nothing happened except for a few slight tremors.

11 They are starting to get stronger. Sashichirō told me that Councillor Etchū-no-kami has ordered the first and second secretaries to remain here with the new governor. The Shogun has granted the son of the deceased governor the value of two *ōban* in *schuitjes* of silver, which is a most extraordinary favour, according to Sashichirō.

45 12 Some strong shocks.

13 At dawn a fire broke out about 80 *roeden* away, but without any consequences. In the evening a severe earthquake.

14 Sakusaburō was sent by the *burgemeesters* to announce the appointment I mentioned on the 5th. Yesterday they received a formal announcement of this /or as they call it 'on the outside'/. I ordered him to offer my congratulations to the secretaries and the *burgemeesters* the day after tomorrow /for then the 50 days of mourning will have passed and one can receive congratulations/. Rumours have it that this gentleman is of an exemplary moral character like his father-in-law, but is still very young.

46 15 Junior Interpreter Takichirō told me that all the Nagasaki servants will have their income reduced.

16 A Korean boat with eight men on board, which had stranded off the domain of Izumo, has been towed to its usual accommodation behind the island. There were two strong quakes in the morn-

ing. Sakusaburō told me that he had offered my congratulations to the secretaries and they thanked me.

17 Nothing to report.

18 The first Korean vessel left with 13 men.

19-20 Some more quakes.

21 Sakusaburō came for the *sal ammoniacum* and pitch he asked for on the 4th. I asked him why it had taken such a long time. He said that while there was no governor the smallest matter caused much ado and the Nagasaki government is even raising objections to having old matters proceed.

47 22-23 Nothing to report.

24 The *otona* told me that a letter had arrived from Shimabara yesterday reporting that the earthquakes are lessening and Mount Unzen is quietening down. But on the 21st, being new moon, another mountain, called Mae, about two Japanese miles south-east of Mount Unzen, had erupted and split open from top to bottom, ejecting an enormous amount of water and sand. The sea spilt over its borders and caused three floods, one at Shimabara, the next at Higo and Amakusa, and back to Shimabara. But the last two were the worst and the water rose to the highest level. Approximately 20,000 people appear to have drowned. Many cities, villages, and hamlets have been swept away. All the barges in the vicinity have run aground. Near this mountain about 150 small islands rose from the sea burning and smoke could be seen rising from the sea in several places. The deluge lasted three minutes each time and the water-level was about 20 feet higher than normal. On the 22nd many bodies of drowned people could be seen hanging in spruces and other trees and a multitude of barrels with corpses /the people here are not buried in coffins/ were found scattered in the fields. We felt a rather severe quake in the evening.

49 25 We heard other sad tidings from Amakusa and Higo, about six Japanese miles from Shimabara. At the same time as at Shimabara there had been three floods. Around 20,000 people have died in Higo and 18 Japanese miles of land have been inundated. A numberless people have died in Amakusa.

26 *Bongioisen* came to open the warehouses to see if the severe earthquakes, wind, and rain have caused any damage. Bookkeeper Jonas reported that only a small amount of plaster had fallen off the inner walls of the Doorn and two tiles had slid off.

27 The citizens of Nagasaki are starting to fear a flood and some are even getting ready to flee.

28 Nothing to report.

29 The senior surgeon went looking for herbs. I ordered him to give me a report about whether there are any herbs, and if there are, which grow here for which we have a medicinal use and can be found in sufficient quantity.

50 30-31 Nothing to report.

* Aan de buite[n]kant.

JUNE

1-5 Nothing to report.

6 Two severe earthquakes.

7 Another.

8-10 Nothing to report.

11 The interpreters told me that further investigation had revealed that around 100,000 people had died in the deluge in Shimabara, Higo, and Amakusa on the 24th.

12 On the order of the new governor, who is on his way, Sakusaburō showed me eight sheets of paper with Russian texts /apparently/ from a book and seven letters which were marked N^o 680, 736, 794, 829, 940, 1003, and 1047 /signed/ Koks, the year 1788. The Shogun requests a translation. But as no one here has any knowledge of the written language, I had to apologize. I asked Sakusaburō to tell me how and whence these papers had arrived at Court. He did not know, but he had secretly heard tell that a *rekenmeester* and two masters of repairs had been sent to Ezo or the Kurile Islands to investigate whether Russian or Kamchatkan soldiers, or others who come under their command, really go there, and he thought that these letters might have been obtained by these investigators. /The paper was thinner and not as firm, yellower but finer and more like that of the Chinese than ours. The coat of arms was — or seemed to me to be — a crowned bear standing on its hind legs with an axe over its shoulder.* At the top, 1½ inch from the edge, was written 1783./ In conclusion he asked for a Dutch military drill and evolution book and a dictionary to translate the loan-words from the former for the Shogun. I declined in the politest way.

13 The senior surgeon went looking for herbs. According to the Japanese, severe earthquakes were felt as far as Edo at the same time we felt them.

14 Sukezaemon told me that Councillor Etchūno-kami has approved the plan that all the citizens of Nagasaki settle in Edo, if the Dutch and Chinese refuse to comply with the latest regulations and stay away from Japan. For he had been told that this city would collapse into ruins without the foreign trade.

15 News came from Shimabara that the mountain had erupted so fiercely yesterday and the day before that the people there had had to light candles during the day because of the thick fumes and dust. There was another earthquake today. The quakes, although not very severe, cause a great deal of concern. They have not let up since 21 April.

16-17 Nothing to report.

18 The Koreans who arrived last have left.

19-20 Nothing to report.

21 News came that the Lord of Shimabara had died after a short illness. I was told that some Chinese had said that last year a mastless Dutch ship had entered China and had returned to Batavia after it had been repaired.

22-23 Nothing to report.

24 Behind the Lelie we discovered a large crack

in the ground 18 feet deep and 90 feet long. /Considering the fact that it is hardly three feet away from the Lelie, the Company has been in danger of seeing the warehouse drop into the moat. / I asked the masters of repairs and other overseers to repair the wall as speedily as possible. When inspecting to see if the Lelie is on the verge of sagging, we discovered termites, from which we had been free for some time, in two beams. I had nut oil and salt poured into the holes and smeared on the wood.

25 Nothing to report but the fact that no more quakes are felt.

26-30 Nothing to report.

JULY

1 Bernard and Ras were sent with Jonas to Magome to note the damage to the sampans.

2 They handed me the following report. [On ff. 54-55.] I ordered the *rapporteurs* to have the carpenter make a quote for these trifling repairs. At noon we felt two quakes.

3 Nothing to report.

4 Strong winds and heavy rain have caused some plaster to fall off the south-eastern side of the Lelie.

5-6 Nothing to report.

7 I struck a deal for the repairs to the sampans for 22:5 taels.

8 Strong winds and heavy rains caused plaster and clay to fall off the Doorn. The fence surrounding the island has collapsed in many places. In the afternoon a Chinese junk arrived in the roadstead.

9 We were told that two bridges and some small houses had been swept from the mountains by the heavy rainfall. The mountains have erupted and disgorged a great deal of water.

10 The junk has been unloaded.

11 Another has arrived in the roadstead.

12 And another. I was told that the mountain in Shimabara disgorged so much water on the 9th that a great number of people have perished. The second secretary sent me two kinds of candles made of tree-wax with cotton wicks, for he had heard that we are now burning Japanese candles. They can be had for 5:5:2 tael per catty. I thanked him for his courtesy and made the following test: the first kind burned for four hours and the second for three hours. On average 5¾ pieces weigh one catty and burn for roughly 20 hours. They are yellower, more brittle, give off heavy smoke and smell unpleasant. One of ours burns brighter than two of the Japanese. But one should admit that these are better than the old kind, which to a large extent can be attributed to the cotton wick /for otherwise they use paper to that end/. Allow me to make a comparison between these and those which are supplied to us nowadays. [Comparison between those from Batavia and the Japanese turns out in favour of the first, considering the costs, etc., especially as they cannot rely on the Japanese supplying these of a consistent-

* This coat of arms was of the city of Yaroslavl, north of Moscow.

ly good quality.]

59 13 The *otona* told me that there had been a great conflagration in Osaka which raged from the 3rd to the 5th of this month. It destroyed many buildings and one of the copper refineries.

14 The junk which arrived on the 11th has been unloaded. Another one arrived in the roadstead.

15 The *otona* told me that the governor will arrive in Nagasaki on the 19th. And that the Chinese who arrived yesterday had seen a mastless Dutch ship enter Fujian Province last year. In the afternoon a junk entered the bay after the one which arrived on the 12th had been unloaded.

60 16 The fourth junk has been unloaded. The sixth arrived.

17 The fifth junk has been unloaded. I had a vehement argument with the interpreters about a petition I wish to present to the governor.

18 The sixth junk has been unloaded. One has been towed to its berth.

19 The governor has arrived in Nagasaki. I sent the *rapporteurs* to give him my regards. I was told that some Chinese have been circulating the rumour /but they have not told the Government/ that a Dutch ship fitted out for Japan is in China to buy sugar. A junk has been towed to its berth.

20 Another one. At dawn a house burned down in the city about five streets away from the island.

21 A junk has been towed to its berth. I was told that two junks have run aground off the domain of Karatsu.

61 22 The governor sent me two samples of opium which have been prepared in Japan, which he brought with him from Edo. He asked me if they were any good and if the Company could be served with it. I replied that I did not have any knowledge of this gum and, secondly, that I was willing to take the samples to Batavia with me and offer them to the High Government, if he gave me the price and the quantity that could be traded each year, if trade
62 were restored. A junk has been towed to its berth.

23 Nothing to report.

24 Around six o'clock in the morning two signals were raised that a ship was in sight. But they were lowered because it concerned two Chinese junks. They arrived in the roadstead in the evening.

25 This morning, after the Court had approved the sentence, a criminal, who was guilty of house-breaking and murder, was paraded on a horse and then decapitated, and his head will be exhibited for seven days. A junk has been unloaded.

26 The eighth and last. The *Tolken College* appeared. I gave them the following petition to translate and deliver to the governor.

[To Hiraga Shikibu-no-shōyū. Request not to take it amiss that Chassé is presenting this petition to
63 him. The passes granted in 1611 and 1616 by the then Shogun and the enduring friendly trade between the two countries would make it almost impossible to end the trade, of which proof had been given in 1786 and subsequently thereafter. At that time the

High Government wrote that the factory in Japan was not producing any profits, but was only kept going at a loss with only the hope of improvement to sustain it. Now matters are most distressing. The 900,000 catties of bar-copper are not sufficient to make up the costs of sending two ships every year. Hope rested on the old promise of being allowed an export of 1,100,000 or 1,200,000 catties. However, in 1790 the Company was ordered to trade annually with only one ship and export only 530,000 catties. Copper is the only commodity which compensates for the poor prices for the imports and the heavy expenses. The recent regulation does not reduce the
64 latter proportionally. This will force the Company to end the trade, notwithstanding the fact that it has commodities lying idle in the Batavian warehouses which have been specially woven for Japan in faraway countries, and the lack of copper for the western factories. In short, the High Government has deemed it less unprofitable to bear these costs than to let trade be carried on on the footing it is now.

66 They have given Chassé time to seek an improvement. They had been forced for a while to send three ships in two years, for this was enough to carry the quantity of copper that was allowed. They abandoned this policy from 1786 up to and including 1789 just to oblige the Japanese and to provide the Shogun and the councillors with the gifts and the commodities they and the people desired and needed, which might be put in jeopardy if only one ship were sent. For three years the price of powdered sugar had been increased, but now the price would be lowered again. It would be quite impossible to import it without a loss. Request for a price increase. The purchasing price of *taffachelassen* is far higher, but the increase is not made good here. Tin is sold in other factories with a fair profit, but makes a loss here. Lead was sold with a loss. Nor is any profit made on the elephants' teeth. The unfair dealings of the *Geldkamer* also need mentioning. The main complaint is their impertinent demands. An example is the latest demand for 5,000 catties of *radix China*, which has not been imported since 1779 because of the low price. The one year they demand goods which they do not value the next year, especially if
68 the import is ample. They do not consider the ship's capacity, nor the fact that sometimes there is an ample supply of such goods and at other times they cannot be had. Nor can the Company keep all these goods in its warehouses just for the sake of the *Geldkamer*, for the prices it pays do not compensate for the goods lying idle.

71 Examples of the nefarious dealings of the *Geldkamer* in the past.

72 No one can deny that the Shogun has magnanimously contributed towards lowering the Company's expenses by excusing half of the gifts, the annual appearance of the *opperhoofd* at Court, and by fixing the *hassaku* and the presents for the Nagasaki Regents. This shows that the Shogun is well disposed towards the Company.

- 73 Chassé requests that improvements be made in the trading conditions, otherwise he fears that he will have to put an end to the trade.]

27 Sakusaburō told me that the Shogun dismissed two of his confectioners at the instigation of Councillor Etchū-no-kami, because they were in the habit of charging the Shogun 10 to 12,000 catties of sugar when they had used 1,000 catties, or to take them for themselves. Nowadays the confectionery at Court is being made as frugally as possible by the servants of the said councillor. A junk has been towed to its berth.

- 74 28 The attendants of the deceased governor have left for Edo. They have taken with them the models or small mills which I had made by order of the Court. News has also arrived from Osaka that the fire we mentioned on the 13th has destroyed 89 streets or: 12,857 houses, 245 warehouses, nine bridges, 41 temples, 80 houses of *yoriki* and *dōshin*, one Council Chamber of Copper Merchants, two *Geldkamers*, 830 houses in six villages, and 16 palaces of the lords. Only three people died, two women and one man.

- 29 Sakusaburō told me that he and one of the new secretaries had an extensive discussion about the trade yesterday. He had learned in secret that the *rekenmeesters* and masters of repairs I mentioned on 12 June had visited several of the Kurile Islands. They had found some pieces of cloth and other European goods, mostly small stuff, but no strangers. The islanders had called the people who had brought these things 'red people.' The senior surgeon went looking for herbs for the sixth time.

30-31 Nothing to report.

AUGUST

- 1 The governor went to the shogunal guards.
2 Sakusaburō brought me the bills of lading of the eight junks.

3 Nothing to report.

4 The senior surgeon gave me the report I asked for on 29 May. [On ff. 76-78. Keller had been asked to report whether there were any good medicinal herbs to be found in the neighbourhood of Nagasaki. If so, what they are and if some can be obtained. His reply is that, on the whole, the surrounding land is mountainous, rocky, sandy, and dry. Nonetheless, each part of land which is in the least usable has been built on. This is useful for the community, but not for botany. The greatest treasures can be found in meadows, fields, land lying fallow, in woods, and hills. Little can be found around Nagasaki and for medicinal purposes the yield is low. But several very useful and powerful plants do grow there. He mentions the most important: *Gramen* (*Triticum repens* L, in Japanese *Chigaya*), *Lapathum* (*Rumex* L, Japanese *Jiō ruiji*), several kinds of: *Brunella*, *Plantago*, *Pulsatilla*, *Verbena*, *Artemisia*, *Taraxacum*, *Bardana*, *Salvia*, *Mentha*, *Sempervivum*, *Saxifraga*, *Carduus*, *Centaurea*, *Rosa Sylvestris*. Of these

herbs, the first two grow in abundance, the next five are fairly prevalent, but the rest grow only sparsely or are not of the best quality. Keller restricts himself to the kinds he has seen for himself, for one cannot get reliable information from the Japanese about their country or their products. He does not doubt that many of the herbs he mentions, especially the first two, and many others can be found in other parts of Japan, which he has not visited.]

- 79 By order of the chief councillor, Sakusaburō came to ask if the Company could be served with butter, if it could be made of a good enough quality in Japan. In order not to have to give a reply, I asked for a sample, the price, and the quantity they could supply annually, for I do not think that either the fields or the cattle are up to it.

5 The governor asked me for a thermometer, which I gave to him. The seventh and eighth junks were towed to their berths.

6 The sampans have been taken to water.

7 I was told that the eight bills of lading I was given the other day were correct.

- 80 8 Nothing to report.

9 I was told that the *burgemeesters* and the *pancados* of Nagasaki only have to go to Edo every other year. Before, they had to go every year.

10 At half past twelve in the afternoon a flag was raised and a dispatch boat came rowing in from Fukahori, signalling that a ship was in sight. At two o'clock the governor had the *onderrapporteur* inform me of this good news and all the senior and junior interpreters came to congratulate me. At half past four the signals were lowered and the governor sent the *rapporteur* to tell me that it was a Ryūkyūan boat.

11 Nothing to report.

- 81 12 Sukezaemon told me that the governor had five or six Chinese interpreters arrested for making a mistake in the bills of lading of the Chinese junks. Around ten o'clock in the morning Sakusaburō came to tell me that a ship had been spotted in Kōkura and that an interpreter and *bongioisen* were going there. At eleven it started to storm with hurricane-force from the south-south-east to south-west, with accompanying rain. The Lelie and the Doorn suffered a great deal of damage. The fence of the small vegetable garden was blown down.

13 Yasujiro left for Chikuzen, because tidings had come that the ship was beating against the wind there. Because this country is more to the south and as we have been having south-easterly breezes and calms since the first of August till yesterday, this could mean that it is a ship destined for Japan.

- 82 14 I asked Sakusaburō if there had been a decision yet on my petition. He replied that there was none.

15 Nothing to report.

16 Two light quakes.

17 To my regret, Sakusaburō came to tell me that a messenger had come with the message that the ship had sailed out of sight to the north-east. He asked for a microscope for the governor, which I

gave him. Shortly after, I was told that the ship had been showing an English flag /judging from the description/.

18 Nothing to report.

83 19 Sakusaburō told me that the governor in Edo had been released from his arrest, which had lasted a hundred days, on July 26. Because one is not allowed to shave during this time nor throw out refuse, and one can only obtain food over the wall or through a hole in it, this punishment has been rather severe, although it is thought that this will not be all.

20-23 Nothing to report.

ARRIVAL OF THE *ERFPRINS*

24 At half past seven in the morning a dispatch boat from Hizen came rowing into the bay flying a flag. At eight a signal was raised and shortly after a second, signalling that a Dutch ship was in sight. At half past ten news came from Nomo and Kose-to that the ship was still 24 Japanese miles off the coast. The Japanese sent me many congratulations, like all of us they were very happy. At half past twelve I was told that the ship was still 15 Japanese miles off shore. I appointed deputies to go and fetch the papers. At half past six I was told that the ship was beating against the wind. At midnight I received a letter from Jonas and Bernard confirming this, together with a paper on which was written that the ship was called the *Erfprins*, Mr [Gijsbert] Hemmij was *opperhoofd*, and [Michiel] Jurgens was the captain.

25 The deputies returned in the morning with the Company's papers. At half past ten the ship anchored in the roadstead. I went aboard to welcome my successor Hemmij.

85 26 The ship has been unloading rice and private goods. In the evening the joint *Tolken College* came to ask me for a firm reply to the question if the High Government had understood the 1790 order and would comply with it. I refused and only told them about the Government's justified displeasure.

27 The captain went to moor the ship. I ordered the interpreters to investigate the tidings we had received about the mastless Dutch ship.

86 28 The ship has been unloading dispensary supplies and private goods. The *burgemeesters* and commissioners came for the bill of lading. I urged them for an increase in copper and in prices. They promised to lend their assistance, but had grave reservations about the copper, for this was the Court's absolute order. I also asked them to take measures against the coolies' stealing and their careless handling of the copper, for the Company could not pay for the damage any longer.

29 Held a meeting. The governor sent to ask after my health, for I have been feeling poorly for some time, and if I had had good news from my relatives. I sent to thank him. He has dismissed about

half of the officials of the *Geldkamer*. The ship has unloaded dispensary supplies and private goods.

87 30 I postponed having the Company's commodities unloaded today, because I want to give more force to the petition and to emphasize our complaints. The joint *Tolken College* came to ask me again for an answer as on the 26th. I refused and would only give them a statement that the High Government was aware of this injurious order and were not pleased.

31 Yasujirō returned. He has not seen a ship and could only report that some fishermen had seen one, but no flag or anything special. Thus the rumour of the English flag is false. A barge loaded with seaweed and trepangs hit the rocks in the bay and sank.

SEPTEMBER

1 Nothing has been done due to the *Lampjes-feest*.

88 2 Held a meeting and sent a document to the governor, which has been inserted with today's resolution.*

3 Sakusaburō told me that the governor had accepted the petition yesterday, which is a good portent. Therefore he requested that a start be made with the unloading, the more so because the *burgemeesters* and secretaries let me know that they would do their best for us.

4 The crew has been mustered, the placards have been read and a start has been made with the unloading of the Company's commodities. The governor's first secretary paid me a very friendly visit with some other gentlemen.

89 5 The new second secretary paid me a visit. The interpreters asked me why the *Erfprins* had not been flying flags at the yard-arms when she was being towed into the bay nor when the mustering was taking place yesterday. They asked me to take care of this, for in the olden days the Japanese had been told that this was done out of courtesy, thus it would be considered an affront and would give rise to undesirable ideas. In the afternoon they came to tell me that the *Geldkamer* refused to accept more ducats than it had ordered. I sent them back with the reply that I insisted that it accept all and that I was surprised how quickly the officials resorted to their old ways. Sappanwood and piece-goods have been unloaded.

90 6 Held a meeting. The servants of the shogunal guards paid me a visit. They also went on board the ship and to the garden. Sugar and sappanwood have been unloaded. I commissioned Assistants Ras and [Christiaan Hendrik Carel] Den Beer de Monté to make a note of the damage to the Doorn and the Lelie in the presence of Warehousemaster Jonas. They gave me the following report. [On ff. 90-91.] In the evening we felt an earthquake.

7 After much haggling, I contracted for the re-

* In this letter Chassé made requests for more copper and higher prices for some commodities, especially for the sugar. (NFJ 514, 17).

pairs for the sum of 28 taels. The governor presented me with two flasks of Japanese liqueurs. I reciprocated with three silver and one gold watch and a silver étui. I had been told secretly that this would greatly please him. We held a meeting in the afternoon. Sugar has been unloaded and copper has been delivered onto the island.

93 8 I was told that no one here is giving any credence to last year's rumour about the ship that had stranded in China. Neither the prominent Chinese nor anyone in Government had mentioned it. Sugar and sappanwood have been unloaded. We felt an earthquake at half past eight.

94 9 Due to the rainy weather nothing has been unloaded, but we made a start with unpacking the piece-goods. In the evening the wind began to rise to hurricane-force. On behalf of the governor, the interpreters came to tell me that he was not able to grant us any changes in the copper quota or the prices without the consent of the Court. But he would use his influence to accomplish this. I replied that I hoped that I could at least notify my masters on my return that the order of 1790 had been revoked. A postponement would make it impossible for the Company to trade without grave losses. If the prices for the imports were not raised and the Company were not allowed the exports it demanded, I could not be held responsible. Therefore I insisted most urgently on this.

96 10 In the morning we discovered that the storm and rain had blown the tiles off most houses, the newly-repaired fence of the vegetable garden had suffered the same fate, the new fence of the *Spilten-tijt* had collapsed, tiles, plaster, and clay had been blown off the Doorn and the Lelie and all the other buildings, both ours and those of the Japanese, were badly damaged. The ship had drifted away and I sent the barge and boat to inquire after the well-being of the people on board. Sakusaburō came to tell me that one of the three sampans, which had been stored behind the Lelie in the city moat, had been smashed to pieces against a Japanese barge. The other two had had their sides damaged. I ordered him to send the carpenter immediately and to inform me of the costs. It is unfortunate that while one is trying to do everything possible to save on expenses, accidents which cannot be prevented keep obtruding. At one o'clock in the afternoon I received news from the ship that they had to drop the third anchor last night at seven, and that the guy-rope had snapped and the other two anchors had been lost. The ship had run aground about a ship's length from shore and they had to await high tide. At half past three the ship was dislodged and the ship's authorities were busy mooring her again. We have been busy unpacking the piece-goods.

11 I was told that the ship had been properly moored. I ordered the ship's authorities to recover the lost mooring bower. Nothing has been done due to the rainy weather apart from the Japanese measuring and sorting the piece-goods. The senior sur-

geons gave me a report about the goods which are short or damaged.

12 I was told that last night's storm has damaged the Lelie and the Doorn. I summoned the head of the masters of the coolies and told him that he should not expect to be paid more chests than the piculs of copper that will be exported. He had much to complain about, but he had to leave unsolaced. Nothing else has been done due to the rainy weather. In the evening the pressmaster came to warn me that the continuous storm and rain had removed half of the plaster and the clay from the walls of the Lelie.

13 Sakusaburō and the *otona* informed me that another sampan had sprung leaks in yesterday's storm and had sunk. I ordered it to be repaired as well as possible and to notify me of the costs of this one and the one of the 10th. The repairs turned out to amount to 13:2 taels. We could not unload today because of the strong winds and rain. We only sorted the piece-goods and rayskins.

99 14 Sugar has been unloaded. The ducats have been brought ashore. The first retainer of the Lord of Ōmura visited me. The governor sent me some astronomical apparatus with the request to teach the interpreters how to use them. Because the sampan that was damaged yesterday could not be used, I was forced to hire two Japanese barges instead.

15 Sakusaburō came to notify me that the sampans had been repaired. The governor asked for saffron and theriaca. I could not refuse, but I decided to let him know how much we could spare in future. I commissioned Ras and Den Beer de Monté to note the damage to the Doorn and the Lelie. They gave me the following report. [On f.100.] I summoned the Japanese carpenter and contracted for the repairs for the sum of 22 taels.

16 The Japanese presented their *hassaku* to the Governor and Regents of Nagasaki, and even that for the governor in Edo. I sent the barge and the boat to the ship to recover the mooring bower.

17 I was informed that when the mooring bower was recovered yesterday, the buoy-rope had snapped. 850 chests of bar-copper have been weighed and shipped to the *Erfprins*.

18 Japanese caulkers have gone aboard and 850 chests of copper have been loaded into the ship. Master Gunner Pieter Bergreen from Stockholm died on shore.

102 19 Three Chinese junks have been towed into mid-stream. I sent two silver pocket-watches and some small trifles to the secretaries of the governor. The joint *Tolken College* came to tell me that yesterday and the day before they and the *bongioisen, burgemeesters*, and *otonas* had issued strict orders against smashing and dropping the copper chests, but that the Japanese would not bear the costs, for once the copper had been taken off the scales, it belonged to the Company and had to be taken on board. Should I desire it, if a chest had been broken, they would have the copper taken on board loose with the pieces of the chest. But they could or would not be held

responsible for any thefts. I remonstrated with them that I could not collaborate with them in this matter without incurring the indignation of my masters. They riposted that one cannot have one's own way in everything. If what I wanted was a fair deal, they would do their utmost to conclude this to the advantage of the Company. It could be achieved in a year or two without the changes becoming too conspicuous. It was impossible to deliver all the copper on board in the chests in which it was put after weighing, without some damage being sustained. Although it is obvious that the Japanese are issuing all possible orders against the dropping of the copper chests, they cannot prevent this entirely but I considered that the time is not right to yield. I told them that their unreasonableness knew no bounds, for they admitted that the damage is committed wilfully and thus they could not expect me to conclude a deal. They left displeased. The body of the deceased master gunner has been buried. The ship has unloaded sugar. A Chinese junk has been towed into mid-stream.

20 The governor asked me for a role of canvas, which I dared not refuse. Sugar and sappanwood have been unloaded. An interpreter told me that the Chinese had requested with some insistence that they be given the arrears of copper. The governor had asked them if this was a forcible request. In which case he would inform the Court and they would have to await the consequences. They replied that theirs was a friendly request and that the money for it had been with the *Geldkamer* for some years bearing no interest.

21 900 piculs of copper have been loaded into the ship. I had another vehement argument with the interpreters about the broken chests.

22 Quartermaster Claas Christiaan from Westenaarde died last night. In a petition I urged the governor for a favourable response to my request for price increases and more copper. Sugar has been unloaded.

23 An interpreter told me that the accountant and the new second secretary had been on the island yesterday and had held a public discussion in the house of the *bongioisen*. The accountant had brought up the fact that this year the *Geldkamer* has to pay 80 taels per picul for copper in Osaka. / How can this be squared with the fact that these same officials offered *Oppelhoofd* [Johan Fredrik] Van Reede an increase in the copper quota in 1788? / The secretary had asked him if the copper would not turn into something useless like rocks, if the Japanese were to end trade with the Chinese and the Dutch. Because he thought that one should put nature's resources which had been meted out to a country to the benefit of the people. Sugar and sappanwood have been unloaded. I had another argument with the interpreters about the broken chests. I asked them why only four junks had been towed into mid-stream. I had been told five were about to leave and

there were still 11 in their berths. They did not know, only that no copper is available and the *Geldkamer* and the Chinese are engaged in arguments. Considering that this nation has had a substantial capital with the *Geldkamer* which is not bearing any interest, the unreasonableness of the Japanese, if they do have copper, exceeds the compass of one's comprehension.

24 Tin and lead have been unloaded. I sent deputies on board to be present at the inspection of the ship. They reported that the Japanese had done this in the friendliest manner and everything was in order.

25 The samples of the commodities have been put ready to be taken to the governor tomorrow.

26 The samples have been taken to the governor and returned. He let me know that he will visit the ship and the island the day after tomorrow.

27 The Company's commodities have been shown to the merchants. The Chinese have loaded copper.

28 I deputized Ras and Den Beer to be present at the drawing of the lot for the warehouse from which the sugar canisters will be taken for the assessment of the tare. They reported that the lot of the Roos had been drawn. After having been to the ship, the governor came at half past one in the afternoon. He visited my house and the garden, where he stayed until five o'clock, very much enjoying himself. Boatswain Joseph Ferdinants from Genua, and Sailor Jurgen Fredrick Hembroek from Beulingburg died last night on board the ship.

29 The fifth junk has been towed into mid-stream. Nothing has been done due to the rainy weather. The *Tolken College* read me a reply from the governor that he would pay 7 taels per picul for the sugar which by contract should be delivered for 6:6:2 taels. The reason is given in the copy of the translation, which also states the reason why he refuses a price increase for the other commodities.* I had him thanked for the increase in the price for sugar, but I told the interpreters that I would take the *taffachelassen* back with me, if the price for these were not increased. But I would hand in another petition. I asked them if there had been a decision on the copper. They had not been told. I impressed upon them to do their best to obtain a larger quota for this year and that the order of 1790 be revoked.

30 Held a meeting. After many arguments I struck a deal that the tare of the sugar be accepted as the amount that was given on the bill of lading. I gave the interpreters a petition for a price increase for the *taffachelassen*.

OCTOBER

1 The *rapporteurs* came to inform me that the Shogun's consort was delivered of a crown prince last month. According to custom this young prince has to be presented with gifts. The governor has

* An exception was made for the sugar, in consideration of the diminished copper export and the loss of a ship last year (NF/ 514).

been to the Chinese island and the *Burgemeesters* of Nagasaki. This is the reason why the *Geldkamer* could not give us the prices for the imported commodities today.

2 The interpreters told me that the governor spent only a few minutes with the Chinese yesterday and he left annoyed, for he was not received with the proper courtesies. In the afternoon the *burgemeesters* and the officials of the *Geldkamer* came to state the prices for the imports. [List of some articles for which they want to pay less on f. 110.] They cannot accept all the rayskins because of their poor quality. They will give a statement on the large quantity of cloves and the astronomical instruments later. I asked the *burgemeester* for the reason for this decrease. He replied that in 1788 they had permitted the import of these articles instead of ducats, because the *Geldkamer* does not make a profit on the coins, and this year at least 1,000 ducats have been imported in excess of the 1,000 demanded. I asked them to see to it that the articles are accepted for the last prices, and that a favourable decision be given on the price increase for the *taffachelassen*. They promised their assistance and left. I impressed upon the interpreters that the Company would be forced not to send a ship if some articles were to be short on the demand, for this was the reason that they had been imported. If the *Geldkamer* thought it could treat us this perfidiously, I would present them with an entire collection of deals which they had broken high-handedly without any cause.

3 I summoned the interpreters and tackled them about the price increase. The officials of the *Geldkamer* have plainly given them to understand that it is true that velvet, camlets, and gilt chintzes had been demanded in 1788 instead of ducats, and that the Company had imported some of these articles in 1789, some of which they had partly bought, but that subsequently they had not demanded these articles and we had imported 1,000 ducats in excess of the 1,000 demanded. Therefore these articles could never have been imported on demand. Furthermore, the ban on pomp and circumstance has forced these goods to drop far below their former value and the quality of the fabric was very poor. The Patna chintzes were shorter and narrower than usual, the coral balls were no longer of value in Japan and this was the reason why they had also been taken back in 1789. They had not yet fixed a price for the astronomical instruments, which they had not demanded either. The Company had also imported far more cloves than had been demanded. The *Geldkamer* was at a loss what to do with the rayskins because of their poor quality and the Company was free not to import any more *taffachelassen*, if it did not accept the last price increase, for the Japanese do not value it any higher. I replied that these were all far-fetched excuses and I refused to accept them. The officials have to accept the goods for the old price. If fairness prevailed among them, they would give a price increase for the *taffachelassen*,

make a fair offer for the coral balls and the instruments. I gave them a statement for the *rapporteur burgemeesters* and ordered them to insist on a speedy decision on the copper. In the afternoon the interpreters came to tell me that they had handed the statement to the *burgemeesters*, but that these gentlemen had told them that they did not think a price increase would be possible. I had an argument with them and they left. In the evening they told me that the officials of the *Geldkamer* had declared to the *burgemeesters* that they will not accede to a price increase. I sent them to the *Geldkamer* to tell the officials that, if the prices were not increased, I would return all the goods to Batavia and they will incur the justified displeasure of the High Government.

4 A junk has been hauled into mid-stream. Some junks have been loading goods. Copper has been delivered. Sailor Pieter Fransice Bernard from Vlaanderen died on the ship. The *Geldkamer* informed me that they cannot decide on a price increase. I remonstrated with the interpreters about the intransigence of the officials and told them that I must have an increase or I would not sell.

5 The ship has loaded 850 piculs of copper. The Chinese are loading their junks. I had another vehement argument with the interpreters about the price increase, but there was no improvement.

6 Captain Jurgens informed me that the lost mooring bower could not be recovered by one of our men. I ordered the *rapporteurs* to find some Japanese divers to try to recover it. I presented the governor with a collection of old and new gold and silver coins. The Chinese have been loading drugs and trepangs. I had another long discussion with the interpreters about the price increase, which the *Geldkamer* keeps on refusing. I sent another petition to the governor.

7 I had another discussion with the interpreters about the price increase and the acceptance of the other goods.

8-9 Nothing to report.

10 Nothing much happened but the exchange of words with the interpreters and sending them to the *Geldkamer* and especially to the governor to get a larger copper quota.

11 700 chests of copper have been loaded. I had another dispute about the broken chests with the interpreters, who appeared with an outrageous demand.

12 Another discussion about the prices. The *rapporteur* appeared with a demand for medicines. [Different amounts of *antispasmodicum*, *mercurius sublimatus*, red Persi: Pit., *balsamum copaivae*, oil of turpentine, spirits, tent wine, *opopanax*, red sandalwood, almond oil, sassafras, amber.] I asked them if they should be imported for trade next year. Surely they did not expect the Company to fulfil such preposterous demands while trade was so bad. They asked me to state how much I could or would give. These demands were usually issued by doctors, who could be satisfied with smaller amounts.

13 I summoned the *rapporteur* and told him that I would give him the following medicines. [Some *antispasmodicum*, *balsamum copaivae*, oil of turpentine, red sandalwood, tent wine.] He was content with this. 1000 chests of copper have been shipped.

14 A host of retainers of the Lord of Chikuzen visited me, including a *commissaris burgemeester*. I took him aside and mentioned the matter of the price increase to him and the other matter. I asked him to mediate in these matters, as well as in the matter of the copper quota. He promised to do so. 850 chests of copper have been loaded, making a total of 6,000 piculs.

15 Sugar and sappanwood have been delivered. The governor let me know that the astronomical instruments could not be bought, for there were no buyers and he could not use them as presents because of their high price. But he would offer them to the Shogun for sale, if I was willing to leave them here, for he would not have an answer before my departure. I replied that it was not just up to me and I would give him a decision later. This was a very unpleasant message, which almost made me think that the *Geldkamer* was behind it all to have our money cut down, as with the price decreases, thus to hinder us in the export of copper. I discussed the copper export and the acceptance of all the cloves with the interpreters, and also the price increases. They said that they were doing their utmost to please me and that the *rapporteur burgemeesters* and the first secretary kept a good heart. I received a report that the caulkers had done a good job.

16 Sugar and sappanwood have been delivered.

17 Sugar and sappanwood have been delivered. The governor informed me that, as a special favour, the velvet would be accepted for 9 taels per *ikje*, the gilt chintzes for 50 taels per piece, the camlets for 130 taels per piece, and the portfolio with 50 Dutch views for 100 taels, with the notification that these goods should not be imported in future. If I was not content with this offer, I should take them back to Batavia. He will accept all the cloves and the 606 chintzes, which are too short and too narrow, for the ordinary prices, as well as the ducats and the rayskins. However, the price will not be increased for the *taffachelassen* in spite of the fact that the Japanese have a liking for this fabric, but considering the ban on pomp and circumstance, the recently fixed price seemed adequate to him. If I did not wish to sell, I could return them to Batavia and the Company could leave off sending this fabric in future, as we had been notified in 1790. The coral balls will only be accepted for the price offered, and they will not be accepted at a higher price to be used for the gifts. The interpreters asked for an explicit reply, for the governor had ordered this and they think that the decision on the copper quota rests on this. After a meeting, I sold all these goods, except for the coral balls, which we decided to send back to Batavia. We also decided to leave the astronom-

ical instruments here.

18 Sugar and sappanwood have been delivered.

19 Sugar and sappanwood have been delivered.

19-20 Nothing has been done due to the rainy weather.

22 Two junks have left for the *Papenberg*. The *Tolken College* came to inform me by order of the governor that out of special consideration, because of the loss suffered by the Company on account of the wrecking of the ship last year, he would grant us 700 piculs of copper from the arrears without any consequences for the future. When I intimated that this concession was not up to expectation and that I intended to present another petition, the interpreters replied that, in the first place, this paper would have no effect whatsoever and, in the second place, they had to confess that they dare not present it to the governor. If the accountant were not in Nagasaki, the governor might very probably have given a larger allowance of copper, but in the present circumstances all requests would be in vain. After this we held a meeting and we decided to be content with the quantity the Company is allowed to export this year.

23 Nothing has been done due to the rainy weather.

24 Today was the Japanese *Matsuri*. Two Chinese junks have set sail.

25 Goods have been delivered. The *Geldkamer* informed me that only 30,000 catties of sulphur were available. They asked me how I was going to pack them, for the price did not include chests or barrels. I replied that I could only expect excuses from these unreasonable officials, but they could rest assured that the sulphur would only be accepted and transported if they delivered it well packed. Two junks have left for the *Papenberg*.

26 Second day of the fair. Nothing has been done.

27 700 chests of copper has been weighed. They have been shipped to the *Erffprins* together with two chests with samples and two weights. As usual many chests have been broken and I refused to pay for them. On behalf of the *burgemeesters*, the interpreters kept badgering me about it and we had a big row. I finally yielded and gave one empty one for every two full ones, on the condition that next year they will be more reasonable about the breakages.

28 I summoned the *Tolken College* and discussed the lower bonus with them. They doubted if any change could be achieved, for they have been discussing this daily with the *rapporteur burgemeesters* and the governor is informed each time of my requests. I told them that I was not willing to hand over the *hassaku* for the governor in Edo. They objected vehemently to this, saying that the natives had to offer it /as was mentioned on 16 September/ and what was more, we had done this before without

any objections /they are referring to the year 1764, when there was only one governor in office, due to the demise of the other one, but presents were given for two/. I replied that our present circumstances should be taken into consideration, and that I would not present the *hassaku* to the governor in Edo. They left, promising that they would mention my stand to the *rapporteur burgemeester* 'on the inside', as they call it, meaning secretly.

128 29 The interpreters came to tell me that the *burgemeester* and the governor's secretaries thought that my stand on the *hassaku* was extraordinary, for the Japanese themselves had offered it. It had been reduced so much that they did not think that it would be more than a toll for the Company. The *burgemeester* advised me not to create a bigger stir and incur the wrath of that governor, for I was well aware of the great influence he has on matters of trade. Thus one has to accept that the law is imposed on one, partly because of old customs, partly because of the customs of the land and the whimsy of the Japanese, because one does not wish to be subjected to graver consequences. Camphor has been delivered and the tare has been assessed in the presence of *Oppehoofd* Hemmij. It is roughly 38 1/8 pounds. 500 barrels have been shipped. I had another argument with the interpreters who, on behalf of the officials of the *Geldkamer*, wanted to force us to pay separately for the barrels or chests in which the sulphur would be delivered. Three junks which had been anchored below the *Papenberg* have set sail.

30 The interpreters informed me that the sulphur will be delivered in barrels for which the *Geldkamer* will pay. I went with Hemmij to present the *hassaku* and gave that for the governor in Edo to the one present here.

31 The Company's commodities and *kambang* goods have been delivered. I had another discussion with the interpreters about the lower bonus. They told me that they had little faith that the order and stipulations would be revoked.

NOVEMBER

130 1 The Company's commodities and *kambang* goods have been delivered. The copper frame has been weighed and shipped. Carpenter Willem Vroom from Arim died on board. The interpreters

informed me by order of the governor that the bonus could not be changed, for it was not unreasonable and all other attempts to have it changed would be to no avail.

131 2 I went with Hemmij to Government House to take my leave. I requested the governor's support for the Company's trade.

3 433 barrels of camphor have been shipped. I was shown a sample of the sulphur and a barrel in which it would be delivered. The last Chinese junk left for the *Papenberg*. There are still nine staying in their berths here for the winter. I asked the governor for permission to stay until the 8th, for the paperwork is not finished.

4 The ship loaded some goods for the Company and private persons and left for the *Papenberg*.

132 5-6 Private goods have been shipped.

7 Because we have not received the sulphur and the paperwork is not finished, I asked permission to stay until the 13th. I also received the bills of lading of the junks which departed recently.

8 25,900 catties of sulphur with one per cent extra have been shipped to the *Erffrins*. I tackled the interpreters about the amount that is still short of the promised 30,000 catties. They assured me that it will be delivered.

9 I again tackled the interpreters about the sulphur that is still short.

10 By order of the governor, the *rapporteurs* announced that the governor in Edo has been degraded /to the great joy of everyone/. I again insisted on the delivery of the sulphur. I settled the account with the *Geldkamer*.

11 Private goods have been shipped. I received a letter from the ship that Sailor Jan Coersen from Amersfoort had died. I again asked after the sulphur.

12 The interpreters came to tell me that in spite of all efforts by the *Geldkamer*, the remaining 4,100 catties of sulphur could not be delivered this year. If the Company wished so, they would be delivered next year. I flew off the handle at them about their treacherous behaviour, but as nothing can be done about it and I cannot postpone my departure any longer, I had to let it rest. Held a meeting. The papers were read and signed.

13 I shipped some private goods. I introduced Hemmij as their *opperhoofd* to the remaining servants, wishing that the Company's trade may flourish again under his command. I went on board.**

* Aan de binne[n]kant.

** The diary ends with lists of the imports and exports of the Chinese junks, 31 October 1791 - 3 November 1792. These folios are not numbered.